Language, law and loanwords in early medieval Gaul: language contact and studies in Gallo-Romance phonology

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Issue Date: 2018-10-09

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Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van

de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden

op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,

volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties

te verdedigen op dinsdag 9 oktober 2018

klokke 16.15

door

Peter Alexander Kerkhof

geboren te Cali

in 1988

Promotor:	Prof.dr. A.M. Lubotsky
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“Rappelons-nous, en effet, l’obscurité relative qui enveloppe toute la période mérovingienne, obscurité due en grande partie à la rareté des sources dont de nombreuses générations d’historiens ont déjà tiré tout ce qu’elles contiennent et parfois même...ce qu’elles ne contiennent pas. Le petit nombre des témoignages sur le moyen âge mérovingien confère à ceux-ci d’autant plus de prix.”

Houbanx, 1951

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Abbreviations

Abbreviations of Languages

Bulg.	Bulgarian	OE	Old English
CS	Church Slavonic	OFr.	Old Frisian
EGm.	East Germanic	OFris.	Old Frisian
EWall.	East Walloon	OFrnk.	Old Frankish
Gallo-Lat.	Gallo-Latin	OHG	Old High German
Gallo-Rom.	Gallo-Romance	OIr.	Old Irish
Gaul.	Gaulish	ON	Old Norse
Gk.	Greek	OPort.	Old Portuguese
Gm.	Common Germanic	OProv.	Old Provençal
Lat.	Latin	ORuss.	Old Russian
Lith.	Lithuanian	OS	Old Saxon
MerLat.	Merovingian Latin	OSpan.	Old Spanish
MHG	Middle High German	Oss.	Ossetic
MidBret.	Middle Breton	OSw.	Old Swedish
MidDu.	Middle Dutch	OW	Old Welsh
ModDu.	Modern Dutch	OWall.	Old Walloon
ModE	Modern English	PCelt.	Proto-Celtic
ModG	Modern German	PGm.	Proto-Germanic
ModIt.	Modern Italian	Pic.	Picardian
ModSp.	Modern Spanish	PIE	Proto-Indo-European
MW	Middle Welsh	Pol.	Polish
OCS	Old Church Slavonic	Pre-Rom.	Pre-Romance
ODu.	Old Dutch	PSl.	Proto-Slavic

Rom.	Proto-Rom.
S/Cr.	Serbo-Croatian
Slov.	Slovak
Wall.	Walloon
WGm.	West Germanic
WRom.	West Romance

Symbols

*	reconstructed form
<	developed from
>	developed into
⇐	was derived from
←	was borrowed from
→	was borrowed into
~	alternates with
:	contrasts with

Academic abbreviations

c.	*capitulum*
cf.	*confer*
e.a.	*et alii*
e.g.	*exempli gratia*
id.	*idem*
l.c.	*loco citato*
s.v.	*sub verbo*
vs.	*versus*
adj.	adjective

Acknowledgements

The present dissertation comes from a decade long fascination with Merovingian Gaul. When I was studying history at Leiden University from 2006 to 2009, the mysteries of the Merovingian Franks pulled me in and never let me go. This is why I wrote my BA-thesis in History on the Christianization of Merovingian Belgium. When I continued my studies as an Indo-Europeanist, Merovingian Gaul always stayed on my mind. In the present dissertation I have returned to this fascination and delved once again into the depths of Merovingian Latinity.

For the successful conclusion of this monograph, the utmost gratitude is due to Alexander Lubotsky, my Indo-Europeanist mentor, who gave me a place in academia and provided me with much needed support and encouragement. I am also grateful to Michiel de Vaan, my thesis supervisor, who supported my ideas but always provided me with the necessary skeptical notes.

I want to thank Arend Quak, my first teacher in Old Germanic philology for awakening my interest in the Old Germanic languages and Guus Kroonen, my former teacher in Germanic historical linguistics, for fueling my interest in etymology. Rob Meens, my teacher in Medieval Studies, has been an important influence as well. Special thanks are also due to the Leiden colleagues Alwin Kloekhorst, Tijmen Pronk, Lucien van Beek, Stefan Norbruijs en Xander Vertegaal. Their advice and kindness is much appreciated.

There are many people with whom I discussed my work and who contributed consciously or unconsciously to the maturation of the ideas in this dissertation. I especially want to thank Maarten Kossmann for commenting on many of my early ideas. I also want to mention and express my gratitude to Hilde Gunnink, Thijs Porck, Adam Hyllested, Peter Schrijver, Rolf Bremmer, Uwe Bläsing, Ahmad Al-Jallad, Marc van Oostendorp, Hans Mol, Suzanne van der Meer, Freek van de Velde, Odile Strik, Esther Lemair, Cynthia Johnson, Svetlana Kleyner and Vince van Thienen. I am grateful to Séan Vrieland and Laura Bruno for commenting on parts of the manuscripts. Any remaining mistakes are my own.

I am deeply grateful to my good friends Marijn van Putten, Evina Steinóva, Seán Vrieland, Benjamin Suchard and Godelinde Perk, who suffered my depressions and breaks in communication, but were always there to talk to when spring came back and my interest in social interactions returned. Finally, I am grateful to my family, my parents Henk Kerkhof and Christine Kerkhof-Ruijter, for supporting my academic ambitions and my sister Milena Kerkhof for sharing in good and bad times.

This dissertation was finalized in Belgium, at Ghent University, where the support and kindness of Jóhanna Barðdal was indispensable. It was there, in the heartland of Frankish territory, that I first experienced the true diversity of the Dutch language and felt how far the consequences of Germanic-Romance language contact truly reached.

Introduction

Once upon a time in the north of Merovingian Gaul, a farmer went to market to sell his produce and meet up with friends and family. On his way to town, he may have driven a cart along a cobblestone road and greeted his neighbors as he drove by. When he arrived at the market, he may have talked to the vendors he knew, joked with his friends and nephews and haggled with the customers. He may have visited the law assembly and spoken his mind about justice. He may have paid his respects to the count and repeated any oaths he had taken. Finally, he would have returned to his homestead and went to bed in the living quarters of the family farm.

From a scholarly perspective, there is very little that we know for certain about this average Merovingian farmer. The average Merovingian farmer is only encountered in the historical sources if by some small chance he became relevant to the limited group of people who controlled the means of literacy. In many cases, this only happened if he witnessed the signing of a charter and the local scribe deemed him important enough to add to the witness list. In the archaeological record, the average Merovingian farmer is only encountered through the shape of his field, the floor plan of his farm, and the refuse that he left behind. Once he had passed away, also the grave goods with which he was buried would preserve some information about his life. On many counts, however, almost everything about his everyday experience would be lost to us. Both historians and archaeologists are well aware of this.

But what is relatively unknown to either discipline, is that there is a small part of his human experience that has not vanished but remains buried. Not in stories, nor in the soil. This part is buried in the words that the farmer passed on to his children and his children to their children and so on, until they were written down in Old French, Old High German and Middle Dutch. Historical linguists can use these words to reconstruct the vernacular Germanic and Romance language that this countryman would have spoken. The historical significance of this linguistic achievement cannot not be overstated. It means that we have a limited but still pretty substantial overview of the words, the sounds and the grammar that the average Merovingian countryman used when he greeted his neighbors, joked with his friends, sold his wares and paid respects to his betters. Although the farmer passed away, parts of his speech survived. These linguistic artefacts constitute valuable traces of his everyday life and contain information that should be integrated into our interpretative models on culture and society in Merovingian Gaul.

This dissertation is dedicated to this average Merovingian farmer and all those who never made it into the elite discourse of Early Medieval Latinity. Through the investigations in this book, I will try to make them speak again.

Aim and structure

In this monograph, I will review the historical and sociolinguistic implications of some of the linguistic data that have been preserved from Merovingian Gaul. The data that will be investigated here mainly consist of Romance and Germanic lexis. More precisely, Romance and Germanic lexis that is the outcome of earlier lexical exchange (borrowing) between Germanic, Romance and Celtic. The central aim of this dissertation is to provide an overview of the linguistic and extra-linguistic factors that were involved in this lexical exchange, and thereby contribute to our knowledge of the Merovingian vernaculars in particular and Merovingian society in general.

The study of lexical exchange between Early Germanic and Early Romance has a long tradition, both within Old Germanic studies and Old Romance studies. Pioneering work has been done by Gamillscheg (1933, 1970) in his *Romania Germanica,* Wartburg (1928-1982) in his *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch,* and Müller and Frings (1968) in their *Germania Romana.* Later research by scholars such as Pfister (1972, 1974), Guinet (1982), and Wollmann (1990) has added to our body of knowledge about the lexical items involved, their chronology and the substitution processes that affected them. What has become clear from all of these studies, is that the contact language on the side of the Roman Empire was in many cases not Classical Latin, but rather an evolved version of Late Latin. This linguistic stage was in the early twentieth century commonly called Vulgar Latin, but is now often referred to as Early Romance. This dissertation builds on these conclusions and will highlight the role of reconstructed Romance as a donor language in Romance–Germanic lexical exchange.

The lexical material that will be investigated in this dissertation comes from two significantly different types of sources:

- Germanic and Romance lexis that is found in contemporary Merovingian sources, that is, vernacular fragments that are featured in Merovingian Latinity.
- Germanic and Romance lexis that can be reconstructed from the linguistic stages of Old French, Old High German and Middle Dutch.

Both types of evidence come with their own problems and challenges, which require a solid philological and linguistic framework in order to interpret them correctly. Because of these requirements, the structure of this dissertation is divided into two interdependent sections.

Language and Merovingian Gaul

The first part aims to provide a historical, linguistic and sociolinguistic background to the contact between Germanic and Romance in the northern parts of Merovingian Gaul. This section covers the largest part of the dissertation and consists of four chapters. These chapters will provide a framework, which I will draw upon in later parts of the dissertation.

The first chapter will provide a historical background to the linguistic encounter between Germanic-speakers and Romance-speakers in Migration Age Gaul. It will review the historical and archaeological approaches to the period, and then confront these approaches with the most recent perspectives from historical linguistics. In this chapter, most attention will be paid to the Merovingian Franks since they are the Germanic-speaking group, whose language I am mainly concerned with in this dissertation. An important objective of this chapter is to highlight some relevant pieces of linguistic evidence that are rarely featured in discussions on the transformation of the Roman world.

The second chapter will investigate the problems posed by the concept of reconstructed Romance. In this chapter, the 'regularist' approach to Early Romance will be expounded, and an overview of the debate on Latin-Romance diglossia and the break-up of the Romance dialect continuum will be given. This chapter will also explore the relationship of Merovingian Latinity to the spoken Romance vernacular and provide commentary to some of the Merovingian text genres that may be used to gauge the evolution of the Romance vernacular in Early Medieval Gaul. The main objective of this chapter is to provide a defense of the concept of reconstructed Romance as a possible donor language in Romance–Germanic lexical exchange.

Chapter three provides a survey of the phonological developments that transformed the Latin language of Republican Rome into the Early Old French of Carolingian Francia. In this survey, the literature on some long standing problems in the prehistory of French will be reviewed. The main objective of this chapter is to explore the linguistic problems of Merovingian Gallo-Romance with the methodology of comparative linguistics. This chapter does not aim to solve all problems in Gallo-Romance historical phonology, but merely to provide an overview of the linguistic facts that I can refer to in the in-depth studies of the second part of the dissertation. By attempting to link Pre-French sound changes directly to Merovingian Latin, this present investigation distinguishes itself from recent overviews of French historical phonology, such as provided by Taddei (2000), Léonard (2004) and Englebert (2015).

Chapter four will investigate the issue of Germanic linguistic interference in the prehistory of French. It will introduce the concepts and theory of language contact and contact-induced change and explore the issue of the Germanic-like features in French that have alternatively been explained as contact-induced, inter genus drift, and mere coincidence. In this chapter, I will aim to bypass some of the traditional complications to the problem and put a new focus on the role that the northeastern border dialects of French may have played in the prehistory of the French language.

In-depth Studies

The second part of this dissertation will feature several in-depth studies on lexical transfer between Germanic and Romance in the Early Middle Ages. These studies will exemplify some of the principles and observations that were made in the in the first section. This part of the dissertation also consists of four chapters and the evaluation of the lexical transfers will rely on the background that is provided in the preceding four chapters.

Chapter five will investigate a vernacular word for sparrow hawk that is featured in the Merovingian redactions of the Salic Law. This word will be provided with an etymology, and its occurrence in the law code will be connected to the diffusion of hawking and falconry terminology in Late Antique Eurasia.

Chapter six will investigate the lexical evidence for the Merovingian use of the heavy plough and thereby provide an attempt on bringing lexical evidence into the our historical knowledge on Merovingian material culture.

Chapter seven will investigate a vernacular gloss from the Salic Law that is associated with insults and slander. This word will be provided with a Gaulish etymology. A side objective of this chapter is to explore the circumstances under which Gaulish lexis may have entered the vernaculars of Merovingian Gaul.

Chapter eight will investigate the etymology of a Dutch landscape word and connect the problem with the lexical exchange between Germanic and Romance in Early Medieval Flanders. It will show how after the dissolution of the Roman empire, newly arrived Germanic-speaking peoples became part of a multilingual realm that involved the Romance-speaking elites of Early Medieval Francia.

Chapter nine will highlight a Migration Age ethnonym that is reflected in several French place-names. In this chapter, I will attempt to solve some of the phonological issues

that complicate the connection of the ethnonym to the French place-names, and thereby touch upon some interesting problems of Gallo-Romance historical phonology.

By approaching the topic of Merovingian language contact on these two levels, the dissertation aims to straddle the gap between a macro perspective and a micro perspective. It is my contention that these perspectives complement each other, and that a better overview of the factors that were involved on the macro level and an in-depth study of some of the factors that were involved on the micro level, will lead us to a better understanding of the sociolinguistic context in which Romance-Germanic language contact in the Merovingian period took place.

Relevance

This way, the present investigation intends to contribute to an ongoing debate in historical linguistics and an ongoing debate in medieval studies. The debate in historical linguistics concerns the Germanic contribution to the French language, and the possibility that Merovingian language contact is responsible for the structural similarities between French and the Germanic languages. This dissertation will contribute to this linguistic debate by highlighting neglected or unconsidered sociocultural factors that contextualized the linguistic encounter between Germanic and Romance in Merovingian Gaul.

The debate in medieval studies that this dissertation intends to contribute to, concerns the continuity or discontinuity in the transition from Roman to Merovingian Gaul. This dissertation will do so by shedding light on a different dimension of the historical transformation than is usually considered by historians and archaeologists. I will show that the linguistic data provide a narrative that is complementary to the archaeological record, but is often at odds with a historical paradigm that is mainly informed by the literary sources.

Linguistic sources and terminology

In the present investigation, many etymologies are discussed that required the consultation of numerous etymological dictionaries and online resources. Here I want to give a closer overview of the digital and non-digital resources that I used for the main languages that are under investigation in this dissertation, that is, Old Frankish, Gallo-Romance and Gaulish. I will also comment on the terminological considerations that informed my use of these linguistic terms.

Old Frankish

The West Germanic language, that is the most important to this dissertation, is the ancestral language of the Merovingian Franks. In this dissertation, the term **Old Frankish** will be used in reference to the Early Franconian variety that was spoken by the Franks in Merovingian Gaul. I will not associate this linguistic stage with the term Old Dutch, since I believe that the term Dutch is only meaningful when it is used as a linguistic criterion that distinguishes Dutch from the other Germanic dialect areas such as German, English, and Frisian. For most of the Merovingian period, this criterion does not apply since both the German and the Dutch dialect areas still had to acquire their defining features.

If we choose to apply the term Old Dutch for its geographical dimensions, a better case can be made for its applicability to Merovingian Frankish; after all, the language of the Merovingian Franks is historically tied to Belgium and the southern Netherlands, as is clear from the diffusion patterns of place-names and loanword studies (Weijnen 1999: 39-50). Still, in my opinion, the terms Old Frankish, West Frankish or Merovingian Frankish would serve this descriptive purpose equally well and would avoid the anachronism implied by the term Dutch.

For the etymological investigations in this dissertation, I used a number of Dutch etymological dictionaries, whose contents are accessible through the online portal of *etymologiebank.nl*[1]; especially useful were the new *Etymologisch woordenboek van het Nederlands* edited by M. Philippa, F. Debrabandere, A.Quak, T. Schoonheim and N. van der Sijs (2003-2009), and the older etymological dictionary by J. De Vries and F. De Tollenaere *Nederlands etymologisch woordenboek* (1971). Additionally, I have often consulted the historical dictionaries of Dutch that are included in the online database of the *Grote Taalbank* (GTB).[2] The most important of these is the *Oudnederlands Woordenboek,* a project of the Dutch Lexicographic Institute (INL) whose final editing was done by professor A. Quak. The ONW was invaluable to the present investigation, since it includes many Old Frankish lemmata from the Salic Law and Merovingian Latin. For the investigation of the Germanic loanwords in French, I made extensive use of the digital version of Wartburg's *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (FEW 1948-2002[3]), which was made publicly accessible by the AFTIL project of the University of Lorraine. Gamillscheg's *Romania Germanica* (1970) and Guinet's *Les emprunts gallo-romans au Germanique* (1982) provided a useful overview of the relevant loanwords.

[1] Can be consulted online at URL: http://www.etymologiebank.nl
[2] Can be consulted online at URL: htttp://gtb.inl.nl
[3] Can be consulted online at URL: https://apps.atilf.fr/lecteurFEW/

Gallo-Romance

The Romance language, that is the most important to this dissertation, is the Romance variety that was spoken by the Gallo-Romans who lived in the northern part of Merovingian Gaul. We may assume that in large parts of the Merovingian realm, this Romance language was also the most important language for the Merovingian Franks, either as a communication language or as their new native language. In this dissertation, the spoken Romance language of Merovingian Gaul will be called **Gallo-Romance**, thereby avoiding the use of the terms Vulgar Latin and Medieval Latin for any spoken variety of Romance in Merovingian Gaul (see chapter 2 for a discussion). For the written language of Merovingian Gaul, the term **Merovingian Latin** will be used. This variety of written Latin might reflect elements of the spoken variety through interference with an evolved reading tradition, but essentially aspires to be the same language as that of Republican Rome.

However, since I occasionally refer to Latin words, which represent the oldest Latin stage of Gallo-Roman lexis and are limited to Roman Gaul, I was in need of an additional term that singles this material out as being regional and relatively late; I have opted to call the material that belongs to this stage, both attested forms and reconstructed lexical items, **Gallo-Latin**. I am, however, aware that this might be confusing in regards to my otherwise strict separation of the terms Latin and Romance, namely the application of Romance for spoken varieties and Latin for written varieties.

For the etymological investigations of the French and Romance material, I often consulted the aforementioned digital version of the FEW and other etymological dictionaries such as Dauzat's *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française* (Dauzat 1948), Meyer-Lübke's *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1935) and Corominas' *Diccionario Etimológico de la lengua Castellana* (1954). The collection and discussion of Germanic-Romance lexical transfers, which is included in Müller and Frings' *Germania Romana* (1968) was also a useful resource. For Merovingian Latin lexis, I made ample use of the search function of the digital version of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (URL: http://www.mgh.de), which give access to almost the entire Merovingian Latin corpus.

Gaulish

In many parts of this dissertation, the continental Celtic language of Late Roman Gaul is referenced. As this dissertation is mainly concerned with language contact of the Late Roman period, I can stay away from such controversial issues as the hypothesized presence of a non-

Celtic Indo-European language in northwestern Europe (Nordwestblock or Belgic, cf. Kuhn 1959, 1962; Gysseling 1975, 1992; see also Weijnen 1999: 8-10).

Another issue, that is also not pertinent to this dissertation, but which should still be mentioned here, is the possibility that the continental Celtic language of the North Sea coast shared innovations with Lowland British (cf. Schrijver 1995). This would also provide a different background to the proposed bilingualism of the Batavians and the Frisians and the occurrence of Celtic theonyms in the Dutch river area, such as Magosenus, Viradecthis and Nehalennia (Toorians 2003; Bernardo Stempel 2004). In this dissertation, any Celtic language spoken in the north of Roman Gaul will be subsumed under the term **Gaulish**, irrespective of any dialectal isoglosses that may have differentiated the Celtic language of the North Sea coast from that of Wallonia and the rest of Gaul.

For the etymological investigation of the Gaulish material, I often consulted the etymological dictionary of Proto-Celtic by Matasović (2009), the Gaulish dictionary of Delamarre (2003) and the historical dictionaries of Welsh (*Geiriadur Prifysgol Cymru*[4]) and Irish (*Electronic dictionary of the Irish language*[5]). The online version of the FEW provided valuable etymological commentaries to the Celtic loanwords in the Gallo-Romance dialects. An additional resource that proved useful was the collection of Celtic material included in Grzega's *Romania Gallica Cisalpina* (2001).

Methodology

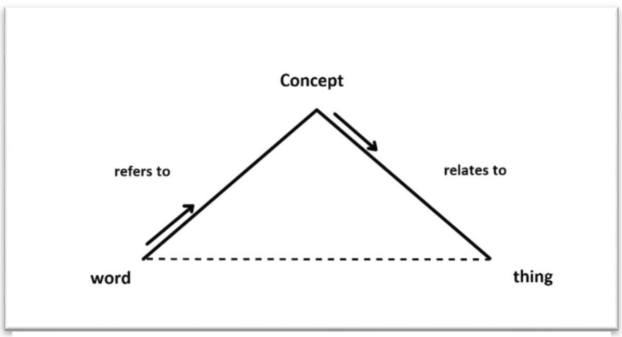

Figure 1 triangle model based on Schmidt-Wiegand 1975

This monograph is written in the positivist tradition of historical linguistics, and closely connects to similar approaches to historical lexicology, in which language is studied in conjunction with history (e.g. Green 1998; Kelly 1998). In this dissertation, linguistic data from Merovingian Gaul will be investigated in the context of diachronic semasiology and onomasiology, namely under the assumption that historical words provide a window on the concepts and materiality of a historical society (Schmidt-Wiegand 1975). It

[4] Can be consulted online at URL: http://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html
[5] Can be consulted online at URL: http://www.dil.ie

therefore stands to reason that this dissertation has a less skeptical view on our access to the past than is common to postmodernist approaches to history (see chapter 1).

Despite this decidedly linguistic outlook, in this dissertation I also want to discuss how the linguistic data relates to the evidence of the literary sources and the archaeological record; in the first chapter, I will therefore comment on the theoretical perspectives that inform the interpretative models of historians and archaeologists. I am aware that my reduction of these theoretical perspectives into several general trends does not do justice to the diversity of opinions in the field. I still deemed this generalization to be useful, since it underlines the considerable distance of the perspective of the historian and the archaeologist to the perspective of Old Germanicist philology. Also, I have attempted to respect some conventions of the other disciplines, thereby avoiding the use of the term 'tribe' because of its theoretical implications and the use of the overly-broad ethnonyms 'Gauls' or 'Germans' because of their anachronistic quality. However, the term Migration Age will not be avoided, because of its usefulness as a chronological shorthand and in consideration of its traditional use in Old Germanicist scholarship.

If I have ignored important historical or archaeological publications, this should not be taken as a sin of omission, but rather as a sign of my limited view, as a linguist, on the recent developments in those fields. In the end, I still hope to have provided a reasonably representative overview of the exegetic frameworks that mark our historical interpretation of the transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages.

1 Language and the Early Medieval Past

1.1 The access to the past

Every historical science, whether it be history, archaeology or philology, strives to reconstruct a reality that is forever lost to us. It is important to realize from the outset that historical scientists do not have direct access to the past. Once a moment has happened, it is gone and cannot be repeated in an experiment. This means that, in order to establish whether something really happened and subsequently how it happened, the scholar is left to deal with historical evidence of a diverse nature.

The study and interpretation of material sources is the domain of the archaeologist. Physical evidence holds a privileged position among the different types of historical evidence, since it consists of tangible products of past human activity. Most of these products consist of settlement traces and refuse of everyday life; products which were made without an agenda towards their reflection amongst future generations. When interpreted correctly, archaeology can shed light on periods of human history from which no or little written record survives.

The study and interpretation of written sources is the discipline of the historian. In order to reconstruct the happening of a past event, the historian requires sources that ideally meet the following conditions:

1. There are multiple sources, all of which document the event under study, so that parallel documentation confirms the occurrence of the event and elucidates the causality involved.
2. The sources were produced in a place and time that are relatively close to the place and time in which the event supposedly happened.
3. The sources are disinterested in the event under study, so that the way in which the event is recorded does not reflect the bias of the writer.

It is clear that these conditions are seldom met, and that the historian is left to reconstruct the past with only a few misshapen pieces of the puzzle surviving. The main reason why this is the case lies in the fact that literacy in pre-modern times was often limited to a small class of literacy specialists. These professional scribes fulfilled the literary needs of a small intellectual and political elite. These circumstances severely impair the reliability of the source material. History as an academic discipline is therefore a hermeneutic science that studies the small window on past realities that the written sources offer (cf. Lorenz 1987).

Historical linguistics, on the other hand, is a completely different historical discipline. By studying the oldest attested stages of related languages and comparing these languages

by use of the well-established comparative method (Campbell 2004; Crowley & Bowern 2009), historical linguists are able to retrace past linguistic realities by reversing the regular sound changes which transformed the language through the ages. Thus the comparative method generates (pre-)historic data, whose reliability is confirmed by its adherence to the regularity of sound change. Naturally, this reliability is dependent on both a correct linguistic interpretation and the correct application of the method; the linguistic data, therefore, requires a thorough philological analysis before it can be used for comparative purposes. Nevertheless, if all philological bases are covered, the comparative method can give us access to the words of a (pre-)historical speech community, and through this, also to the concepts and categories of this community. It is worth noting that these concept and categories generally reflect a broader part of society than can be studied through the literary sources.

Here it should be stressed that the reconstruction of past linguistic realities supplies the scholar with a historical artifact that is comparable to the material evidence of the archaeologist. Just as pots and pans were made without an apparent agenda towards their reflection upon future generations, so also the concepts and categories conveyed in the lexicon of a historical language are largely the circumstantial heritage of past linguistic stages. Although the words in a specific historical period in part reflect the topical limitations of the historical documents in which those words are found, fortunately the cumulative evidence from philology, comparative linguistics, and historical dialectology often reveals to us a significant part of the historical lexicon and, by extension, the ancestral proto-language. In short: whereas historians mainly have access to the historical realities of the elites, historical linguists often gain access to the language of both kings and commoners, and therefore glimpse a different part of past human activity (Epps 2015: 579).

The study of historical words as a source to past historical realities has a long tradition in the field of historical linguistics. It was Jacob Grimm (1848), who first expressed the sentiment that words as the lexical building blocks of language give access to a historical reality, and that both language and culture should be studied alongside each other: "*Sprachforschung, der ich anhänge und von der ich ausgehe, hat mich noch nie in die Weise befriedigen können, das ich nicht immer gern von den Wörtern zu den Sachen gelängt wäre*" (Grimm 1848: IX). In the early twentieth century, the incipient discipline of linguistic dialectology, pioneered by Schuchardt and Gilliéron, internalized the 'Wörter und Sachen' *dictum* in its insistence that every word has its own history and that a history of language is basically a history of words ("*chaque mot a son histoire*", see Malkiel 1967). A more literary interpretation of the principle was given by Cola Minis, who stated that "*Sprachgeschichte ist im Grunde die schwärzeste aller*

'schwarzen' Künste, das einzige Mittel die Geister verschwundener Jahrhunderte zu beschwören" (Minis 1952: 107).[6]

However, Grimm, Gilliéron and Minis were mainly considering the study of lexical material in attested languages. The connection between language and culture becomes more tenuous, if we apply it to reconstructed languages. Here it should be mentioned that many linguists view linguistic reconstructions as abstract formulae, formulae that are merely the phonological basis for linguistic phylogenetics. According to them, the sum of all possible reconstructions for a linguistic proto-stage should not be considered as a 'real' prehistoric language, set in a 'real' prehistoric time (see Mallory & Adams 2008: 86-87). In my opinion, however, the whole concept of a genetic proto-language presupposes a historically real community of speakers. It therefore seems only fair to assume that our historical reconstructions are at least abstract approximations of the language of a prehistoric speech community.

If we commit to the view that linguistic reconstruction is not just an abstract shorthand, but instead constitutes a fair approximation of a real language that was spoken by real people, we are reminded of the historist principle formulated by Leopold von Ranke (1874: VII), who admonished historians to show how it really was ("*wie es eigentlich gewesen*"*).* It is my contention that historical linguistics shares the same obligation and constitutes a valuable instrument, with which to study a part of the historical past. I therefore believe that there is great potential for an interdisciplinary approach, that exploits the complementary evidence from the different historical disciplines (cf. Heggarty 2015: 598).

1.2 The transformation of the Roman world paradigm

This dissertation deals with a period for which the correct interpretation of the historical sources has been controversial for a long time. Since Edward Gibbon published '*The History of the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire*' in 1789, the decline of Roman civilization has remained a topic of discussion for every scholar interested in the political and intellectual history of pre-modern Europe. Christianity, Roman decadence, economic recession, climate change, pestilence, corruption, all of these factors have been credited as the causes for Rome's decline. Until recently, however, most scholars agreed on what force dismembered the Late Roman state. This was the Migration Age: the invasions of non-Roman, largely Germanic-speaking peoples who ravaged the Roman countryside, decimated the Roman field armies and eventually migrated into the former Roman provinces establishing their own kingdoms.

[6] This quote (in English translation) has become popular thanks to its inclusion in Campbell's *Historical Linguistics; an Introduction* as: "linguistic history is basically the darkest of the dark arts, the only means to conjure up the ghosts of vanished centuries" (Campbell 2004: 107).

Since the second half of the twentieth century, however, a new paradigm gained ground. The historian White suggested in 1960 that instead of focusing on the discontinuity that marked the transition from Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages, historians should rather study the way the Roman world was continued in the post-Roman successor states. This 'transformation of the Roman world' paradigm has become dominant in Anglophone medievalist circles since the 1980s. The popularity of the paradigm has posed a considerable challenge to some assumptions that are central to the enterprise of Old Germanic Studies, a discipline that focuses on the common linguistic and cultural heritage of the Germanic-speaking peoples. Because this dissertation is partly written from a the perspective of a Germanicist, I will shortly discuss the main assertions of the continuity paradigm followed by the critique that can be raised against it. The 'transformation of the Roman world' paradigm is marked by the following premises (for a similar analysis, see Heather 1997):

1. The military confrontation of barbarian peoples with the Late Roman state was a symptom and not the catalyst of the disintegration of the Late Roman state.
2. The Post-Roman successor states are marked by great continuity of Roman bureaucracy, ideology and religion.
3. The early twentieth-century conception that language and pre-state identity in Early Medieval Europe were linked is wrong, and all scholarship that in some way reflects this paradigm is outdated.

The first premise largely centers around the idea that the barbarian invasions were small-scale and did not dismember the political entity of the Late Roman state. The historians working in this paradigm share this view with most late twentieth-century archaeologists who discredit the idea of ethnic migrations and instead focus on continuity (see Härke 2006): these archaeologists employ a model, in which internal mechanisms of change are preferred above external mechanisms such as migration (cf. Anthony 2007: 108). Another side of the immobilism paradigm is the reassessment of earlier conceptions of ethnicity. Whereas pre-war scholarship viewed the Germanic peoples of Late Antiquity as well-defined entities with long histories dating back into the Proto-Germanic past (e.g. Kosinna 1911), from the 1960s onwards scholars have subscribed to the idea that identity is a dynamic and transient social construct. Disparate warrior bands are now supposed to have formed chameleon-like confederations in an opportunistic process that scholars call 'ethnogenesis'. These relatively small groups were the barbarian armies that we encounter in the Late Roman sources, and no grand-scale migrations are involved. An extreme version of the 'anti-migratory' view was defended by the historians Goffart (1980) and Durliat (1988), who hold that no barbarian peoples whatsoever settled within the Roman empire. This view entails an alternative reading of many texts speaking about the settlement of barbarian groups on expropriated Roman estates. Instead, according to Goffart and Durliat, the late Roman state merely redirected tax revenues to small barbarian army regiments which were part of the Roman

policy of accommodating barbarian peoples as border defense forces.[7] This led Goffart to assert that "the fall of the Western Empire was an imaginative experiment that got a little out of hand' (Goffart 1980: 35).

The second premise claims great continuity of Roman culture in the post-Roman successor states, and also leans closely on the post-war paradigm of immobilism. As a corollary to the continuity claim, many historians hold that there was no 'Germanic' contribution to Early Medieval Europe. This led medievalists to explore other venues of inquiry: the study of the uses of literacy in Early Medieval society is one area where the 'transformation of the Roman world' paradigm has greatly improved our understanding of the source material. The study of late Roman models of authority and religion became another focus point. Finally, the barbarian origin myths, which former generations of scholars have taken as an expression of barbarian cultural heritage, were also, albeit somewhat awkwardly, integrated into the non-Germanic paradigm.

Continuity of Roman bureaucracy is stressed by the historian Ian Wood, who claims that Merovingian Gaul, the barbarian kingdom that emerged from fifth-century Roman Gaul, was a bureaucratic society, namely "a society used to, needing and demanding documents" (Wood 2006: 258). The rejection of a Germanic contribution to the Early Middle Ages can be illustrated by the assertion of Mayke de Jong, who stated on the subject of Early Medieval religion, that "in spite of the occasional rearguard fight, the days of 'pagan survivals' and ubiquitous 'Germanic roots' may finally be over" (De Jong 1998: 269).

Walter Goffart (1988), in his book '*the narrators of barbarian history*', reassessed the barbarian origin myths, following a postmodernist strand of scholarship[8] that is highly skeptical of the reliability of historical texts and rather sees them as reflections of the intentions of the author. According to Goffart, Early Medieval authors like Gregory of Tours, Jordanes and Paul the Deacon invented a history for the barbarian peoples. Therefore, in all likelihood, these 'histories' do not reflect oral traditions reaching back into the prehistoric past. Goffart's interpretation is in line with the aforementioned reassessment of identity that is common in this strand of scholarship. Whereas Wenskus (1961), one of the first to reevaluate the concept of Early Medieval ethnicity, claimed at least some continuity with the Germanic past, Goffart and many scholars with him hold that the barbarian peoples of Late Antiquity were transient political communities of the historical moment, and therefore had no identity that reached back into Germanic Antiquity (Goffart 2006: 96-97).

[7] According to Liebeschütz (2006), it is exactly this scarcity and relative vagueness of our sources that allowed Goffart to formulate his radically alternative interpretation of barbarian accommodation. In a precise and thorough study of the key passages in the relevant texts, Liebeschütz shows that the evidence for settlement is stronger than for merely a re-allotment of tax revenues.

[8] For an overview of the postmodernist paradigm in contemporary historiography, see Bently (1999: 140-148).

While the last two premises merely indicate the divergence of the historical paradigm from the traditional perspective of Germanic philology, the third premise constitutes an outright rejection of most Germanicist scholarship on the Migration Age and Germanic culture. It therefore comes as no surprise that Germanicist studies on (continental) Germanic religious practices are commonly regarded by historians as clinging to outdated paradigms and being uncritical. As an example may serve the reception of Krutzler's (2011) recent monograph on the religion of the pagan Saxons and Frisians, whose philological approach has received substantial criticism from historians (e.g. Meens 2015).

In short: the scholarly conviction that we cannot say anything about Germanic ideological culture, is nowadays widely held among historians and archaeologists (cf. Amory 1997: xv).

Here we should recognize that part of the historians' and archaeologists' argument is undoubtedly true, and that the concept of 'Germanic culture' is an artificial construct which puts together facts and features under a single umbrella term, which the contemporaries might never have connected themselves. We may therefore sympathize with the more nuanced view of the historian Walther Pohl, who argued that the concept of a 'Germanic identity' must have played some role in Migration Age Europe, but that, from the historian's perspective, the term raises more questions than that it answers (2004: 30-31). Nevertheless, Germanic philologists still successfully use the traditional paradigm in their study of Early Medieval literature and culture. In my opinion, because almost all our written sources are written by the Latinate outsider, the evidence from linguistic archaeology, that is the linguistic reconstruction of inherited vocabulary and concepts, is all the more valuable.

The premise that there was no such thing as a 'Germanic heritage' or 'Germanic contribution to medieval culture' therefore severely impairs the dialogue between the disciplines. This rejection of Germanicist scholarship is a corollary to the post-war realization that language, material culture, and identity do not always come in 'neat ethnic packages' (Anthony 2007: 103). By inverting this argument, many historians and archaeologists now believe that language and identity are never connected, so that there were no ethno-linguistic tribal identities in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Julia Smith, in her 2005 book '*Europe After Rome: A New Cultural History 500-1000*', gives voice to this sentiment in her statement that "we must dismiss the nineteenth-century misconception that there had ever existed a matching relationship of one people or polity to one language" (Smith 2005: 17).[9]

[9] This statement ignores the sociolinguistic concept of the emblematic identity-giving code as opposed to the other secondary communication codes, concepts which have proven to be very useful in describing pre-state communities. This subject will be treated in more detail in chapter 4.

1.3 Language and Identity

For the past forty years, many historical linguists in Old Germanic studies have avoided engagement with the new paradigm, thereby resigning themselves to the theoretical separation of language and identity.[10] In my opinion, historical linguists have failed to appreciate that the medievalist's rejection of language as an essential part of Early Medieval identity disregards an important sociolinguistic principle: namely that there is a close relationship between language, power and identity and that pre-state societies, where multilingualism is often the norm, commonly regard one language as their emblematic identity-giving code in relation to their 'heritage society' (Croft 2003: 50; Pakendorf 2007: 26). We should also consider that it is extremely difficult for an adult to lose an accent when speaking a second language that was not acquired during childhood. Consequently, belonging to a linguistic community and speaking a language without an accent is a powerful expression of social identity and being a part of existing power relations. Furthermore, linguistic proficiency limits or enhances the access to information and communication, and therefore strongly conditions the agency of the individual in its social interactions both within and without the community.

If we regard the individual as an intersection of a number of different identities (cf. Esmonde Cleary 2013: 15), we should realize that linguistic identity is expressed in both a conscious and an unconscious way; a Germanic-speaking newcomer, who settled in the Roman Empire, could manipulate his linguistic identity consciously by code-switching and avoiding the use of his ancestral language. However, there was also an important 'externally ascribed' (etic) part of his linguistic identity, a part that the average individual could not manipulate; this was his 'foreign accent', that is, the imposition of linguistic features of his native language on the secondarily acquired language of the Roman receiving population. So instead of language being mainly a tool one willfully uses to express social identity (as for example is the case with wearing a brooch or a weapon type), it rather represents a complex part of a particular group history that is interactively constructed and reconstructed in the confrontation of the individual with the group (Norris 2007; Hall 2011: 35). Suffice it to say that the sociolinguistic literature on the subject of language and identity is vast, and that the importance of language to identity is beyond doubt (cf. Labov 1963; Bourdieu 1991; Eckert 2000; Leonard 2012).

The problem, of course, when confronting this evidence from sociolinguistic theory and linguistic anthropology with the historical paradigm, is that the written Latin sources from Late Antiquity rarely mention that languages are a means of expressing identity.

[10] A notable exception to this trend was the Cambridge Germanicist Dennis Green, who continued the dialogue with the historians for the entire length of his career. A good example of his commitment can be found in his contributions to the discussions, that are included in the proceedings of the fourth conference on 'Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology' (Wood ed. 1998).

Historians mainly encounter the Germanic-speaking peoples in texts that express their subjugation and settlement within the empire and their desire to become part of Roman power structures. It is therefore not surprising that historians regard the Germanic-speaking peoples mainly as ephemeral constellations that were only consolidated into political entities in their confrontation with the Roman Empire (Halsall 2007: 419). It was the Roman empire that gave them the opportunity to join the army, settle on the Roman countryside and opt in to a Roman identity that was cosmopolitan and vast, stretching from Ireland in the west to Persia in the east. Any strong indications that linguistic divides (other than that between Greek and Latin) ran through this Roman identity are missing from the Latin sources.

This does, however, not mean that these linguistic dividing lines did not exist. We may consider the parallel with the medieval Arabic world; in the Arabic literary sources, we also find a vast and multilingual territory described by learned contemporaries from the ideological viewpoint that only one language was culturally significant. We know from non-Arabic sources in Greek, Old French, and Latin that this was definitely not the case (cf. Aslanov 2013). This parallel gives a hint at how a literary discourse can differ dramatically from the sociocultural realities of everyday life. In my opinion, when we evaluate the concept of Early Medieval identity, our sociolinguistic evidence from pre-state societies and the sociolinguistic theory that contextualizes it should at least provide a methodological check on the preconceptions about language that come from the elite literary discourse of Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.

1.4 Language and Archaeology

A powerful challenge to the premise of the historical and archaeological paradigm that language is a minor way of expressing identity has been provided by two archaeologists studying the prehistory of the Indo-European-speaking peoples. Since the concept of a Indo-European proto-language presupposes a community that spoke that language, it is understandable that precisely those archaeologists who advocate the combination of the disciplines would take up the gauntlet. The archaeologist James Mallory was the first to argue against a complete disjointing of archaeological and linguistic identity. In his book '*In search of the Indo-Europeans*' (1989), he stated that "while one may deny the necessity of assuming an invariable one-on-one correlation between an archaeological and linguistic identity, it is equally perverse to assume that there can be no correlation between the two" (Mallory 1989: 164). In support of this statement, he points to the archaeology of North America where a correlation between cultural traits and linguistic groups is often found. He rightly remarks that this is hardly surprising since cultural traits are more easily shared by people who speak the same language (Mallory 1989: 164; see also McMahon 2004: 6). This would also tie in with the fact that there seems to be a statistically significant positive correlation between genes and languages. A possible explanation for this would be that peoples speaking unrelated

languages tend not to intermarry as frequently as people that do speak related languages (cf. Barbujani 1991: 151; Pakendorf 2015: 628).

The archaeologist David Anthony followed the example set by Mallory in 1989 and also defended the combination of linguistic reconstruction and archaeology. In his book '*The Horse, the Wheel and Language*' (2007), he asserts that language is correlated with material culture at long-lasting distinct material-culture borders (Anthony 2007: 104). Anthony remarks that archaeologists have documented several of these long-lasting frontiers in prehistoric tribal settings. He also points to historical cases where linguistic boundary zones have remained stable for centuries. The Welsh-English, Breton-French and French-Swiss German language borders are referred to as well-known historical cases where we know that the language border hardly moved in more than a millennium. Anthony remarks that, in these cases, the linguistic boundary coincided with a cultural boundary that is defined by bundles of opposed customs and different socio-economic networks. Relatively few people migrated across these frontier zones, which led to a constant renewal of contrasting ethno-linguistic identities. In my opinion, Mallory and Anthony have made a convincing case for how the combination of historical linguistic evidence with archaeological evidence leads to a better understanding of prehistoric migrations and borderland dynamics.

In the past two decades, the paradigm in mainstream archaeology has also been shifting, and archaeologists such as Burmeister (2000) have tried to find a way forward in proving migration in archaeology. Burmeister did this by focusing on material culture from the private sphere, which lacked social significance and could not be used for prestige purposes. This model draws from Bourdieu's (1977) distinction between an external domain of social life, which would constitute a habitus of contact and innovation, and an internal domain, which would constitute a habitus of tradition. Since the internal domain of social life is inherently conservative, it is likely that migrating groups brought traces of their material culture from the private sphere along to their target destination. Identifying these traces may serve to establish new models of migration, an approach that has been adopted by archaeologists such as Theuws (2009), Van Thienen (2016) and Heeren (2017), who argued that small groups of 'barbarian' newcomers may have infiltrated Late Roman Gaul over the course of several generations.[11]

Here it should be stressed that this model of protracted small-scale infiltration and settlement is not incompatible with the linguistic evidence of toponomy and loanword studies (see also Udolph 1995). In many regards, this would simply mean that the process of the 'Fränkische Landnahme', which earlier generations of scholars assumed had taken place within a few generations, now should be stretched out over the better part of two centuries

[11] We may note that this shift in the archaeological debate, i.e. the return of migration as an explanation for trans-cultural diffusion, does not necessarily entail a shift on how archaeologists view the relationship between ethnic groups and identity (see e.g. Hall 2012).

and envisioned as the outcome of successive waves of immigrants. Intimately tied up with the question of Germanic migration and Gallo-Roman continuity is the issue of language contact and identity, which will be revisited in chapter 4. In this regard, it is interesting to note that some historians and archaeologists are opening up to the idea that evidence for language shift and accelerated linguistic change might relate to questions of migration and societal continuity (e.g. Roymans & Heeren 2017: 4; Heather 2017: 33; Deckers 2017).

1.5 Roman transformation and Germanic infiltration

The view that the fifth-century Roman state collapsed under the momentum of invading barbarian armies who tore apart the political unity of the empire, is at least partly vindicated by the Late Antique sources, which indicate that the western Roman field armies suffered heavy losses and are unanimously vocal about the horrors of the fifth century (Heather 2017: 29). It cannot be denied that there is a wide range of fifth-century sources that recount the atrocities committed by the barbarian armies. This led some historians to voice the opinion that, whatever mechanisms of acculturation and integration may have been at play, the invasions of the Germanic peoples in the fifth century must have been "very unpleasant for the Roman population" (cf. Ward-Perkins 2003: 10). The historian Penny MacGeorge, in her study 'Late Roman Warlords', expressed the same opinion when she remarked that "scholars who envisage the process of ethnic and political change as consisting of peaceful interaction and acculturation hold the most optimistic and naïve notions of human behavior" (MacGeorge 2002: 164).

The geographical scope and density of Germanic settlement has been studied by Germanicists and Romanists for over a century (Gamillscheg 1970; Wartburg 1950b; Petri 1973). At first glance it might seem like Germanic place-names in France provide incontrovertible evidence in favor of the settlement of Germanic-speaking peoples. However, some historians working within the 'transformation of the Roman world paradigm' have sought to deemphasize the historical implications of this onomastic research by problematizing the link between identity and name-giving and being skeptical of the historicity of reconstructed linguistic forms (see for example Halsall 1995: 9-12). This has led to an uncomfortable stalemate that is aptly characterized by the following quote from philologist and toponymist Matthew Townend, who stated that students of Early Medieval migration history can be divided in two camps, namely "those who believe in linguistic evidence and those who do not" (Townend 2000: 89).

On the linguistic side of the argument, we may point to De Planhol, who, in his 1994 handbook on the historical geography of France, rightly remarks that "the renaming of many rural estates and the appearance of new forms of names composed according to the rules of Germanic syntax are only compatible with the presence and determining influence of new peoples" (De Planhol 1994: 61). One of the great achievements of the study of Germanic toponyms in the former Roman Empire has been its ability to sketch the geographic dimensions where Germanic settlement must have been relatively dense (see De Planhol 1994: 66-67; Pitz & Schorr 2003: 75; Besse 2000). Especially the expansion of settlement names in *-ingum* is relevant in this regard, since scholars have consistently argued that this naming fashion is connected to the settlement of Germanic-speaking peoples in post-Roman Gaul. This expansion is commonly dated to the early Merovingian period (Wartburg 1939; Gysseling 1960; Blok 1965) and represents a contiguous Germanic naming pattern that is densest to the north of the Somme – Aisne line. Here we should note that this scholarly position has stood the test of time and is still held by modern toponymists (cf. Rash 2002: Besse 2000; Pitz 2004).[12] In my opinion, it seems unwise to ignore this compelling evidence; especially since there are very few written sources that survive from this period, and those that do, remain frustratingly vague about the demographics involved in barbarian settlement.

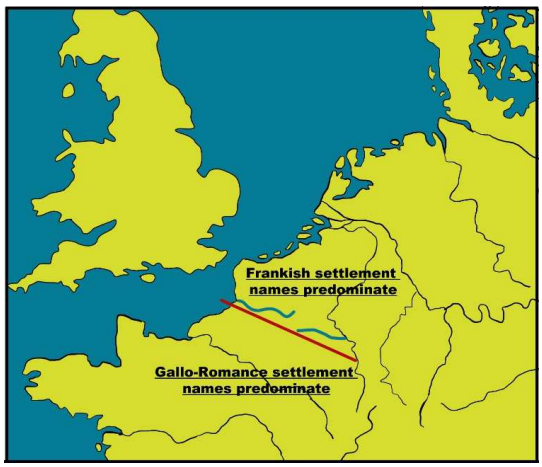

Figure 2 the Somme - Aisne line

Several scholars in Old Germanic Studies have critiqued the new paradigm for rejecting any 'Germanic' contribution to the Early Middle Ages. Herwig Wolfram (2006) has provided multiple replies to Goffart's insistence that the barbarian origin myths were contemporary 'inventions of history' that belong to the realm of fiction. He rightly remarks that the barbarian origin myths contain legendary material with analogues in North Germanic mythology, showing that genuine folk traditions must have played a role in their composition. He is joined by the Danish archaeologist Lotte Hedeager, who attempts to interpret 'barbarian' material culture by looking for leads in North Germanic mythology. In her 2011 book '*Iron Age Myth and Materiality: an Archaeology of Scandinavia AD 400-1000*', she almost completely ignores the 'transformation of the Roman world' paradigm, and states that the writers of the barbarian histories "depicted their own past in a way that had meaning for

[12] For a modern view on the related question of the *-ingas and *-ingahaim-toponyms, see Deckers (2012).

them, using their own criteria of accuracy and concrete representation" (Hedeager 2011: 45). Hedeager holds that the material culture of the Germanic-speaking north provided an ideological code for a warrior identity that contrasted with the urban cultures of the Late Roman empire. This ideological code consisted of the cultivation of Germanic origin myths, the championing of Germanic customary law and the proliferation of Germanic bracteates and runic inscriptions. We may note that her theory sharply contrasts with the widely-held view among historians that the acceptance of a unifying Germanic identity is "an absurd idea" (cf. Halsall 2006: 283).

It must be said that there are also scholars within the 'Transformation of the Roman world' paradigm, who argue for a reappraisal of the barbarian side of the narrative. Michael Richter has been an important advocate for this revision. In his 1994 book '*The Formation of the Medieval West*', he shifted the focus back to the illiterate north. He rightly remarks that "since our sources come overwhelmingly from the Roman side, the barbarian dimensions tend to get obliterated" (Richter 1994: 26). Richter stresses the point that the barbarian identities of the Migration Age played an important part in the construction of Early Medieval statehood. Consequently, the barbarian perspective should at least be granted "as fair a hearing as possible" (cf. Richter 1994: 44).

Understandably, the view that there was no recognition of a common heritage among the Germanic-speaking peoples in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages has also been opposed by Germanic philologists. A notable example is Leonard Neidorf (2013), who criticized the new paradigm for failing to offer a substantial engagement with over a hundred years of philological scholarship. In an ingenious article defending the early dating of the Old English *Widsith* poem, Neidorf argued that the theory that Germanic epic poetry reflects a common Germanic heritage "has become unfashionable, but nothing has rendered it improbable" (Neidorf 2013: 178). According to Neidorf, the traditional paradigm of Old Germanic Studies offers a better model for explaining the idiosyncrasies of Germanic epic poetry than a paradigm which treats the idea of a shared Germanic heritage as a nineteenth-century delusion.

Likewise, the 'Transformation of the Roman world' paradigm fails to incorporate into its interpretative models the few vernacular text monuments from the Migration Age that do survive and fails to discuss how these text monuments relate to the use of vernacular languages as an expression of political power and sociocultural identity.

This is made painfully clear by how historians and archaeologists tend to ignore the runic inscriptions when discussing Late Antique and Early Medieval culture. Another area where the paradigm falls short, is the treatment of Gothic literacy. Whereas no other Germanic-speaking people has left behind a substantial corpus of vernacular text monuments dating back to the Migration Age, the Gothic language was put to writing in the fourth century when a part of the Gothic population was converted to Christianity by the bishop

Wulfila. The fourth-century Gothic Bible translation became a symbol of power and identity in the sixth-century Ostrogothic kingdom of Theoderic the Great (cf. Bigus 2011). Linguistic evidence which provides a non-Latinate window on Ostrogothic Italy is rarely cited by historians or gets dismissed as being unconvincing (cf. Wolfe 2014).

Although most historians treat the Gothic Bible translation as a circumstantial survival of one vernacular book, [13] the surviving Gothic text monuments indicate that Ostrogothic chancelleries were producing a vast range of texts in the Gothic language. Papyrus slips with signature statements in Gothic, a Gothic homily on the gospel of John, and a recently found Gothic religious tractate (Falluomini 2014) all indicate that the range of Gothic literacy exceeded that of the mere copying of Bible manuscripts. Also intriguing is the Gothic Bible verse inscribed on the Hács-Bendékpuszta lead tablet found in a sixth-century Hungarian grave, to which no historian has yet provided a substantial commentary.

Finally, we may consider a compelling piece of historical linguistic evidence. In my opinion, it is striking that all the West Germanic languages possessed a concept that when referring to the inhabitants of the Roman Empire (regardless of whether they were Romance or Celtic speaking), clearly conflated the categories of foreigner and non-Germanic-speaking individual (cf. Schrijver 2014: 20). This concept would be tied to the Germanic term **walha-*, which is attested in all West Germanic languages and whose antiquity is therefore beyond question. In Old English, the reflexes of the West Germanic word function as an ethnonym, a glossonym and a social category for unfree and land-bound individuals (cf. OE *walas* 'foreigners', *wealh* 'foreigner, slave', *wīln* 'female slave'). In the West Germanic languages it is mainly used as an ethnonym and a glossonym (cf. OHG *walah* 'Roman, foreigner', *welhisk* 'Romance'), although also here connotations of inferiority might have been present, as is hinted at in the Old High German Kassel conversations (*tole sint uualha, luzic ist spahe in uualhum* 'the Romance-speakers are stupid, there is little wisdom among the Romance-speakers', Braune-Ebbinghaus 1994: 9). This evidence implies that the Germanic term **walha-* functioned as a marker of cultural and linguistic otherness and that the Germanic-speaking peoples conflated these categories in their confrontation with the inhabitants of the Roman empire.

I contend that all this evidence sharply contradicts the insistence of historians that the Germanic languages played no or little role in the identity and culture of the barbarian invaders.

[13] We may note that Michael Richter in his treatment of Ostrogothic identity in sixth-century Italy, ignores the production of texts in the Gothic language as evidence for a contrasting 'barbarian' identity (cf. Richter 1994: 21-25). This is surprising since Richter, although often invoking the phrase 'transformation of the Roman world', generally tries to highlight the barbarian 'contribution' to the Migration Age, paying due notice to Germanicist scholarship on Germanic literature.

1.6 Language and the Roman border zone

The following outlines my view on the connection between the Germanic languages and barbarian identities in the transition from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages. It is my contention that the northern border of the Roman Empire played a significant role in constructing and transforming the ethno-linguistic identities of the peoples on either side of the border. Following Anthony (2007), who argued for a strong correlation between language and persistent cultural frontiers, I contend that the Roman political border at the river Rhine constituted exactly such a persistent frontier. It was at the northern Roman border that contrasting material-cultures and socio-economic networks may have survived long enough to lead to an opposition of different ethno-linguistic identities.

Before the Romans established a border defense line at the river Rhine in the first century CE, Gaulish and Germanic peoples, irrespective of their linguistic identities, shared a subsistence economy of husbandry and open field agriculture (cf. Roymans 1990). Their material cultures were highly similar, and the evidence for language and culture contact between Gaulish and Germanic-speaking populations is substantial (see Green 1988). When the Roman army reached the banks of the river Rhine and established border garrisons in order to defend the Dutch river delta as part of the northern imperial border, a sharp cultural and socio-economic contrast arose. The encampment of thousands of Roman soldiers demanded a steady supply of provisions which could not be provided by traditional methods of agriculture. The need for surplus production prompted the establishment of large farming estates in the southern part of Germania inferior and the north of Belgica Secunda (Kooistra 1996: 9; Heeren 2017); these farming estates were managed by Roman colonists and supplied the provisions needed for the logistics of the Roman border troops (De Planhol 1994: 49). The range of this colonist settlement is marked by Roman place-names such as *vīlla* 'estate', *castellum* 'fort', *spīcārium* 'barn', *vīcus* 'homestead' and *māceria* 'enclosure', whose distribution closely follows the Roman roads and border fortresses (Schmitt 1996: 477). Also the presence of Romance toponyms in the Dutch river area, such as *Tricht*, *Wadenooijen* and *Kesteren*, may be ascribed to these Romance-speaking colonists of the first centuries CE (cf. Schrijver 2014: 153-54).[14]

These Roman colonists constituted a homogenous ethno-linguistic identity complex, whose *romanitas* was continually reinforced by the presence of the Roman army and the settlement of Roman traders and veterans in the frontier zone (cf. Adams 2007: 22; Schrijver 2014: 141-43). Their variety of the Latin language may have had some features of colonial

[14] We should, however, note that the persistence of the toponyms into the Early Middle Ages does not necessarily imply continuity of habitation. It only implies a *traditio nominarum* from the Romance-speaking name-givers to the Germanic-speaking newcomers (see also Heeren 2017: 171).

dialects, as outlined by the sociolinguist Peter Trudgill (1983, 2010), and would have formed a strong ethno-linguistic counterpart to the non-Latin varieties on the other side of the border. Although the ethno-linguistic frontier which developed at this political boundary was at all times permeable, with traders and merchants travelling far and wide across it, the different socio-economic functional zones of the Roman empire on the one hand and the barbarian chiefdoms on the other would have fed and accentuated the contrasts of the ethno-linguistic boundary. The persistence of this robust ethno-linguistic frontier is illustrated by the fact that the present-day Romance–Germanic language border from the Belgian coast to Switzerland runs parallel to the Roman limes of the first century CE (see Van Durme 2002: 12).

It is my contention that, in the same way that Roman identity in the frontier zone was fed by a continuous stream of new soldiers and settlers, the barbarian chiefdoms at the frontier, depending on the opportunities of the moment, could look to their northern linguistic relatives in Germany and Denmark for cultural capital. When the Roman border defense faltered during the Crisis of the Third Century (235-284 CE), Germanic-speaking peoples at the *limes* increasingly adopted a discourse of otherness which drew strength from the linguistic and cultural heritage of the Germanic-speaking north. There seem to be two developments crossing each other: on the one hand, many Germanic tribesmen enlisted in the Roman army and became part of Late Roman society. On the other hand, Late Antique Germanic warrior culture, as argued by Hedeager (2011), was marked by non-Roman identity markers such as the use of the runic alphabet, Germanic style burial practices and the manufacturing of bracteates (MacGeorge 2002: 141). In the context of the Crisis of the Third Century, northern Gaul was at multiple occasions overrun by these raiding barbarian war bands. In order to improve the border defense, the Roman military exchanged the defense line at the Rhine for a new row of fortresses through northern Gaul (cf. Van Durme 1996: 168). These fortifications followed the Roman road from Boulogne-sur-Mer to Courtrai and Tongeren and were complemented by the fortification of hilltops and the restoration of town walls (Brulet 2017: 51-53). Together they constituted a more dynamic means of reacting to border incursions by Germanic raiding parties (Van Durme 2002: 11; Schrijver 2014: 142).

It is not unthinkable that the establishment of this new defense line in the third century brought along a major reinforcement of the Late Latin language in present-day Belgium. It seems reasonable to assume that the influx of new Romance speaking soldiers and the establishment of new supply lines for the army garrisons will have prompted any remaining communities that held on to Gaulish to make the switch to Gallo-Romance.[15]

[15] In my opinion, this could be one of the main reasons why the Belgian language border runs along the fourth century defense line; we might here not be dealing with a Romance line of retreat, but rather with a reinforced line of Romance speaking communities in the middle of Belgium; along this line, the Early Medieval bilingualism of northern Gaul may have stabilized.

Now that the northern border was no longer a military defense line, but rather a military defense zone, the Gallo-Roman countryside was infiltrated by land-seeking immigrants and treaty-bound Germanic colonists (*dediticii* or *foederati*), who may have left traces in the form of the fourth century 'Reihengräber' (row-graves) burial practice (MacGeorge 2002: 140). When the Germanic colonists settled there, the Latin variety of Roman Gaul was still spoken. This is shown by the transmission of Gallo-Roman (both Gaulish and Romance) names for settlements and fields to the new Germanic-speaking populace, e.g. southern Dutch *kamp, kouter* and *bruul* < Gallo-Rom. **kampos* 'field', **koltura* 'cultivated acre', **brogilos* 'enclosed area' (cf. Kempeneers 1993; Van Durme 1996). Eventually however, the combined force of war and foreign occupation had far-reaching consequences: a contraction of the acreages under cultivation and a considerable drop in population (De Planhol 1994: 67). The archaeological record shows that, in the course of the fourth century, many Roman estates on the northern border were abandoned (Kooistra 1996: 10; Heeren 2017). From the historical records, we learn that emperor Julian, for the campaigning season of 358 CE, needed to bring grain from Britain in order to feed his troops, showing that the farmlands of the Rhine border no longer provided these provisions (cf. Heather 2017: 22). Recent research has shown that in some parts of the northern border zone there was continuity of human habitation (Cf. Van Thienen 2016). However, in many other parts of the Rhine frontier zone, the villas and fields, that once formed the lifelines for the Roman border troops, fell into disuse and forests sprawled in all directions (Tummers 1962: 8; De Planhol 1994: 68).

In the century that followed, Roman Gaul was transformed from a Roman province into an inward-looking society of Gallo-Roman warlords and estate-holders (Drinkwater & Elton 1992; Esmonde Cleary 2013: 42-96). As the northern border defense was completely abandoned in 410 CE, the political geography of the region changed drastically (Drinkwater 1992: 216). The sources indicate that many influential Gallo-Roman aristocrats fled south to Italy and Spain (Mathisen 1992: 228-230). The estate-holders that stayed tightened their grip on their land-bound peasants (Latin *coloni*). Some of the local aristocrats withdrew from Roman society altogether, and established independent communities defended by peasant militias (Drinkwater 1992: 214-215). In the contemporary sources, these independent Gallo-Roman rulers, who are likened to barbarians, are called Bacaudae.[16] An intriguing insight into their barbarian society is offered by a fifth-century comedy known as the *Querolus sive Aulularia* ('the complainer or the history of the pot'). In this text, life, north of the river Loire, from the perspective of a southern Gallo-Roman aristocrate, is described as follows.

> "Go, live at the river Loire! Men live there under the law of barbarians. There is no trickery there. Capital sentences are performed on the oak tree and written on bones.

[16] It should be noted that the name *bacaudai* is Gaulish in origin (Gaul. **bagatai* 'warriors', cf. OIr. *bág* 'fight'), and this might be a significant fact in itself. It is possible this word belonged to the Gaulish language that was spoken by socially marginal Gallo-Roman countrymen (or at least a Romance basilect with a heavy Gaulish element). It seems likely that *bacaudai* originally referred to the Gallo-Roman war bands during the Crisis of the Third Century.

There even peasants perorate and common folk pronounce judgment. You can do anything you like there." (Querolus I, 15: line 7-12[17])

Although it is problematic to take this anecdote at face value (after all it comes from a comedy play in which exaggeration and hyperbole are to be expected), it is possible that the passage was considered humorous by the contemporaries exactly because it was recognizable.

It should come as no surprise that it is there, in northern Gaul, that discontinuity from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages is most evident. Even the northern Gallo-Roman cities, for which a continuity of habitation is borne out by the archaeological record, suffered dearly in this period. This is illustrated by the disruption of the bishop lists of the northern Gallo-Roman dioceses of Tournai, Noyon, Cambrai, Vermandois, and Arras in the fourth and fifth centuries, indicating that for a time the religious topography of the region was severely damaged. An early sixth-century hagiography recounts that the city of Arras was still in ruins when saint Vedastis visited it around the year 500 CE (Vita Vedastis c. 6). There is also archaeological evidence that Gallo-Roman settlements underwent a change in use with the abandonment of traditional Gallo-Roman building styles and the adoption of Germanic-type rectangular wooden halls (MacGeorge 2002: 140; see also Van Thienen 2016: 89).

Another interesting indication that Roman authority in Gaul was severely disrupted by the barbarian invasions, is the mention in the Early Medieval sources of a late fifth-century Gallo-Roman kingdom centered around the city of Soissons. This kingdom was ruled by autonomous Gallo-Roman warlords who had few to no ties to Italy or Byzantium (MacGeorge 2002: 80). Although some historians working in the continuity paradigm have doubted the existence of the kingdom of Soissons (cf. James 1988; Wijnendaele 2016), MacGeorge has convincingly defended the concept of at least an autonomous Gallo-Roman chiefdom (MacGeorge 2002: 135-36); its existence is corroborated by an early sixth-century text, featuring a list of Gallo-Roman kings (*de regibus romanorum,* see also MacGeorge 2002: 80), which starts with a certain Alanius in the early fifth century and ending with Syagrius, the Gallo-Roman warlord who was defeated by Hlodoweh (Latin *Chlothoveus*[18]), the king of the Salian Franks, in 486 CE. This evidence supports the view that, at some moment in the fifth century, northern Gaul had been politically separated from the rest of the Western Empire.[19]

The disjointing of northern Gaul from the Western Empire is best envisaged as a process that began with the abandonment of the Rhine defense in 410 CE, and was completed

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[17] "*vade, ad Ligerem vivito. Illic jure gentium vivunt homines. Ibi nullum est praestigium; ibi sententiae de robore capitales proferuntur et scribuntur in ossibus; illic rustici etiam perorant et privati judicant. Ibi totum licet: si dives fueris*" (cf. Havet 1880: 217-18). For a German translation, see Emrich (1965: 69).

[18] The Latinized Frankish name *Chlothovechus* is here normalized as Hlodoweh; this normalization is chosen to reflect the Romance-influenced pronunciation that is implied by the Latinate spelling, i.e. Gm. **Hludawīg* > **Hlodoweh.*

[19] Procopius' remark that in the early sixth century, Roman soldiers were still serving as border troops in northern Gaul (Goth. 1.12.16-19) should therefore be treated with suspicion and may merely represent an outsider's perspective on the Roman military styles that persisted in that area (*contra* Wijnendaele 2016: 193).

in the mid fifth century in the power vacuum left by the campaigns of Attila. There is convincing evidence that suggests that even southern Gaul came to feel separated from the Late Roman state in the second half of the fifth century. The Gallo-Roman prefect Arvandus was tried in Rome in 469 CE for treason since he had written to the Visigothic king Theoderic that Gaul should be divided between the Burgundians, the Goths and the Gallo-Romans.[20] In the same letter, he refers to the western emperor Anthemius (467-472 CE) as a 'Greek ruler' with whom no peace should be sought (Sidonius Apollinaris, letter to Vincentius, line 5; Anderson 1936: 371).

It seems tempting to connect the autonomy of Gaul in the late fifth century with the Anglo-Saxon habit of calling the Gallo-Romans *Galwalas* 'the Gaul foreigners', thereby distinguishing them from the *Rumwalas* 'the Rome foreigners', who may have belonged to an earlier epoch. We may also note the relatively minor role that the Romans played in Germanic epic poetry in general, whether it be Anglo-Saxon or Old Norse. Whereas many Germanic warlords of different barbarian nations feature in the poems about the Migration Age, no Roman generals are named. Indeed, Romans are seldom named at all, the exception being a list of kings in the Old English *Widsith* poem (*Widsith* 76-78) and the Old Norse 'Hunnenslachtlied' (*Saga Heiðreks konungs ins Vitra* c. 10). It could well be that this relative invisibility of the Late Roman state in Germanic epic poetry reflects the final stage of the fifth century, a period in which the Roman empire had already been dismembered.

1.7 Language in Migration Age Gaul

Now that I have expounded my view on the ethno-linguistic dynamics at play in Migration Age Europe, we may turn to fifth-century Gaul for a closer look at the linguistic situation. Here it should be mentioned that fifth century Gaul must have been a multilingual melting pot. We can reasonably assume that in the course of the fifth century the following languages were spoken in Gaul:

1. Late Latin or Gallo-Romance dialects were spoken by the Gallo-Roman population.
2. British Celtic was spoken by the British refugees on the Breton peninsula
3. North-Sea Germanic (Ingvaeonic) dialects were spoken by the Saxons and Frisians on the northwestern French coast, the *litus saxonicum.*
4. Continental West Germanic dialects were spoken by the Franks and Alamans in northern and eastern France.

[20] It is a distinct possibility that the Gallo-Roman prefect Arvandus (< Gm. **arhʷand,* cf. Goth. *arhvazna* 'arrow') is to be identified with a certain Sagittarius, who is addressed in another letter of Sidonius (liber II, epistula IV, cf. Anderson 1936: 438-441).

5. East Germanic dialects were spoken by the Visigoths and Vandals during their trek to Spain, and by the Burgundians who settled in Central Gaul after their relocation from the Rhineland.
6. North-East Iranian languages were spoken by the Alans and Sarmatians during their trek to Spain.
7. A Semitic language was in all likelihood spoken by the Syrians who were active as merchants in the southern Gallo-Roman towns.
8. An East Germanic dialect was spoken by the Burgundians in eastern France.
9. Proto-Turkic and Proto-Mongolian were spoken by the Huns during their campaign through Gaul.
10. Old Aquitanian or Pre-Basque was spoken in southern Aquitaine and the Pyrenees.
11. Remaining pockets of continental Celtic (Gaulish) may have survived in isolated areas of Roman Gaul.

Unfortunately, we find little traces of this multilingualism in the historical texts. Although Early Medieval authors viewed language as a distinctive part of ethnicity,[21] they rarely go into details when commenting on the foreign languages of the barbarians.

Sidonius Apollinaris (431-489 CE), an important witness to the political events of fifth-century Gaul, comments on several occasions on the language of the invaders. In one of his poems, he laments the fact that he has to suffer the Germanic words of Burgundian poetry (carmen 12). In another poem (carmen 8), he pokes fun of the Gallo-Roman aristocrat Syagrius (a popular Gallo-Roman name) for knowing better Burgundian than the Burgundians themselves. Only once, Sidonius comments on the use of a specific Germanic word. It may not be a coincidence that the word in question is the term *vargus** (Epistula 6.4), referring to a brigand or bandit. This word is well-known from Old English and Old Norse (cf. OE *wearg,* ON *vargr* 'wolf, criminal'), and also occurs in the Merovingian redactions of the Salic Law.

Another contemporary author who mentions the language of one of the barbarian peoples that marched through Gaul is Procopius, a sixth-century Byzantine author. In his *History of the Wars* (book III, c. 2, 1-8), he states that the Vandals use the same language as the Goths and that this language is also known as Gothic. He presumes that, because of this shared language, the Vandals and Goths must originally have sprung from one tribe. The similarities between the Old Germanic languages were also noted by Paul the Deacon who, in reference to the epic poems about the Langobardic hero Alboin, mentions that the Bavarians, Saxons and Langobards are people of the same language who sing the same songs (*History of the Langobards* 1, 27). From the Carolingian period onwards, more comments on the vernaculars

[21] For example, Saint Augustine remarks that there are more *gentes* than languages, because from one language more *gentes* sprang forth (*De Civitate Dei* 16, 6). This view is followed by Isidore of Sevilla (*Etymologiae* 9, 1, 1).

of the Germanic-speaking peoples have survived.[22] Most of these use the Latinate term *teudiscus* to refer to the complex of Germanic vernaculars (see Weisgerber 1953); this *teudiscus* was a Latinized form of a Gallo-Romance word (cf. OFr. *tiedeis* 'Germanic vernacular'), that was in turn borrowed from the Germanic word **þiudiska-* 'of the people' (see section 2.5).

1.8 The Franks

At the end of the fifth century CE, the language of the Franks quickly became the most important foreign language in the Gallo-Roman provinces. The Franks are first encountered in a third-century panegyric (*Panegyrici Latini* VIII (V) 9.3) for the Roman emperor Constantius Chlorus (Roman emperor from 293-306 CE, see Boone 1954). In all likelihood, they were a confederation of Germanic-speaking border groups (in Latin sources referred to as *Chauki*, *Chamavi*, *Chatti*, *Warni*) living along the lower reaches of the river Rhine, who in the course of the third century adopted the name **frank-* as a new self-designation, whose etymology remains obscure (cf. Seebold 2003: 32). In the panegyric for Constantius Chlorus, it is recounted that the Franks were settled as Roman dependents (Latin *deditici*) on the Betuwe island in the year 293 CE. Another piece of evidence comes from the historian Zosimus who tells us that the Franks were driven from the Betuwe by a band of marauding Saxons (*Historia Nova* III 6). Around 340 CE, emperor Constantius would have settled them under treaty in Toxandria, the sandy grounds of the present-day provinces of Brabant in the southern Netherlands and northern Belgium. The fourth-century author Ammianus Marcellinus provides us with some valuable additional information, when he discusses the border wars of the Roman emperor Julian the Apostate around the year 357 CE (*Rerum Gestarum*, book 17, c. 8). Ammianus Marcellinus tells us that the Franks in this region call themselves Salii, a name also encountered in a Greek letter of Julian himself who speaks of *Salioi* (*Letter to the Athenians* 8). The Germanicist Matthias Springer has convincingly argued that the name *Salii* derives from the Germanic word **saljan-* 'companion, fellow' (cf. OHG *gisellio* 'companion'), and refers to the military organization of this Germanic-speaking confederation (Springer 1997: 66). Even though many scholars use the designation Salian Franks as a way of distinguishing them from the Ripuarian Franks, Springer (1997: 69-70) made it clear that the contemporary sources do not justify this use of the term. The term 'Salius' strictly belongs to the fourth and fifth century; in the Merovingian period, it is no longer used as an ethnic designation, and only occurs in the context of the Salic Law. We should note that this does not incapacitate the distinction between western Franks and eastern Franks in Migration Age Gaul. This distinction clearly plays a role in the sixth-century writings of Gregory of Tours. It also seems to have foreshadowed the seventh-century division of the Merovingian kingdom into a

[22] Interestingly enough, Carolingian writers were fascinated by the traces of Gothic literacy that they encountered in northern Italy. Smaragd of Saint Mihiel, Frechulf of Lisieux and Walahfrid Strabo all considered the Old High German of the Franks to be the same language as the Gothic manuscripts of the Migration Age.

western realm (Neustria < Gm. **niujist-* 'newest realm' or **nehstrija-* 'nearest realm'[23]) and an eastern realm (Austria < **austra-* 'east realm', see De Planhol 1994: 81).

In the course of the fifth century, the Salian Franks entered the Flemish coastal plains and the Ardennes, and one group established a kingdom around the Gallo-Roman city of Tournai. Gregory of Tours recounts that similar Frankish kingdoms existed in Cambrai and Cologne.[24] The first Frankish king to come clearly into the light of history is named Hilderic (Latin *Childericus*), a Frankish warlord who competed with the Gallo-Roman kingdom of Soissons for overlordship over northern Gaul. The hagiography of saint Genovefa makes it clear that Hilderic was able to raid as far south as the city of Paris. Hilderic's grave, discovered in 1653 CE, gives us an idea of how the cultural outlook of these fifth-century Franks was caught between two world (cf. Esmonde Cleary 2013: 383); the royal grave of Hilderic included elements (e.g. horse depositions) that can be linked to Germanic pre-Christian burials between the Elbe and Rhine river, but also elements (e.g. a Roman signet ring and Roman coinage) that link it to the urban and military culture of Late Roman Gaul. Childeric's son, king Hlodoweh, eventually deposed the last Gallo-Roman king in northern Gaul (ca. 486 CE) and expanded the Frankish realm up to the river Loire.

1.9 The Germanic linguistic identity of the Franks

When the Franks settled on the northern Gallo-Roman countryside, they brought along their Continental West Germanic dialect. The possible influence that the Frankish language may have had on Gallo-Romance through the mechanisms of language contact constitutes a long debate in Romance and Germanic linguistics, which will be explored more fully in chapter 4. Here I will give an overview of the remarks by the historical contemporaries and explore some new data that may contain clues as to the fate of spoken Frankish.

As stated above, Latinate sources rarely comment on the language of the Germanic-speaking foreigners; the Franks, unfortunately, are no exception. Venantius Fortunatus, a sixth-century Italian aristocrat who settled in the city of Poitiers, is one of the few contemporary writers who speaks about the Frankish language in Gaul. Among the many panegyrics to the Frankish kings that Venantius composed, several comment on the use of the Frankish language.

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[23] Gysseling (1960:737) argues for an etymology Gm. **nebastrija-* to a purported Gm. **nebas-* 'mist', so that the Frankish realm was divided into a "mist-land" and a "dawn-land" but this hardly seems credible.

[24] It should be mentioned that almost all our information on this part of Frankish history is dependent on the sixth-century texts of Gregory of Tours, who wrote more than 150 years later after these events occurred. He himself seems to have been dependent on several Late Roman histories by Sulpicius Alexander and Renatus Profuturus Frigeridus that have not survived.

1. In a panegyric on King Haribert (Latin *Charibertus*), the king's fluency in the language of the Gallo-Romans is praised, and Fortunatus wonders how much greater the king's eloquence must be in his own language (*carmen* 6.2, George 1995: 95-101).
2. In a panegyric on King Hilperic (Latin *Chilpericus*), the king's aptitude in understanding many languages is praised. It is noted that he does not use an interpreter (*carmen* 9.1, George 1995: 27-30).
3. In the same panegyric, Venantius Fortunatus comments on the meaning of Hilperic's name, translating it as '*adiutor fortis*' ('strong helper', George 1995: 77-78).

In several other contexts, Venantius Fortunatus refers to the foreign habits of the Germanic-speaking Franks. His assertion that Germanic runes on ash wood are just as well able to convey a written message as a letter on papyrus (*Carmen* 7, 18), is a valuable witness to the Frankish knowledge of the runic alphabet (see Düwel 2001: 203). The anecdote on King Hilperic adding Greek letters to the Latin alphabet, as recounted by Gregory of Tours (History of the Franks, book V, c. 44), probably indicates that the Franks were uncomfortable with writing their Frankish names in Latin orthography (Sims-Williams 1992: 30; *contra* Riché 1962: 268-269). Venantius Fortunatus also comments on the Frankish practice of singing songs called *leudos* (cf. OHG *liot* 'song'), distinguishing them from the Latin *versiculos* that he composes (*Epistula* 7.8, to Duke Lupus; George 1995: 69). In sum, the writings of Fortunatus Venantius clearly show that in the late sixth century, almost a century after their settlement in northern Gaul, the Franks were still speaking their Germanic language.

How long the Frankish language was used in Gaul after the sixth century is a moot point in Germanic and Romance linguistics (De Grauwe 2003: 96; Flobert 2002). It seems likely that a Frankish gloss is present in a seventh-century Irish glossary (cf. Herren 2013: 102): "*blinn auga .i. dallsuilech in lingua galleorum*" (*blinn auga* this is 'blind' in the language of the Galloromans). Another reference to the fate of West Frankish may be found in an anecdote recounted by Bede in his 'Ecclesiastical History' (*Eccl.Hist*. XXV). There it is recounted that the Frankish bishop Agilbert, who originally came from northwestern France, let the Anglo-Saxon priest Wilfrid speak for him at the synod of Whitby in 664, because he felt that an Anglo-Saxon could explain things better than he could do through an interpreter (see also Fjaldall 2005: 18-19). Here we could assume that the mutual incomprehensibility between Anglo-Saxon and Frankish was the linguistic hurdle, which Agilbert struggled with. However, it is also possible that Agilbert was hindered by Gallo-Romance as his native language and not so much by Frankish. Since Bede does not explicitly state Agilbert's native language, there is no way to be certain whether the anecdote really refers to West Frankish.

It is my contention that a late testimony to the use of West Frankish in northern Gaul may be present in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, where we find several remarkable Old English forms of French toponyms. Whereas the first compilation of the chronicle was undertaken in the ninth century (ca. 891 CE), the Easter tables on which the compilation was based may

have been considerably older, the practice of adding historical information to Easter tables dating back as far as the seventh century CE (cf. Bately 2003: 16). The entry for the year 659 offers a peculiar linguistic form for the French city of Paris:

"*se Ægelbryght onfeng Persa biscopdomes on Galwalum bi Signe*"

"this Ægelbryght received the see of Paris in France on the river Seine."

In all other Anglo-Saxon texts, the name for the city of Paris reads *Paris* in Old English which must reflect an Early Old French **Parisəs* (Dietz 1993: 504-505). If we take the form *Persa* as a genitive plural in *–a,* it might reflect a genuine Old English ethnonym *Perse** 'Parisians'. In order to make this scenario work, we have to assume that the Anglo-Saxons adopted the Gallo-Roman name *Parisii* before the Migration Age, early enough to undergo umlaut (see also Wollmann 1990b: 516); they then must have kept the name in this indigenous form until it was recorded in a document that was integrated into the chronicle. We must also assume that at no point was this Anglo-Saxon form replaced by a younger Frankish form. This scenario is doubtful at best, especially since the form *Persa* displays a non-Old English syncope of /i/ after short root syllable (Campbell 1959: 144). Attributing these idiosyncrasies of the Anglo-Saxon name to a West Frankish donor form **Persa* [nom.pl.] < Gallo-Rom. **parisi* < Latin *parīsiī* (*contra* Dietz 1993: 505) should at least be considered as a viable alternative.[25] We should note that for the more northerly place-names *Gend* 'Ghent' (cf. MidDu. *Gent*) and *Bunan* 'Bologne-sur-Mer' (cf. MidDu. *Beunen*), which also occur in the chronicle, a Frankish donor form is not in doubt.

This is not the only French place-name in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle that shows an umlauted vowel, which is difficult to understand from an Old English perspective. Under the year 884, the northern French city of Amiens (Latin *Ambianense*) is rendered in Old English with *Embenum* [dat.pl.], presupposing an Old English ethnonym *Embene** 'inhabitants of Amiens'. As noted by Dietz (1993: 496), the place-name must have been borrowed from Gallo-Romance before the **mbj* > **ndʒ* sound change (cf. Gallo-Rom. **kambjáre* > OFr. *changer* 'to change', see section 3.38).[26]

In my opinion, it is a plausible scenario that also this place-name was borrowed by Old English from West Frankish, rather than being pre-migration Anglo-Saxon heritage. The umlaut of these place-names should then be attributed to West Frankish, which, in the case of Paris, finds support in the continental *Perisii* and *Perisiaca* spellings of the Merovingian period (e.g. *Epitoma Chronicon, Vita S. Martini*). Although umlaut in the continental Germanic dialects only phonemicized in the eighth century (Braune-Mitzka 1967: 26), the onset of the

[25] The view that the Old English form *Persa* reflects West Frankish was also propounded without further argumentation by George van Driem in his *Languages of the Himalayas* (2001: 183).

[26] There is however a distinct possibility that the place-name *Embenum* does not refer to Amiens, but rather to Angiens, a place close to the Norman coast. This possibility is neglected by Nègre (1996: 827) in his *Toponymie génerale de la France* in favour of a derivation from a romanized Germanic personal name **Anginus.*

phonetic mutation may already have been there in the seventh century (Buccini 2003: 193-94). Historians and archaeologists have noted that there were close ties between the West Frankish realm of Neustria and the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Kent in the seventh century (Lohaus 1974). The historian Ian Wood even claimed that the Frankish king Hlothar II (OE *Hlothere,* 584-630 CE) held overlordship by marriage over seventh-century Kent (Wood 1992). In this context, it is very well conceivable that West Frankish place-names were adopted in Anglo-Saxon England. Also, if inherited Anglo-Saxon forms for these Gallo-Roman towns still existed, they surely would have run the risk of being replaced in this context of intensive Kentish – Frankish political relations.

1.10 The Germanic cultural identity of the Franks

The settlement of the Franks in northern Gaul was accompanied by an intrusion of new styles of material culture that have been interpreted by archaeologists in different ways. Whereas early twentieth-century scholarship identified the intrusive styles as 'Germanic' and attributed their proliferation to the settlement of Germanic-speaking peoples, scholars working in the 'immobilism' paradigm have opted for an internal explanation.

This way, burial practices such as the row-grave cemeteries have been reinterpreted as a mere change of fashion, reflecting the more militarized nature of Gallo-Roman society (MacGeorge 2002: 140-141). However, the fourth-century appearance of grave mounds (*tumuli*) with burial chambers and lavish grave goods is hardly explicable as an internal Gallo-Roman development. Its distinctive non-Christian background is best connected to the intrusion of non-Christian Frankish warrior elites (MacGeorge 2002: 140; Soulat 2007). It is interesting to note that in the last decade, archaeologists have become more confident in linking fifth-century pottery through the chemical analysis of clay types to areas beyond the borders of the Roman Empire, thereby substantiating the hypothesis that 'Germanic' immigrants brought parts of their material culture from their home destination to their target destination (cf. Van Thienen 2016).

That being said, it is beyond doubt that the culture of the fifth-century Merovingian Franks contained aspects of a *Mischzivilization* (cf. Böhme 1974) in which 'Gallo-Roman' and 'Germanic' elements were part of a single but heterogeneous military frontier culture (Esmonde Cleary 2013: 376-86). This much was also clear from the grave of Childeric, that showed a dual orientation, containing elements tying it to the Roman military and to the Germanic cultures of northern Germany.

The most convincing example of an intrusive cultural practice that can reliably be connected to the linguistic identity of Germanic-speaking colonists, is the appearance of runic inscriptions in Merovingian Gaul. Although markings of a runic character are commonly found on Merovingian brooches and sword pommels, there are only six

inscriptions in southern Belgium, Luxembourg and France that can at present be read as Old Futhark runic text monuments. The readings are adopted from Findell (2012), but, as is common in the field of runology, the interpretations are disputed.

1. Arlon silver capsule (ca. 600 CE, prov. Luxembourg, Belgium):
   godun : ?ulo : þes : rasuwa mudwoþro??? (see Nedoma 1992: Findell 2012: 368)
2. Chéhéry gold disc fibula (ca. 500 CE, dep. Ardennes, France):
   DEOS : DE / E : ditan / sum?? (see Looijenga 2003: 264; Findell 2012: 386)
3. Charnay silver bow fibula (ca. 500 CE, row-gravefield, dep. Saône-et-Loire, France[27]):
   fuþarkwhnijïpzstbem / uþfnþai : id / dan : ?iano / ïia / k rca. (Findell 2021: 383-385)
4. Fréthun sword pommel (ca. 560 CE, dep. Pas-de-Calais, France)
   h ? e (see Findell 2012: 397).
5. Ichtratzheim silver spoon (ca. 600 CE, , dep. Bas-Rhin, France):
   Matteus **lapela abuda** (see Fischer e.a. 2013)
6. Saint-Dizier ring sword pommel[28] (ca. 525 CE, , dep. Haute-Marne, France):
   alu (see Findell 2012: 454)

The Swedish archaeologist Svante Fischer interprets the sixth-century Merovingian revival of runic literacy as an ideological dialogue with the cultures of northern Europe facilitated by the encounter with Latinate types of literacy (Fischer 2005: 161-162). If this is the case, the Merovingian runic monuments may constitute a Merovingian identity marker, which purposefully created a contrast with Christian Gallo-Roman culture. It was this contrast that was eloquently accentuated in Venantius Fortunatus' poem, in which he juxtaposed runic literacy along Latin literacy.

Another area where Frankish customs differed significantly from those of the population of northern Gaul, is the cultivation of a pre-Christian religion. The Frankish King Hlodoweh, after subjugating northern Gaul, abandoned this religion in the early sixth century. The former importance of this religion to the royal house is implied by the Merovingian origin myth that claims supernatural ancestry for Meroweh (Latin *Merovechus*), the eponymous ancestor of the royal dynasty (Chronicle of Pseudo-Fredegar,[29] book 3, c. 9). Although the historian Yitzhak Hen (1995) has attempted to deny the intrusion of non-

[27] The runic inscription of the Arguel pebble, is of disputed authenticity. Looijenga (2003: 223) considers it a falsification; the sole scholar defending its authenticity is Bizet (1964).

[28] The Saint-Dizier sword pommel is part of a seventh-century archaeological complex of runic ring swords which are found all over northern Gaul and in the neighboring Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Kent (Fischer & Soulat 2010). This distribution lines up with the theory that Merovingian and Kentish elites were intimately connected.

[29] It is often overlooked that the name of the supernatural being that sired Meroweh, given as *quinotauri* by the author of Pseudo-Fredegar's chronicle, can be understood as a Merovingian Latin spelling for Greek *Κένταυρος*, e.g. *quoinomento* < *cognomento* 'name, designation' in Pseudo-Fredegar's chronicle (cf. Devillers & Meyers 2001: 45). The dominant view among historians (cf. Richter 1994: 20) which regards this *quinotauri* as a bull-shaped entity, a *minotaurus,* is therefore unfounded.

Christian religions in northern Gaul, the contemporary sources are unanimous in their reports of non-Christian customs (see Dumézil 2005: 221). Gregory of Tours greatly elaborates on the conversion of King Hlodoweh in the late fifth century (History of the Franks II, c. 30), and gives several anecdotes in which sixth-century 'pagans' play a role, several of which feature the unwillingness of the Merovingian kings to directly intervene in favor of Christianity (Dumézil 2005: 222). This is in line with an anecdote of Procopius, who states that the Franks had only become Christian in name and that the Frankish army of Theodebert that invaded Italy in the year 539 CE sacrificed prisoners of war to their ancestral gods (History of the Wars IV, 35). Also hard to ignore are the Merovingian hagiographies that speak of a seventh-century Christianization of northern Gaul in the wake of the Columban monastic movement (Wood 1994: 312-14). The southern Gallo-Roman bishops Eligius and Amandus are received with much hostility when they start preaching around the Gallo-Roman cities of Noyon, Tournai, and Ghent. Noteworthy is the fact that Eligius is called "*romane*" by a Frankish magnate when he tried to break up a non-Christian festival (Vita Eligii, c. 20). This designation implies that in the seventh century the term '*Romanus*' could be used to make a cultural distinction between a northern Frank and a southern Gallo-Roman.[30] Finally, we may consider the recent dissertation by the Dutch archaeologist Martine van Haperen (2017), who has shown that Merovingian Frankish communities in the Low Countries were carefully reopening graves in order to take or add grave goods, which may hint at an observance of ancestor worship.

Some direct but unfortunately very fragmentary information about Frankish pre-Christian religion comes to us in a text, whose linguistic and historical value cannot be overstated. The text in question is the early sixth-century Latin codification of Frankish customary law known as the '*Pactus Legis Salicae*'.

1.11 Salic Law in northern Gaul

The '*Pactus Legis Salicae*' or Salic Law is a text from sixth-century Gaul, and contains the earliest codification of Frankish customary law. The Salic Law is preserved in hundreds of manuscript, with only a fraction of these belonging to the Pre-Carolingian period and reflecting Merovingian redactions. In this dissertation, the Salic Law is often used as a source for ancient Germanic lexis or as a referent to Early Romance sound change. Therefore I will offer a short overview of Salic Law in its capacity to provide a window on the language and culture of Migration Age Gaul.

[30] It should be stressed here that most of the preceding anecdotes are found within the framework of Christian-Latin discourse that is marked by the imitation of earlier literary examples and avoids giving direct information about non-Christian deities. This means that historians who want to deny the reliability of these reports may easily do so (e.g. Hen 1995).

Frankish customary law was in principle an oral body of law, safeguarded by the wise men (Latin *ragimburgii* < Gm. **ragin-* 'council', cf. Kroonen 2013: 401) of the community, who held court on a place that in the sources is called *Malloberg* (WGm. **maþlaberg* ~ **mahlaberg,* cf. MidDu. *maelberg, madelstede, heimael* 'law court', cf. Quak 2008b: 142). As many other law codes in pre-state societies, the focus of Frankish oral law is on arbitration and not on punishment. In the law code, compensation tariffs are provided for conflicts that by custom demand reparation in either wealth or blood.

We may assume that the law text was drafted in the wake of the Frankish infiltration of the Gallo-Roman countryside, which is in line with several provisions that the text contains; these law articles address the protection of migrants (c. 14 *de supervenientes* 'on hold-ups') and the procedure on settling in a new community (c. 45 *de migrantibus* 'on migrants', see also Seebold 2018: 6-7). In this way, the codification of Frankish customary law may have eased the resolution of legal conflicts with the Gallo-Roman populace, who under the principle of the personality of law, were not bound to the legal customs of the Frankish newcomers[31] (Drew 1991: 8). Leonard (2012), in his study on identity formation in Early Iceland, has shown that law can become an important basis for social organization in colonial societies (Leonard 2012: 96; see also Tomasson 1980: 12-13), since it both unifies migrants from diverse origins and provides an important feature of self-definition. It seems plausible that this was also the case for Salic Law in the Early Frankish society of northern Gaul.

An obscure reference to the compilation of the law code is given in the short prologue of the Merovingian redactions. There it is recounted that four wise men, Wisogast, Arogast, Salegast and Windogast, living across the Rhine (*ultra Rhenum*), met at three law assemblies in order to discuss the proper judgments for each transgression. The information in this prologue is in all likelihood legendary (cf. Rivers 1986: 5) and has the characteristics of a folk tale, with the names of the law-givers reflecting different characteristics of Frankish life (cf. OHG *wisa* 'meadow', OHG *aren* 'harvest', OHG *sal* 'hall', OHG *wind* 'wind'). The fact that the origin of the law code is placed '*ultra Rhenum*' implies that the ancient customs of the Franks were associated with territory in the Germanic-speaking north.

When the '*Pactus Legis Salicae*' was exactly issued is unclear but its compilation is usually placed in the late reign of king Hlodoweh, between 507 and 511 CE (Drew 1991: 29; see also Charles-Edwards 2000). There are several reasons for this dating. The epilogue of the earliest redaction (A-redaction) of the '*Pactus Legis Salicae*' ascribes the first 65 law articles to the first king of the Franks. A specific king is not named, but a following list of kings names Theuderic, Hlodoweh's son, as the first king of the Merovingian realm. Since we know that this was not the case, we may assume that the ascription to the first king is correct, but the

[31] This principle is explicated in the late sixth-century law code of the Ripuarian Franks, where we find the injunction (c. 35) '*ubi natus fuerit, sic respondeat*', which means "wherever someone is born, he will be judged in the corresponding manner".

name of the first king is wrong. The law code itself also provides a hint to the relative moment of the first compilation. The ordering suggests a chronological organization with the 65 articles of the *Pactus Legis Salicae* as the earliest text base which is followed by royal decrees issued by Hildebert I and Hlothar I (548-558 CE), by Hilperic I (after 561 CE) and by Hildebert II (594-96 CE). Since all these royal decrees providing additions to the Salic Law belong to the second half of the sixth century, we may assume that the original compilation was issued earlier; the early sixth century, during the reign of king Hlodoweh, would therefore fit nicely.

Another reason to date the compilation of the Salic Law to the reign of King Hlodoweh is found in the contents of the law code, where the Frankish realm is implied to be one continuous region which lies between the Silva Carbonaria (the Charbonnière forest in eastern Belgium) and the river Loire (Drew 1991: 242). This means that the first compilation of the Pactus must postdate the extension of Frankish rule to the river Loire in 481 CE and predate the division of the realm in 511 after the death of king Hlodoweh. At the same time, the law code also provides legal delays for Franks that were settled beyond the river Loire. Since settlement across the Loire was only possible with the Frankish conquest of Aquitaine after the battle of Vouillé (507 CE), the time window seems to lie between 507 and 511 CE.[32]

Another clue to the age of the Salic Law is found in the law articles that describe pre-Christian customs. As was mentioned above, the informative value of these stipulations is unfortunately very limited. Nevertheless, they do provide convincing evidence that the society for which the first compilation of Salic Law was drafted, had not yet abandoned its ancestral religion (Schmidt-Wiegand 1994). In the law code, several law articles hint to the observance of pre-christian or sub-Christian religious practices. Compensation tariffs are provided for the following cases:

- Engaging in cannibalistic witchcraft (c. 64)
- Destroying devotional buildings on grave monuments[33] (c. 55)
- Stealing sacrificial pigs (c. 2)

The sacrificing of pigs is especially noteworthy because it is has a striking parallel in Scandinavian mythology[34] (Schmidt-Wiegand 1994: 256-258). Other customs may contain traces of a pre-Christian origin, but can also be interpreted as rituals that were

[32] Patrick Wormald dates the drafting of the Salic Law to the year 508 CE, and connects it to the Byzantian recognition of Merovingian rule (Wormald 1973: 129). The theory of Bruno Krusch (1934) that the law code was composed in Aquitaine in the year 507 CE has not found acceptance. Krusch's view was founded on a poorly argued identification of the scribe of the Salic Law as the scribe who drafted Hlodoweh's letter to the bishops of Aquitaine in 507 CE.

[33] The Early Medieval church denounced the belief in witchcraft as superstition, and the Salic Law is the only Early Medieval law code where witchcraft itself features as a legal offense. This strongly argues for a pre-Christian cosmology. The devotional grave monuments are connected in the later redactions of the law code to pre-Christian practice. It should be noted that for these grave monuments no Christian terminology is used (See Seebold 2018: 17-22).

[34] In pre-Christian Scandinavia, the Old Norse *sonarblót* was one of the main feasts of the year devoted to the Old Norse god *Freyr* (see North 2015).

accommodated to Christianity and whose former religious meaning was ill-understood. This may be the case for the Frankish wealth rejection ritual called the *chrenecruda* (c. 58, cf. Gm. **hraini grūta* 'pure sand') and the oath swearing on weapons instead of on relics (c. 69). It is also noteworthy that law articles providing tariffs for the protection of churches and clergy are absent in the earliest 65-article redaction. These are only provided by the later addition to the law code by Hildebert and Hlothar. All things considered, this seems to indicate that the earliest compilation of Salic Law reflects a society wherein the non-Christian religion of the Franks still played a role, whereas Christianity was not yet pervasive enough to be featured (Charles-Edwards 2000: 272). This is also in line with a dating to the Early Merovingian period in the late fifth, early sixth century.

However, not all evidence points to the early sixth century. Numismatist scholars have argued that the monetary tariffs listed in the law code reflect gold to silver ratios (1 golden solidus is worth 40 silver denarii) of the early fifth century, and are best connected to the unofficial coinage of northern Gaul (Gierson & Blackburn 1986: 105-106). This would mean that the tariffs recorded in the law code predate the compilation by several generations. For this reason, Charles-Edwards (2000: 274) has attributed the first compilation of Salic Law to the reign of king Hilderic (ca. 457 – 481 CE) which is more in line with the numismatist findings.

An alternative theory on the origin of the Salic Law has been formulated by several historians who argue that the Salic Law was originally a penal code for fourth-century Franks living under Roman military authority (Poly 1993; Magnou-Nortier 1997; Dierkens & Perin 2003). This seems highly unlikely, as the law code champions the Franks as the legitimate rulers of Gaul and treats Romans as second-rate citizens.

We may therefore regard a dating of the first compilation of Salic Law to the early sixth century as a well-informed estimate. That the law code existed as written code in the middle of the sixth century is clear from the Merovingian formularies and one piece of evidence from Anglo-Saxon England; it is probable that in the late sixth century the Salic Law functioned as an example for the law code of the Kentish king Æthelberht (reigned from 589 – 616 CE). This is clear from stylistic similarities and the inclusion in the law code of the Frankish word *leode* 'vassals of the king', a word that is not used in this sense elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon text monuments (cf. Lohaus 1964: 18).

On a final note, I want to stress that the law text offers a broad outlook on Frankish society, covering issues as diverse as plowing a neighbor´s field, the application of abortive drugs, and the legal liability of warriors in the royal retinue. It should therefore be clear that the Salic Law is a unique source for sixth-century social history.

1.12 Germanic lexis in the Salic Law

Besides being an invaluable source to historians, the Salic Law has long been an object of study for linguists as well. The linguistic value of the *Pactus Legis Salicae* resides in the Early Romance features of the Latin and in the non-Latin glosses that are placed within the Latin text. The non-Latin glosses are known in the scholarly literature as the Malberg glosses, since in the text they are introduced by the word *Mallobergo* 'on the Malberg'. Among historical linguists, the Malberg glosses have generated great interest since they may very well reflect the vernacular of the early sixth-century Franks. The glosses are found in the following pre-Carolingian manuscript redactions (Eckhardt 1962: XL; see also Seebold 2007: 3-4):

- A-redaction
    - Early Merovingian redaction, issued in the time of King Hlodoweh
- B-redaction
    - only reconstructed on the basis of excerpts in other manuscripts
- C-redaction
    - Merovingian, late sixth century redaction
- D-redaction
    - mid eighth-century compilation of seventh-century example texts
    - This redaction was probably issued by Pippin the Short
- H-manuscript
    - sixteenth-century print edition, whose Merovingian example texts are unclear[35]

It has been argued that the Malberg glosses go back to lost Merovingian manuscript prototypes in which the words were entered in the margin (cf. Eckhardt 1954: 179; Schmidt-Wiegand 1957: 226). This may explain why some manuscripts (A1, A2) have entered specific glosses in the wrong part of the text, whereas other manuscripts (A3, A4) seem to have them in the correct place.

The inclusion of the glosses in the law code is a unique testament to the oral character of Early Medieval legal culture. This is why the Salic Law states that a request for the administration of justice should be phrased as 'tell us the Salic custom' (*dicite nobis legem salicam*, c. 57). Nevertheless, somewhere in the tradition of the earliest manuscripts, the meaning of the glosses became obscure. The continued copying of the manuscripts by Romance speaking scribes who did not understand the legal jargon of the Franks corrupted the glosses further. It is telling that the scribe of the A3 manuscript, while copying a Merovingian redaction, thinks that the glosses are Greek and chooses to omit them at certain places (MGH LL Rer.Nat.Germ. IV 1: 15).

[35] Eckhardt assumes that H is dependent on lost C manuscripts and K manuscripts but also incorporated elements from the B-redaction (Eckhardt 1962: XXVIII).

In the early nineteenth century, the linguistic identity of the glosses was still unsure, with Jacob Grimm (Merkel 1850) defending a Germanic background and Heinrich Leo (1842) arguing for an Old Celtic legal language. From the 1880s onwards, it has become clear that a significant part of the glosses is indeed understandable from a Germanic perspective (Kern 1880; Van Helten 1900). Since then, scholarship has gravitated to an almost exclusively Germanic interpretation. In the mid-twentieth century, however, the romanist Jungandreas (1954) made a convincing case that Early Romance played a larger role in the language of the glosses than had thus far been assumed. He argued that some glosses were Germanic loanwords in Gallo-Romance, instead of directly representing sixth-century West Frankish with a Latinate ending. These findings have been noted by later scholars, but generated little following: the legal historian Ruth Schmidt-Wiegand (1967, 1969, 1989), who dedicated numerous studies to the glosses of the Salic Law, mainly focuses on the Germanic side of the interpretation, and leaves issues of Romance historical phonology largely out of consideration. The studies of Arend Quak (e.g. Quak 1983) and Elmar Seebold (e.g. Seebold 2017) represent the same line of approach and rarely venture outside the realm of Old Germanic linguistics.

One of the views of Schmidt-Wiegand that has been widely accepted (cf. Modzelewski 2006: 86) is her insistence that different Germanic dialects are represented in the glosses. In this way, Schmidt-Wiegand explains the two alternate spellings of the Malberg gloss *reipus* 'ring-money' (cf. OHG *reif* 'ring, band'):

- Gm. **raip-* > Low Frankish **rēp-* → Malberg *repus*
- Gm. **raip-* > Rhine Frankish **reip-* → Malberg *reipus*

Also the different reflexes of Germanic **wr-* are adduced as evidence for dialect mixture in the glosses, with *waranio* 'stallion' < Gm. **wrain-* (cf. MidDu. *wrene* 'id.') as the Low Frankish reflex and *redunia* 'lead sow' < **wreþu-* (cf. Goth. *wreþus* 'herd') as the Rhine Frankish reflex. It should be noted, though, that every linguistic analysis of the glosses is in the first place dependent on a correct etymology; these supposed dialectal differences are rarely found in the same word, Malberg *repus* being the sole exception. This makes the case for dialectal differences in the gloss material perhaps a bit more tenuous than most scholars would admit. More convincing is Schmidt-Wiegand's argument that the language of the Salic Law is tied to the Frankish Rhineland. This supposition is supported by the Malberg gloss *galtia* 'female piglet' and the Latinate word *duropellus.* These lexical items correspond to Germanic words that are only preserved in the Frankish dialects of the Lower and Middle Rhine region:

- Rhine Frankish *Gelte, Gelze,* MidDu. *gelte* 'castrated sow'
- Rhine Frankish *Dürpel,* MidDu. *dorpel* 'threshold'

The presence of a Low Frankish element in the Salic Law is defended by Quak's (2008), who argued that the Malberg glosses contain North Sea Germanic traits such as the use of the

Germanic prefix *ā- in <afrio> and <atomeo>. Another North Sea Germanic trait would be the /æ/ vowel that might be present in the gloss <leto>/<lito> for Old Frankish *lǣt- 'freed-man' (see ONW s.v. *lāt*). Also the occurrence of the Malberg gloss <leudardi>, which can only be connected to Old Frisian *liodwerdene* 'personal injury', seems to point in the direction of the North Sea coast (see Von Olberg 1981: 102).

That the Malberg glosses preserve Germanic lexical material of considerable antiquity is beyond doubt. As an example may serve the Malberg gloss *scimada,* found in a law article on the theft of goats, which has a convincing counterpart in Old Norse *skimuðr* 'goat'. This word is only found in Old Norse, and even there it is an archaic word. It occurs only once in Finnur Jónsson's *Lexicon Poeticum* and is never found in prose texts (see Quak 2008a: 474). The archaic nature of the Old Frankish language of the Salic Law need not surprise us, since the Malberg glosses predate the production of most text monuments in Old English and Old High German by almost 250 years.

1.13 The survival of Gaulish

Another piece of the linguistic puzzle of Migration Age Gaul that is hard to fit in place, is the role that Gaulish may have played. The death of the continental Celtic language known as Gaulish has been the subject of speculation for Romanists and Celtologists alike. Romanist scholars were especially occupied by the amount of Gaulish loanwords that survived in the French dialects, estimates going from 200 on the lower end up to 600 at the higher end (cf. Flobert 2002). Also the Gaulish layer in Late Latin has received renewed attention (cf. Adams 2007: 276-368). In the end, however, the scholarly narrative has stayed consistent: a Gaulish substratum, especially evident from the loanwords,[36] will have colored the regional Latin of Roman Gaul, but Gaulish speaking Gallo-Romans will have shifted quickly to Late Latin in the wake of the cultural Romanization of the first and second century CE. According to Blom, we should therefore be skeptical of historical commentaries that speak of a *lingua gallica* or *lingua celtica* in the Late Roman Empire (cf. Blom 2009).

It may be clear that this sociolinguistic narrative is strongly biased by the general historical narrative of the swift and thorough Romanization of Roman Gaul. I contend that this has led scholars to ignore some convincing pieces of evidence that argue for a late yet marginal survival of Gaulish in the fifth and sixth centuries. This late survival would make Gaulish a relevant factor for this dissertation, and therefore deserves some comments. Below,

[36] I would like to express my gratitude to my former student Veerle Verhagen, who did a case-study on non-Romance lexis in a sixth-century treaty on health and nutrition written by the physician Anthimus, a text that was intended for the Frankish king Theuderic (*De Observatione Ciborum*). She found that almost all fish, that were mentioned as native in Theuderic's regions, had Gaulish names.

I will give a concise overview of the evidence that makes a sixth-century survival of Gaulish plausible.

We may start with the epigraphic record where we find four Gaulish inscriptions that belong to the late third and early fourth century CE.

1. the lead tablet inscription of Rom Deux-Sèvres
2. the vase inscription of Bourges
3. the lead tablet inscription of Châteaubleau
4. the gold tablet inscription of Baudecet

The inscription of Rom (Deux-Sèvres) is the most controversial of these, since the Gaulish nature of the text is disputed. A Celtic interpretation has been given by Haas (1959), but it has failed to find support among scholars. In order to arrive at his interpretation, Haas reconstructs a Gaulish that differs greatly from the actually attested text. A Vulgar Latin interpretation has been given by Egger (1962), who argued that words like *orauimo* and *priiauimo* are best understood as Vulgar Latin verbal forms corresponding to Latin *orāvimus* and *precāvimus.* Despite the apparent similarity between the Latin words and the forms found on the Rom tablet, this interpretation is also problematic. In Gallo-Romance, the final /s/ of the 1st pl. desinence is preserved as is clear from Old French *priiens* 'we have requested' < Latin *precāvimus* , and loss of /k/ between front vowels is generally attributed to a later period than the late third century (see section 3.31). Blom (2009) has recently argued that the phonotactics of the letter combinations suggests that there is a sizeable Gaulish element in the inscription. Although this does not prove that the entire text is in Gaulish, Blom shows that the recurrence of certain function words which have plausible Celtic etymologies, makes a Gaulish template very likely.

The vase inscription of Bourges is dated to the early fourth century, and its Gaulish character is undisputed. Because of the formulaic nature of the text, its interpretation has been relatively secure since the 1920 reading by Dottin: *buscilla sosio legasit in Alixie magalu* is easily understood as 'Buscilla placed this for Magalos in Alisia'. The Bourges inscription would thus be the youngest text monument documenting the use of the Gaulish vernacular in Late Antique Gaul.

The following two inscriptions were discovered relatively recently and constituted the first evidence that Gaulish epigraphy was not limited to central and southern Gaul. The Baudecet gold tablet was excavated in 1993 near the city of Namurs (Piso 1993; Schrijver 2004), and contains a text dated on paleographic grounds to the late second or early third century. The text on the tablet is interpreted by Schrijver (2004) as a medical enchantment. The Châteaubleau inscription was excavated in 1998 in the vicinity of Paris and consists of a lead tablet inscribed with a long and obscure text. The tablet in all likelihood belongs to the late third to early fourth century (Schrijver 1998-2000: 135). Whereas the Gaulish character

of the first text has been disputed (see Plumier-Torfs e.a. 1993), the Châteaubleau inscription is without a doubt written in a form of continental Celtic (Mees 2011). Both texts are important testimonies to the survival of a continental Celtic variety in the north of Gaul up to at least the third century CE.

1.14 Fifth-century Gaulish

The evidence for the survival of Gaulish in the later fourth and fifth century is less direct and its interpretation is fraught with difficulties. The references in Latin texts to a *lingua Gallica* and *lingua Celtica* are problematic, since this seemingly straightforward designation is also used for rural varieties of Late Latin (see Schmidt 1983; Blom 2009). More useful are a couple of fourth- and fifth-century texts that contain quotations of Gaulish sentences and lexical material. Unfortunately, their informative value as to the survival of Gaulish is not straightforward:

1. the Gaulish incantations of Marcellus of Bordeaux's fifth-century *De Medicamentis*
2. the possibly fifth-century prototype of *De nominibus Gallicis* (Endlicher's Glossary)
3. the Gaulish sentence of the fifth-century Vita Symphoriani

The first example is the fifth-century medical handbook '*De Medicamentis*' by Marcellus of Bordeaux, which contains two Gaulish incantations. Of the two incantations, the remedy against an eye ailment is the best understood: *in mon derco marcos axat ison* "may Marcos take away that which is in my eye" (Lambert 1994: 178). This sentence does not convincingly prove that Gaulish was still spoken and understood. It only shows that in fifth-century Gallo-Roman folk belief, incantations in Gaulish were used.

The second example is the ninth-century glossary *De nominibus Gallicis,* which is better known as Endlicher's Glossary. The glossary correctly translates multiple Gaulish lexical items; some toponymic elements of Gallo-Roman localities (e.g. *Trinante* [i.e.] *tres valles*), but also some independent words (e.g. *prenne* [i.e.] *arborem grandem*). It is generally assumed that the surviving copy of Endlicher's Glossary goes back to a fifth-century original. Blom (2011) has shown that since we are dealing with a list of collected glosses (*glossae collecta*) that were taken from Late Latin texts, younger redactors may have added material.[37] This implies that if the prototype for Endlicher's Glossary dates back to the fifth century, it does also not automatically prove the survival of Gaulish.

The final testimony is in my opinion the most convincing one, and is found in a fifth-century hagiography (*Vita Symphoriani*) about the second-century Gallo-Roman saint

[37] Several glosses show traces of being interpreted by a Germanic-speaking scribe. In this way, the place-name Lugdunum is interpreted as '*montem desidaratum*' which probably reflects Germanic **luf-dun* 'love fort' and the Gaulish word *caio* is translated with the Germanic word *bigardio* 'enclosure' (see Blom 2011).

Symphorianus (see Meyer 1901). In the Latin text, we find a non-Latin sentence introduced by the phrase '*in voce Gallica*'. This sentence is followed by a translation into Latin: *nate, nate, mentobe to diuo, hoc est, memorare di tui* 'son, son, remember your god'. The interpretation of the language of the quotation is ambiguous, with *natus* and *divus* also occurring in Latin, but a strong case can be made that the entire sentence is in Gaulish (cf. Thurneysen 1923; *contra* Adams 2007: 202-03). Since the textual prototype of the saint's live is dated to the fifth century, the quotation and correct translation of the sentence would show that Gaulish was still understood in fifth-century Gaul.

Moreover, the case for a fifth-century survival of Gaulish is convincingly defended by Meissner in a 2009 article. He argues that two important sources that have bearing on the linguistic situation around fourth- and fifth-century Trier strengthen the case for a survival of Gaulish there. The first source is the well-known and heavily disputed comment of the Bible translator Hieronymus, who stated that the Galatians speak the same language as the inhabitants of Trier (*Comment. in. Gall. Migne* 36, 382). It has been doubted whether this statement really belongs to the fourth century (see Schmidt 1983); some scholars say that Hieronymus may just have repeated information from a lost work of the second-century author Poseidonios. Meissner (2009: 108-109) argues that this skepticism is unfounded and prejudiced.[38] He proposes to combine the Hieronymus comment with the linguistic implications of the combination of two personal names on a fifth-, possibly sixth-century epitaph that was excavated in the vicinity of Trier (CIL XIII, 3909 , see also Krämer 1974). In this inscription, a mother named *Artula* commemorates her deceased daughter, who is called *Ursula.* It was noted by Weisgerber (1935) already, that the Latin name of the daughter is a translation of the name of the mother (Gaul. **artola* cf. Gaul. **artos,* OIr. *art* 'bear', MW *arth* 'id.') and Meissner argues that this cannot be coincidence. He states that we may take the 'she-bear' naming motive as evidence that Gaulish was understood in the fifth century. If Meissner is correct, it would lend greater credibility to the fourth-century comment of Hieronymus and makes the case for a late survival of Gaulish around Trier that much more solid.

As we enter the sixth century, we find several references to Gaulish as a spoken language in the works of Gregory of Tours and Venantius Fortunatus. Gregory of Tours refers to a temple in the Auvergne known '*in lingua Gallica'* as *Vasso Calate* (History of the Franks, book I, c. 31). The name *Vasso galate* is a genuine Gaulish epithet for the god Mercury, as is clear from the Bitburg inscription *deo mercu Vasso Caleti* from the German Rhineland. However, Gregory of Tours could be using the designation *lingua gallica* as a characterization for 'local speech'. He provided the same designation for the non-Gaulish word *cimiterium*

[38] Hieronymus is known to have lived in Trier around the year 367 CE and he was greatly interested in linguistic matters. It is unlikely that he would have repeated information about the linguistic situation in Trier that he knew to be untrue. Furthermore, Poseidonios lived in the south of Gaul, and there is no reason why he would not compare the language of the Galatians to the Gaulish of his own regions, instead of the Gaulish of far-away Trier.

'cemetery' (*Liber in Gloria Confessorum*, c. 72), whereas the Gaulish word *olca* 'untilled land' (PCelt. **φolka,* cf. Matasović 2009: 136) is not marked with this phrase.[39] This means that the linguistic implications of the designation *lingua Gallica* in Gregory of Tours are insecure. Venantius Fortunatus used the designation *lingua Gallica* in a poem on the basilica of St. Vincent. There he translates the Gaulish word *vernemetis* (PCelt. **uφer nemete* 'great sanctuary') as *fanum ingens.* We should however realize that knowledge of the meaning of Gaulish place-names does not prove the survival of spoken Gaulish. Venantius Fortunatus may just have well learned the meaning of the Gaulish place-name from a written source or local legends. Regrettably, the conclusion must be that all the sixth-century written references to the survival of Gaulish are insecure.

1.15 Gaulish in the Swiss Alps and Brittany

Whereas the textual evidence regarding the late survival of Gaulish is at many points inconclusive, the linguistic evidence sheds a different light on the matter. Not many historians know that linguists have argued for a relatively long persistence of Gaulish in Late Antique and Early Medieval Gaul. In 1938, Johannes Hubschmied argued that in the Swiss Alps, Gaulish may have survived for quite some time. One of his main arguments concerned the toponymic evidence that the Alamans who settled in the Swiss Alps in the fifth century encountered meaningful Gaulish designations for cities, forests, rivers and mountains. This way, a Gaulish place-name *Pennelocos* (**penne-lok^{w}os* 'head of the lake') recorded in the third-century '*Itinerarium Antonii*' was known in Medieval Latin as *Caput laci* and in Medieval German as *Hauptsee*. Another intriguing clue to Gaulish – Germanic language contact is found in the Swiss German word *Tobwelde* < **duba-waldi,* which is glossed in a thirteenth-century diploma as *silvas nigras* 'black forests'. Since the first element must be identified as Gaulish **dubo-* 'black' (see Delamarre 2003: 152-153) and the word underwent the Old High German sound shift, the borrowing must date back to the fifth or sixth century. Also the triple designation of a valley with the names *Inderlappen* (Gaulish **inder lok^{w}as*), *Inter Lacos* and *Untersewen* (Modern *Interlaken*) can be interpreted as a double Romance-Germanic translation of a Gaulish place-name. Hubschmied took the High Medieval attestations of Celtic toponyms in the Swiss Alps as evidence that the Gaulish language survived until the twelfth century. Other romanists have rightly argued that this severely exaggerates the bearing of the evidence (Weisgerber 1969: 167; Zinsli 1982: 25; see also Grezga 2007: 20). It therefore seems prudent to stay with the limited conclusion that Hubschmied's data allows: the transfer of Gaulish lexis and toponyms into Alamannic German, suggest that, during the Alamannic settlement of the fifth and sixth-century, Gaulish may still have been alive (Sofer 1941; Fleuriot 1978: 77; Schmitt 1997: 816).

[39] This might be because Gregory considers it to be a common Gallo-Roman word (cf. OFr. *ouche* 'arable land', FEW VII: 339).

Geostatistic analyses of Gaulish substratum words in Gallo-Romance, made possible by the data collected in the FEW (Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch), support the scenario of a relatively protracted survival of Gaulish in the Swiss Alps. These substratum words are mainly found in the semantic domains of agricultural terminology and local flora and fauna (cf. Schmitt 1997). Müller (1982) mapped the occurrence of Gaulish substratum words in the Gallo-Romance dialects and found the densest concentration of Gaulish lexis in the Jura and the Swiss Alps. The same study shows that in the regions of the Central Massif (Auvergne, Rouergue, northern Languedoc), similar concentrations of Gaulish substratum words are found. This lends credibility to the idea that Gregory of Tours could still have encountered Gaulish speakers in the sixth-century Auvergne.

A complex question is the fate of Gaulish in the western extremity of Gaul. It has been argued by Fleuriot (1982: 77), that the British colonists, who settled on the Armorican peninsula in the fifth century, may still have encountered Gaulish speakers. Falc'hun (1951, 1962, 1963) even argued that there is a Gaulish-Breton mixed idiom reflected in the Breton Vannetais dialect.[40] Fleuriot's argument was repeated by Gvozdanović (2009: 157-61), who argues that the fifth-century speakers of continental Celtic with whom the Britons came into contact were Veneti.

Although, in my opinion, it is plausible that in remote and inaccessible areas of Gaul the Gaulish language may have survived until the Migration Age, it should be noted that there is very little uncontroversial evidence corroborating its survival in Brittany (cf. Weisgerber 1969: 38). It is exactly this kind of evidence that the mapping of substratum words from the FEW does provide for the cases of central Gaul and the Swiss Alps.

Naturally, we should realize that concentrations of surviving substratum words only inform us about the areas where Gaulish may have survived the longest. They do not give us any clue as to when Gaulish as a substratum language ceased to be spoken. All things considered, we may tentatively argue that, at least into the sixth century CE, pockets of Gaulish-speaking communities survived in the mountainous regions of the Central Massif, the Jura and the Swiss Alps. This means that in some regions there may not only have been contact between Late Latin and West Frankish, but also between Late Latin and Late Gaulish, and possibly even between Gaulish and West Frankish.

[40] Falc'hun's argument (1963: 431-32) that the nineteenth-century Breton–French language border is better explained as a withdrawal line of continental Celtic rather than as the furthest expansion line of Breton, is intriguing yet unconvincing. The fact that Nantes and Rennes and their surrounding countryside were French-speaking in the nineteenth century does not necessarily reflect the inherited situation from Roman times. I am grateful to my former student Adriaan van Doorn for exploring the literature on this subject.

1.16 Late Gaulish sound changes

Now that the Romanist case for a late survival of Gaulish has been defended, we should take note of the linguistic features that have been attributed to the Late Gaulish language. Whereas several idiosyncrasies of Gaulish lexical material have been interpreted as dialectal developments (see Billy 2007), several others have been interpreted as reflecting a difference in chronology. The following developments are relatively certain sound changes that would have occurred in a late stage of Gaulish:

1. Gaulish **sr-* > Late Gaulish **fr-* (cf. Meid 1960; Fleuriot 1974; Schrijver 1995: 441)
2. Gaulish **m* > Late Gaulish **μ* (cf. Fleuriot 1974: 82-83; Schrijver 1995: 463; Billy 2007: 133)
3. Gaulish **wr-* > Late Gaulish **br-* (cf. Fleuriot 1978: 81;)
4. Gaulish **nn* > Late Gaulish **nd* (cf. Fleuriot 1964: 82)

The first development is the sound change of earlier Celtic /sr/ to later Gaulish /fr/ which runs parallel to the /sr/ > /fr/ development in British Celtic. This development is implied by the following Romance words (see Fleuriot 1978: 81).

- Old French *frogne* 'nose' < Gaulish **frogna* < PCelt. **srogna*
- Old French *fringue* 'jump' < Gaulish **fringa* < PCelt. **sφringa*[41]
- Arbeto *fruda* 'brook' < Gaulish **frota* < PCelt. **sruta*
- Lombardo *froda* 'brook'

Although the parallel between Gaulish and Brittonic is striking, it is unclear whether this sound change can be regarded as a common innovation.

The second development is the sound change of earlier Celtic /m/ to later Gaulish /μ/. This sound change is also found in British Celtic, where PCelt. /m/ is lenited to /μ/ in all voiced environments.[42]

- PCelt. **samo-* > MW *haf* 'summer'
- PCelt. **anman-* > MW *enw* 'name'.

The first to argue that Late Gaulish underwent the same sound shift was Dottin in his 1920 monograph '*La langue gauloise*', soon followed by Hubschmied in his 1938 article on Late Gaulish in the Swiss Alps. They point to the alternation of <m> and <u> in the Gaulish theonym *Bormo* and *Borvo* (cf. ModFr. *Bourbon*) and the Gaulish words *curmi* 'beer' and *cervisia* 'id.'

[41] See Fleuriot (1978: 81) and FEW (III: 804-05). The example of OFr. *fringue* is controversial because generally no Celtic etymon **sφring-* going back to PIE **spreng^h-* is reconstructed (see Kroonen 2013: 470). Fleuriot regards Breton *springal* 'to jump' as an inherited lexeme from Proto-Celtic, although a borrowing from French is just as likely.

[42] Schrijver argues that the Brittonic sound change must have happened at a late stage (ca. 6th c. CE), since Lat. *monumenta* is affected (cf. British Latin *monimenta* > MW *mynwent*, Schrijver 1995: 463).

(Dottin 1920: 62; Delamarre 2003: 133). Nevertheless, only a few cases of a Gaulish /m/ > /μ/ shift are generally accepted (cf. Koch 1992: Schrijver 1995: 463):

- Larzac Tablet *anuana* < Gaul. **anμana* 'names'
- Latin (Plinius) *acaunamargus*[43] < Gaul. **akaμno-* 'marl'

Also the identification of the Gaulish personal name *Riouarus* with *Riomarus* may be adduced as evidence in favor of the shift (Gray 1944: 223-230). Billy (2007: 133-34) argued that a Gaulish /m/ > /μ/ shift is reflected in French dialect words that show /b/ for etymological /m/ (e.g. OFr. *mesgue* 'whey' ~ Central France *begot, begaud* 'id.' < Gaul. **mezgo-*, FEW 6/2; 43). Still, most scholars have explained these cases differently and consider the development of the /b/ reflex as a young phenomenon.[44] Despite the skeptical position of many Celtologists , the evidence in favor of a Late Gaulish /m/ > /μ/ shift seems to be increasing (cf. Ellis-Evans 1967: 409; Fleuriot 1974: 82-83). The romanist Kramer, who studied the Gallo-Roman words *mascauda* and *bascauda*[45] 'luxurious kitchenware' in Late Antique papyri, concluded that the initial alternation between /m/ and /b/ can only be sensibly explained by lenition induced allophony in the Gaulish donor language (Kramer 2011: 193).[46] Summing up, it may be stated that the evidence for a Late Gaulish /m/ > /μ/ shift is solid enough to warrant a place in this list.

Related to the question of Gaulish lenition is the /wr/ > /br/ change in initial position, found in several Gaulish words attested in Gallo-Latin context and a Gallo-Roman place-name. A Gaulish lenition of /br/ to /βr/ would make the merger with /wr/ easier to understand.

Gallo-Latin *brigantes*	(gloss)	< Gaulish **wrigantes*	'worms'
Gallo-Latin *brucus*	(gloss)	< Gaulish **wroikos*	'heather'
Gallo-Latin *branca*	(loanword)	< Gaulish **wranka*	'branch'
Old French *Brumad*	(place-name)	< Gaulish **wrocomagatos*	'Brumath'

The change must be placed at a late date, as acknowledged by Fleuriot (1978), Lambert (1997), and Delamarre (2003). Whereas Fleuriot regards it as a genuine Late Gaulish sound change (Fleuriot 1978: 81; cf. Loth 1920: 121), Lambert (1997: 401-02) argues that it represents a Vulgar Latin sound substitution of Gaulish **wr-* by Vulgar Latin *br-* = West Romance /βr/. According

[43] This etymon is also reflected in place-names like Acaunum.

[44] Many examples concern Romance etyma where the /b/ for /m/ reflex can be explained as a dissimilation process triggered by an /m/ further on in the word (cf. Lat. *minimare* > Cahors *bermé* 'to lessen'). A similar irregular interchange between /m/ and /b/ is found in West Flemish Dutch, where it is also regarded as a young phenomenon (Beele 1984: 24).

[45] We should note that the Gaulish word is continued in Old French as *bascho(u)e* 'wooden pot' and in Moselland German as *Bäschoff* 'Gefäss in dem die Trauben zur Fahrbütte tragen werden' (cf. Kleiber 1975).

[46] Since Kramer seems to be unaware of the controversy regarding the Gaulish participation in the sound shift, we may assume that his judgment is relatively unbiased.

to Lambert, the continued occurrence of the sequence <vr> and <vl> in Late Gallo-Latin epigraphy would show that Late Gaulish retained the value /wr/ ~ /wl/. This, however, is open to question, since it is very well conceivable that the epigraphic tradition held on to an older spelling tradition (see chapter 2).

The last development is the sound change of earlier Celtic *nn to later Gaulish *nd (cf. Wartburg FEW 25: 181). This sound shift is reflected in three Old French words and two place-names (see also Weisgerber 1931: 186).

- OFr. *arpent* < Gaulish *arepennis* 'land measure' (cf. FEW 25: 180)
- OFr.*talevande* < Gaulish **talupennis* 'land measure' (cf. FEW 13: 67)
- OFr. *auvent* < Gaulish *andebanno-* 'scaffolding' (cf. FEW 24: 545)
- ModFr. *Gironde* < Gaulish *Garunna*
- ModFr. *Ingrande* < Gaulish *Icoranna*

Wartburg argues that the Old French final sequence /nt/ is only explicable as a reflection of an older /nd/, an ancestral form reflected in Medieval Latin forms such as *arripendium* (9th c.). Perhaps the same sound change is reflected in the case of Gaulish *mannus* 'Gaulish horse' (5th c. Consentius, cf. OCast. *mañero* 'barren animal', Bearnais *mano* 'id.') that is reflected in Basque with /nd/ (e.g. Basque *mando* 'barren animal', cf. Weisgerber 1931: 186).

Difficult to judge are some of the idiosyncrasies in the lexical items of Endlicher's Glossary. Lambert (1994: 204) has argued that the forms *breialo* (glossing *caio*) and *treide* (glossing *pedem*) from earlier Celtic **brogilos* and **trogetos* might imply a sound shift /oi/ > /ei/. In the case of *breialo* (cf. OFr. *brueïl* 'enclosure of woodland' < **brogilo-*), a vowel shift in the first syllable is possible. In the case of *treide* however, it is unclear whether the word exhibits a sound shift from earlier **oi.* It seems more likely that the form *treide* is connected to Proto-Celtic **treget,* a reconstruction which is supported by the comparison to Old Irish *traig* < PCelt. **treget* (cf. Matasović 2009: 389). It should be noted that further evidence in favor of a Late Gaulish /oi/ > /ei/ sound shift is lacking.

Another theory that concerns Late Gaulish vowels has been proposed by Schrijver (2004, 2014), who argued on the basis of the late Gaulish tablet inscriptions (Châteaubleau, Baudecet) for a Gaulish diphthongization of /ō/ > /uo/ and /ē/ > /ei/. The empirical basis for this intriguing theory is of course dependent on the correct etymologies of the words in the relevant inscriptions. Since the interpretation of the inscriptions is as of yet far from certain, the basis for the theory remains insecure. According to Schrijver, this Gaulish diphthongization, by way of language shift, may have triggered the onset of Romance primary diphthongization. For this reason, we will revisit the theory later on in the discussion of the relative chronology of Gallo-Romance sound laws (see section 3.8, 3.40).

The question whether Late Gaulish underwent lenition of the stops has interested scholars for a long time. As we have seen, phonetic lenition did affect the Gaulish /m/ in

voiced environments and a similar weakening happened in the case of intervocalic /s/.[47] Of course these phenomena do not prove that the Gaulish stop system underwent lenition as well. Scholars like Gray (1944) and Tovar (1948) have sought evidence for Gaulish lenition in the onomastic material from the epigraphic record. In Gallo-Roman epigraphy, Gaulish names with etymological voiceless stops are often written with a voiced stop in Latin alphabet, e.g. PN *Veriucus* ~ *Veriugus*. Ellis-Evans (1967: 403), following studies by Watkins (1955) and Whatmough (1963), has interpreted this phenomenon differently, and argued that the voiced spellings for Gaulish voiceless stops may have been caused by a different phonological contrast in Gaulish and Latin. Since Latin had a voicing contrast and Gaulish may have had a tenseness contrast, speakers of Latin may have interpreted Gaulish lax /p/ as Latin voiced /b/. If this theory is correct, the voiced spellings for Gaulish voiceless stops would not reflect lenition but Latin sound substitution. Moreover, in the Late Roman period, the onset of Romance lenition caused orthographic confusion in the spelling of the Latin stop series; this may also explain some of the voiced spellings for Gaulish voiceless stops. Suffice it to say that the question of whether Gaulish stops underwent lenition remains disputed.

Most of the above listed features of Late Gaulish cannot be attributed to a specific chronological time window. There is however one linguistic feature that unambiguously provides evidence for a late survival of Gaulish. This evidence consists of a stratum of Gaulish etyma starting with **w-* that are continued in the modern Gallo-Romance dialects with /g^w/ (cf. Fleuriot 1978: 80). This substitution contrasts with an earlier stratum where Gaulish **w-* joins Latin /w/ = <v>, cf. Gaulish **wassos* > Latin *vassus* [wassus] → OFr. *vassal* 'servant'.

1. Gaul. **wabero-* (OProv. *waur* 'ravine', cf. *silva wavera* 9th c. Belgium, cf. FEW 14: 92-93)
2. Gaul. **worra-* (Occitan *goura,* Bonneville *vouré* 'meadow' , cf. FEW 14: 632)
3. Gaul. **werna-* (ODauph. *verne,* Grenoble *garne* 'elder tree', cf. FEW 14: 299-302)
4. Gaul. **wadana-* (cf. MFr. *gasne* 'pond', cf. FEW 14: 111-112)

It is clear that these Gaulish words, instead of joining the Latin **w-* > Gallo-Romance **v-* sound shift, show the same sound substitution /w/ → /g^w/ as the Germanic loanwords in **w-* (cf. Gm. **wardojan-* > OFr. *garder* 'to watch', see section 4.11). The sound substitution of the Germanic loanwords shows us that at the time the Germanic words entered Romance, the Latin /w/ had already shifted, first to Romance /β/ (ca. 300 CE, cf. Richter 1934: 47), then to Gallo-Romance /v/ (ca. 500 CE, cf. Richter 1934: 60-61, 117). This implies that the Gaulish language survived the Romance sound shift, so that Gaulish words with initial **w-* were adopted into Gallo-Romance at roughly the same time as the Germanic loanwords. According to Richter's relative chronology, the borrowing must have happened after 300 CE because before that time Latin still possessed a /w/ (l.c.).

[47] This development is implied by the Gaulish lexis in the late inscriptions, were intervocalic /s/ seems to have been lost, e.g. *suiorebe* < PCelt. **suesorebe, regenia* < **regenesa, sioxti* < **sesogti* and *siaxsiou* < **sesagsi̯ū* (Schrijver 1998, 2000: 137).

1.17 The Franks and the Gallo-Romans

As has been made clear in the discussions above, our source material does not allow concrete judgments on the use of Gaulish in the Migration Age. Much of the language contact of the period is clouded in the mists of history, with only the encounter between Frankish and Gallo-Romance featuring in the comments of the contemporaries. From the perspective of the Franks, the linguistic diversity amongst the Gallo-Roman populace will probably not have mattered anyway. In the Salic Law there is only one word for the Gallo-Romans, which is *Romani.* In the Malberg glosses of the *Pactus Legis Salicae* these *Romani* are called *Walaleodi* (*De homocidiis ingenuorum,* cf. 41), which reflects a vernacular Gm. **walha liodi* 'foreign people' (cf. OHG *walah* 'foreign'). We may assume that this term referred to all Gallo-Romans, irrespective of the language they spoke.

Nevertheless, Gallo-Roman culture with its Gaulish and Roman heritage was quickly adopted by the Frankish newcomers. One of the most conspicuous traces of this phenomenon is the occurrence of hybrid name-giving, where Gaulish and Germanic onomastic elements were combined. This way, the Frankish royal name *Dagoberht* (Latin *Dagobertus*) combines the Gaulish element **dago-* 'good' (cf. OIr. *dag,* MW *da* 'id.', see Ellis-Evans 1967: 188) with the Germanic **berht-* 'shining'. This trend of name-giving is more widely reflected in the Romance–Germanic hybrid names, e.g. *Bellichildis* < Romance **bɛlla-* 'pretty' + Germanic **hildi* 'female warrior' (see Haubrichs 2004; Kremer 2008; Jochum-Godglück 2014). It seems likely that this kind of name-giving could only arise when Frankish elites integrated into the local communities of the Gallo-Roman countryside. In this regard, we may note that the name Dagobert is only found from the seventh century onwards, more than a hundred years after the settlement of the Franks in northern Gaul.

Another trace of the Frankish adoption of Gallo-Romance culture is found in the Frankish origin myth. This myth is recounted in the seventh-century chronicle of Pseudo-Fredegar, and features the classical story of the diaspora following the fall of Troy. Many historians have interpreted this story as a learned invention that was inserted by writers that were well-versed in classical texts, in order to provide the Franks with a classical past (cf. Ewig 1998; Wood 2006; Kearns 2002).[48] The philologists Panzer (1954) and Hommel (1956) have shown that this interpretation is incomplete, since the Trojan origin story may very well consist of a genuine folk tale that shows a complex interplay of Frankish and Gallo-Roman mythical material. The Frankish elements in the myth are found in the two kings with alliterating names, *Franko* 'Frank' (Latin *francio*) and *Frija* 'Free' (Latin *Friga*), one of which led the Frankish people to their new homes on the river Rhine. Upon their arrival, they built a city there called Troja. This city can be identified as the Roman town of Xanten, first known

[48] The anecdote partly reflects information from the sixth-century story *De excidio Trojae Historia* ascribed to Dares Frigius, which should not be confused with the eighth-century story *De origine Francorum* which goes back to Pseudo-Fredegar and is also ascribed to Dares Frigius.

as Ulpia Colonia Trajana but later called Troja in Late Antiquity (Ravenna Geography, 5th c. CE) and the Middle Ages (MHG *klein Trojen*). If this identification is correct,[49] the Trojan origin myth reflects the political situation of the fourth century, when the Franks were occupying the Gallo-Roman cities of Cologne, Trier and Xanten (cf. Boone 1954: 18).

Panzer and Hommel have argued that the Frankish memory of a homeland on the river Rhine was combined with a complex of Gallo-Roman myths. According to classical sources, the Gaulish peoples of the Haedui in Lyon, the Arverni in the Auvergne and the Veneti in Brittany all claimed Trojan descent. This enabled them to express their close affiliation with the Roman people and state. It therefore seems likely that Pseudo-Fredegar's Troy myth is much more than a learned invention for the purpose of providing the Franks with a classical past, but rather reflects the complicated synthesis between Frankish and Gallo-Roman cultural heritage.

1.18 The Franks and the fate of Late Gaulish

An important indication that even in an earlier period the Franks had been in contact with the culture and languages of Gaul, is found in the Salic Law. The Latin of the law code features several Gallo-Roman words of Gaulish origin:[50]

- *segusium* 'sleuth hound' < PCelt. **segūsios,* cf. OFr. *seuz* 'id.'
- *sutis* 'sty' < PCelt. **su-teges,* cf. OFr. *seu* 'id.'
- *arepennis* 'land measure' < PCelt. **arek^{w}enni-,* cf. OFr. *arpent* 'id.'[51]
- *vassus* 'servant' < PCelt. **wassos,* cf. OFr. *vassal* 'liegeman'[52]

These Gaulish words are continued in the modern Gallo-Romance dialects, and may therefore simply represent the Gallo-Roman variety of the scribe (cf. Adams 2007: 313).

Nevertheless, I will argue that at least some Gaulish lexical material is represented in the non-Latin lexis of the Malberg glosses, that is, the words and phrases introduced by the word *mallobergo*.[53] Although it cannot be excluded that these Gaulish words entered Frankish via

[49] Fabian Zuk (2017: 367-389) argues that also a phonetic reason might be invoked to explain the identification of Colonia Traiana with Troy. He argues that Gallo-Romance basilect form ['trɒjana] next to more learned [tra'jana] might have been interpreted by Germanic speakers as [trɔjana].

[50] The suggested Gaulish origin for the word *litus / laetus* 'half-free man' (i.e. Gaulish **līdos* < PCelt. **φlīdos,* cf. Scovazzi 1952; see also Szemérenyi 1977: 304) must be rejected, because the comparison to Old Alamannic *frilāz* 'freed man' is more straightforward than an Indo-European connection to Latin *plēbs* and Greek *πληθῦς*.[50]

[51] Reflected in Old Irish *airchenn* 'the short side of a rectangular field'. The Old French word *arpent* denoted a 'land measure of 20 to 70 acres depending on the region'.

[52] This word and its Romance and Germanic continuations is discussed in Kerkhof (2015).

[53] It is interesting to note that the word <malloberg> is not the expected Gallo-Romance adaptation of a Germanic etymon **mahla-* ~ **maþla-*; in Merovingian Latin, at no point do we find <mathaloberg>, <machaloberg> or <mafloberg> written. In my opinion, it is possible that the Germanic word entered Merovingian Latin/Romance through a Gaulish intermediary,

an early Romance intermediary, it is possible that they were borrowed at an earlier stage directly from the Gaulish dialects of Belgium and northern France. Since the survival of Gaulish in Belgium is at least secure for the third century CE, there must have been a significant time window for the Franks to be in direct contact with Gaulish speaking communities. In my opinion, the following lexical items from the Salic Law stand a good chance of representing Gaulish loanwords in the Frankish language.

1. Gaulish **kranni* 'pig' (cf. OIr. *crain* 'pig', MW *cranan*)
2. Gaulish **wanio* 'dog' (cf. OFr. *guaignun* 'id.')
3. Gaulish **dewa* 'arson' (cf. MW *deifyaw* 'to burn')

The first Gaulish word may be found in the law articles regarding the theft of pigs (*De furtis porcorum,* c. 2). The Malberg gloss *chrane caltio* (A2) has generally been connected to a Low Frankish **hramni-* 'animal pen' (cf. ModDu. *ren* 'id.', OFr. *franc* 'pig sty', see FEW 16: 237), in combination with the Germanic word **galtjan-* 'gelded animal' (cf. Rhine Frankish *gelze* 'gelded sow', see Kroonen 2013: 165-166). However, Hyllested (2014: 79), following a suggestion by Kroonen, has argued that the first element should instead be identified as Gaulish **kranni-*, a Celtic etymon that can be found in the Insular Celtic languages (OIr. *crain* 'pig', MW *cranan* 'id.').[54] In this regard it should be noted that the provisions concerning the sties (Latin *chranne*) are only found from the C-redaction of the Pactus onwards. The older A-redaction just provides the Malberg gloss *chrane caltio.* It is possible that the Malberg gloss of the A-redaction consists of a tautological phrase where both the word *chrane* and the word *caltio* render the meaning 'pig'. The prototype for the C-redaction may have interpreted the *chranne* gloss as corresponding to the Frankish word **hramne* 'animal pen' which would have motivated the addition of provisions regarding different pigsties (*contra* Höfinghof 1987: 63-64).

The second Gaulish word may be found in the law articles concerning the theft of farm dogs (*De furtis canum,* c. 6, see Höfinghoff 1987: 210-15). Here the Malberg glosses *repo uano, trouitho uano, chunno uano* and *theo uano* occur where the second word *uano* seems to reflect the meaning 'dog'. The similarity of the Malberg gloss *uano* to the Old French word *guaignun* 'dog' < Pre-French **wanjone* has first been noted by Schweisthal in 1889. It is remarkable that his suggestion has gone unnoticed by later generations of scholars. A Germanic etymology for the Malberg gloss has been attempted by Gysseling (1976: 84) who reconstructed a non-attested Germanic etymon **h^{w}ana-*, a full-grade formation to Gm. **hun-* and **hwin-* (cf. OHG *hunt,* OFr. *hwynd,* see Kroonen 2013: 256). This etymology is incapacitated by the lack of

i.e. Gm. **maþla-* > Gaul. **mallo-*. If this scenario is correct, we might also have an alternative explanation for the Gaulish anthroponymic element **mallo-* (see Schmidt 1957: 236).

[54] This word is cited by Hyllested (2014: 79) who took it over from Hamp (1987). Hamp states that the word is found in the White book of Rhydderch and then attested once later. Further references are missing and I have not managed to track these attestations down.

another Germanic language reflecting this full-grade. Van Helten (1900: 300), followed by Schmidt-Wiegand and Quak, opted for a connection to Germanic **wanjan-* 'to grow accustomed', leading to an interpretation of the Malberg gloss *repo uano* as 'guard dog that is accustomed to a rope collar'. The second etymology is problematic because no Germanic noun in the daughter languages that reflects the root **wan-* is associated with dogs. Therefore both etymologies fail to convince and, more importantly, do not take the cognate form in Old French into account. A Germanic origin for Malberg *uano* can be saved, if we follow Baldinger (1998: 150-151) in his theory that OFr. *guaignun* represents a derivation to the Germanic verb **wainōn* 'to howl'. The Malberg gloss *uano* might then reflect the same Germanic etymon, a Germanic *n*-stem **waino* ~ **wainan* meaning 'howler'.

Although this is a distinct possibility, a Gaulish etymology should not be discarded in advance. A Gaulish interpretation for the word *uano* is strengthened by a connection to the Gaulish personal name *Cunuanos,* whose first element is generally accepted to mean 'dog' (cf. PCelt. **k^{w}on-* 'dog', cf. Matasović 2009: 372). Traditionally, the Gaulish personal name *cunouanos* is interpreted as meaning 'hound-slayer' because of the interpretation of Gaulish **wan-* as PCelt. **g^{w}an-* 'to slay' and the connection to another Gaulish personal name *Tazcouanos* which is interpreted as 'badger-slayer' (cf. MW *teuchwant,* see Delamarre 2003: 306). I contend that in both personal names, the second element could also be interpreted as 'hound'. The personal name *Cunuanos* could then denote a 'wolf-hound' and the personal name *Tazcouanos* could denote a hound that was used for hunting badgers (cf. German *Dachshund*).[55] If this explanation of Gaulish **wanos* as 'hound' is correct, we may note that the personal name *Cunuanos* closely resembles the Malberg gloss *chunno uano.* In my opinion, it is possible that in the case of the Malberg gloss *chunno uano* we are dealing with a Gaulish hound name **kunwanos* 'wolf-hound', which by Germanic-speakers was reanalyzed and deformed by contamination with the Germanic word **hund-* 'hound'.[56] This would mean that *chunno uano*, just like *chranni caltio,* may represent a tautological phrase or sequence, in which Gaulish lexical material was first subjected to Germanic folk etymology, and later written down by Romance-speaking Merovingian scribes.

The last Gaulish word may be found in the law articles concerning arson (*De incendiis,* c. 16) where the Malberg glosses *andeba, sal deba* and *leo deba* occur (see Höfinghof 1987: 101-02). It should be noted that the gloss *andeba* is only featured in the eighth-century D-redaction of the Salic Law, which means that the gloss was not taken over from an A or C-manuscript.[57] The A and C manuscripts have the glosses *sal deba* and *leo deba,* which are found in law articles treating the burning of agricultural buildings. In the case of *saldeba* it is likely that the first

[55] Alternatively, we could also interpret the personal name *Cunuanos* as a Gaulish tautological compound in which both element had the meaning 'dog'. This seems less likely to me.

[56] The spelling <nn> for Germanic /nd/ could be a sign of a transfer into Romance, cf. Wall. *hounine* 'caterpillar' < Gm. **hundīna* 'little dog'.

[57] This might indicate that, at a relatively late moment in the Merovingian period, the word <andeba> was still meaningful.

element denotes the building (i.e. Gm. *sal- 'farm house') and the second element *deba* denotes the burning.[58] In the case of *leo deba,* we should consider the possibility that we are dealing with a misplaced *leo(d)* from *iudicetur de leode,* which occurs several times in manuscript A2. If we would be dealing with a Germanic word *hlewa- 'shelter', we would surely expect a spelling <chleo> for the Early Merovingian A-redaction (*contra* Höfinghof 1987: 101). Gysseling (1976: 70) has argued that the gloss *deba* must continue an unattested Germanic verb *diwan 'to burn'. Once again, Gysseling's reconstruction is not supported by corroborating data from the other Germanic languages. Grimm (in Merkel 1850: XLVII), followed by later scholars (Lloyd e.a. EWA 2: 547; Quak 2008a: 480-81), has proposed a connection to Gm. *þefan- 'to warm' which is only reflected in the Old Norse verb *þefa* 'to reek, to stink'. This etymology is problematic because of the initial consonant in the gloss (<d> for Old Frankish /þ/), and leaves us with a significant semantic distance to the Germanic verb. A Gaulish etymology, on the other hand, provides us with a perfect formal and semantic match: PCelt. *dewyo- is reflected in all the Insular Celtic languages (MW *deifyaw* 'to burn', OCorn. *dewy* 'id.', OBret. *dev* 'burned') in the meaning 'to burn'.[59]

Since the compilation of Salic Law, as has been discussed in detail above, must have taken place in the late fifth or early sixth century, this Gaulish lexis must have entered Frankish before the migration into northern Gaul. The Malberg glosses also contain several examples of Romance lexis that was integrated into the legal language of the pre-migration Franks. Several cases of Romance –Germanic hybrid compounds are featured (see also Quak 2017).

- *ort(o)focla* 'garden bird' ← WRom. *orto- + WGm. *fogal
- *vialagina* 'way laying' ← WRom. *vea- + WGm. *lagīn
- *minoflidis* 'freemen of lesser rank' ← WRom. *mino- + WGm. *flǣd-[60]
- *olechardis* 'beehive garden' ←WRom. *aula- + WGm. *gardi

A single case where the entire Malberg gloss is a Frankish word of Romance origin can be found in the word *podero* that features in the law articles regarding the theft of young animals (*De furtis animalium,* c. 3). Arend Quak (2007) has shown that the same word is reflected in the Dutch place-names *Poederooijen* (Gelderland, Netherlands), *Poederlee* (Antwerp, Belgium) and *Puurs* (Mechelen, Belgium). A Romance origin of the word is already implied by the Latinate *poledrus* (< WRom. *polédro* < Lat. *pullítrus,* cf. ModIt. *poledro* 'foal') that accompanies *podero* in the stipulation regarding the theft of a foal. It seems likely that this Romance form *poledro was combined with a Romance variant form that had the accent on the initial syllable (cf. Lat.

[58] The gloss *sal* occurs in an article treating the burning of a *spīcarium* (Old Walloon *spier* 'granary', FEW 12: 175) or *machalum* (< Gm. *māhal,* cf. Walloon *mafe* 'place where grain is stored', FEW 16: 499). The same conclusion can be drawn regarding the gloss *leo deba* that is featured in an article treating the burning of a *sutis* 'sty' or *scuria* 'barn'.
[59] A Celtic etymology also accounts for the occurrence of the etymon in Italo-Romance (OTusc. *debbio* 'deforestation', Sardin. *debbyu* 'id.', see REW 2627: 206; EWA 2: 547) which is hard to reconcile with a borrowing from West Frankish.
[60] Cf. OE *–flǣd* 'glory, beauty' in OE *Eadflǣd,* Old Frankisch *audofleda* and MHG *vlât* 'beauty' (see Schönfeld 1911: 37).

púlliter > OFr. *poultre* 'foal'). The same inner-Romance variation is found in Old Spanish where *poltro* and *podro* are found alongside regular *poldro* (see Corominas 1954: 863-64). The loss of the pre-consonantal /l/ remains as of yet unexplained.

The borrowing of Late Latin or Early Romance words in the Old Germanic languages is of course nothing new. It is a well-known fact that the Old Germanic languages contain a large amount of Late Latin / Early Romance loanwords (cf. Schmidt 1993: 59-60). However, the occurrence of Romance lexis in the Malberg glosses does teach us something that cannot be learned from the loanwords in the other Old Germanic languages, namely that already in the fifth century CE, some Romance loanwords were so well integrated into the receiving Germanic languages that they could feature as native legal idiom in an otherwise Latinate law text. In this dissertation several more intriguing cases of non-Germanic lexis in the glosses of the Early Medieval barbarian law codes will be presented. It will be argued that the phonological and semantic intricacies of these to-and-fro borrowings across the Romance – Germanic language border provide a unique window on Early Medieval society. What kind of Late Latin or Early Romance was the donor language in these early lexical transfers will be the topic of the following chapter.

2 Early Romance behind the Latin veil

2.1 The Latin ancestor

The Latin language has never died. There is a good reason why this maxim has been repeated by numerous generations of Romance historical linguists, from Meyer-Lübke (1888: 358) in the late nineteenth century to Krefeld (2004: 62) in the early twenty-first century. These scholars have rightly stressed that the Romance languages can be viewed as the evolved continuations of the Latin language of old. The birth of the Romance languages can therefore be seen as the outcome of the steady diversification of Latin, a process that had already started in the Roman period (cf. Lausberg 1969: 29; Adams 2007). But it is also true that from the Early Middle Ages onwards different varieties of Latin became centers of linguistic innovation in their own right. Therefore it could also be argued that the Romance languages belong to a 'new' stage in the evolution of Latin, a Romance stage.

To comparative linguists, the case of Latin as the attested ancestor of the Romance language family has been both a blessing and a curse, as it offered a veritable "laboratory for historical linguistics" (cf. Alkire & Rosen 2010: 40; see also Morin 2003: 164). Thus, the study of the Romance language family has provided irrefutable proof for the comparative method, but it has also laid bare many of the problems and limitations that come with it (cf. Hall 1950; De Dardel 1996: 44-49). Despite these methodological successes, a significant number of scholars remained unconvinced of the usefulness of comparative linguistics to Romance studies; after all, why reconstruct the Romance proto-language if we already have Latin? This led to the remarkable situation that whereas the terms Proto-Germanic and Proto-Celtic quickly found acceptance in philological circles, the term Proto-Romance never did.

This skeptical view fails to appreciate the fact that there is a gap between the literary variety of Latin that we know best (Classical Latin) and the reconstructions that are the outcome of the comparative enterprise (cf. Posner 1996: 98; Hall Jr. 1984: 5). The reconstructions generally show a younger linguistic stage than the one that is found in the Latin texts, even those texts from the Late Roman period and the Early Middle Ages. This gap can partly be bridged by studying the lower sociolects of Latin that are amply represented in the epigraphic record, surviving wood tablets, pot shards (*ostraca*) and papyri. The language of these text monuments has been called Vulgar Latin (*Vulgärlatein*) since the days of Hugo Schuchardt (1876) and provides valuable evidence for the linguistic developments that spoken Latin was undergoing. For this reason, many Romanists regard Vulgar Latin as the direct ancestor of the Romance languages. But also these Vulgar Latin texts tend to use the literary variety of Latin as the model for proper writing; in orthography, register and style most Vulgar Latin texts strive to adhere to the norms of Classical Latinity. This makes their testimony an unreliable instrument with which to gauge the evolution of the Latin language

and still leaves an uncomfortable distance to the linguistic reconstructions. How to deal with this gap has divided scholars for over a century.

Scholars from the nineteenth and early twentieth century interpreted the difference between Latin and reconstructed Proto-Romance as evidence that we are dealing with two norms (e.g. Meyer-Lübke), a perspective that has been called 'the two-norm theory' (see Wright 1982; Lodge 1993; Mazzola 2013). Somewhere in the Late Roman period, Classical Latin would have developed into Proto-Romance, its linguistic successor. Meanwhile, the classical language lived on in the administration of the Late Empire and the Christian Church and continued to do so in the Early Middle Ages. This engendered a situation of diglossia, where Classical Latin was the written language of the elites, whereas Romance was spoken by the majority of the population. Only in the High Middle Ages did the local varieties of Romance gain enough prestige to feature in written form as well. Nowadays, the 'two-norm theory' has become unfashionable. To quote the words of the romanist Herman: "This way of looking at the matter (...) is now out of date" (Herman 2000: 5).

In the last few decades, many historical romanists have focused on the testimony of the Vulgar Latin records instead, taking its linguistic conservatism as part of the bargain (cf. Wright 1982). In this paradigm, the evolution of Latin to the Romance languages is viewed as a gradual process involving different social variants which might have enforced or rejected the classical norm. In this view, Literary Latin and spoken Romance would have been part of one stylistic continuum which covered the educated speech of the elites and the uneducated speech of the masses. This theory is therefore known as the 'one-norm theory'.

The 'one-norm theory' takes better note of the dynamics of literacy in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages and introduces an important sociolinguistic perspective. However, its use of the term Vulgar Latin is not uncontroversial. Many scholars admit that the designation 'Vulgar Latin' is rather unwieldy (e.g. Herman 2000: 1-8), as it covers all colloquial expressions of Latinity stretching from the third-century BCE plays of Plautus to the ninth-century CE R*eichenau Glosses*. This raises the question whether the use of such an imprecise term is helpful in our discussions of the break-up of the Latin dialect continuum (cf. Lloyd 1987; see also Kiesler 2006: 7-14).

We might also wonder whether highlighting the different social variants that contributed to the evolution of the Romance languages really justifies rejecting any form of diglossia in the Early Middle Ages. As Lodge (1993: 93) rightly remarks, the one-norm theory merely pushes the period of diglossia to a later age than the two-norm theory did. Either way, there must have been a time when people became aware of the growing differences between written Latin and spoken Romance, whether we situate that moment in the third century CE or the eighth century CE. Suffice it to say that the issue remains a moot point in historical Romance linguistics.

Most scholars do, however, agree on the moment when the Romance successor of Latin was first formally recognized. This recognition is found in a Latin Carolingian capitulary issued in the year 813 CE at the city of Tours, a diploma which may be regarded as the birth certificate of the Romance variety of Gaul (Krefeld 2004: 58-59).

> "*et ut easdem omelias quisque aperte transferre studeat in rusticam Romanam linguam aut thiotiscam, quo facilius cuncti possint intellegere quae dicuntur*."
>
> (Council of Tours, c. 17, MGH Concil. II, I: 288)
>
> "And that everyone should endeavor to translate these sermons clearly in the rural Romance or Germanic vernacular, so that all can understand more easily that which is being said." (translation mine[61])

In this capitulary, king Charlemagne decreed the translation of sermons in the two vernaculars of the realm (Early Old French and Old High German) in order to facilitate the understanding of religious services by laymen. A slightly earlier reference to the need of translating Latin texts for a Romance speaking audience might be found in the late eighth or early ninth-century *Lex Romana Curiensis,* a compilation of Roman law issued for the region of Chur, Switzerland:

> "*Statuimus ut omnis presbiter habeat brevem istum semper haput se et in unoquoque mense duas vices legat eum coram omni populo et explanet eum illis, que illi bene possint intellegere.*"
>
> (Lex Romana Curiensis, Additamenta c. 12, MGH LL V: 444)
>
> "We have decreed that every priest should have this letter with him and that each month he should read it twice in the presence of the people and explain it to those so that they may understand it well."

Here it is stated that a letter proclaiming the rights of the poor should not only be read aloud but also explained in terms that were understandable to the parishioners. Since the Latin text is unambiguous and hardly in need of explanation, it stands to reason that what was being meant by '*explanet*' was a rendering in the vernacular (*contra* Richter 1994: 75).

A few decades later, once again in Carolingian France, we find the first text in an Old Romance language. This text is the Strasbourg Oaths of 842, which contain the vernacular vows sworn at a peace assembly in Strasbourg by two Frankish kings and their retinues. Each king and his followers swore in the language of the opposing side, that is, the East Frankish king swore in Romance and the West Frankish king in German. The Romance language of this document may, despite its orthographic peculiarity, be called Early Old French, representing

[61] All translations are mine, unless stated otherwise.

an end-stage in the evolution from Late Latin to its northern French successor (Rickard 2003: 20). For the stages preceding Early Old French, several linguistic terms are in use:

- Gallo-Romance is used to denote the linguistic ancestor of all the Romance dialects of Gaul, that is, French, Provençal and Franco-Provençal.
- Proto-French or Pre-French is used in reference to the direct ancestor of the northern French dialects.

These two stages, Gallo-Romance and Pre-French, are not directly represented in the historical record and the only way to gain access to them is via linguistic reconstruction, an enterprise that has suffered waning enthusiasm in recent decades. In this thesis, the reconstruction of the non-attested stages of Early Romance will play an important part. For this reason, I will shortly elaborate on how the comparativist approach became marginalized in Romance linguistics.

2.2 From Proto-Romance to Vulgar Latin

Romance historical linguistics has had a complex relationship with neogrammarian historical linguistics for as long as the paradigm has been around. The neogrammarian view on language change was first expounded by Osthoff and Brugmann in 1878 in the preface to their *Morphologische Unterschungen.* They stressed the regularity of sound change (*Ausnahmslosigkeit der Lautgesetze*) and focused on the physical nature of language evolution. We may note that the neogrammarian approach lies at the foundation of Romance philology and was championed by Gustav Gröber, the founder of the *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* (first issue 1880), and Wilhelm Meyer-Lübke, the author of the *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1890-1902). In Romanist scholarship, this approach to Romance historical linguistics is also known as the 'regularist' or 'reconstructionist' approach (Posner 1996: 4).

The estrangement from this founding movement may have been provoked by the Franco-Prussian war of 1871-1873 (cf. Posner 1996: 5), which alienated French academia from German linguistic thought. As a reaction to the neogrammarian paradigm, early twentieth-century Romanists, inspired by the works of Hugo Schuchardt, shifted their orientation away from linguistic reconstruction and towards the study of pragmatic linguistics and sociolinguistics (cf. Posner 1996: 5). Since these disciplines emphasize the conscious and creative aspects of linguistic processes, this movement is also known as 'Idealist linguistics'. Another challenge to the 'regularist' view came from the field of dialectology and linguistic geography. Dialectologists like Gilliéron (1902-1910) and Gauchat (1903) showed that on the micro-level, the regularity of sound change was not self-evident with some sound changes being only reflected in part of the lexicon. The effects of this reorientation are already clear in Bourciez's 1910 work '*Élements de linguistique Romane*', where reconstructions are seldom featured and the focus lies on the individual Romance languages.

In the second half of the twentieth century, the American structuralist movement called for a rehabilitation of the comparative method. This is especially clear in the works of Bloomfield (1933) and Hall Jr. (1950), who proposed to combine the achievements of historical dialectology with the traditional focus on linguistic reconstruction. Hall's 1950 article '*The reconstruction of Proto-Romance*' is still a powerful exposition of the validity of the comparative method. Meanwhile in Europe, Heinrich Lausberg, in his *Romanische Sprachwissenschaft* (1st published in 1956; Lausberg 1967-1972), took a functionalist stance to the evolution of Latin, starting with Vulgar Latin and displaying great interest in the historical value of the Romance dialects. The functionalists Martinet (1952) and Weinrich (1958) represent the same line of inquiry and revisited several diachronic problems of Romance linguistics, pointing out their relevance to general linguistic theory. By this time, the legacy of the neogrammarians was faltering and the neogrammarian habit of quoting sound laws named after their discoverers had largely been abandoned by Romanist scholars.[62]

Fortunately, the 'regularist' view on Romance historical linguistics was not forgotten and still enough romanists adhered to the idea that regular sound changes provide a window on the non-attested stages in the evolution of the Romance languages. A groundbreaking work in this regard was Elise Richter's 1934 monograph on the relative chronology of sound changes from Latin to Old French. Issues of relative chronology continued to play a role in 'regularist' scholarship, with Georges Straka (1953) following in Richter's footsteps.

Typical of the regularist view on the evolution of the Romance languages, was the above-mentioned 'two-norm theory', implying an early split in the Romance dialect continuum with Latin – Romance diglossia starting in the third century CE already.[63] When we take this early split as our starting point, the following chronology of linguistic stages can be drawn (cf. Taddei 2000: 21):

1. Vulgar Latin (300 BCE – 100 CE)
2. Proto-West-Romance (ca. 100 – 400 CE)
3. Gallo-Romance (ca. 400 – 700 CE).
4. Pre-French (ca. 700- 842 CE)
5. Early Old French (842 – 1100 CE)

[62] Nowadays, few Romanists give the traditional designations like Ten Brink's Law, Darmesteter's Law, Neumann's Law and Ascoli's Laws for the historical sound changes of the Early Romance languages. A notable exception seems to be Bartsch's Law which is mentioned in most expositions of French historical phonology (cf. Zink 1986: 115-17).

[63] That this idea has not been totally abandoned is illustrated by its featuring in the 2011 introduction to historical Romance linguistics by Alkire and Rosen.

2.3 The new paradigm

The situation changed in the 1960s, when poststructuralist scholars like Malkiel and Herman advocated a new focus on attested Vulgar Latin. This sentiment can be found in Malkiel's statement that "reconstructed or starred forms deserve to be appealed to only at rare intervals" (cf. Malkiel 1988: 41). Malkiel and Herman's approach does not deny the usefulness of the comparative method, but regards it mainly as a hypothetical framework whose historicity still need to be confirmed by Vulgar Latin evidence (cf. Herman 2000: 26).

Their views cleared the way for the revisionist paradigm that was proposed by Roger Wright in his 1982 book '*Late Latin and Early Romance in Spain and Carolingian France*'.[64] In this work, Wright renounced the regularist case for Early Medieval diglossia and introduced the 'one-norm theory', arguing that written Latin and Early Romance were varieties of the same Latin language. According to Wright (1982), literary Latin was pronounced as Early Romance in the regions where the Latin language survived into the Early Middle Ages. The other way around, the Early Romance vernaculars were written in Latin orthography and style.[65] This intimately connected literary Latin, which was considerably archaic in its grammar and style, to the spoken Romance vernacular of the masses, enabling the contemporaries to maintain a unitary view on the written and spoken variety of their language.

This situation changed when the reading tradition of Latin was innovated in the late eighth century, in the wake of the Carolingian Renaissance. The Carolingian renaissance entailed the reintroduction of classical spelling and pronunciation rules for literary Latin and caused the separation of the Romance vernacular from its Latin orthography. At that moment, Latin could no longer be pronounced as spoken Romance and only then was the existence of a Romance vernacular next to literary Latin recognized by the contemporaries. Vital to the theory is the supposed lack of metalinguistic distinctions between Latin and the Romance vernacular in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages.

Wright's thesis was received with much enthusiasm by the scholarly community (e.g. Lloyd 1991; Van Uytfanghe 1991, 2013; Banniard 1991, 2013). Many Romance philologists were instantly convinced by the argument that Early Medieval Latin was pronounced as Early Romance, a possibility that had been considered since the early twentieth century (e.g. Rice 1902: 4). After all, this theory elegantly explains the myriad of misspellings found in Merovingian Latin which can only be understood as interference from a Romance pronunciation. Wright's thesis was also positively received by historians, who likewise regard

[64] Quilis-Merín (1999: 171-172) notes that elements of Wright's 'one-norm theory' are already present in the work by Lüdtke (1974).

[65] An evolved pronunciation of an archaic spelling is of course nothing strange with English-speakers being able to pronounce the spelling *knight* as [najt] and French-speakers the spelling *doigt* as [dwa].

the Carolingian Renaissance as an ideological watershed (cf. McKitterick 1977, 1989, 1991; Hen 1995: 29; Smith 2005).

The historical implications of the thesis were also welcome to historians. A prolonged unity of the Latin dialect continuum implies mutual intelligibility between the different Romance vernaculars of the Early Middle Ages. This was welcome news for historians, since Early Medieval texts rarely inform us about intelligibility problems between different varieties of Romance (cf. Berschin 2013). Another welcome implication of the idea that Latin texts represented spoken Romance was that it explains the protracted invisibility of the Early Medieval Romance vernaculars in the historical record. We may note that nowadays many scholars take this silence as evidence that Latin was understood by Romance-speaking laymen, because no written texts provide evidence to the contrary (Richter 1994: 74-76).

Overall, it cannot be denied that the revisionist perspective has greatly enriched the discussion about the Romance vernaculars and Early Medieval literacy. It has reduced the divide between Latin studies and Romance studies and laid new focus on the reading-aloud of Early Medieval documents. Wright's thesis also pointed out that modern taxonomic distinctions are motivated by the benefit of historical hindsight. As Lloyd (1991) rightly remarks, it seems prejudiced to assume that the Early Medieval contemporaries made the same distinction between linguistic varieties as we do.

Finally, Wright's thesis stressed an important point long known to historical linguists, namely that Vulgar Latin and Medieval Latin records do not directly reflect an Early Medieval spoken language but merely represent an awkward compromise between an archaizing writing tradition and an innovative pronunciation.

2.4 Critique on the 'one-norm theory'

That does not mean that Wright's thesis was unanimously accepted. Understandably, several philologists and linguists have criticized elements of Wright's 'one-norm theory'. The following objections have been raised in the literature, a good overview of which can be found in Mercedes Quilis-Merín's 1999 book '*Orígenes históricos de la lengua española*' (Quilis-Merín 1999:169-228).

1. Wright's thesis unjustly extends the label 'Latin' to include 'Early Romance'
2. Wright's thesis marginalizes the achievements of the neogrammarian approach
3. Wright's thesis does not provide a satisfying explanation for how the grammatical and lexical gap between literary Latin and the Romance vernacular was bridged

The first objection concerns the unjust extension of the label 'Latin' and was already voiced by Walsh in a 1986 article. In this article, he stated that "Wright draws the unwarranted inference that Latin and the vernacular were the same language" (Walsh 1986: 212). It is hard

to avoid the impression that such a widening of the term 'Latin' gives a wrong picture of the linguistic situation in the Early Medieval Romance-speaking regions. Historians, who are generally not initiated in the subtleties of historical linguistics, have interpreted Wright's use of the term 'Latin' as a sign that the Latin language of the Early Medieval texts is basically identical to the vernacular spoken by the rural masses, the only difference being a distinctive register (e.g. Richter 1994: 63; Hen 1995: 29; Smith 2005: 24). The use of the term Proto-Romance or Early Romance for the Early Medieval Romance vernacular has the benefit of avoiding such confusion.

The second objection concerns its lack of engagement with the regularist tradition. It should be noted though, that this criticism can be extended to many studies on Vulgar Latin and Early Romance of the past few decades. Although Wright, just like Malkiel and Herman before him, does not deny the usefulness of the comparative enterprise (cf. Wright 1991a: 7-8), his focus on attested Latin does entail a reduced engagement with regularist scholarship. In this regard, we may note the exceptional position of Mazzola (2008), who subscribes to the 'one-norm theory', but at the same time proposes a return to regularist methodology. In a 2013 article, Mazzola argued that documented Vulgar Latin only provides a window on the linguistic expressions of the literate strata of society. Reconstructed Romance, on the other hand, would reflect the language of a broader part of Early Medieval society and is therefore more likely to represent the variety which gave rise to the Old Romance vernaculars. I think Mazzola makes a valid point; it cannot be denied that neogrammarian reconstruction gives access to linguistic features of the vernacular, both in terms of grammar and in lexicon, that we cannot expect to find in the Late Latin record. A similar point is made by Mercedes Quilis-Merín (1999: 225) who argues that Wright "does not take into account the complementary nature of our two sources of knowledge on the linguistic past, textual evidence on the one hand, and reconstruction on the other."[66]

The third objection is tied to the inherent archaism of the Latin writing tradition. As stated above, Wright and the revisionists have argued that the phonological distance between the vernacular and the literary language is easily overcome by knowing the pronunciation rules of an archaic spelling. Be that as it may, the grammatical and lexical distance between Latin and spoken Romance is not so easily bridged. Several scholars have therefore raised the question how speakers of seventh-century Early Romance who had no training in Latin could understand a Latin synthetic passive (cf. Round 1987; Marcos 1984), a grammatical category amply represented in even the most simple Latin texts, but probably defunct before the breakup of the Latin dialect continuum (Pollitzer 1961; Green 1991). Wright's answer was that the scribe who read the text aloud substituted a Latin grammatical

[66] "Así, no tiene en cuenta los procesos de complementación entre los dos medios de conocimiento de la realidad lingüística -evidencias textuales y reconstrucción, prefiriendo otorgar un nuevo contenido al concepto "protorromance" y considerando que el material documental no ha de interpretarse como evidencia directa del habla." (Quilis Merín 1999: 225-26)

form like *cantatur* 'it is sung' with the corresponding analytic construction of the Romance vernacular, i.e. Rom. **kantatʊ est* > **kantado est* (Wright 1982: 256-257; see also Green 1991: 96). The same solution has been proposed for the treatment of Latin lexis that had become obsolete in the spoken vernacular. The scribe would have substituted a Latin word like *ager* 'cultivated field' with its corresponding Romance translation **kampo(s)* (cf. OFr. *champs,* OSp. *campo*) when reading a Latin text aloud. The acceptability of this solution continues to be debated and it seems fair to conclude that Wright's thesis has in this regard slightly trivialized the distance between literary Latin and the Romance vernacular (cf. Round 1987; Walsh 1991: 208).

According to Herman (1996) and Loporcaro (2009), it was exactly this distance between spoken Gallo-Romance and literary Latin that provoked the Carolingian innovation in the Latin reading tradition. Decisive in this regard would have been the operation of syncope and apocope in the Merovingian period; developments that Loporcaro (2009) characterized as the 'second prosodic revolution'. This led to a prosodic mismatch between the Latin words and their Gallo-Romance pronunciation, which made it exceedingly difficult to pronounce written Latin as spoken Romance (cf. Herman 1996). Therefore a new reading tradition for Latin was required and consequently new ways of writing the local vernaculars were attempted. The attractive part of this interpretation is that it reconciles the idea of a broken reading tradition with the traditional focus on linguistic innovation.

In addition to these objections, I want to point out that relying on Early Medieval metalinguistic comments is problematic in itself. Almost all sixth and seventh-century texts are written by the clergy and therefore belong to the framework of Christian Latin discourse. This discourse is the literary embodiment of the Christian ideology of continuity that connected the Medieval present to the Late Antique past. Even if Early Romance speakers conceptually distinguished written Latin and spoken Romance as two distinct languages, we cannot expect to find this distinction reflected in the very few texts of the literate elites that have survived.[67] For the western Christian church there was only one language that mattered and that was literary Latin. All Romance vernaculars, however different, were inevitably considered lesser versions of it. By sticking to the terminology of the Early Medieval contemporaries, we are caught in the same ideological framework that conditioned their writings. In my opinion, this is an undesirable situation to be in when we want to reconstruct the sociolinguistic parameters of a distant past.

[67] The same point was made by R. Penny (1984), who noted that contemporary medieval texts are predominantly engaged with the literary Latin language.

2.5 Evaluation of Wright's thesis

Overall, several elements of the 'one-norm theory' provide promising solutions to old queries and are definitely worth considering. The suggestion that an Early Romance vernacular hides behind the Latin texts of the period may be right in regards to the phonology of Early Romance. However, this does not mean that a Latin text when read aloud with a Romance pronunciation could be understood by uneducated laymen. The differences in morphology and syntax seem too great to allow direct comprehension. In the words of Rebecca Posner:

> "Even if speakers pronounced the Latin as if it were the local Romance variety, it is hard to believe that they were not conscious of the difference between the two" (Posner 1996: 153-154).

Likewise, the suggestion that the Carolingian renaissance provoked a new ideological framework for the Romance vernacular is very insightful and explains why only in the ninth century the first text monuments in Early Old French surface. However, this does not mean that before the ninth century speakers of Early Romance did not distinguish their language from the written Latin of the clergy; it only means that such a distinction has not come down to us in the elite Latin discourse of the Early Middle Ages.

An interesting commentary in this regard was given by Kees Versteegh, an arabist who is well acquainted with the problem of diglossia and differentiation in the Arabic speaking world. Versteegh wrote a review of the 1991 book 'Latin and the Romance languages in the Early Middle Ages' (Wright ed. 1991), which was a collection of papers that were presented at a 1989 historical linguistic conference workshop. In this collection, romanists, historians and latinists reply to Wright's 'one-norm thesis' and the book can therefore be considered as a representative overview of the reception of the new paradigm. Versteegh reminds the reader that "even if people do not conceptualize or explicitly formulate the differences between language varieties, these differences may still be in existence" (1992: 269). He draws the comparison with Arabic, whose speakers vehemently deny being diglottic, even though there is a clear diglottic relationship between the high variety standard of Classical Arabic and the low variety vernaculars. Versteegh also criticizes McKitterick's conception of lay literacy (Versteegh 1992: 272-73) and warns her that in a diglottic society where active literacy is limited to a small elite, as is the case in large parts of the Arab world, lay literacy should not be exaggerated. According to Versteegh, the Arabic parallel teaches us that the average layman is in constant need of the assistance of others to explain the exact content of Classical Arabic texts (Versteegh 1992: 273). It is very plausible that a similar situation existed in the Romance speaking world of the Early Middle Ages.

Furthermore, the 'one-norm theory' should not distract from the fact that in the Early Middle Ages the Romance dialect continuum had already greatly differentiated. We therefore may question Wright's assertion that the Early Medieval Romance dialect continuum allowed

direct mutual intelligibility between speakers of non-contiguous varieties of Early Romance, a so-called Early Medieval Romance monolingualism (cf. Wright 1991: 108). This claim largely rests on an *argumentum ex silentio,* namely the lack of historical comments about linguistic differences between the Romance varieties and more importantly the lack of comments on comprehension problems between Romance speakers (see also Clackson & Horrocks 2007: 275). The absence of this kind of metalinguistic evidence would, according to Wright, prove a prolonged mutual intelligibility in the Early Medieval Romania. Naturally, this claim has been eagerly repeated by historians, with some of them arguing that in the tenth century "a single language was spoken from the Guadalquivir to the Mosel, just as it had been in Roman times" (Smith 2005: 24). I think that few linguists would agree with that statement in this blunt form.

Let us suppose that Charlemagne travelled to Spain and wanted to buy a horse; he may have asked in the Lorraine dialect of Early Old French: [u pɔis ʤɔ atʃaçtær yn tʃəval]. = Old French *ou pois jo achapter un cheval.* Even with the greatest degree of goodwill and careful listening, an Ibero-Romance interlocutor will probably not have understood a single word of that question.[68] And even if the king would have written a note in Latin reading '*ubi equum emere possum*?', no degree of Ibero-Romance pronunciation (*óβe jékwo jémbre pwéso*?) would have rendered this sentence understandable to a Spaniard without a Latin education.

Of course, choosing a different sentence would give a different impression regarding the level of intelligibility between the two varieties. The choice of idiom, the choice of phrasing, the metalinguistic context and the conversational disposition of the interlocutors will all have influenced the dialogue. All these parameters cannot be studied diachronically and any claims regarding mutual intelligibility between diverging linguistic varieties are therefore bound to be controversial. On that account, the above sketched anecdote merely serves to illustrate this controversy and show that mutual intelligibility between non-contiguous Romance varieties in the Early Medieval period cannot be taken for granted, a lack of metalinguistic comments notwithstanding.

Another point that should be stressed is that the validity of linguistic reconstruction has never been disputed, neither within or outside of Romance linguistics (see Chambon 2014). Interestingly, the reconstruction of Proto-Romance seems to be making a comeback, eventhough it is faced with stiff resistence from more theoretical approaches to Romance historical linguistics that favor the variationist approach (see Weiss 2017). The resilience of the reconstructionist tradition in Romance linguistics is especially clear from the DÉRom project (Dictionnaire Étymologique Roman, Lorraine University and the University of the Saarland), which intends to produce a new Proto-Romance etymological dictionary that should replace the *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch* by Meyer-Lübke from 1911. This

[68] An Ibero-Romance speaker might have said something like "dɔnde pwedo kɔmprar uno kaβaljo?".

monumental lexicographical enterprise, two volumes of which have already appeared, is edited by Éva Buchi and Wolfgang Schweickard and reverts to citing reconstructed etyma, thereby employing a revised phoneme inventory of Proto-Romance (see Buchi & Schweickard 2014, 2016). These same volumes also contain numerous articles, outlining the potential benefits and pitfals of the regularist approach (e.g. Swiggers 2014; Garnier 2016).

It may therefore be clear that although the regularist approach with asterisks and neogrammarian sound laws has gone out of fashion, the comparative method remains a valid way of approaching the unattested pre-stages of the Romance dialects. Furthermore, compelling evidence for the historicity of the linguistic reconstruction of Romance can be found in Romance–Germanic loanword studies; many scholars have noted that the Latin loanwords in the Germanic languages often reflect an Early Romance/Vulgar Latin stage, that is to say, the donor forms belong to a chronological stage that lies between Latin and the Old Romance languages (cf. Wollmann 1990; Van Durme 1996; Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 233; Van Loon 2014). A case in point is the Old High German word *kubil* (also OE *cufel*) 'vessel', whose relation to Latin *cupella* 'a small barrel' (REW 2404: 190) cannot be explained from a Latin donor form [kupella]. The lexical transfer is better understood from the view that the contact language was Early Romance, which gives us a donor form [kʊβɛlla] (cf. Picardian/ Walloon *küvel,* REW 2402; Meyer-Lübke 1911: 190).

- Early Romance [kʊβɛlla] → West Germanic [kuβel]

Even fourth-century Gothic, the earliest attested Germanic language, possesses Romance loanwords that can hardly be called Latin; Gothic *kaupatjan* 'to hit someone' is best etymologized as a borrowing from Romance **koupiʤare* (cf. Lat. *colapidiare* 'to strike'), the donor form showing Romance syncope and vocalization of pre-consonantal /l/ (cf. Richter 1934: 114; see also Lehmann 1986: 215).

- Early Romance [koupiʤare] → East Germanic [kaupatjan]

The other way around, Germanic loanwords in the Romance languages also show that an Early Romance stage rather than a Latin stage was the contact language at the moment of borrowing. For example, the Old French word *tiedeis* 'German' shows that the Frankish donor form **þiodisk* 'of the people' entered Gallo-Romance at a stage when the language had acquired a new diphthong /iɛ/ from stressed Latin /é/, since it was this new diphthong /iɛ/ that was used to render the Frankish diphthong /io/ (see also chapter 9). In conclusion, the lexical transfers between Romance and Germanic show that we are dealing with an evolved Romance contact language which closely resembles the reconstructions that are the outcome of the comparative enterprise.

2.6 Medieval Latin

This leaves us with the question of Medieval Latin. In Germanicist studies on etymology, the terms Medieval Latin or Middle Latin are often featured. It is my contention that this terminology is confusing and unwarranted. In the preceding sections we have established that Medieval Latin is an unwieldy term that has no bearing on the spoken language of the Early Medieval period. Following Wright (1982), we may regard Latin texts from the pre-Carolingian period as distorted reflections of the spoken language, which employed an archaic orthography for vernacular Romance word forms. But what do we do with Latin words that post-date the Carolingian Renaissance?

We may start with the observation that the reinvented Latin language remained the preferred language for liturgy and administration throughout most of the European Middle Ages. Nevertheless, the practical requirements of the medieval contemporaries demanded a certain level of flexibility in regards to Latin style and lexicon. Because not all scribal centers kept to the same standards of Latinity, vernacular syntax shows up in the administrative texts of local scribes. These scribes also resorted to Latinizing vernacular words when a classical Latin equivalent was lacking. Therefore Medieval Latin texts often contain the oldest attestations of Romance lexis for which no Latin spelling convention exists (e.g. Blok 2003).

This means that if a non-Latin word turns up in a Medieval Latin text, we can safely assume that we are dealing with a Latinization of a colloquial term belonging to the Romance or Germanic vernacular. Since language contact, in a society where the levels of literacy were extremely low, mainly involves the vernaculars (cf. Thomason 2001: 3), it is inaccurate and misleading to cite a Medieval Latin attestation as a donor form in a borrowing process. As an example may serve the case of MidDu. *bunder,* an agricultural land measure which is commonly connected to Medieval Latin *bunnarium* (EWN s.v. *bunder*). This Medieval Latin form represents a Latinization of a Gallo-Romance word **bonarjo* (cf. OWall. *bonier,* FEW I: 465), which, in a likelihood, was a Romance extension of a Gaulish etymon **bodna* 'land measure' contaminated with a Gaulish word **bona* (cf. OIr. *bun* 'foundation, base').[69]

Since the word *bunder* is only found in Dutch, it seems reasonable to assume that the borrowing took place in the agricultural communities near the Romance language border, presumably somewhere in Early Medieval Belgium. In those regions, a Romance term was adopted by Germanic-speaking communities, i.e. a Gallo-Romance **bonnarjo* > Old Frankish **bunnari.* In my opinion, the Medieval Latin form *bunnarium* only represents a trace of the Romance etymon and was not involved in the lexical transfer. Thus, it may be clear that the Medieval Latin word was not the donor form of the Middle Dutch word.

[69] A direct continuation of a Gallo-Latin form **botinarium* must be rejected because the Latin word is already reflected in the early seventh century without the dental, i.e. Merovingian Latin *bunoarium,* whereas the Old French word *boḍne* proves that the dental survived the Early Middle Ages.

2.7 Gallo-Romance

This dissertation deals with loanwords that illustrate the language contact between speakers of Early Romance and Early Germanic. The Romance dialect continuum of Early Medieval Gaul will feature prominently in these discussions. The continental West Germanic dialect continuum represents the other side of the contact events. In order to correctly interpret the chronology of these events, a seriation of Gallo-Romance phonological rules is needed (cf. Andersen 2003). For this reason, I will provide an overview of the relevant linguistic prehistory of Gallo-Romance and an attempt at a relative chronology in the next chapter. First, however, we should establish how the Gallo-Romance variety arose.

In the following, we will discuss the break-up of the Latin dialect continuum and the historical separation of Gallo-Romance. Then we will take a closer look at the Merovingian Latin source material in order to assess the documentary evidence that provides a window on the spoken Romance vernacular of Early Medieval Gaul.

As has been discussed above, the present-day view on the diversification of Latin involves the development of local varieties that steadily grew dissimilar from each other. It seems plausible that a certain level of social and regional variation has been a characteristic of the Latin language ever since the Roman state expanded into the territory of other linguistic communities. Scholars like Meillet (1928) have even argued that a certain degree of 'creolization' might have contributed to the rise of the Romance regional varieties (see also Goyette 2000). We should however realize that linguistic variation has a dynamic nature and its sociolinguistic parameters will have changed as the empire changed. Not only regional varieties betraying substratum influence of superseded languages will have contributed to the rise of these local dialects, but also sociolectal variation will have played a role; just as modern linguistic communities have social variants indicating a certain status, occupation or education level, the Latin language community will have known the same social variation.

The state-of-the-art of this view is given by J. N. Adams (2007: 684-85, 723-24), who argued that a complex interplay of substratum influence, different sociolects and koineisation by dialect mixing gave rise to the regional dialects of Late Latin that later were to become the Romance languages. This led Adams to assert that "the Romance languages in the modern sense came into being not as the result of a sudden historical event, but when some regional varieties were codified in writing and particularly when certain of them acquired the status of standard languages" (2007: 684).

Although Adams is indubitably right in stressing the importance of regional and social variation to the evolution of the Latin language, his insistence on continuity and internal evolution trivializes the sociolinguistic consequences of the Migration Age. This is unfortunate since it seems likely that the disintegration of the Late Roman state and the political take-over of Germanic-speaking elites must have had some effect on the unity of the

Latin language (cf. Posner 1996: 245-46; Galdi 2011: 567; Kortlandt 1990: 132; Pereltsvaig & Lewis 2015: 108).

In certain areas, settlement of Germanic-speaking colonists would have driven wedges in the continuum, separating different varieties of Latin from each other (cf. Wüest 1979: 345; Sala 2009: 202). In other areas, the social prestige of the Germanic superstrate population may have led to new linguistic variants of Latin. In others again, Latin was traditionally used as a communication language and with the demise of the Empire the need for the language disappeared as well. The regions where the Latin language disappeared are traditionally summarized under the term *Romania submersa.* In the western Empire, the 'submersed Romania' comprises the following areas (Haubrichs 2014: 198).

- Britto-Romance
- African Romance
- Mosel-Romance
- Basel-Romance
- Salzburg-Romance

In my opinion, it is implausible that the fragmentation of the Romania as a borderless cultural space left the unity of the Latin language unaffected (cf. Elcock 1960: 212-16). In that regard, we should note that several structural changes in Latin phonology and grammar, which are characteristic of the Romance varieties, are generally dated to the same transition period between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages (cf. Wüest 1979: 343).

- Restructuring of the Romance vowel system
- Restructuring of the Romance case system
- Restructuring of the Romance stop system

I find it hard to believe that this is a coincidence; that the disintegration of the Roman empire and the disintegration of the Latin dialect continuum, two events that are independently dated to roughly the same period, are unconnected. This contemporaneity is strongly reminiscent of Martinet (1955) and Labov's (1994) conception that 'catastrophic events' such as changes in social patterns caused by demographic shifts may stimulate linguistic change. It seems completely reasonable (and even a bit anticlimactic) to assume that the political upheaval of the fifth century brought along demographic shifts and changes in social patterns. We may therefore view the disintegration of the Roman empire as exactly the 'sudden historical event' which Adams denies had taken place (cf. Kortlandt 1990: 132).

In my opinion, the invasion of Germanic-speaking peoples contributed to the diversification of Latin by fragmenting the former dialect continuum, introducing new Germanic influenced varieties and magnifying linguistic tendencies that were already present in Late Latin (cf. Pope 1934: 10; Pierret 1994: 132). In this way, the Migration Age

should be considered a sociolinguistic contingency of considerable magnitude, which accelerated the regional evolution of the Romance dialects.

2.8 The separation of Gallo-Romance

Accepting the view that the Migration Age played a role in the break-up of the Latin dialect continuum, we will shortly discuss how this fragmentation of the dialect continuum will have taken place. In phylogenetic terms, Gallo-Romance belongs to the western Romance dialect group and is closely affiliated with the Romance dialects of the Iberian peninsula, the Rhaeto-Romance dialects of the Alps and the Italo-Romance dialects to the north of the La Spezia–Rimini line. In the following discussion however, our main point of interest will be the establishment of the Gallo-Romance area. We will trace the historical events that led to its separation from the areas where the Romance sister dialects were spoken (see also Pfister 1978).

When we consider the historical facts, it seems plausible that the first variety to have split off from the western Romance dialect continuum was the Latin variety of the British isles. When in 410 CE the Roman army and civil government left Britain, Britto-Romance became isolated from the Romance variety of Gaul with which it might have been closely affiliated (cf. Schrijver 2002: 106). The British lowland zone was infiltrated by Germanic-speaking peoples who settled there in significant numbers (Schrijver 2009). Whereas scholars used to assume a complete displacement of the Romano-British population under Anglo-Saxon pressure, nowadays it is argued that the Anglo-Saxons merely subjugated the Britons in the areas where they settled (Laker 2010: 11-25; Hickey 2012: 497-99).[70] In the course of the sixth and early seventh century, Britto-Romance will gradually have died out (Price 2000: 138).

The next Romance variety to be isolated from the dialect continuum would have been Rhaeto-Romance, the complex of Romance varieties that was spoken in the former Roman province of Rhaetia (Switzerland, northern Italy and Austria). The settlement of the Germanic-speaking Alamans in the Upper Rhone Valley and Central Switzerland effectively drove a wedge between the Romance variety of Gaul and the Romance of the Alps (Rohlfs 1975: 7; Zinsli 1982: 31). This Germanic settlement of Rhaetia will have begun in the late fifth century CE when the western Empire disintegrated (Haas 1982: 48-49). The infiltration of Germanic-speakers will have increased after 505 CE when Theoderic the Great officially allowed the Alamans to settle in the Swiss Alps (Beyerle 1962: 72).

[70] According to Schrijver, some Romano-Britons migrated to the British highland zone and took their Romance language with them. The language shift from Britto-Romance to Early Brittonic may have introduced a heavy Romance substratum in Welsh (cf. Schrijver 2002: 100-103).

At roughly the same time, in the early sixth century, the Ripuarian Franks advanced into the Upper Mosel valley, thereby disrupting communications of the lower Mosel valley with the rest of Gaul (Jungandreas 1979: 69). Still, the Romance of the Mosel valley remained part of the Gallo-Romance dialect continuum, as borne out by the innovations that it shared with the other Gallo-Romance dialects (Jungandreas 1979: 14-52). In the Carolingian and Post-Carolingian period, the last speech islands of Mosel Romance will slowly but steadily have vanished (Pfister 1992; Haubrichs 2014: 198).

The western Franks, following the demise of the kingdom of Soissons, advanced into northern Gaul and settled on the countryside as far south as the river Loire. It has been argued that this Frankish settlement established a cultural boundary at the river Loire which still divides France in a northern and a southern region (Jochnowitz 1973: 160-169). This cultural boundary is marked by an opposition of differing crop rotation systems and farm house architecture and largely coincides with the croissant-shaped isogloss bundle that divides the *langues d'oïl* from the *langues d'oc* (Lodge 1993: 81). Whether the Franks are really responsible for the establishment of this cultural and linguistic boundary is a moot point (see Chambers & Trudgill 1980: 101-02). We may, however, note that the river Loire also marks a historical legal division that separates the common law region of northern France from the written law region of southern France. It thereby agrees with the legal division established by the Franks in the early sixth-century *Pactus Legis Salicae*.[71] Because of this, it seems hard to deny that the Franks were at least responsible for the reinforcement and maintenance of the cultural boundary.

Northern Italo-Romance was the last Romance variety to split off from Gallo-Romance. The severing of the link between Gallo-Romance and Italo-Romance may have been occasioned by the establishment of the Langobard kingdom in Italy and the settlement of Germanic-speaking Langobards in the Piedmont region (Sala 2013: 202). Since the settlement of the Langobards followed the Langobard invasion of 540 CE, the rift in the dialect continuum may be dated to the second half of the sixth century. This means that a century after Roman rule ended in Gaul, the political borders for the division of the Gallo-Romance dialect area were already in place.

2.9 Merovingian Latin and Merovingian Gallo-Romance

Since our knowledge of the Romance vernacular of Early Medieval Gaul must come from the combined study of the Latin documents and the outcome of linguistic reconstruction, we shall first take a closer look at the Merovingian source material. The Gallo-Roman sources, that I will draw on for information about the Romance vernacular, mainly consists of

[71] Note that the fifth-century play Querolus (cited in chapter 1) suggests that the Loire already marked a cultural boundary in the early fifth century CE.

documents that have no or little claim to literary aspirations. This means that the fifth-century Gallo-Roman comedy *Querolus*, the sixth-century writings of Gregory of Tours, and the seventh-century correspondences of Merovingian courtiers like Desiderius of Cahors must be left out of consideration.[72] Consequently, we are mainly dealing with documents of a practical nature such as law texts, formularies and chronicles.

As has been discussed above, the relationship of the Latin of these Merovingian documents to the actual spoken Romance language of the period is disputed. Even if the written Latin word was understood by the masses who spoke Romance (cf. Banniard 1991; Van Uytfanghe 1991; Herman 2000), we may still wonder how relevant the (limited) literacy of the clergy was to the lay populace. Scholars like Ian Wood (1990, 2006) and Rosamund McKitterick (1990) hold that the survival of diplomas and formularies and references to city archives (*gesta municiparia*) show that Merovingian society demanded the production of written records. Especially the Merovingian formularies are taken as evidence for the proliferation of literacy in the Merovingian period. Scholars such as Michael Richter (1994) have dismissed these texts as not being representative for all but the narrow part of society that could read and write (see also Rio 2008: 17-22). It is striking in this regard that no written documents are mentioned in the early redactions of the Salic Law, our best source of information for Early Merovingian society. In my opinion, it seems sensible to exercise some reluctance in extrapolating the relevance of the texts beyond the clerical interests for which they were drawn up.

We should also realize that attitudes to literacy will not have stayed the same throughout the Merovingian period. We may find evidence for a change in attitudes when we compare the above-mentioned Salic Law to the Ripuarian Law that was drafted a hundred years later. Whereas in the sixth-century Salic Law, land disputes are completely settled on oral terms, the early seventh-century Ripuarian Law also accepts written charters as compelling proof for land ownership (see Halsall 1995: 47-48).

Naturally the evidence of the Ripuarian law does not tell us how wide-spread the use of written documents was at that time, nor what kind of mentality the contemporaries had towards the written word. Still, it seems safe to say that the prestige of the written word will have increased when the Church began to administrate rural estates in the course of the sixth and seventh century CE.

[72] It has been widely recognized that Gallo-Roman aristocrats, despite their excuses for their rural style, wrote literary Latin quite well. Mark Grant argued that with the end of the empire, Latin literacy became an expression of nobility which may have marked out the Gallo-Roman aristocracy from the new Frankish overlords (Grant 1996: 11).

2.10 Merovingian Mots Savants

Another problem concerns the relationship of the Merovingian vernacular to a group of Old French words, that show the effects of Merovingian sound change, but nonetheless deviate from the regular evolution of inherited Latin lexis (cf. Berger 1899; Paris 1900; Reiner 1980). These words often retain features of Classical Latin that should have been altered by Early Romance sound change in the Late Roman period. For this reason, these words are known in the scholarly literature as *mots savants, gelehrtes Wortgut* or *cultismo* formations (see Malkiel 1995: 62). The puzzling thing about these words is that they suggest that a vernacular Gallo-Romance pronunciation was not the only reading tradition that could be applied to the written Latin language in Early Medieval Gaul (Rice 1902: 7).[73]

Latin *populus*	**indigenous**	> Old French *pouble*	'people'
	learned	> Old French *peuple*	'people'
Latin *secundum*	**indigenous**	> Old French *seont*	'according'
	learned	> Old French *segond*	'second'
Latin *rēgula*	**indigenous**	> Old French *reille*	'bar'
	learned	> Old French *riule*	'rule'

It is possible that this pronunciation derived from a Gallo-Roman acrilect that had remained distinctively archaic and was cultivated by the higher ranks of the clergy. It is also possible and perhaps more likely that this pronunciation of Latin was introduced from outside of the Gallo-Romance dialect area and should be attributed to the influx of more archaic reading traditions from the Italian peninsula or sixth-century Ireland. Especially in the late sixth and early seventh century, a revival of clerical mobility seems to have taken place. Furthermore, the Columban monastic movement led to a profound influence of Irish Christianity on Merovingian monasticism (Wood 1994: 184-89). Either way, this archaic pronunciation constituted a secondary conduit through which Latin lexis could enter the Romance vernacular of Early Medieval Gaul.

2.11 The testimony of Merovingian texts

These problems notwithstanding, we may agree with Wright that the written Latin of the Merovingian period may have functioned as the orthography for the spoken Romance of

[73] Rice (1902: 7) remarks that "As to the general character of the artificially acquired clerical language and of the vernacular (...) it is in general clear that these two forms of the same language at least as early as the seventh century , exhibited considerable phonetic differences and at the same time both differed greatly from classic Latin, which cannot be said to have existed at all in the period."

Merovingian society (cf. Wright 1982). Most idiosyncrasies of Merovingian Latin can be explained as reflections of phonological and grammatical features that were present in the spoken Romance variety.

Several Latin texts that date back to the Merovingian period are especially informative in this regard, almost all of which depend on Carolingian manuscripts for their tradition into the historical record. In the remainder of this chapter, I will discuss the following texts in a concise manner:

1. The *Pactus Legis Salicae*
2. Merovingian diplomas
3. The formularies of Angiers, Auvergne and Marculf
4. The chronicles of Pseudo-Fredegar
5. The verse correspondence between Frodebert and Importun

The fact that several of these texts rely on relatively recent manuscript traditions constitutes a significant obstacle for using the documentary approach in assessing the spoken language of Merovingian Gaul. It prompted some scholars (e.g. Gamillscheg 1934; Dietz 1993) to be very reserved in using linguistic features from Merovingian Latinity as evidence for specific Romance sound developments. Nevertheless, restricting our source material to the few surviving Merovingian diplomas, Merovingian epigraphy and coin legends would constitute a disproportionate reduction of our data pool. Moreover, it would disqualify some of the texts that have been considered as the most revealing in their relation to contemporary speech habits. Therefore my starting point will be that evidence from all Merovingian texts, also those from younger manuscript traditions, may be invoked as possible evidence for Merovingian sound changes. This does however not mean that the date of a sound change is decisively proven or disproven by their occurrence or non-occurrence in Merovingian Latinity (cf. Cravens 1991: 85). A vernacular feature in a Merovingian text only gives us an indication that this feature may have been part of the Romance vernacular of the scribe and may have been imposed on the text in the time of its composition already.

In the following sections, a fragment of each text will be analyzed for possible vernacular features in order to illustrate how Merovingian Latinity may provide a window on the spoken language of the period. In these analyses, no comments will be made on the date or relative chronology of these Late Latin/Romance features. This means that some of them may represent colloquial Latin sound changes of the first and second century CE and others Gallo-Romance sound changes of the sixth or seventh century CE. The specifics of the sound changes and their chronology will be covered in chapter 3.

2.12 Romance and the *Pactus Legis Salicae*

The first text that we will discuss is the aforementioned *Pactus Legis Salicae*, a text monument whose importance for the study of Early Romance has been recognized since the mid-nineteenth century. Pott (1851), Gröbler (1884: 54) and Meyer-Lübke (1890) all argued that a wide range of Early Romance data could be extracted from the Latin of the law code. Attempts at a survey of these Romance features have been made in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century by Gaul (1886) and Schramm (1911). A comprehensive study of the Romance features of the Salic Law has been a desideratum ever since.[74]

It still remains an intriguing question how far the Latin of the Salic Law is actually removed from the later Gallo-Romance dialects. In this regard we may note that even a sentence where all Latin words survive into Old French cannot be directly converted into its linguistic successor without changing the word order and substituting defunct grammatical forms. As an example may serve the following law article concerning the flaying of a horse. The phrasing is adopted from the early Merovingian A-redaction and is a combination of the initial conditional clause of manuscript A2 and the final clauses of manuscript A3, since these are missing from A2 (MGH LL rer.nat.germ. IV 1: 232).

> ***Pactus Legis Salicae*, capitulum 65**
>
> *Si quis caballo extra consilio domine sui excortigaveret* (A2), *si interrogatus fuerit confessus, caballum in simblum reddat* (A3).
>
> "If someone would have flayed a horse, without the consent of his lord, if he has been interrogated and has confessed, may he replace the horse fully."

This law article is clearly colloquial in register. The words *caballus* and *excorticare* are not found in Classical Latin and only became current in the Late Latin / Early Romance period. The Latin phrase also displays some clear characteristics of Romance sound development.

- Merger of dative, ablative and accusative in the forms <caballo> and <consilio> for expected <caballum> and <consilium>.
    - This simplification of the case system probably followed the reduction of vowel quality distinctions in final syllables.
- lenition of intervocalic /k/ to Gallo-Romance /g/ in <excortigaverit> instead of expected <excorticaverit>.
- Merovingian Latin *in simblum* (< *in similum*) with post-syncope epenthesis instead of Latin *insimul*.
    - This form already closely resembles Old French *ensemble* (cf. FEW IV: 716-17).

[74] In current approaches to Romance philology, scholars occasionally refer to the Salic Law when discussing Romance lexis or incipient Romance tendencies, but almost always in an anecdotal manner.

However, if we want to translate this entire law article into Old French, some serious linguistic interventions need to be made. This can be illustrated by putting a direct word-for-word translation of the Latin into Old French next to a 'correct' translation modeled on the style and syntax of the early twelfth-century law code of William the Conqueror, *li Leis Wilelme*[75] (cf. Liebermann 1903).

> **verbatim translation:** si ki cheval estre conseil don son eschorchast si enterveḍ fust confes, cheval ensemble rendeḍ.
>
> **adapted translation:** Cil ki eschorchast un cheval estre le conseil le son seignur se il fust enterveḍ et confes, ke il rendraḍ le cheval ensemble.

Noteworthy are the following emendations that had to be made to fit the law article in the model of the *Leis Willelme*:

- application of the Old French verb second constraint
- the addition of compulsory articles
- the inversion of the noun adjective word order
- the addition of compulsory relative pronouns
- the replacement of the Latin perfect conjunctive by an Old French past conjunctive

The need for emendations is of course not surprising since the language of the Salic Law is more than three centuries removed from the oldest Old French.[76] In that regard, the *Lex Salica* may be viewed as both a chronological and a linguistic intermediary between the language of Cicero and the language of Charles the Bald.

2.13 Romance and the Merovingian diplomas

The next text genre, that also shows a clear departure from classical spelling, is the Merovingian charter or diploma (see Vielliard 1927). Unfortunately, very few Merovingian diplomas have survived: the majority of the 38 genuine Merovingian diplomas is known from manuscript traditions from the Carolingian and post-Carolingian period (MGH DD Mer. I; Brühl 2001: XIII). Fortunately, thirteen diplomas have been preserved in their papyrus originals, giving us direct access to the Merovingian writing practices of the seventh century CE. The example text comes from one of these papyrus originals and consists of a few lines from an early seventh-century diploma from king Hlothar II (Latin *Chlotacharius*). The

[75] Compare article 4 from the *Leis Willelme* where we read *Cil ki prendra larrun senz siwte e senz cri* (...) *que il duinse* X *solz de hengwite.* The stipulation is introduced by *cil ki* corresponding to Latin *si quis* which is followed by the sequence verb + object + adjectival clause. Then often a conditional clause introduced by *si* follows. The stipulation is ended by a subjunctive clause consisting of *ke* + subject + verb + object (cf. Liebermann 1903: 497).

[76] It seems likely that several of these Old French grammatical features had not yet developed in the early sixth century and even if they did we cannot expect them to turn up in a text that may be influenced by models of Latin legislation.

diploma addresses several donations to the basilica of Saint-Denis, and is possibly the oldest papyrus original to survive (Paris, Archives Nationales K 1, n° 4). Since the date of issuing at the bottom of the papyrus is lost, the diploma can only be dated to the reign of king Hlothar II, i.e. from 584 to 629 CE (Bruckner & Marichal 1981: 5-6).

Diploma 22

*noster Dodo abba de basileca sancti domni Dioninsio martheris, peculiares patroni nostri, testamenti pagenam a Iohanne quondam neguciante filius (*petiit ut*) alequid de suis facultatebus ad basileca ipsius sancti Dioninsio vel relequa loca sancta infra oppedum Parisiorum civetatis, eciam et ad alecus de suis propinquis per ipso generaliter confirmari deberimus.* (Bruckner & Marichal 1981 5:)

"Our abbot Dodo of the basilica of the martyr saint Denis, our particular patron (has asked that) a charter of testament from John, a former merchant (...) sons (...) a certain amount of his goods to the basilica of the same saint Denis or the remaining holy places inside the town of the community of the Parisians as well and to certain of his dependencies, we would confirm through this charter in public."

The excerpt illustrates a couple of characteristics of Merovingian diplomatics. The first characteristic concerns the conditions in which the diploma survived. Just like all other surviving diplomas from the period, this diploma is connected to ecclesiastical interests. Only in monastic archives could property records survive long enough to allow copying and reuse in Carolingian and Post-Carolingian times[77] (Geary 1996: 107-111; Bouchard 2014: 16-17).

Another characteristic is that the text of the diploma is highly formulaic and follows an established diplomatic model (see Sharpe 1996): The charter starts with the protocol, containing a superscription and an address. Here the king who issues the diploma is identified (X *rex Francorum*) and the recipients are named (*viris inlustrebus* X *et* X). The central part of the text is formed by the disposition and the injunction. In the disposition, the petitioner who asked for the charter is identified followed by the request which is often a confirmation of property rights (*abba* X *petiit ut...*). In the injunction, the requested legal act is spelled out and confirmed. The charter ends with the eschatocol which comprises an identification of the scribe (X *obtulit*), a signature statement by the king (X *in Christi nomine rex hanc preceptionem subscribsit*) and the date and place where the charter was issued (*dato X rigni nostri, in X-iaco*).

The Merovingian diplomas are well-known for their deviation from classical spelling and it is this feature that is most relevant to our present investigation. From the excerpt above it is clear that the scribe employs a Latin spelling that is influenced by his Romance

[77] For the papyri of Saint Denis this reuse often involved turning them over to allow a falsification to be written on their back or gluing them together for repairing parchment (Geary 1996: 110).

pronunciation. The quoted texts offers the following linguistic traits that can be attributed to Late Latin / Early Romance phonology and syntax.

1. Merger of the high mid vowels /i/ and /ē/ and /u/ and /ō/ in stressed syllables
    - merger products often spelled as <i> and <u> (cf. *negu**u**ciante, deber**i**mus*)
2. Collapse of vowel quality in unstressed syllables
    - *basil**e**ca, pag**e**na, confirmar**i**, opp**e**dum*
3. Reduction of vowel quality distinctions in final syllables
    - *confirmar**i**, fili**u**s, alic**u**s*
4. lengthening of vowels after nasal loss in /Vns/ sequence
    - hypercorrect spelling of Dionysio as <dioninsio>
5. Merger of affrication products of etymological /kj/ and /tj/
    - Spelling as <ci> (cf. *negu**ci**ante, e**ci**am*)
6. Delabialization of /k^{w}/ before back vowels (see Väänänen 1981: 51-52)
    - Spelling <ali**c**us> for Latin *aliquos*
7. Use of Latin *debēre* 'must' as a future tense auxiliary (see also Bonnet 1890: 691)
    - *confirmari* ***deberimus*** < *confirmārēmus* 'we would confirm'

Despite these innovative spelling features, the text still very much echoes the administrative traditions of Late Roman Gaul. The Merovingian chancelleries employed a language that can immediately be recognized as the conservative high prestige variety of Latin. The language is marked by a full application of the Latin case system, a highly complex sentence structure, and a common use of the synthetic passive. It is likely that the archaizing style of the language was meant to evoke a solemn atmosphere that enhanced the ritual function of the charter during declamation. It is also likely that the use of this archaic legal language obscured some of its contents to an uneducated audience.

Still, in the Merovingian diplomas contemporary terminology for places (e.g. *marcado* 'market'), measures (e.g. *bunoarium* 'hectare') and goods (e.g. *caballi* 'horses') can often be found. The use of this innovative terminology may have functioned as a counterweight for the hefty phrasing, ensuring that at least some part of the content of the charter was understood when read aloud in court.

Of course we may assume that the educated clergymen who kept and utilized the charters were accustomed to the legal formulae and idiom of the Merovingian chancellery. But it is exactly this use of set formulae that generally precludes interference from Gallo-Romance morphology and syntax. In this regard, the window on the Romance vernacular that the diplomas offer is lamentably small.

2.14 Romance and the Merovingian formularies

Another text genre that is often featured in discussions about the spoken language of Merovingian Gaul consists of the formularies. The Merovingian formularies are sixth-century and seventh-century collections of scribal models for drafting legal documents (Wood 1992: 64; Rio 2008). The scope of these documents includes a wide variety of legal matters, from sale transactions to wills, from wedding gifts to divorces.[78] The main Merovingian formularies that have survived are the formulary of Angers (ca. 514-515 CE), the formulary of Auvergne (ca. 520 CE) and the formulary of Marculf (ca. 650 CE). These collections are preserved in ninth-century cartularies but can on internal evidence[79] be dated to the Merovingian period. The preservation of these formularies in later manuscripts does not disqualify them as witnesses to Merovingian writing practices. Although some corruption of the text in the seventh and eighth century has taken place, the majority of spelling idiosyncrasies may very well date back to the sixth- and seventh-century prototypes (see also Pirson 1913: III-IV).

The Latin of the formularies clearly deviates from the classical standard, not only in its spelling but also in its syntax and morphology. For this reason, the formularies may prove more informative in regards to the Merovingian vernacular than the diplomas. As an example are given the introducing sentences of model text number 4 from the Angers formulary which concerns the sale of a free-born man to his own lord. The reason for the enslavement was that his lord had paid compensation for his crimes in order to save him from the death penalty.

Hic est vindicio de homine in esceno posito

Domno mihi proprio illo ego illi. Et quia coniuncxerunt mihi culpas et meas magis necligencias pro furta quid feci, unde ego in turmentas fui et eologias feci et morte pericolum ex hoc incurrere debui; set abuit pietas vestra datis de ris vestras soledus tantus. (Zeumer 1886: 6; MGH formulae Merowingici et Karolingici)

"Here is the sale of a man that is placed on a torture rack.[80]
To my own lord (so and so), I (so and so). And because my misdeeds and my very great errors have combined with the thefts that I committed, for which I was tortured and

[78] I remind the reader here that it seems unwise to use these texts for conclusions about the proliferation of literacy in Merovingian Gaul. Their contents suggest that their scope is limited to the urban aristocracy of the southern half of the Merovingian realm.

[79] Their Merovingian origin is secured by the references to Merovingian kings (e.g. *in rigni Childeberti,* ca. 511 CE) and the use of early Merovingian legal terminology (e.g. *rachimburdi,* cf. *rachinburgi* in the Salic Law).

[80] The interpretation of <esceno> is moot. It is my contention that Rio's identification (2008: 51) as Latin *escambium* 'exchange, compensation' is the least likely possibility. The cluster /mbj/ is very unlikely to have been reduced to single /n/ (see section 3.38). Zeumer's identification of *esceno* as the word *scamnum* 'torture rack' from the Salic Law is more probable (cf. Zeumer 1886: 6) . Alternatively, also a connection to Medieval Latin *semnium* 'monastery, abode' might be considered, although it is unlikely that in the spoken language the etymological sequence /sk/ and /s/ were easily confused (cf. Vita Boniti Arverni, 7th c. CE, MGH SS rer.merov. VI: 124).

made confession and for which I could have undergone the death penalty. But your piety has given (a certain amount of) solidi from your goods." (see also Rio 2008: 51-52)

The language of this excerpt shows several linguistic features that we have already encountered in the Salic law and the Merovingian charter and several other linguistic features that may provide additional information about the Romance vernacular of Early Medieval Gaul.

1. Syncope between /m/ and /n/ in proparoxytone nouns
    - *domno* < *domino*
2. Merger between Romance /ksC/ and /sC/ leading to scribal confusion on how to write Latin /ks/
    - coniun**cx**erunt < coniun**x**erunt
3. Lenition of Latin /k/ to /g/ in voiced environments leading to inverted spellings
    - ne**cl**igencias < ne**gl**igentias
4. Merger of /i/ and /ē/ and stressed /u/ and /ō/ in stressed syllables
    - Merger products often spelled as /i/ and /u/ (cf. *ris* < *rēs*)
5. Collapse of vowel quality in unstressed syllables
    - *t**u**rmentas* < *tormentas*
6. Merger of affrication products of etymological /kj/ and /tj/
    - Spelling as <ci> (cf. *vindi**ci**o* < Lat. *venditio*)
7. Prothetic vowel before /sk/
    - *esceno* < *scamno* (cf. Lat. *scamnum* 'bench')
8. Loss of Latin /h/
    - *abuit* < *habuit*
9. Analytic perfect construction by use of auxiliary *habēre*
    - *abuit datis* < *habuit datos*
10. Analytic genitive by use of preposition *de* (Schramm 1911: 88-89)
    - *vindicio **de** homine* < *venditiō hominis*
11. Encroachment of the possessive dative on the possessive genitive (Schramm 1911: 97)
    - *domno mihi* < *domino meo* (cf. OFr. *de mei/moi*)
12. juxtaposition genitives with oblique marking (Schramm 1911: 97)
    - *morte pericolum* < *mortis perīculum*
    - cf. OFr. *le lit sun ami* 'the bed of his friend (Jensen 1990: 19)
13. Relative pronoun *quid* relating to neuter plural noun (cf. OFr. *qui*)
    - *furta quid* < *furta qua*

The style of the formularies has a colloquial appearance that contrasts sharply with the language of the charters. Whereas the charters are marked by a complex sentence structure

that is riddled with multiple embedded relative clauses, the style of the formularies is rather simple. In this regard, it is strikingly similar to the language of the Salic Law. Both text genres remain concise in their phrasing and structure, but occasionally use grammatical features that mark the high prestige variety of Latin. These may be found in the use of synthetic passives, gerunds, and Latin 'accusative and infinitive' constructions. The use of these 'learned' features alongside a 'vernacular style' suggests that that the lawyers who authored the formularies were aiming for a balance between solemnity and comprehensibility.

2.15 Romance and the chronicle of Pseudo-Fredegar

The chronicle of Pseudo-Fredegar is the main historiographical source for seventh-century Merovingian history (cf. Ganshof 1970; Devillers & Meyers 2001). The text is often referred to as 'Fredegar's chronicle', although the name Fredegar is not associated with it in any medieval manuscript. The chronicle was finished in the middle of the seventh century (ca. 660 CE) and survives in multiple manuscripts, the oldest of which predates 715 CE. We have to reckon with at least two anonymous authors (author A and B, cf. Wallace-Hadrill 1960: xxi), whose goal it was to compile a learned summary of world history. This summary was based on the works of Hyppolytus of Rome, the chronicles of Hydatius and Jerome, and the Frankish history of Gregory of Tours (Devillers & Meyers 2001: 7-8). The authors added political events from their own time to this historical framework; author A until 613 CE, and author B until 642 CE (Devillers & Meyers 2001: 12-13). The language of the chroniclers is notorious for its defective Latin (Wallace-Hadrill 1960: xxviii; Devillers & Meyers 2001: 37) which makes it of prime interest for the present investigation. Still, it is clear that we are not dealing with a text of a colloquial nature. Although the orthography is far removed from classical Latinity and may very well reflect linguistic features of seventh-century Romance pronunciation, the style and idiom is decidedly modelled on a more refined historiographical tradition, possibly the style of the Latin works, whose contents are recapitulated in the early parts of the chronicle (e.g. *Historia Francorum*, *Chronica Maiora*). The text example comes from book IV of the chronicle and relates to political events of 613 CE.[81]

> **Capitulum 42**
>
> *Cumque iusso Brunechildi et Sigyberto, filio Theuderici, exercitus de Brugundia et Auster contra Chlothario adgrederetur veniensque Sigybertus in campania territuriae Catalauninsis super fluvium Axsoma, ibique Chlotharius obviam cum exercito venit, multus iam de Austrasius secum habens factione Warnachariae mariorem domus sicut iam olim tractaverat consencientibus Aledeo patricio, Roccone, Sigoaldo et Eudilanae ducibus. Cumque in congresso certamine debuissent cum exercitum confligere, priusquam priliare cepissent, signa dantis,*

[81] The fourth book of the chronicle contains the latest historiographical additions and it is this part that is of most value to historians. Its prologue reads "*prologus cuiusdam sapientis*" 'the prologue of a certain wise man'.

exercitus Sigyberti terga vertens, redit ad propriis sedibus. (Krusch 1888, MGH SS Rer.Merov. II: 141)

"And by command of Brunehildi and Sigibert, the son of Theoderic, the army set out from Burgundia and the East realm and at that time Sigibert went to Champagne, the territory of Châlons-sur-Marne above the river Aisne, and there Hlothar came with an army against him, having already many from the Austrasians with him from the faction of Warnahari, the steward, as they had agreed upon before with consent of the patrician Eletheus and the war leaders Rokko, Sigowald and Eudila. And when the battlefield was set and they had to clash with the other army, before they began to fight, the army of Sigibert gave signals, turned their backs and went back home. " (see also Wallace-Hadrill 1960: 34; Devillers & Meyers 2001: 121)

Just like in the Merovingian texts that we have discussed above, this fragment also shows several orthographic peculiarities that reflect an evolved Romance pronunciation of the Latin. The following features may be noted (see also Devillers & Meyers 2001: 42-52):

1. Monophthongization of /oi/ to /ē/
    - *pr**i**liare* < *proeliare*
    - *c**e**pissent* < *coepissent*
2. Merger of /i/ and /ē/ and stressed /u/ and /ō/ in stressed syllables
    - Merger products often spelled as <i> and <u> (cf. *territ**u**riae*)
3. A fronted pronunciation of /a/ enabling it to be used for etymological /e/
    - ***A**ledeo* < *Eletheus*
4. Collapse of vowel quality in unstressed syllables
    - *mult**u**s* < *multos, dant**i**s* < *dantes*
5. Collapse of oblique cases in the nominal declensions
    - *cum exercit**um*** < *cum exercito*
6. Merger of affrication products of etymological /kj/ and /tj/
    - Spelling as <ci> (cf. *consen**ci**en**ci**bus* < Lat. *consentientibus*)
7. Simplification of /ksC/ to /sC/ so that the spelling <x> could be used for /s/
    - Hypercorrect spelling *A**xs**oma* < Gaulish *Axonna*
8. Intervocalic voicing of voiceless /t/ to /d/
    - *Ale**d**eo* < *Eletheus*

Despite this peculiar spelling, it is clear that the compilers of the chronicle aspired to a high standard of literary Latin. This aspiration is seen in the use of archaic idiom such as *certamen* 'battle' and *proeliare* 'to fight' . We recognize the same ambition in the ample use of Latin function words (e.g. Latin *cumque* 'and because', *ibique* 'there', *obviam* 'towards' and *olim* 'once'), function words which, in all likelihood, had been defunct in the colloquial register of Latin for a long time. The narrator also does not shun the use of synthetic passives such as *adgrederetur* 'had set out'. Still, in several places we might suspect that the chronicler chose a

sentence structure that was suggested by his native Romance variety. This may be the case for the phrase *multus de austrasius* 'many of Austrasians', instead of a more Latinate *multos Austrasiorum* and the use of a juxtaposition genitive such as *factione Warnachariae* 'of the faction of Warnahari'.

The most famous instance where the compilators of the chronicle show the phrasing and even grammar of their own Romance vernacular is found in a digression on the fifth-century war between Justinian and the Persians (book 2, c. 62, see Herman 2000: 74). The chronicler recounts that when the Persian king did not want to cede his territories to Rome, he supposedly said *non dabo* 'I will not give'. Upon this, Justinian would have said *daras* 'you will give', an answer that immediately explained the name of the town Daras where the dialogue took place. This form *daras* is the first recording of the contracted new Romance future tense. This Romance future tense consisted of the infinitive followed by an inflected form of the auxiliary *habēre,* i.e. *daras* < Latin *dare habes*. In this instance, the Romance future of *dare* 'to give' is playfully contrasted with the Latin future of *dare.* The fact that the seventh-century chronicler could chose to write *daras* instead of *dare habes* suggests that he considered the Romance form to be different enough to warrant a new contracted spelling distinct from the Latin analytic construction.

2.16 Romance and the verse correspondence of Frodebert and Importun

The most peculiar, but definitely also the most intriguing text of the Merovingian period is the verse correspondence of Frodebert and Importun, a text that was deemed by Bruno Krusch (in Winterfeld 1905) to be "*das wahrste Denkmal der ganzen Merowingerzeit*".[82] The text is passed down in a ninth-century manuscript (B.N. Lat. 4627) containing the Sens formularies (ca. 768-775 CE) and consists of what looks like an epistolary correspondence between the Merovingian bishops Frodebert (< OFrnk. **hrodaberht*) and Importun. When we assume that the correspondents are to be identified with the historical bishops Chrodebertus (bishop of Tours from ? – 682 CE) and Importunus (bishop of Paris from 664-666 CE) and that these historical figures were involved in the composition, the text can be dated to ca. 665 CE. The text is divided in five 'letters' or dictions that represent the different voices in the dialogue, two dictions by Frodebert and three by Importun. Noteworthy is that several of these dictions are introduced by the term *parabola.* Also interesting is that, in the later part of the text, an audience of nuns is mentioned. Although the format of the text has generally been interpreted as adhering to epistolary conventions, the content and the style revolve around a rather colloquial exchange of insults. Falsehood, clerical misconduct, murder, cowardice,

[82] This remark was made personally by Krusch to Winterfeld and recounted in Winterfeld's article (1905: 60) on 'Hrotsvith literarische Stellung' in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen.*

and sexual impotence all feature amongst the numerous accusations on either party (Shanzer 2010: 394).

The most salient feature of the text is the poetic form; a versification marked by end-rhyme and alliteration. Romanists have recognized as early as the 1930's (e.g. Richter 1934: 206) that this end-rhyme gives valuable clues to the seventh-century pronunciation of Latin, some of which are absent in all other expressions of Merovingian Latinity (see Haadsma & Nuchelmans 1963). Latinists like Walstra (1962) and Shanzer (2010) have failed to appreciate this vernacular character and gravitated towards a mainly prose interpretation, an interpretation more in line with their Latinate interests. Hen (2012) takes the entire intention of the document seriously and views it as a genuine correspondence reflecting Merovingian politics and culture in seventh-century Francia, a position which, as the following section will show, is untenable.

Shanzer (2010), who published the latest examination, interprets the text as an epistolary composition that at certain places employs playful end-rhyme. According to her, it should be viewed as a literary expression of an insult competition between two educated clergymen. This competitive abuse would, according to Shanzer, have been marked by biblical witticisms and intertextuality with the letters of Jerome (2010: 395). Her analysis ignores the remarkable feat that the rhyme is at some places obscured by the Latin orthography and only becomes apparent when read aloud with an evolved Romance pronunciation. It is my contention that this complicates a literary Latin milieu and places the text in a more vernacular setting. Because the text is a unique thing in Merovingian Latinity, it is unfortunate that it has enjoyed so little attention by historians and philologists. Below an excerpt is given from the first diction by Frodebert.

Indiculum

"*Domne dulcissime et frater carissime Importune*
Quod recipisti tam dura // Estimasti nos iam vicina
Morte de fame perire // Quando talem annona voluisti largire
Nec ad pretium nec ad donum // Non cupimus tale anone
Fecimus inde comestum // Si dominus imbolat formentum
Aforis turpis est crusta // Abintus miga nimis est fusca
Aspera est in palato // Amara et fetius odorato
Mixta vetus apud novella // Faciunt inde oblata non bella"
(MGH Form.Mer. I: 220-21)

"Sweetest lord and most beloved brother Importun,
concerning that hard stuff which you see, you honestly thought that we,
near to death by hunger would die, when you wanted to bestow such grain.
Not for a price nor as a present, do we want grain so unpleasant
From this we made something to eat, were it not that the lord stole the wheat

On the outside, the crust is tarty, on the inside, the crumb is swarthy
It is sharp to the palate and bitter and it smells horrible
The old grain is mixed with the recent, from that they make wafers indecent."

The above quoted lines illustrate two salient features of the text. First of all, the verse form is marked by end-rhyme and does not adhere to a metrical scheme. Also, the verse is embellished by occasional instances of alliteration (*aforis ~ abintus, aspera ~ amara*). As stated above, these poetical features become more apparent, when we take the Late Latin and Gallo-Romance pronunciation into account. In this way, we may realize that the word *novella* pronounced as [nɔ:βɛlla] is almost identical to the *non bella* [nɔn βɛlla] of the following line. Similarly, the words *donum* and *annone* rhyme when taking the reduction of final mid vowels to schwa into account, i.e. [donə] // [anonə]. Secondly, the idiom is markedly colloquial, which is clear from the fact that most lexical items survive in Old French. Also, a remarkable amount of Romance lexis of sub-Latin provenance is featured.

- MerLat. *butte* 'bottle?' < Pre-Rom. **butt- ~ *putt-* (cf. OFr. *boteille,* FEW I: 660-61)
- MerLat. *trapa* 'trap' < Gm. **trappō* (cf. OFr. *trappe,* FEW XVII: 353)
- MerLat. *bracco* 'dog' < WGm. **brakko* (cf. OFr. *brac,* FEW XV: 236)

When we take the end-rhyme into account, the following Romance features may be identified in the text.

1. Monophthongization of /oi/ to /ē/
    - ***fe**tius* < *foetidus* 'fetid'
2. Syncope between /m/ and /n/ in proparoxytone nouns
    - *do**mn**o* < *domino* 'lord'
3. reduction of final mid vowels into schwa
    - rhyming *donum* 'gift' [donə] with *annone* 'grain' [anonə]
4. Fortition of /v/ to /β/ in voiced environments
    - *in**b**olat* < *involat* 'he steals' (cf. OFr. *embler* 'to steal')
    - *novella* = [nɔβɛla] 'new ones' is identical in pronunciation to *non bella* [nɔn βɛla]
5. Replacement of the preposition *cum* 'with' by Gallo-Romance *apud* (cf. OFr. *ab, od*)
    - *Mixta vetus **apud** novella* < *mixta vetus cum novella* (cf. OFr. *ab* 'in company of, with')
6. Word play involving the similarity in pronunciation of the sequence /erm/ and /orm/
    - ***form**entum* < *fermentum / frumentum*[83] (cf. OFr. *fourment* 'wheat')
7. Intervocalic voicing of /k/ to /g/
    - *mi**g**a* < *mīca* 'crumb' (cf. OFr. *mie* 'id.')

[83] Latin *fermentum* (cf. OPort. *formento* 'yeast') and Latin *frumentum* (cf. OFr. *fourment* 'wheat')

8. Replacement of *-idus* by *–iu*
    - *fet**iu**s* < *foet**idu**s* 'fetid' (cf. Tarente *fiettse*, see REW 3409)
9. Analytic genitive by use of preposition *de* (Schramm 1911: 88-89)
    - *vicina morte de fame* 'close to death by starvation' (cf. OFr. *veizine mort de faim*)

Naturally, this excerpt only supplies us with some of the linguistic peculiarities that may be encountered in the full text. Two other features in the text that are of great importance for the history of the French language will be mentioned in passing: 1) the possible evidence for secondary diphthongization found in the spelling *fei* for *fide* (cf. Richter 1934: 206; see section 3.8). 2) the merger of /kt/ and /pt/ in Pre-French /χt/, which enabled the rhyming of *acta* with *apta* (see section 3.35). All these evolved Romance features indicate that considerable parts of the text represent a Latinate spelling of the seventh-century Romance dialect spoken in Merovingian Gaul.

It may be clear that I attribute a more vernacular character to the text than Shanzer does. However, I feel that this vernacular character actually lends strength to Shanzer's hypothesis that we might be dealing with a piece of literature that was meant to be performed (2010: 395). This is also supported by the word *parabola* that introduces several of the dictions, a term that explicitly refers to the spoken word (cf. Old French *paraula* 'speech', Old Spanish *palabra* 'word'). We might even speculate that the women who are sometimes addressed in the dictions were part of the performance. In this regard it is interesting to note that a similar genre of poetic abuse is known from Germanic oral literature, an exchange of insults often called *flyting* (see Clover 1980; Allan & Burridge 2006: 85). It is well conceivable that this genre of oral literature was also cultivated in Merovingian society, possibly as a Gallo-Roman adaptation of what was originally a northern European literary genre. In this context, the colloquial idiom and vernacular rhymes would make sense.

2.17 Some general remarks on Merovingian spelling

In the above discussed Merovingian text monuments, we have encountered several spelling features that are common to most Latin texts of the period. Here we will summarize them and make some observations about Merovingian spelling in general.

1. Peculiar spelling of the merger products of /i/ and /ē/ and /u/ and /ō/
    - often written as <i> and <u>[84]
2. Reduced vowel distinction in unstressed syllables
    - Limited to <i>, <u> and <a>
3. Spelling of Romance prosthetic vowel before initial /sk/, /st/ and /sp/

[84] The Merovingian <i>/<u> spelling for the merger products of the Romance high mid vowels will be discussed in chapter 3 (see section 3.10).

    - Written as <i> or <e>
4. The spelling <x> was also used for /s/
    - Latin /ksC/ had been simplified to /sC/
    - Latin /ks/ between vowels was continued as Gallo-Romance /χs/
        - Gallo-Romance /χs/ is often spelled as <xs> in Merovingian Latinity
5. Ambiguity in spelling etymological /kj/ and /tj/
    - <ci> spelling is preferred
6. Occasional spelling of lenition products in the stop system
    - Voiced spellings for Latin voiceless stops
    - Hypercorrect voiceless spellings for Latin voiced stops
7. The spelling <b> could render both Latin intervocalic /b/ and Latin intervocalic/w/
    - Reflects merger of Latin /b/ and /w/ in Romance /β/
    - Hypercorrect spelling of <b> for Latin initial /w/

It is clear that the orthography of Merovingian Latin was influenced by a reading tradition that stood in close relation to the spoken Gallo-Romance vernacular. This interference provides us with valuable clues on how the sixth and seventh-century Gallo-Romance vernacular was pronounced. These clues are found in spelling confusions that reflect Romance or Gallo-Romance sound changes, sound changes which separate the Merovingian vernacular from its archaizing writing tradition. Furthermore, Merovingian Latin also sparingly provides information on the syntax and grammar of the evolved Gallo-Romance language. In that domain, however, scribes were more reluctant to abandon the conventions of the writing tradition. We may conclude this chapter with the observation that the exact relation between the reading tradition and the pronunciation can be specified further, if we put it next to a historical phonology of Gallo-Romance. That will be the aim of the next chapter.

3 Gallo-Romance historical phonology

3.1 Sound laws and chronology

In the preceding chapter, we have explored the methodological problems affecting the terms Vulgar Latin, Merovingian Latin and Early Romance and we defined the following important principles:

- In the Early Middle Ages, the Romance vernaculars had evolved away from the classical language.
- The evolved state of the early medieval Romance vernaculars is obscured by the persistence of the written Latin standard, consisting of an archaic orthography and archaizing literary styles.
- Any assessment of the phonology of the spoken languages should therefore combine the study of documentary evidence with the outcomes of linguistic reconstruction.
- The traditional term Vulgar Latin is too broad and does not do justice to the interplay between the spoken vernacular and the archaic writing tradition.

In chapter two, we also took a closer look at what constitutes Gallo-Romance, how it got separated from the western Romance dialect continuum and what documentary evidence provides clues to its phonology. In our evaluation of the relationship between written Latin and reconstructed Proto-Romance, we have established that linguistic reconstruction brings us closer to the basilect of spoken Romance, whereas our written sources only offer us a window on the Romance acrilect. Now that the theoretical framework is set out and our source material is evaluated, we can try to survey the problems and intricacies of Gallo-Romance phonology.

In the following, when I refer to Late Latin sound change and talk about innovations that affected all the Romance varieties, the term Proto-Romance will be used. The more localized terms Gallo-Romance, Ibero-Romance and Italo-Romance are reserved for linguistic forms and developments that post-date the break-up of the Romance dialect continuum. In my opinion, avoiding the terms Late Latin or Medieval Latin does better justice to the fact that many centuries of linguistic evolution separate the Early Medieval Romance vernaculars from the language of Republican Rome.

The aim of the following description of sound laws is not to provide a formal or theoretical account of all phonological processes at play in the evolution from Latin to Romance. For these, I gladly refer to the work of Jakob Wüest (1979), Michele Loporcaro (2009, 2015), and Xavier Gouvert (2014), who have provided in-depth analyses of the most important phonological developments that characterize the diversification of the Latin dialect

continuum. Instead, in this chapter, I will give succinct descriptions of Early Romance and Gallo-Romance sound changes, thereby highlighting their relevance to the orthography of Merovingian Latin. I will also attempt to make a seriation of these changes. This may enable us to correctly assess the chronology of the lexical transfers that will be studied in this dissertation.

As is well-known, not all issues of Romance historical phonology are resolved. Therefore at many occasions, I will confine myself to drawing attention to the most promising solutions, merely scratching the surface of the controversies of past scholarship. The relative chronology that I will present is heavily indebted to the works of Elise Richter (1934) and Georges Straka (1953, 1970), but important deviations from this traditional chronology will be made whenever recent scholarship has supplanted outdated views (e.g. Morin 2003; Loporcaro 2009). Furthermore, I will provide some new documentary evidence from Merovingian texts, epigraphy and coin legends that may shed light on the chronology of the sound changes.

Still, we should realize that the empirical basis on which a relative chronology is founded, is sometimes very small. This has led some scholars to doubt whether this enterprise is useful at all, attributing the ambiguities of the data to the different social variants of Vulgar Latin that may have been spoken in the Early Middle Ages (cf. Morin 2003). This sentiment is strongly expressed by Flobert, who remarked that Straka's relative chronology "cannot but strike horror into the heart of every Latinist" (Flobert 2002: 424).

That being said, to my mind the social-variation-solution should be invoked sparingly. We must be careful not to relegate all problems of Romance historical phonology to a sociolinguistic domain of which we know even less. We should also take care that the term Vulgar Latin does not turn into a historical black box, that is to say, we know what Latin form goes in Vulgar Latin and what Romance form goes out, but we do not consider what happened between those two points. Such an attitude is not only unfortunate but also unnecessary since linguistic reconstruction in conjunction with the evidence from lexical transfers provides ample clues to the chronology of Romance sound change; this data allows us to carefully fill in some of the gaps that are left by the record of written Latin of the Late Roman period.

The structure of this chapter will be a follows: first, the changes affecting the Latin vowel system will be covered. Then, we will move on to the changes in the Latin consonant system. Finally, the problems of Romance and Gallo-Romance syncope will be explored.

3.2 The reorganization of the Latin vowel system

We may start with the transformations in the Latin vowel system. Classical Latin possessed a symmetric vowel system of five short vowels, five long vowels and three diphthongs.

Short vowels:	Latin /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/	
Long vowels:	Latin /ī/, /ē, /ā/, /ō/, /ū/	
Diphthongs:	Latin /ai/, /oi/, /au/	= <ae>, <oe>, <au>

During the transition from Classical Latin to the Romance vernaculars, this vowel system with phonemic vowel length was abandoned in the western Romania in favor of a qualitative system. In most traditional reference works on the historical development of the Romance languages, this reorganization is often surmised by high-lighting the following developments (cf. Väänänen 1981: 30; see also Loporcaro 2009: 111):

- Quality differences arise between the short and long counterparts of a vowel
    - Latin short vowels became lax
- Monophthongization of the Latin diphthongs /oi/ and /ai/
    - Latin /oi/ > Romance /e/
    - Latin /ai/ > Romance /ɛ/
- Shift from /ens/ > /ēs/ > Romance /es/
- phonemic vowel length was lost
- Latin high mid vowels merged
    - Latin /i/ and /ē/ > Romance/e/
    - Latin /u/ and /ō/ > Romance /o/

In this traditional view, the documentation of the new vowel qualities in Vulgar Latin texts is taken as evidence for the collapse of the quantitative system (cf. Straka 1953). Loporcaro (2009), following previous investigations by Pulgram (1975), Franceschi (1976), and Fanciullo (1988), has shown that this scenario is incomplete and does not account for all the facts. He argues that the rise of new vowel qualities does not immediately entail the loss of contrastive vowel length and draws attention to the fact that qualitative distinctions between long and short counterparts of a vowel are attested in Latin epigraphy from the Pre-Classical period onwards. This shows, in his opinion, that the Latin vowel length distinctions coincided from an early date onwards with qualitative tense/lax distinctions. The vowel system that has to be reconstructed for Colloquial Latin/Proto-Romance would then be as follows (cf. Loporcaro 2009: 110):

Proto-Romance vowel system

[iː] [uː]

[ɪ] [ʊ]

[eː] [oː]

[ɛ] [ɔ]

[aː] [ɑ] [au]

3.3 The dialectal division of the Romania

This colloquial Latin vowel system was then reorganized in different ways in the different parts of the Romania. Following Loporcaro (2009), we can now trace these different reorganizations. This will provide a historical background to the rise of the western Romance vowel system and its subsequent developments in Gallo-Romance.

Before the break-up of the dialect continuum, the Latin diphthongs /ai/ and /oi/ were monopthongized to [ɛː] and [eː] respectively. The resulting monophthongs are reflected in the Pompeii graffiti already, which indicates that the shift must predate the beginning of our era (cf. Richter 1934: 40, 57; Väänänen 1981: 38). Somewhat earlier, another long [eː] had arisen through compensatory lenghthening after the nasal in the Latin sequence /ens/ was dropped (cf. Richter 1934: 40; Väänänen 1981: 64). From that moment onward, only one diphthong remained in the Romance vowel system, i.e. Proto-Romance /au/.

The first reorganization of the vowel system will have occurred in the southern Romania, the dialect area comprising Sardinia and North Africa. Here the lax–tense distinction between short and long vowels was given up, so that [ɪ] and [ʊ] did not become associated with [eː] and [oː]. This loss of the tensing distinction allowed the short and the long vowels to merge in a single phoneme, i.e. [iː], [ɪ] > /i/, [eː], [ɛ] > /ɛ/, etc.). This vowel system is still found in modern Logudorese and Gallurese and it is assumed that African Romance shared in this reorganization. Evidence for this vowel system in North Africa is provided by Augustine who remarked that 'African ears' (De doctrina Christiana IV, 24) do not hear the difference between the short and the long vowels (Väänänen 1967: 31). Also the epigraphic record points in this direction, since it shows that orthographic confusion between the high mid vowels is uncommon in Africa (Adams 2007: 262).

The next development covered the remaining part of the Romance dialect continuum and consisted of the laxing of [ɪ] into [e]. This new [e] merged with the long [eː] from Latin /ē/ but the etymological difference was still marked by a contrast in vowel quantity, i.e. [e] : [eː]. This led to the asymmetric system that is still preserved in Rumanian and which can be

reconstructed for Dalmatian (Loporcaro 2009: 114; *contra* Holzer 2007: 35). Herman (1985) has argued that western Romance shared this asymmetric system for a considerable time, a suggestion that is widely accepted (Taddei 2000; Loporcaro 2009). This would be shown by the fact that, in Late Roman epigraphy from Gaul and northern Italy, orthographic confusion between /i/ and /ē/ is common, whereas orthographic confusion between Latin /u/ and /ō/ occurs more rarely (cf. Herman 1985: 75; Loporcaro 2009: 115; see also Väänänen 1981: 36).

Late Common Romance

[iː] [u]

[ʊ]

[e] [eː] [oː]

[ɛ] [ɔ]

[aː] [ɑ]

3.4 The dawn of West Romance

The next development only covered the western part of the Roman empire, also including most of the southern Italian peninsula (except Lucania, cf. Loporcaro 2009: 114). It consisted of the laxing of [ʊ] into [o] so that short [o] merged with the long [oː] from Latin /ō/. Also here, the etymological contrast between [o] and [oː] was retained in the length difference. This vowel system with its phonetic merger of Latin /i/ and /e/ and /u/ and /o/ should be reconstructed for Proto-West-Romance and is reflected in the vowel confusions of the *Appendix Probi* (ca. mid 5th c. CE). It has been argued that the phonetic merger of [ʊ] and [oː] predates the adoption of Latin loanwords into Gothic (cf. Green 1998: 201-208). This would be shown by the loss of final Latin /u/ and /ō/ in the Gothic adaptation of Latin loanwords.

Latin *vinum*	[wiːnu]	> [wiːnʊ]	> Goth. *wein*	'wine'
Latin *pondō*	[pondoː]	> [pɔndoː]	> Goth. *pund*	'pound

However, the loss of the Latin final vowels can also be attributed to a mismatch in vowel quality between the donor language and the recipient language. The Gothic words should therefore not be taken as cogent evidence for the completion of the phonetic merger before the fourth century CE. Solid evidence for the completion of the merger is given in the sixth-century *Etymologiae* (19, 22: 16) by Isidore of Sevilla, where it is recounted that the word *tonica* (cf. Latin *tunica*) is derived from the word *tonus* 'sound', because a tunic makes a sound when it hits the ground.

West Romance

[iː] [u]

[e] [eː] [oː] [o]

[ɛ] [ɔ]

[aː] [ɑ]

3.5 Ten Brink's Law

The phonetic merger became phonemic because of the operation of Romance Open Syllable Lengthening (OSL), a development that is covered by the traditional term Ten Brink's Law (cf. Voretzsch-Rohlfs 1901: 40). Ten Brink's Law states that stressed short vowels in open syllables were lengthened and stressed long vowels in closed syllables became short (cf. Ten Brink 1879). This development made vowel length dependent on syllable structure and thus obliterated the old length distinctions. Consequently, the loss of the old length distinctions forced the phonemicization of the phonetic mergers. The exact dating of open syllable lengthening is still an unsolved issue in Romance historical linguistics. The question is complicated by what seem to be some very early indications that word stress and vowel length started to coincide. The following evidence should be taken into consideration:

1. In the wax tablet letters of Gaius Novius Eunius (1st c. CE) there seems to be a connection between stress and geminate spellings (Clackson & Horrocks 2007: 243)
2. In the graffiti of Pompeii, the digraph <ae> could be used as an inverted spelling for short /e/ (Väänänen 1981: 31)
3. The grammarian Sacerdos (3d c. CE) remarks that short vowels were lengthened under the accent as a 'barbarism of our times' (Adams 2007: 264)
4. The grammarians Consentius (5th c. CE) and Commodianus (5th c. CE, *Carmen Apologeticum* 27) consider stressed vowels in open syllables to be metrically long

These facts may be interpreted as evidence that lengthening of stressed vowels in open syllables was already common in some Latin varieties from Italy and Africa in the early centuries CE. Still, it seems plausible, that in most varieties of colloquial Latin the original vowel quantities had been retained. Only in the time of the Late Empire would OSL have become more widespread. Considering the fact that it could still cover the entire Romance dialect continuum, its conclusion probably predates the break-up of the dialect continuum that followed the political dismemberment of the Roman empire around 450 CE.

Nevertheless, it is clear that the phonemicization of the new qualitative vowel system postdates the dialectal divergence of the vowel system that is outlined above. We should also note that Romance Open Syllable Lengthening must predate the operation of West Romance degemination (see section 3.28). It was this degemination that obscured the original conditions for open syllable lengthening and thereby phonologized the new vowel quantities depending on syllable structure. The new quantity distinctions in the vowel system were later lost in most of Gallo-Romance, except for several Provençal varieties (Loporcaro 2009: 136). These considerations enable us to establish the following relative chronology:

1. Lax-tense differences arise between the short and long counterpart of a vowel
    - Colloquial Latin ca. 100 BCE
2. Lax–tense distinction is given up in South Romance
    - Between 100 CE – 250 CE
3. Phonetic merger of [ɪ] and [e] in West and East Romance
    - ca. 250 CE
4. Phonetic merger of [ʊ] and [o] in West Romance
    - ca. 400 CE
5. Romance Open Syllable lengthening
    - Origin of OSL : ca. 100 – 200 CE
    - Conclusion of OSL : ca. 400 - 450 CE
6. West Romance consonant degemination phonologizes the new vowel quantities
    - After 450 CE[85]

It is my contention that the phonemicization of the new vowel qualities, just like the phonemicization of the new stop system, constitutes a turning point in the linguistic history of the emerging Romance varieties. Although these innovations will not have significantly hampered mutual intelligibility with 'high register' Latin that still adhered to the pronunciation precepts of the grammarians, they set the stage for the later operation of syncope, a development which in all likelihood did.

3.6 Romance diphthongization of the low mid vowels

Another phonological issue that has caused considerable controversy in Romance historical phonology is the diphthongization of the Latin low mid vowels (see Wartburg 1950a; Lüdtke 1956; Schürr 1970; Loporcaro 2009):

Latin /e/ > Romance /ɛ/ > /iɛ/

[85] The year 450 CE is used here as shorthand for the moment at which the western Roman Empire disintegrated.

Latin /o/ > Romance /ɔ/ > /uɔ/

The puzzling thing about the diphthongization of the low mid vowels is that almost all Romance varieties display some sort of diphthongization of these vowels or have done so in the past. Still, the conditions under which these diphthongs arose are not the same for all Romance varieties, thereby preventing us from projecting the development back into Proto-Romance. We should recognize that there are two different conditions under which these diphthongs could arise in the Romance languages; some Romance languages display the effects of the first condition, others the effect of the second condition and others again a combination of the two (Loporcaro 2009: 120-135):

1. Diphthongization in open stressed syllables
    - Latin *pedem* > Rom. [pɛde] > Old French *pieḍ* [pjɛθ]
    - Latin *bona* > Rom. [bɔna] > Old French *buene* [buənə]
    - Latin *bonus* > Rom. [bɔnʊ] > Old French *buen* [buən]
2. Diphthongization because of a metaphonic factor
    - Latin *bona* > Rom. [bɔna] > Neapolitan [bɔnə]
    - Latin *bonus* > Rom. [bɔnʊ] > Neapolitan [bwonə]

The first type of diphthongization, limited to open syllables, clearly followed the operation of Romance Open Syllable Lengthening. The lengthening of stressed vowels in open syllables gave rise to the long vowels [ɛː] and [ɔː] whose moraic weight would have provoked a breaking into the diphthongs [jɛ] and [wɔ] (Lloyd 1987: 117-18). Geographically, this diphthongization is reflected in northern Gallo-Romance, Rhaeto-Romance and northern Italo-Romance. Although considerations of relative chronology would place this diphthongization relatively late, several scholars have tried to argue for an early date, quoting the epigraphic attestations <niepos> for Latin *nepōs* (Rome, 157 CE), <dieo> for Latin *deo* 'to god' (Algeria, 120 CE, CIL VIII 9181), and <puosuit> for Latin *posuīt* (Moesia, 120 CE). It stands to reason that these inscriptions cannot reflect a diphthongization that must postdate fifth-century open syllable lengthening. Therefore many scholars consider these digraphic spellings as cutter's mistakes[86] (Lloyd 1987: 130; Loporcaro 2009: 120). Still, there is one intriguing piece of evidence that is hard to dismiss: this is the word *prietium* found in the Albertini tablets of fifth-century Vandal North Africa (Väänänen 1965). Here, however, the rise of the diphthong may also have been conditioned by the metaphonic factor of the following palatal cluster.

In any case, the preceding example shows that in the fifth century CE, some kind of diphthongization of the low mid vowels must have been in place. This is confirmed by the remarks of several fifth-century grammarians who comment on the work of Donatus, i.e. Servius and Pompeius (Donatus IV 21, see also Bonfante 1999: 13). Servius tells us that the

[86] The same could be said of several inscriptions from Roman Africa. There we find and <uobit> for Latin *obit* 'died' (419 CE, Inscr.Rom.Alg. 3464) and <meeritis> for Latin *meritis* 'with merits' (ca. 350 CE, CIL 21068).

pronunciation of the /e/ in Latin *equus* is 'close in sound to a diphthong', which implies that its pronunciation must have been something like [jɛkʷʊ]. Pompeius, recounts that the word *Rōma* could be mispronounced as '*ruoma*', if the etymological vowel quantities were mixed up; this indicates that he associated the pronunciation [uɔ] with short /o/ (Wright 1982: 59).

The preceding evidence suggests that Romance diphthongization of the low mid vowels in stressed open syllables is relatively old, dating back to at least the fifth century CE. Loporcaro (2009: 134 -35), following Sanchez Miret (1998), argues that open syllable dipthongization is unrelated to metaphonic diphthongization, whose operation occurred later, and represents a linguistic innovation that could still cover a significant part of the Romance dialect continuum.[87]

The Romanist Walther von Wartburg (1938) and the Germanicist Theodor Frings (1939) have attributed the rise of spontaneous diphthongization in the western Romania to linguistic interference from the Germanic superstrate, arguing that the heavy Germanic stress accent provoked an excessive lengthening of the stressed vowels. This excessive length would have facilitated the rise of diphthongs in stressed position. The Romance diphthongs, may then have triggered the parallel diphthongization of West Germanic /ē/ and /ō/ to Old High German /ie/ and /uo/. This theory is surmised by Frings in the following way:

> "*Das Germanische griff mit seinen Längen in das Romanische ein, das Romanische griff mit Diphthongen in das Germanische zurück.*" (Frings 1939: 103)

The hypothesis is strengthened by the geographic distribution of the spontaneous diphthongization, since it covers Gaul, Rhaetia and northern Italy, areas that were conquered in the fifth and sixth century by Germanic-speaking peoples (Franks, Alamans and Langobards). Nowadays, this superstrate theory is not widely supported. Modern scholars have noted that OSL exceeds the areas where Germanic peoples were settled and therefore does not need to be motivated by Germanic superstrate influence (cf. Sala 2009: 207). Also the fifth-century evidence for the spontaneous diphthongization that we have discussed above argues against it. It seems therefore more likely that spontaneous diphthongization constitutes a linguistic innovation that operated independently of the influence that Germanic stress might have had on the emerging Romance varieties.

Taking these facts into account, it seems reasonable to assume that the syllable conditioned diphthongization, occurring in the fifth century, must also have affected the Romance variety of Merovingian Gaul. The earliest documentary evidence for the diphthongization in Early Medieval Gaul is often considered to be present in a seventh-century diploma issued by king Chlothar III in 671 CE (cf. Bourciez 1921: 61):

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[87] According to Loporcaro (2009: 135), a decisive argument in this regard is the partial participation of Daco-Romance, whose diphthongization of /ɛ/ > /jɛ/ postdates open syllable lengthening but predates the operation of metaphonic raising, e.g. Romanian *fier* 'iron' : *jarbă* 'grass' < **fjɛru*, **hjɛrba* (cf. Latin *ferrum*, *herba*).

> "*datum Morlacas vico publico quod fecit minsis Marcius dies dieci anno* XVI *regni domni nostri Chlothachariae gloriosi regis.*" (Tardif 1866, diploma 19, line 38)
>
> "Given publicly in the town of Morlay in the month March on the tenth day in the year 16 of our lord Hlothar, the glorious king."

Although a haplography provoked by the diphthong in the preceding <dies> cannot be excluded, it seems plausible that the digraph in *dieci* represents the diphthongization of stressed /ɛ/ in open syllable (see also Richter 1934: 138). Despite this early attestation, Romance diphthongization as a pronunciation feature of Merovingian Latin is almost never expressed in spelling and even the oldest Old French text monument, the Strassbourg Oaths, does not reflect it. Whether the diphthongization of /ɛ/ occurred simultaneous to the diphthongization of /ɔ/, is an issue that will be taken up in the discussion of Gallo-Romance syncope (see section 3.40).

3.7 Diphthongization because of a following palatal

Posterior to the diphthongization in open syllables, the low mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ were diphthongized in the entire Gallo-Romania whenever they were followed by a patalal consonant (cf. Richter 1934: 226-28). This diphthongization or 'breaking' may have been caused by assimilation at a distance, in this case the premature raising of the tongue in anticipation of the following palatal consonant (cf. Pope 1934: 162). In those cases where a secondary yod arose before the palatal consonant (i.e. Rom. /rj/ and /sj/), Pre-French undergoes simplification of the resulting triphthong, i.e. Gallo-Rom. [iɛj] > Pre-French [i], Gallo-Roman. [uɔj] > Pre-French [uj].

Latin	Romance	Gallo-Romance		OProv	OFrench	
vetulum	[βɛklʊ]	> [vɛʎo]	> [v**iɛ**ʎə]	*vielh*	*viell*	old
mei	[mɛi]	> [mɛj]	> [m**iɛ**j]	*miei*	*mi*	mine [pl.m.]
noctem	[nɔkte]	> [nɔχte]	> [n**uɔ**çtə]	*nuoit*	*nuit*	night
corium	[kɔrjʊ]	> [kɔrʲo]	> [k**uɔ**jrə]	*kuer*	*cuir*	leather
ecclēsia	[iklɛsja]	> [iglɛsʲa]	> [igl**iɛ**jsa]	*glieiza*	*iglize*	church

This development runs parallel to the diphthongization conditioned by metaphony that is reflected in many other Romance varieties. Still, the specific environments under which this younger diphthongization arose are different for each Romance variety. It may be noted though that the diphthongization before palatal consonants is shared by Gallo-Romance, Rhaeto-Romance, northern Italo-Romance and Catalan (Loporcaro 2009: 125). It seems therefore likely that his diphthongization constitutes a late fifth-century or maybe even sixth-century innovation that could still spread across the western Romance dialect continuum.

3.8 Diphthongization of the high mid vowels

In the north of the Gallo-Roman dialect continuum, the stressed high mid vowels /e/ and /o/ in open syllables could also diphthongize, giving rise to the diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/. In traditional reference works on the historical phonology of French, this diphthongization is often called the 'secondary diphthongization', thereby distinguishing it from the older diphthongization of the low mid vowels in open syllables which is often called the spontaneous diphthongization or primary diphthongization (*diphthongaison spontanée,* cf. Alkire & Rosen 2010: 17).

1. spontaneous diphthongization = /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ > /iɛ/ and /uɔ/
2. secondary diphthongization = /e/ and /o/ > /ei/ and /ou/

The first evidence for this diphthongization may be found in the seventh-century verse correspondence between Frodebert and Importun (cf. Richter 1934: 206).

> "*Calcavit iure et pudoris*
>
> *Qui* ***fei*** *date et prioris*
>
> *Alodis sui reparatoris*
>
> *Sordidas vomit pudoris*[88]" (Zeumer 1886: 224)
>
> "He who tred on rights and on decency,
>
> On an oath he had given,
>
> And on his restorer of the former heritage
>
> He hurls filth and stench."

[88] Lenited spelling of Latin *pūtores* 'stenches'.

Here we should note that the form ***fei*** is not unambiguous; the form may just be a misspelling of correct Latin <fidei> [dat.sg.] (cf. Zeumer 1886: 224). It is also conceivable that the form was corrupted by the ninth-century copyist, in whose time the diphthong /ei/ was surely present.

If we reject this Merovingian attestation as a genuine reflection of northern Gallo-Romance /ei/, we have to wait until the ninth-century Eulalie sequence for the next instances where we find the secondary diphthongs spelled out:[89]

- Early Old French *concreidre* < Latin *concrēdere* 'to trust someone'
- Early Old French *bellezour* < Latin **bellātiōrem* 'more beautiful'

We should note that the diphthongization of the high mid vowels /e/ and /o/ has a limited distribution in Gallo-Romance; it only occurred in northern Gaul and did not reach the western dialects of Old French (Pope 1934: 106). The development is therefore confined to the areas that were most heavily settled by Germanic-speaking colonists. For this reason, it has been argued that also this diphthongization may have been provoked by linguistic interference from the Germanic superstratum (Wartburg 1950a, 1950b).[90]

Nevertheless, both the late secure attestations of the phenomenon and considerations of relative chronology, which will be covered later on in the section on Romance syncope, seem to indicate that Gallo-Romance secondary diphthongization is a late innovation (see section 3.40). It is therefore likely that the parallel development of /e/ and /o/ in Rhaeto-Romance and northern Italo-Romance, should be separated from it.

3.9 Germanic loanwords and Gallo-Romance diphthongization

Another issue that might shed light on the relative chronology of Gallo-Romance spontaneous diphthongization is the influx of Germanic lexis into the Romance vernaculars of Late Roman Gaul. Guinet (1982: 70-81) has shown that several Germanic loanwords entered Gallo-Romance before OSL and the operation of spontaneous diphthongization, i.e. before the fifth century CE.

- Gm. **medu* → Rom. **mɛdʊ* > OFr. *mied, mies* 'mead'
- Gm. **fehu* → Rom. **fɛfu* > OFr. *fief* 'property'
- Gm. **alōd-* → Rom. **alɔdʊ* > OFr. *aluef* 'inheritance'
- Gm. **brōk-* → Rom. **brɔkʊ* > OFr. *bruec* 'brook'

[89] The early ninth-century Moselle Romance form *Munzefehil* might also reflect the diphthongization, if it goes back to earlier *Moncevilla* (with spurious vowel shortening, cf. Jungandreas 1979: 28).

[90] It seems likely that Old Frankish, the dialect that presumably most of the Germanic colonists in Gaul spoke, possessed the diphthong /ei/, e.g. *reipus* (Pactus Legis Saliace) < Gm. **raip-* 'rope'. It is possible that the Franks applied this diphthong to the pronunciation of the long Gallo-Romance vowel /e/ in open syllables.

However, this does not mean that these Germanic loanwords cannot be connected to the settlement of the Franks in northern Gaul. It is very well conceivable that these words entered the northern Gallo-Romance varieties via Old Frankish in the fourth century already, and only expanded southwards when Frankish farmers entered the rest of Gaul in the early sixth century.

Now that we have discussed the rise of the Gallo-Romance diphthongs, we may tentatively put them in chronological order:

1. Short vowels develop lax pronunciation
    - ca. 100 BCE
2. Conclusion of OSL
    - ca. 400 – 450 CE
3. Diphtongization of stressed /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ in open syllables (spontaneous diphthongization)
    - Before 450 CE
4. Diphthongization of stressed /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ before palatal consonants
    - After 450 CE
5. Gallo-Romance secondary diphthongization of stressed /e/ and /o/
    - Before 666 CE
        - verse correspondence of Frodebert and Importun
    - Before 881 CE
        - Sequence de Eulalie

In conclusion, we may note that this chronology constitutes a major obstacle for Peter Schrijver's hypothesis (2004, 2014) that the Gallo-Romance diphthongs arose by language contact with Gaulish where Gaulish L1 speakers imposed Gaulish diphthongs on their pronunciation of colloquial Latin as L2. The relatively late date of both the primary and the secondary diphthongization render this theory highly improbable.

3.10 Merovingian spelling and the Gallo-Romance vowel system

We have seen in our discussion of Merovingian Latinity that Merovingian scribes had a predilection for writing the merger products of Latin /i/ and /ē/ and /u/ and /ō/ as <i> or <u> (Vielliard 1927: 5-14). Traditionally, this habit has been interpreted as an inverted spelling for the normal Romance merger products /e/ and /o/. It is therefore remarkable that the expected spellings <e> and <o> are statistically underrepresented in Merovingian Latin documents. We should also note that the spelling of /o/ and /e/ as <u> and <i> is ubiquitous in Merovingian epigraphy and Merovingian coin legends.

This prompted the Belgian romanist Guy de Poerck (1953) to formulate a different hypothesis. In his opinion, the predominant spelling <i> and <u> for the merger products of the high mid vowels actually indicates that in the Romance variety of Gaul the high mid vowels had not merged in the qualities /e/ and /o/, but in the qualities /i/ and /u/. These /i²/ and /u²/ did not merge with the Gallo-Romance outcome of Latin /ī/ and /ū/ and would have been maintained into the ninth century. According to De Poerck, these qualities are still reflected in the Strassbourg oaths, where Romance /e/ and /o/ are also rendered as <i> and <u>. Only later in the ninth century, would these Gallo-Romance /i²/ and /u²/ have diphthongized to the secondary diphthongs /ei/ and /ou/.

Reactions to this hypothesis were mixed; whereas the romanist Mario Roques considered De Poerck's study to be "*très original et très vigoreux*" (1954: 142), Helmut Lüdtke (1957: 208) was decidedly negative and called it the "*naivste Buchstabenphilologie*". A more balanced assessment of De Poerck's hypothesis was given by Bengt Löfstedt in his *Studien über die Sprache der langobardischen Gesetze* (1961: 69), where he calls it a "revolutionizing thesis", but still maintains that the traditional view is too well-founded and its empirical base too solid to abandon it. Löfstedt calls attention to the phonetic environments in which Gallo-Romance could raise Romance /e/ to /i/ (e.g. following palatal consonants), and argues that the raising in these environments might have facilitated the inverted spelling. We may also note that the secondary diphthongization must have been completed before the ninth century CE, as it is reflected in the Eulalie sequence. It is rather implausible that the diphthongization still had to occur in 842, but was completed in 880 CE.[91] Löfstedt's critique effectively buried the contentions of De Poerck, so that in recent romanist scholarship the theory is rarely cited.

3.11 Gallo-Romance /ei/ in Germanic borrowings

De Poerck's hypothesis was accepted by Maurits Gysseling (1992), who invoked the reconstruction of Gallo-Romance /i²/ in his assessment of the Latin and Romance loanwords in the Germanic languages. The issue at hand is the fact that many Latin loanwords in the West Germanic languages substitute Latin /ē/ by West Germanic /ī/ (see also Rauch 1967: 79). Gamillscheg (1934: 236) argued that this might have been caused by the lack of an early West Germanic long /ē/.

[91] It should be noted that the secondary diphthong /ei/, in the northern region, already shifted to /oi/ in the tenth century CE (cf. Jungandreas 1969: 29).

Early West Germanic			continental West Germanic		
[i:]	[u:]	>	[i:]		[u:]
	[o:]	>		[e:] [o:]	
[æ:]		>		[a:]	

After all, early West Germanic for a time only had two front vowels, i.e. Gm. /ī/ and /ǣ/, a situation that changed when continental West Germanic backed /ǣ/ to /ā/ and acquired a new /ē/= [ɛ:]. This new *e*-vowel, the so-called *ē², arose through the monopthongization of /ia/ (cf. Gm. **hiar* > **hēr* 'here', cf. Kroonen 2013: 225) and through the introduction of an analogical lengthened grade in the VII class of the strong verbs (cf. Kortlandt 2010: 190, 209, 290). This substitution process Latin /ē/ → West Germanic /ī/ may be illustrated by the following examples:

Latin *mēta*	> [me:ta]	> Gm. **mīta*	'haystack'	(cf. MDu. *mīte*)
Latin *mensa*	> [me:sa]	> Gm. **mīsa*	'table'	(cf. OE *mīse*)
Latin *expensa*	> [ᵉspe:sa]	> Gm. **spīsa*	'provisions'	(cf. OHG *spīsa*)

However, some Latin loanwords that were clearly borrowed at a relatively late date also show a substitution of Latin /ē/ by Germanic /ī/. The late date for these lexical transfer is clear from the fact that they were affected by Romance lenition or represent Christian terminology. For this period, it might be argued that the West Germanic languages had acquired their new /ē²/ vowel and the substitution of Romance /e/ with Germanic /ī/ was no longer necessary. However, the relatively late date for the lexical transfers make an adoption at the West Germanic stage very unlikely.

- Latin *poena* > [pe:na] > [pe:na] > WGm. ***pīna*'punishment'
  - (cf. OHG *pīna*)
  - Christian terminology
  - Postdates Old High German sound shift
- Latin *vēlum* > [we:lʊ] > [we:lo] > WGm. ***wīl* 'veil of a nun'
  - (cf. MHG *wīle*)
  - Christian terminology
- Latin *fēria* > [fe:rja] > [fe:rja] > WGm. ***fīra* 'holiday'
  - (cf. OHG *fīra*)
  - Christian terminology

- Latin *crēta* > [kre:ta] > [kre:da] > WGm. ***krīda* 'chalk'
    - (cf. OHG *krīta*)
    - Postdates Romance lenition
- Latin *saeta* > [se:ta] > [se:da] > OHG *sīda* 'silk'
    - Postdates Romance lenition
    - Postdates Old High German sound shift
- Latin *cēpulla* > [ke:pʊlla] > [tse:bola] > OHG *zwībollo* 'onion'
    - Postdates Romance lenition
    - Postdates Old High German sound shift
- Latin *Sēquana* > [se:kʷana] > [se:gʷəna] > OHG *Sīgona* 'Seine'
    - (cf. OE *Sīgene*)
    - Postdates Romance lenition

In order to explain the Germanic /ī/ reflex in these recent loanwords, Gysseling assumed that in the Romance donor language, /e/ had shifted to Gallo-Romance /i²/ and that this /i/ vowel would have been equated with West Germanic /ī/.

But not in all Romance loanwords do we find West Germanic /ī/ for Romance /e/. In Old High German we find several loanwords that substitute Romance /e/ with West Germanic /ē²/.

- Latin *pensilis* > [pe:sɪle] > WGm. **pē²sal* > OHG *pfiesal* 'heated chamber'
- Latin *mensa* > [me:sa] > WGm. **mē²sa* > OHG *miasa* 'table'
- Latin *rēmum* > [re:mʊ] > WGm. **rē²mō* > OHG *riemo* 'oar'
- Latin *thēca* > [te:ka] > WGm. **tē²ka* > OHG *ziahha* 'cover'
- Latin *beta* > [be:ta] > WGm. **bē²ta* > OHG *biezza* 'beet'
- Latin *tēgula* > [te:gʊla] > WGm. **tē²gal* > OHG *ziagal* 'tile'

These loanwords with /ē²/contrast sharply with the above listed loanwords that are also late and render Romance [e:] with West Germanic /ī/ (cf. Rauch 1967: 79).

We may note that the equation of Latin /ē/ with Germanic /ī/ is regular in Old English (cf. Wollmann 1990: 161). No /ē²/ reflexes are found in the Latin and Romance loanwords of the Old English dialects.[92] A possible explanation for this might be, that, at the time of the borrowing, the Anglo-Frisian /ē²/ was a low mid vowel [ɛ:] and was only pushed to [e:] when Pre-English /ǣ/ shifted to [ɛ:]. The closest substitute for Romance /e/ would therefore, in Pre-English, still have been /ī/.

[92] Only two late loanwords show Old English /ē/ for Latin /ē/, i.e. OE *bēte* 'beet', OE *mēse* 'table' (cf. Dietz 1993: 509). These are perhaps best explained as late loanwords from ecclesiastical Latin.

Early West Germanic				Pre-English				
[iː]			[uː]	>	[iː]			[uː]
		[oː]		>			[oː]	
	[æː]			>		[ɛː]		
							[æː]	
								[aː]

Nevertheless, the double reflex of Romance /e/ in Old High German remains enigmatic. Gysseling's theory with its appeal to Gallo-Romance /i²/ does not offer a plausible solution, since De Poerck's reconstructions of /i²/ and /u²/ have failed to convince. It is therefore clear that another explanation for the Early Medieval substitution of Romance /e/ with continental West Germanic /ī/ is needed.

I want to propose that late Romance loanwords in the continental West Germanic dialects, which reflect Romance [eː] as West Germanic /ī/, may have been adopted from Gallo-Romance at a stage when secondary diphthongization to [ei] had operated. This Gallo-Romance diphthong /ei/ might have been perceived by Germanic-speakers as /ɪ.i/ which might have facilitated a simplification into /ī/.

If this hypothesis is correct, the affected loanwords provide a further means of dating Gallo-Romance secondary diphthongization. That is to say, secondary diphthongization must have occurred during the lenition process that affected Latin voiceless /t/ and more precisely, before voiceless /t/ reached the fricative stage /ð/. It would also mean that Gallo-Romance secondary diphthongization happened both before and after the Old High German sound shift took place.

- OHG *sīta* < Pre-OHG **sīda* ← [seida] (cf. OFr. *seie*)
- OHG *krīda* < Pre-OHG **krīda* ← [kreida] (cf. OFr. *creide*)
- OHG *pīna* ← [peina] (cf. OFr. *peine*)
- OHG *evina* ← [aveina] (cf. OFr. *aveine*)

Perhaps the same process is shown in several Romance loanwords in Old High German, which have /ū/ for Latin /ō/ (see also Stifter 2009: 270). It is conceivable that also these words were adapted from donor forms that had a Gallo-Romance diphthong [ou].

- OHG *mūrberi* ← [mour] (cf. OFr. *mour*) 'mulberry'
- OHG *ūla* ← [oula] (cf. OFr. *ole, oule*) 'pot'

Let us now return to the cases where Romance /e/ feeds into West Germanic /ē²/; these cases can now be explained as lexical transfers from the intermediary period between the creation of /ē²/ and the secondary diphthongization of Gallo-Romance. Still, this time window is rather small and we may also attribute the /ē²/ substitution to contact with a Romance dialect that did not undergo secondary diphthongization. Especially the Romance dialects in Central Gaul and the Alps would then be plausible candidates. This enables us to reconstruct the following stages:

1. Latin /ē/ = Early West Germanic /ī/
    - Before the rise of West Germanic /ē²/
    - After Latin /ens/ > Romance /ēs/
    - Before Latin /w/ > Romance /β/
    - Before Romance lenition
2. Romance [eː] = Late West Germanic /ē²/
    - After the rise of West Germanic /ē²/
    - Before Old High German sound shift
    - Before Romance lenition
3. Gallo-Rom. [ei] > continental West Germanic /ī/
    - After West Romance lenition
    - Before and after Old High German sound shift
    - Between 500 – 700 CE?

3.12 Gallo-Romance /iɛ/ in Germanic borrowings

In the preceding section, we have seen that in several cases Romance [eː] fed into the new Germanic vowel /ē²/. One of the other sources for continental West Germanic /ē²/ was Romance [ɛ] (i.e. Latin /e/and /ae/) in open syllables. In Romance loanwords, this vowel is normally reflected by the West Germanic vowel /ē²/ (see also Rauch 1967: 78), showing that in the Romance donor language the vowel was long under the stress. That the West Germanic /ē²/ was initially a monophthong, is shown by two Germanic loanwords in Old French, one of which predates the spontaneous diphthongization, the other one postdates it.

West Germanic		Romance	Gallo-Romance	Old French	
*tē²ri	(OHG *ziari*)	→ [tɛːrja]	> [tiɛʲrʲa]	> tire	‘ordened row’
*lē²ha	(MHG *liehe*)		→ [lɛːha]	> lehe	‘wild sow’

It is generally assumed that at the start of the Carolingian period, Germanic / ē²/ shifted to /ie/, /ia/ or /io/ in Old High German, /ie/ in Old Saxon and /ie/ in Old Dutch (Braune-Mitzka 1967: 34-35).

Latin	Romance	West Germanic	Old High German	
Graecus	> [grɛ:kʊ]	→ **krē²k*	> OHG *kriech*	Greek
Rhaetium	> [rɛ:tjʊ]	→ **rē²t*	> OHG *Riez*	Rhaetia[93]
Petrus	> [pɛ:trʊ]	→ **pē²tar*	> OHG *pietar*	Petrus
febris	> [fɛ:βre]	→ **f ē²ƀar*	> OHG *fiebar*	fever
brevis	> [brɛ:βe]	→ **brē²f*	> OHG *brief*	letter
phlebotomus	> [flɛ:ɔtɔma][94]	→ **flē²tuma*	> OHG *flietema*	scalpel
presbyter	> [prɛ:sβʊtɛr]	→ **prē²star*	> OHG *priester*	priest
ceresea	> [kɛrɛ:sja]	→ **krē²sija*	> OHG *chriesi*	cherry
speculum	> [spɛklʊ]	→ **spē²gal*	OHG *spiegal*	mirror

However, there is a distinct possibility that not all of these Romance [e] vowels fed into the continental West Germanic monophthong /ē²/. Alternatively, we might argue that some Romance loanwords were borrowed from Gallo-Romance after the spontaneous diphthongization of the low mid vowels had occurred. Here we touch upon a long debate in both Romance and Germanic linguistics that concerns the interconnectedness of the Romance spontaneous diphthongization and the Old High German diphtongization. The specifics of this debate will not be covered here and are summarized by Irmengard Rauch in her 1967 monograph *The Old High German diphthongization.* Suffice it to say that a direct link between the two diphthongizations is still moot (cf. Rauch 1967: 76; *contra* Van Durme 1996: 105).

If the above listed Romance loanwords entered Germanic after the spontaneous diphthongization of the low mid vowels, we would be dealing with an adoption of the Early Gallo-Romance diphthong /iɛ/ into the West Germanic vowel system as a loan phoneme /ie/.

[93] See Sonderegger (1987) for the attestations.

[94] The word was continued in the Romance daughter languages without the medial /b/, supposing a pre-stage **fleotomus* (cf. FEW VIII: 390).

This solution was considered by Franck (1896), Wiget (1922) and Gysseling (1992) and provides a plausible scenario for several of these words. Note that the relatively late date of borrowing is in the cases of OHG *pietar* and OHG *flietema*[95] corroborated by the operation of Romance lenition.

Latin	Old French	Gallo-Romance	WGm.	Old High German
Rhaetium	-	[rjɛʧə]	> *rjeta	> Riez
Petrus	Pieḍre	[pjɛdrə]	> *pjedar	> pietar
febris	fievre		> *fjeƀar	> fiebar
brevis	brief	[brjɛvə]	> *brjef	> brief
phlebotomus	flieme	[fljɛdəma]	> *fljedəma	> flietema

This scenario cannot be invoked for all loanwords that reflect Romance /ɛ/. In the cases of Latin *Graecus*[96] and *presbyter,*[97] a borrowing as monophthongal /ē²/ is the only plausible solution, and in the case of Latin *ceresia* an early date of borrowing is confirmed by the preservation of Latin velar /k/.

In the case of OHG *spiegal,* the diphthong cannot be credited to Gallo-Romance spontaneous diphthongization, since the Latin suffix –*culum* was syncopated to [klʊ] before OSL occurred, i.e. Rom. **spɛklʊ* (cf. ModIt. *specchio*). It is also not likely that the word was borrowed with a diphthong caused by a following palatal consonant (cf. OProv. *espielh* 'mirror'), since then we would not expect the cluster /kl/. Rather, the form *spiegal* may be a Merovingian *mot savant*, a class of words that is amply represented in Old French, cf. OFr. *aveugle* 'blind', *siegle* 'century'. We may note that these Old French words have diphthongized the mid vowels but rendered the Latin cluster <cl> as voiced /gl/ (see Paris 1900: 372). It seems likely that Old High German *spiegal* was borrowed from a similar hybrid Romance donor form.

[95] In Gallo-Romance, also an early syncopated form **flɛtme* existed, which was borrowed into Old English as *flytme.*
[96] In the case of OHG *Kriech,* a monophthongal /ē²/ vowel is reflected in Gothic *Krēks* and Old English *Crēcas*.
[97] In the case of OHG *priester*, the Romance [ɛ] stood in a closed syllable and could therefore not undergo spontaneous diphthongization of the low mid vowels. The diphthongization in closed syllables of Walloon, which is invoked by Gysseling, probably occurred too late to account for the Germanic diphthong in Old High German. Also the monophthongal spelling OHG *prēster* argues against it.

The preceding considerations on Germanic /ē²/ in Romance loanwords allow us to reconstruct the following substitution processes in the lexical lexical transfers between Romance and West Germanic:

1. Rom. [eː] = Gm. /ē²/
    - After rise of West Germanic /ē²/
    - After Latin /ens/ > Romance /ēs/
    - Before Latin /w/ > Romance /β/
    - Before Romance lenition
2. Rom. [ɛː] = Gm. /ē²/
    - After rise of Germanic /ē²/
    - Before Romance palatalization of /k/ before front vowels
    - Before Romance lenition
3. Gallo-Rom. [jɛ] = WGm. /ie/
    - After Romance lenition
    - Before Old High German sound shift

3.13 Gallo-Romance fronting of /u/

In several western Romance dialects, Romance /u/ from Latin long /ū/ was fronted to /y/ in both closed and open syllables. This development is shared by French, Provençal, western Rhaeto-Romance and multiple northern Italo-Romance dialects (Piedmont, Liguria, Lombardia). This fronting was explained by Ascoli (1882) through linguistic interference from Gaulish phonology. In Gaulish, Celtic /u/ may have been palatalized to [y], a development which it would share with British Celtic. Striking in this regard is that the French palatalization of [u] crosses the language border into Dutch. Since the southern Netherlands in the Roman period had a Gaulish speaking population, it is possible that the fronting in Dutch is also due to the retention of a Celtic substratum feature. In a similar vein, Schrijver also argued that this isogloss might be ascribed to substratum influence, although he opts for a Romance substratum (cf. Schrijver 2014: 151[98]).

Still, the Gaulish substratum theory is heavily contested and nowadays skepticism prevails. The fronting of Celtic [u] in Gaulish is hard to substantiate, and there are even scholars who deny the possibility that Gaulish survived long enough to influence colloquial Latin (cf. Posner 1996: 238; Loporcaro 2009: 138). It is therefore commonly assumed that the fronting of [u] in Gallo-Romance might not be old, some even placing it as late as the seventh century CE (cf. Loporcaro 2009: 138; Richter 1934: 254-56). This relatively recent date may be

[98] For a different opinion, see De Vaan (2017: 40-42).

confirmed by the failure of East Walloon and several dialects of Franco-Provençal to participate in the shift.[99]

In Gallo-Romance, the fronting of [u] > [y] must have preceded the raising of [o] > [u] in closed syllables, since the new [u] did not undergo the palatalization to [y].

- Latin *murum* > **muro* > **myrə* > **myr* = Old French *mur* 'wall'
- Latin *ursus* > **orsʊs* > **orsəs* > **urs* = Old French *ours* 'bear'

3.14 Gallo-Romance fronting of /a/

After Ten Brink's Law had redistributed vowel length according to syllable structure, Latin short /a/ = [ɑ] and Latin long /ā/ = [aː] had merged in single phoneme /a/ = [a] ~ [aː]. It has been argued by Herman (1985) that Latin short [ɑ] was in some Late Latin varieties phonetically fronted to [æ]. This may have happened in order to move it away from [ɔ], and would account for the occasional but persistent misspelling of Latin /a/ as <e> in inscriptions from the Late Empire (Loporcaro 2009: 137-38). It seems plausible that northern Gallo-Romance had at some point also a fronted pronunciation [æ] for Romance /a/ (cf. Richter 1934: 223; Zink 1986: 107-08). There are two facts that point in this direction:

1. In northern Gallo-Romance, /k/ and /g/ were palatalized and affricated in front of /a/
    - Early Old French *chanter* 'to sing' < Latin *cantāre*
2. In northern Gallo-Romance, /a/ in stressed open syllables was fronted and raised to [e]
    - Early Old French *espeḍe* 'sword' < Latin *spatha*

These two facts are hard to reconcile with a phonetic interpretation of Romance /a/ as Gallo-Romance [a], and would rather argue for a more palatal realization [æ] (see Posner 1996: 240).

However, the shift of /a/ in stressed open syllables to [e] is normally not taken as evidence for a fronted pronunciation. Most scholars assume that /a/ in open syllables was subjected to diphthongization, a view that is widely held among romanists and should therefore be given due consideration.

In this view, the Pre-French development of Latin /a/ in open syllables is seen as an exponent of the Gallo-Romance diphthongization, the same diphthongization in open syllables that had affected Romance /e/ and /o/ (cf. Straka 1953: 284; Posner 1996: 247; Taddei 2000: 122-26). Straka (1953) argues that Latin /a/ in open syllables was first diphthongized to /ae/, a sound which only briefly existed in phonetic terms and was soon assimilated to a long

[99] For Walloon, we may assume that the Gallo-Romance fronting of /u/ was reversed under influence of the Germanic substratum (see chapter 4).

[eː] = /e/ around the seventh century CE (cf. Zink 1986: 56-57). The strange thing about the resulting /e/ is that it stayed distinct for a while from the other Old French *e*-vowels. This is shown by the fact that in Old French poetry, it did not assonate with the normal Old French vowels [ɛ] and [e] (Pope 1934: 107; Posner 1996: 248). Zink (1986), following Bourciez (1956), solves this by assuming that the resulting vowel was Gallo-Romance long [ɛː], which shifted to [eː] in the Old French period. [100] Because the inherited Romance [ɛ] and [e] where phonetically short and etymologically limited to closed syllables, the new long raising product [ɛː] or [eː] from Romance [aː] may have been perceived as different. This solution is not completely satisfactory because it is unclear why assonance would be sensitive to vowel length. Also we may note that the diphthongal stage between Romance /a/ and Old French /e/ has been called into question by Richter (1934: 223), who remarked that the spelling <ae> for Latin /a/ does no more prove a diphthongal stage than the spelling <ae> for Latin /e/.[101] We may therefore wonder whether there is not a simpler way to account for both the secondary palatalization of /k/ and /g/ before /a/ and the shift of /a/ in open syllables.

3.15 Gallo-Romance palatalization and Bartsch' Law

In my opinion, Elise Richter's suggestion of a general Latin /a/ > Gallo-Romance [æ] shift in open stressed syllables is more promising (Richter 1934: 224).[102] According to Richter, this [æ] quality in stressed syllables was retained in Early Old French, which would account for the fact that this vowel did not assonate with the other Old French <e> vowels. It also explains why in the oldest Old French text monument, the Strasbourg oaths, /æ/ was still written as <a>, e.g. Early Old French *fraḍre* 'brother', *paḍre* 'father'.

Unlike Richter, though, I want to propose that this /a/ > /æ/ shift occurred in both open and closed stressed syllables. This way, we can take the Gallo-Romance [æ] shift as the trigger for palatalization of Latin /ka/ and /ga/ to /ʧæ/ and /ʤæ/. The exact date of this development is controversial, but should probably be placed in the late Merovingian period (see section 3.39). After the palatal nature of the following [æ] triggered the affrication of the velar stops, the vowel was retracted again in closed syllables, which would bring us to the developmental stage of Old French.

The relative order of these developments might have been as follows: first, the fronting of /a/ > [æ] in open syllables occurred. Then, the sequences [kæ] and [gæ] were affricated to [ʧæ] and [ʤæ]. After the affrication, the vowel of the palatalized sequence /ʧæ/ was raised

[100] Pope (1934: 106) argues that /ae/ was immediately monophthongized to [eː] without an intermediary [ɛː] stage.
[101] The only other piece of evidence that might support an early Gallo-Romance stage /ae/ or /ai/ comes from the Mosel Romance place-name element *–preith-* from Latin *pratum* (Jungandreas 1979: 33). This diphthong is mainly found in the *preith*-names, which are no older than the ninth century; the evidence is therefore rather meagre (see Pitz 2008; 448).
[102] This Gallo-Romance shift from /a/ > /æ/ may have been unconnected to the fronted pronunciation of /a/ that is found in some Late Latin inscriptions.

to /ɛ/, possibly simultaneously with the raising of /ei/ > /i/ following palatals consonants (see 3.18).

Then, Gallo-Romance [æ] was retracted to /a/ in the following environments, thereby restoring the original vowel:

- Before /l/
  - Latin *cavallus* > OFr. *cheval* 'horse'
- Before /w/, where /aw/ via /ɔw/ developed into /ɔ/, /u/ (cf. Zink 1986: 208)
  - Latin *causa* > OFr. *chose* 'thing'
  - Latin *clavus* > OFr. *clou* 'nail'
- In closed syllables, including the newly closed syllables, which were created by Gallo-Romance syncope
  - Latin *cantus* > OFr. *chant* 'song'
  - Latin *rapidus* > OFr. *rade* 'quickly'
- Before /n/, where /a/ > /ai/
  - Latin *manus* > OFr. *main* 'hand'

Then, in northern Gallo-Romance, Bartsch Law occurred, that is the breaking of the vowel /ɛ/ to /jɛ/ following the palatal /ʧ/.[103] At this stage, the northern border dialects of Gallo-Romance (Norman French and Picardian) may have reverted the palatalization and restored /k/ (Müller 1979: 725).

- Gallo-Latin *canem* > **kæne* > **ʧɛne* > **ʧjɛn* > OFr. *chien* 'dog'
- Gallo-Latin *caput* > **kæbo* > **ʧɛvo* > **kjɛf* > OPic. *kief* 'head'

Next, Gallo-Romance apocope occurred, entailing the loss of the reflexes of Romance [e] and [o] in final position and the weaking of final /æ/ to schwa. The operation of apocope yielded new closed syllables and obscured the original distribution of the allophones [æ] and [a], thereby making the phonetic vowel split phonemic.

Now that we have accounted for the development of Latin /a/ in stressed syllables, we can take a look at the unstressed syllables as well. We may note that in unstressed syllables we also find palatalization of Latin /ka/ and /ga/ and the operation of Bartsch Law. However, the vowel /jɛ/, that was the result of Bartsch Law, collapsed into schwa in unstressed syllables.

- Gallo-Latin *cavallum* > **kævælo* > **ʧjɛvælo* > **ʧəval* = OFr. *cheval* 'horse'

Since we also find palatalization of /ka/ and /ga/ in unstressed syllables, it might seem attractive to posit a quality [æ] in unstressed syllables as well. This solution is reminiscent of

[103] In this regard, the development is similar to the Pre-English breaking of **kæ-* ~ **kǣ* > Old English *cea-* ~ *cēa-* (cf. OE *ceaster, cēace* < WGm. **kastar* 'fortress', **kaukō* 'jaw', see Campbell 1959: 69).

Pope's suggestion of an /a/ > /ɛ/ shift in countertonic position (Pope 1934: 164). In order to make this work, one would have to assume that all instances of unstressed Gallo-Romance [æ] that were not affected by Bartsch Law were restored to /a/, e.g. Gallo-Latin *gabellus* > **ʤævɛlo* > OFr. *javel* 'javelin'. Although this scenario seems plausible, it remains to be seen whether this suggestion holds up to further scrutiny.[104] For now, it might be prudent to restrict the fronting rule to stressed position.

The oldest documentary evidence for the shift of /a/ > [æ] in stressed syllables comes from the Merovingian spelling <primetus> for Latin *primatus* 'prime' and <rogetus> for <rogatus> (see also Vielliard 1927: 2). Other early attestations may be found in the ninth-century place name *Caziei* 'Chézy' < Gallo-Latin *Catiacum* of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle (cf. Dietz 1993: 490) and the early tenth-century place-name *Namiei* 'Nennig' < Gallo-Latin *Nanniacum* from the Moselle region (Jungandreas 1979: 37).[105]

At the end of the Early Old French period, Old French /æ/ was shifted to /e/, the stage of general Old French (cf. Zink 1986: 57). In the same period, ca. 1100 CE, Gallo-Romance /k^{w}a/ was delabialized, thereby creating a new sequence /ka/ in Old French and phonemicizing the opposition of /ʧa/ : /ka/ (Haudricourt & Juilland 1970: 95-98). We may note that this development, i.e. delabialization of /k^{w}/, did not reach the eastern Walloon dialect area (cf. Remacle 1948: 73; see section 4.11).

Some final remarks are due to the Gallo-Romance diphthong /au/ which was also affected by the shift from /aw/ to /ɔw/. This development seems to have gone through an intermediate stage /ao/ which is reflected in Merovingian spellings (cf. Dietz 1993: 501).[106]

- AORIACO VICO (7th c. triens[107]) < Latin *Auriacum* (ModFr. *Orry*)
- Merovingian *aoster* (Pseudo-Fredegar) < Latin *auster* 'East realm'
- Merovingian *fraos* (Pseudo-Fredegar) < Latin *fraus* 'deceit'

Richter, however, proposed an early Merovingian monophthongization of /au/ > /ɔ/ on the basis of several inverted <au> spellings in the sixth-century Merovingian *Angiers Formularies,* a suggestion that was followed by Straka (Richter 1934: 211-14; Straka 1964):

- <austes> : <hostes>
- <caus> : <quos>

[104] We may note that unstressed Latin /ka/ that ended up in hiatus after the loss of Gallo-Romance stops, could also be restored to /a/, e.g. Latin *catellus* > OFr. *chael* 'little dog'. Here, the dialectal variant OFr. *chieau* fits the proposed development better.

[105] The lack of an <e> spelling in the first syllable of *Chézy* may be due to the Picardian dialect from which the Old English compilator adopted the place name. The Picardian provenance is also shown by the rhotacism in the form <cariei>,

[106] We may note that this development ran parallel to the Rhine Frankish monophthongization of /au/ via <ao> to /ō/ (cf. Braune-Mitzka 1967: 44).

[107] The identification sign of this coin is Belfort 5915.

In this case, Richter's chronological assumptions seem to be ill-founded. Burdy rightly remarks that the manuscripts, which preserve these spellings, are too young to serve as compelling evidence (cf. Burdy 2006: 25). According to him, we should take the Late Merovingian <ao> spelling as the first secure sign of the evolved pronunciation [ao] for Latin /au/.

In open stressed syllables, Gallo-Romance /ao/ developed into [ɔ:] before the ninth century CE. The sound shift was completed by the time of the Strasbourg oaths and the Eulalie sequence, where we find Early Old French *cosa* and *cose* for Latin *causa* (Pope 1934: 190-91).

3.16 Fronted /æ/ and palatalization of /ɣ/

The Gallo-Romance /a/ > [æ] shift can also explain the puzzling instances where the lenition product /ɣ/ develops into /j/ before unstressed /o/ (see 3.31). In these cases, the Gallo-Romance /ɣ/ was preceded by stressed /a/. To my mind, the palatalization of /ɣ/ to /j/ is better understood by assuming that stressed /a/ was at that time still a palatal [æ:].

- Latin *verācum* > [vɛræ:ɣo] > Old French *verai* 'true'
- Latin *lacus* > [læ:ɣo] > Old French *lai* 'lake'
- Latin *Tornacum* > [tornæ:ɣo] > Old French *Tournai* 'Tournai' (Belgium)

It seems to me that a northern Gallo-Romance /a/ > /æ/ shift in the proposed chronology can account for all the facts. Note that in this dissertation we continue the convention of reconstructing Galllo-Romance /a/ so as to maintain the convention of traditional Romance studies.

3.17 Gallo-Romance brightening and relative chronology

It is striking that the phonemicization of the shift of /a/ > /æ/ in open syllable coincides with the area of the sixth-century Frankish empire, extending also to the Poitou region and Burgundy (Pope 1934: 163-64). We may therefore wonder whether the limitation of this /a/ > /æ/shift to northern Gaul may be explained as Germanic substratum influence (see chapter 4). The Germanic variety that could be held accountable for this shift would be the Ingvaeonic dialects. These dialects did not have an /a/ in their vowel system because they had shifted West Germanic /a/ to /æ/, a process known in Old English studies as 'brightening' (Campbell 1959: 52-53). It is possible that the language of the western Merovingian Franks possessed this feature, which they may have imposed on their pronunciation of fifth-century Gallo-

Romance. In this regard, we may note that multiple scholars have proposed that the language of the Salian Franks possessed some Ingvaeonic features (e.g. Quak 2007: 2008b[108]).

Now that we have discussed the developments that pertain to the fate of Romance /a/, we may summarize the proposed relative chronology:

1. Gallo-Rom. [aː] > [æː] in open syllables
    - Ca. 400 – 550 CE
2. Gallo-Rom. /k/ and /g/ > Pre-French /ʧ/ and /ʤ/ before [æ] ~ [æː]
3. Syncope of post-tonic vowels
4. raising of [æ] >[ɛ] when following a palatal consonant
    - Before 900 CE
5. Backing of [æ] > [a] in closed syllables and before /w/ and /n/
6. Bartsch Law: dipthongization of [ɛ] > [jɛ] when following a palatal consonant
7. Apocope
    - Before 700 CE
    - Phonologization of [æː] as /æ/ in open syllables
8. Labialization of [aw] > [ɔw]
    - 600 – 700 CE
    - Before 841 CE
9. Reduction of initial unstressed [jɛ] to schwa (cf. OFr. *cheval* 'horse' < **ʧʃɛval*)
10. Raising of /æ/ > /e/
11. Delabialization of /kʷa/ > /ka/

3.18 Gallo-Romance metaphony and umlaut

Early in the Gallo-Roman period, Gallo-Romance vowels were susceptible to metaphony. They were influenced by adjacent palatal consonants, often entailing a raising or breaking of the vowel in question. In the following list, the different raising effects are summarized:

1. Diphthongization before palatal consonants
    - Latin *vetulum* > **viɛʎə* > Old French *viell* 'old'
    - Latin *noctem* > **nuəçtə* > Old French *nuit* 'night'
2. Raising of Pre-French /æ/ > /ɛ/ after palatal consonants (Bartsch' Law)
    - Latin *caput* > **ʧiɛvə* > Old French *chief* 'head'
3. Raising of Pre-French /ei/ > /i/after palatal consonants
    - Latin *mercēdem* > **mɛrtseiðə* > Old French *merci* 'mercy'

[108] It has been suggested that the legal formula *maltho thi atomeo lito* 'I declare you, bondsman, half free' in the Salic Law represents such an Ingvaeonic feature. In this sentence, the accusative personal pronoun *thi* aligns with the Northsea Germanic dialects (cf. OE *þe*, OS *thi* 'you') and sharply contrasts with Rhine Franconian *thih*, *dih* [pers.pron.2.sg.dat.] (Quak 2008b: 143).

- Latin *cēra* > ***tsei**ra* > Old French *cire* 'wax'

The raising of /ei/ > /i/after palatal consonants may have occurred simultaneous with the raising of /æ/ > /ɛ/ under the same conditions, which would place them both in the late Merovingian period. The relatively late date for the raising of /ei/ is also suggested by the dialectal difference between Old French *givre* 'rime' and *joivre* 'rime', both going back to Gallo-Romance **ʤeivrə* < Gaulish **gēβero* 'winter' (PCelt. **gem-*, see Matasović 2009: 170; FEW IV: 129-30). The form *joivre,* limited to the eastern dialects of Gallo-Romance, shows that occasionally the raising after palatal consonants was resisted in the east of Gaul.

Gallo-Romance vowels could also be raised by a following /i/ in the next syllable, a development mirrored in Germanic and the metaphonic dialects of Italy. In Old French and Old Provençal, umlaut only comprised the mutation of Romance /e/ to /i/. Richter (1934: 132-33) argued that evidence for this umlaut may be reflected in Merovingian Latin, and would thus foreshadow the mutated reflexes in Old French and Old Provençal.

Desiderius > [dizdɛrjʊs] = *Disiderius* (cf. Old French *Didier,* hypocor. *Dido*)

fecit > [fitsiθ] = *ficit* (cf. Old French *fit* 'made')

However, the Merovingian evidence is ambiguous, because we have seen that Merovingian Latin often rendered the merger product of Latin /i/ and /ē/ with orthographic <i>. The first certain examples of umlaut come from the Old French stage where its effects are visible in several places in Gallo-Romance morphology. The following examples are found in the pronominal system:

Old French *il* [nom.pl.m.] < **elli* < Latin *illī*

Old French *ist* [nom.pl.m.] < **esti* < Latin *istī*

Old French *neïs* [nom.pl.n.] < **nekisti* < Latin *nec istī*

The umlaut is also present in the conjugation of the strong perfect verbs. There, Romance /e/ in the first singular person of the paradigm is umlauted to /i/ under influence of the ending /i/. In the second singular, we find the ending **-esti*, umlauted to *-isti.*

Old French		Gallo-Romance		Latin			
1.sg.	2.sg.	1.sg.	2.sg.	1.sg.	2.sg.		
pris	presis	< *presi	*presesti	< prēndī	prēndistī	prēndere	'to take'
vit	vedis	< *vedi	*vedesti	< vidī	vidistī	vidēre	'to see'
vin	venis	< *venis	*venesti	< venī	venistī	vēndere	'to come'

A final type of umlaut that also affected Early Gallo-Romance, but is clearly different from the normal umlaut that only affected /e/, is the change in the Gallo-Latin suffix *-*arjʊs* (Latin -*arius*) to Old French -*ier* [iɛr] (Schwan-Behrens 1966: 47). This outcome presupposes a Gallo-Romance stage [ɛrʲ] which underwent conditioned diphthongization of the low mid vowels to [iɛrʲ].

- Latin *primarius* > Old French *primier* 'first'
- Latin *villarius* > Old French *viliers* 'homestead'
- Latin *pannarius* > Old French *panier* 'bread basket'

Pope (1934: 15) argued that the raising of the /a/ to /ɛ/ in the suffix -*arius* may have been influenced by Germanic umlaut, which was probably at this point still a phonetic process. Germanic-speakers, who umlauted /a/ to /e/ before /i/ or /j/ in the following syllable, may have imposed this phonotactic rule on their pronunciation of Gallo-Romance (cf. Reiner 1980: 126). Alternatively, we could argue that we are here dealing with a case of Romance metaphony. However, the possibility of Germanic influence is strengthened by the parallel raising found in the Old French reflexes of Frankish names on –*hari* 'army' > [hɛrʲ] > [iɛr] and –*gair* > [gɛrʲ] > [giɛr] and the fact that, in the Merovingian period, Germanic names were occasionally written with <ero> instead of <ario> (see Vielliard 1927: 3).

- MerLat. *berhero/berhario* < OFrnk. **berhari*
- OFr. *Lohier* < OFrnk. **Hlodahari*
- OFr. *Gaultier* < OFrnk. **Walthari*
- OFr. *Lethgier* < OFrnk. **Leudagairi*

3.19 Latin glides

Early in the Romance period, the unstressed front vowels /e/ and /i/ developed into yod before back-vowels (see Alkire & Rosen 2010: 57-58).

- Latin *palea* > **palja* > OFr. *paille* 'straw'
- Latin *senior* > **senjor* > OFr. *sendre* 'lord'
- Latin *faciēs* >> **fakja* > OFr. *face* 'face'

This yod had the tendency to transfer its palatal nature to the neighboring segments, which may be the reason why already in the Roman period we find cases where the sequence /rj/ is spelled without the yod, e.g. <adverssaro> for Latin *adversarios* in a third-century curse tablet from Croatia (AIJ 557, cf. Barta 2017). Another consequence of this sound change is that scribes in the Late Roman and Medieval period were often unsure about whether to write <e> or <i> for the glide, e.g. <veator> = Latin *viator* (CIL XIII 11213, cf. Herman 2000: 35).

In the Romance period, the Latin glide /u̯/ was prone to loss after complex consonant clusters or geminates, as can be shown by the evolution of the following words (see Zink 1986: 150):

- Lat. *battuere* > **battere* > OFr. *batre* 'to fight'
- Lat. *februarium* > **fɛβrarjʊ* > OFr. *fevrier* 'february'
- Lat. *futtuere* > **fʊttere* > OFr. *foutre* 'to fuck'

Perhaps a special case is the evolution of Latin *manualis* into Old French *manel* 'belonging to the hand', which shows a development /nw/ > /n/ that is also found elsewhere in the Romance languages (cf. Malkiel 1968: 299-303). In Merovingian Latinity, the <u> glide of this root is omitted in MerLat. *dismanatas* < Latin *dismanuatas* (Vielliard 1927: 66). We may note that in later Germanic loanwords, the etymological sequence /nw/ is treated differently, e.g. Gm. **manwjan-* > OFr. *manevir* 'to prepare' (Meyer-Lübke 1913: 126).

3.20 Romance prosthesis

In Classical Latin, the medial clusters /sk/, /st/ and /sp/ could not be the onset of a syllable, and the syllable boundary was therefore between the two consonants, e.g. Latin *festa* 'feast' = /fes$ta/, Latin *respīrō* 'I breathe' = /respiro/ (cf. Alkire & Rosen 2010: 26-27). In the Late Roman period, this syllable constraint was extended to word initial position, so that in Late Latin/Proto-Romance these clusters could no longer be the onset of a syllable (cf. Loporcaro 2009b: 98). The resyllabification was probably provoked by sentence sandhi, i.e. Latin *illa sponsa* 'the betrothed' = /illaspon$sa/ and necessitated vowel-prosthesis whenever the syllable constraint was not met, e.g. Latin *in scripta* 'in writing' > /iniskrip$ta/.

In Latin epigraphy and Late Latin texts, we find the operation of this rule reflected in the spelling of a prosthetic vowel <i> or <e> in front of the above mentioned clusters (Väänänen 1967: 49). The prosthetic vowel shows up in Merovingian Latin in such spellings as MerLat. *istabilis* for Latin *stabilis* 'stable' and MerLat. *estodiant* for Latin *estudiant* 'they study' (Vielliard 1927: 102-03). We may note that in Old French the prosthetic vowel was generalized as /e/:

- Latin *spatha* > Old French *espeḍe* 'sword'
- Latin *scrībere* > Old French *escrivre* 'to write'

In Early Old French, the prosthesis rule was still active and is reflected in the eleventh-century hagiography of saint Alexis (cf. Zink 1986: 67-68).

Or revendrai al pedra et a la medra

Et a la ***sp****usa qued il out* ***esp****usethe* (Vie de saint Alexis, stanze XXI, 1.2)

"Now I will go back to the father and the mother

And to the fiancée to whom he was betrothed."

3.21 Ascoli's Law

It was noted by Ascoli (1878) that a Latin initial front vowel /ē/, /e/ or /ae/ before a tautosyllabic /k/, /kʷ/, /β/, /s/ or /t/ could be subjected to far-going reduction. According to Ascoli, these vowels could be reduced to a short /i/ vowel, that was often retained in Old French, but prone to loss or support by an intrusive nasal in other Romance varieties. The introduction of a nasal probably occurred in order to adapt the initial syllable to a segment structure that protected the vowel from apheresis; the choice for the introduction of a nasal instead of lengthening the vowel may have happened in analogy with the unstressed prefix –*in*. To conclude, the rise of this short /i/ vowel and its support by an intrusive nasal is therefore also known as Ascoli's Law (cf. Malkiel 1983: 324).

- Lat. *ecclēsia* > [ˈglɛːsja] > OFr. *iglise* ≠ ModIt. *chiesa* 'church'
- Lat. *aequāle* > [ˈgʷaːle] > OFr. *ivel* ≠ OFr. *enval* 'equal'
- Lat. *ēbriacum* > [ˈβrjaːkʊ] > OFr. *ivraie* ≠ ModIt. *imbriaco*[109] 'drunk'
- Lat. *ebureus* > [ˈβorjʊ] > OFr. *ivoire* ≠ Catal. *bori* 'ivory'

3.22 Gallo-Romance final vowels

In the Romance varieties of Late Antiquity, the vowel distinctions in final position were reduced by merging the mid vowels /e/ and /ɛ/ and /o/ and /ɔ/ into two general mid vowels

[109] The Standard Italian word for 'drunk' is *ubriaco.*

/e/ and /o/ (cf. Lausberg 1969 §272; Loporcaro 2009: 65-69). This means that, at the start of the Gallo-Romance period, only five vowels could occur in word final position, i.e. Rom. /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/ (Sampson 1980). The west Romance high vowels /i/ and /u/ were still distinct from the mid vowels, as is shown by their capacity to trigger umlaut. In western Romance, umlaut triggered by /i/ was common, and is also reflected in the prehistory of French, e.g. Latin *vēnī* > Old French *vin* 'I came' : Latin *vēnistī* > Old French *venis* 'you came'. The high vowel /u/ only triggered umlaut in Rhaeto-Romance, e.g. Rumantsch *iert* [sg.], *orts* [pl.] 'garden' < Latin *hortus, hortos* (Lausberg 1969 §196).

In the course of the sixth century, the Gallo-Romance word-final mid vowels collapsed into schwa (Richter 1934: 230-34). This situation is probably reflected in the verse correspondence of Frodebert and Importun, where *donum* [donə] and *annone* [anonə] could rhyme (see chapter 2). The high vowel /i/ survived longer and was retained until after medial stops were lost through lenition which put them right next to a stressed vowel. The result was a diphthong in which the old /i/ formed an offglide /j/.

- Latin *potui* [pɔdwi] > [pɔði] > Old French *poi* [pɔj] 'could'
- Latin *placui* [plaɣwi] > [plawi] > Old French *ploi* [plɔj] 'liked'
- Latin *focum* [fɔɣo] > [fow] > Old French *fou* [fow] 'fire'
- Latin *caecus* [tsjɛɣo] > [tsjɛw] > Old French *cieu* [tsjɛw] 'blind'

It is my contention that the offglide /w/ in Old French *pou* 'few', *fou* 'fire' and *jou* 'game' does not indicate the survival of final Latin /u/, which after all had shifted to the mid vowel /o/, but rather continues the lenition product /w/ from Gallo-Romance /ɣ/ (*contra* Schwan-Behrens 1966: 55; *contra* Sampson 1980: 32).

The schwa that continued the mid vowels was dropped later in the Merovingian period, leaving only /a/ in final position, which may have been pronounced as [æ] (cf. Richter 1934: 230-34). Before the ninth century CE, this final /a/ had collapsed into schwa as well. This stage is represented in the Strasbourg oaths, where the final [ə] from the mid vowels was lost and the final [ə] from /a/ or supporting [ə] from a stop + resonant clusters could be rendered orthographically by both <a> and <e>.

- Latin *amorem* > *amur* [amour] 'love'
- Latin *placitum* > *pleit* [plait] 'agreement'
- Latin *fratrem* > *fradra* ~ *fradre* [fraðrə] 'brother'
- Latin *adiuta* > *aiudha* [ajyðə] 'aid'

The same vacillation between <a> and <e> for final [ə] is found in the Eulalie sequence in the words <domnizelle> 'little mistress' against <pulzella> 'maiden' (cf. Loporcaro 2009: 67). Considering these facts, we can now establish the following relative chronology:

1. Merger of the mid vowels in final position

    a. /e/ and /ɛ/ > /e/
    b. /o/ and /ɔ/ > /o/
2. Mid vowels /e/ and /o/ centralize to schwa
    a. Before 666 CE (verse correspondence of Frodebert and Importun)
3. voiceless stops reach the fricative stage
    a. /i/ > /j/ after stressed vowel
4. High vowels /i/ and /u/ centralize to schwa
5. Low vowel /a/ is centralized to schwa

Nevertheless, it has not gone unnoticed that there are several environments where the Gallo-Romance mid vowels /e/ and /o/ do survive as schwa into the Old French period (see Sampson 1980: 30-31):

- Latin *porticus* > [pɔrteko] > Old French *porche* 'doorway'
- Latin *facere* > [fakere] > Old French *faire* 'do'
- Latin *comitem* > [kɔmete] > Old French *konte* 'count'

In the first two examples, the schwa has a supporting function which explains why it was retained (see section 3.40). The case of Old French *conte* is more problematic, since we would expect the /e/ of *conte* to share the same fate as the final vowel of Latin *ponte* > Old French *pont* 'bridge'. The regularist scholars have tried to solve this problem by arguing that proparoxytone nouns affected by late Gallo-Romance syncope could retain their final vowel as schwa (cf. Pope 1934: 114-115; Schwan-Behrens 1966: 57-58). Modern scholars have downplayed the importance of relative chronology in this matter and and attributed greater importance to sociolectal variation, as it might be the case that some variants of Gallo-Romance withstood apocope for a longer time than other varieties (cf. Loporcaro 2009b: 64).

3.23 Affrication of /tj/ and /kj/

It is generally acknowledged that in the Proto-Romance period (100 – 500 CE) the Latin sequences /tj/ and /kj/ could be subjected to two different developments (Lausberg 1967 § 451; Brandão de Carvalho 2008):

- The yod in Latin /tj/, /kj/ could trigger palatalization of the preceding stop
- The yod in Latin /tj/, /kj/ could trigger gemination of the preceding stop

These two developments are postulated on account of the evidence from Latin epigraphy and Late Latin texts and the reflexes and etymological contrasts in the Romance daughter languages (Loporcaro 2009: 144-50). The palatalization is evidenced in the spelling confusion of <ci> and <ti> in Latin inscriptions and texts and in the affricate reflexes of the cluster in many of the West Romance languages. The gemination is preserved in Central and South

Italian dialects (including Sardinian) and is part of a wider gemination-before-yod development (Lausberg 1967 § 451-478).

An interesting problem, however, is that in the West Romance languages these two developments seem to have crossed each other. In the case of Latin /tj/, we find two different reflexes for the same etymological sequence. The sound developments given below reflect Lausberg's overview of the Romance intermediary stages.

- Latin /tj/
  - Latin /tj/ > Rom. /ʧ/ > Gallo-Rom. /ʤ/
  - Latin /tj/ > Rom. /ttj/ > Rom./tts/ > Gallo-Rom. /ts/

The regular development of Latin /tj/ in the West Romance languages seems to be the affrication to /ʧ/ and subsequent voicing to /ʤ/, e.g. Latin *ratiōnem* > **ratʃone* > **radʒone* > OSp. *razón,* OProv. *razun* 'reason'. The divergent development is the gemination-before-yod and assibiliation to /ts/ outcome, e.g. Latin *platea* > **plattja* > **plattsa* > Old French *place.* We may note that the Old French word *amblaiz* 'yoke belt', which is a continuation of a Gaulish substratum word **ambulation,* underwent the same evolution of /tj/ > /ttj/ > /ts/ (see FEW XXIV: 408). In this case, the Gallo-Romance stage /ts/ seems to be reflected by Old High German word *amblāza* 'yoke belt', which presupposes a Gallo-Romance donor form **amblatsa* (see Müller & Frings 1968: 90-91).

In the case of Latin /kj/, the two different sound developments, palatalization and gemination, are both assumed to yield the affricate /ts/ in West Romance.

- Latin /kj/
  - Latin /kj/ > Rom. /ʧ/ > Gallo-Rom. /ts/
  - Latin /kj/ > Rom. /kkj/ > Rom. /ttʃ/ > Gallo-Rom. /ts/

We may note that the evolution of the geminate sequence /ttj/ and /kkj/ into West Romance /ts/is corroborated by Latin words that already contained a geminate consonant, such as Latin *mattea* and *brachium*; they undergo the same development as the geminates that were the result of the gemination-before-yod process:

- Latin *mattea** > WRom. **matsa* > OFr. *mace* 'flail'
- Latin *brachium* [brak:jum] > WRom. **brats* > OFr. *braz* 'arm'

It seems possible that in the case of Latin /kj/ the gemination and affrication were part of the same development, i.e. Latin /kj/ > /kkj/ > / ttʃ / > WRom. /ts/. In the case of Latin /tj/, it is not possible to reduce the developments to one sound change. We therefore have to assume that, in the case of the West Romance words that show /tj/ > /ts/ in the daughter languages, a different development took place that bled the voicing of the affricate. We may consider the following scenarios:

- In some words, Latin /tj/ may have been confused with the geminate /ttj/ which yielded /ʦ/.
- Some words may have entered West Romance from another Romance variety where Latin /tj/ yielded /ʦ/ anyway.
- Some words may have entered West Romance from a learned reading tradition in which written Latin <ti> and <ci> were both pronounced as /ʧ/. This would also explain the interchangibility of the sequences in Merovingian Latinity.

As concerns the dating of these developments, it is clear that the affrication of these clusters followed the change of pre-vocalic /e/ and /i/ to /j/, because also this new yod triggered the affrication. It is generally assumed that the affrication of /tj/ in post-consonantal and post-vocalic position occurred in the early centuries CE; early evidence for this date is provided by the following epigraphic evidence from the second and third centuries CE (Väänänen 1981: 54):

- <crescentsianus> < crescentianus (personal name, ca. 140 CE)
- <vincentzo> < vincentius (personal name, ca. 100 - 200 CE)
- <ampitzatru> < amphitheatrum (ca. 100 – 200 CE)

The affrication of /tj/ is also reflected in the Late Latin loanwords of Gothic and the Slavic. The Gothic words occur in Ostrogothic sources from early-sixth-century Italy and the Slavic words were probably borrowed in the Balkan when the Slavs settled there in the fifth and sixth centuries CE. This suggests that the lexical transfer of the Late Latin words into Gothic and Slavic must at least predate the sixth century.

- Latin *lectiō* > Rom. **lɛkʧʊ* → Goth. *laiktsjo* 'reading'
- Latin *cautiō* > Rom. **kauʧʊ* → Goth. *kawtsjo* 'warranty'
- Latin *platea* > Rom. **platʃa* → CS *ploča* 'market place'

In the prehistory of French, we must also reckon with a younger layer of loanwords in which both Romance and Germanic /tj/ was adapted as Gallo-Romance /tsj/. This Gallo-Romance /tsj/ then joined the development of /sj/, undergoing *i*-infection and yielding /is/ in Old French (cf. Meyer-Lübke 1913: 128, see also section 3.26).

- Gm. **satjan-* → Gallo-Rom. **satsjire-* > OFr. *saisir* 'to acquire, to grab'
- Rom. **palatjʊ* → Gallo-Rom. **palatsjo* > OFr. *paleis* 'palace'
- Rom. **sarmatja* → Gallo-Rom. **sarmatsja* > OFr. *Sarmaise* (regionym)

The affrication of /kj/ to /ʧ/ is first mentioned by the Latin grammarians Servius and Papirianus in the fourth and fifth centuries CE (Väänänen 1981: 54). The affrication of /kj/ in

post-consonantal position must have happened earlier, since its occurrence is evident from the <ci> <ti> spelling confusions as found in Latin <tercius>/<tertius>.[110]

The affrication of /kj/ in inter-vocalic position occurred relatively late; we can infer that it occurred after the affrication of /tj/, since it missed the intervocalic voicing that affected /tj/.

- Latin *faciēs* >> **fakja* > Rom. **fatʃa* > WRom. *fatsa* > OFr. *face*

A later date for the affrication of /kj/ in intervocalic position is also evident from the Latin loanwords in West Germanic that preserve the sequence /kj/.

- Latin *aciarium* >> Rom. **akjale* →OHG *echol,* OS *ekil* 'steel'
- Latin *brachium* > Rom. **brakjʊ* → MHG *bracke* 'wooden beam'
- Latin *vicia* > Rom. **wikja* → OS *wikkia* 'vetch' (Vicia cracca)

We may note that some Germanic loanwords that have /kj/ entered the Romance language of Gaul at a stage in which it could still feed into the gemination-before-yod and the affrication process. It seems unattractive to assume that the West Germanic words had already gone West Germanic gemination before yod, since traditionally this development is placed rather late (Braune-Mitzka 1967: 91).

- WGm. **makjōn* 'mason' > OFr. *maz, maçon*
- WGm. **bakjōn* 'baker' > OFr. **baz, *bacon* (cf. Norm.Fr. *bache*)

To sum up: largely the chronology of the developments that affected Latin /tj/ and /kj/ is clear. Affrication of intervocalic /tj/ happened first, affrication of intervocalic /kj/ happened later. Nevertheless, we have to reckon with some words displaying a non-etymological development of /tj/. The most plausible scenario for this non-etymological development is that we are dealing with loanwords from the written register, in which a more archaic pronunciation was retained.

- Latin /tj/
  1. Pre-vocalic /e/, /i/ > /j/
  2. Affrication of /tj/ > /tʃ/
  3. Lenition of intervocalic /tʃ/ > /dʒ/
- Latin /ttj/
  1. Pre-vocalic /e/, /i/ > /j/
  2. palatalization of /ttj/ > /tts/
  3. Degemination and assibilation of /ttʃ/ > /ts/
- Latin /kj/

[110] The sequence /kj/ in the Gothic word *unkja,* a loanword from Latin *uncia,* seems to contradict the early affrication of /kj/ in post-consonantal position. Here we must assume that the word was transferred into Gothic via a Romance variety that had preserved the /kj/ sequence in all positions.

1. Pre-vocalic /e/, /i/ > /j/
2. Gemination of /kj/ > /kkj/
3. Affrication of /kkj/ > /ttʃ/
4. Degemination and assibilation of /ttʃ/ > /ts/

3.24 Palatalization of /k/ before front vowels

Posterior to the affrication of the stop-plus-yod clusters, the velar stop /k/ was palatalized to /tʃ/ before the front vowels /i/, /e/ and /ɛ/. This sound change is only attested in inscriptions from the fifth century onwards (e.g. CIL VIII 21801 *intcitamento* = *incitāmento*) and cannot not have happened much sooner (cf. Lausberg 1967: 9-10; Straka 1953: 200). It must have occurred after Sardinian was separated from the Romance dialect continuum, since in Logudorese and Campidanese Sardinian, Latin /k/ before front vowels did not undergo the palatalization.[111]

Latin *caelum* > Logudorese *kelu* 'heaven'

Latin *cena* > Logudorese *kɛna* 'meal'

In Gallo-Latin however, the palatalization may already have affected the velars in the fourth century. This early dating depends on the question whether the word *caelo* in a single verse line by Ausonius of Bordeux alliterates with *salo* and *solo*, thereby implying that it was pronounced as [tsɛ:lo] (Väänänen 1981: 55). It is interesting to note that Latin loanwords in Germanic and Celtic rarely show the sound change, e.g. Latin *Caesar* 'emperor' > Goth. *kaisar,* Latin *cellārium* 'pantry, basement' > OHG *kellar,* Latin *cista* 'chest' > OHG *chist,* Latin *certus* 'certain' > Old Welsh *certh*. This may corroborate a relatively late date for the palatalization of /k/ before front vowels. Two West Germanic loanwords in Old French also point in this direction (Guinet 1982: 36-37; Pfister 1987: 182-83).

- WGm. **kiþ-* → WRom. **kitone* > OFr. *cion* 'sprout'
- WGm. **kerana-* → WRom. **kerana* > OFr. *ceraine* 'churn'

The question of the dating of the palatalization recurs in the testimony of Romance toponyms. Especially the toponyms at the former western frontier are informative in this regard. It has been noted by Pfister (1987) and Haubrichs (1998, 2014), that, from the Mosel valley to Switzerland, numerous place-names fail to show the effects of the palatalization of velars before front-vowels. Since these toponyms were probably adopted into Germanic in the wake of the Frankish and Alamannic settlements of the fifth and sixth century CE, Pfister (1987) drew the conclusion that in the fifth and sixth centuries the palatalization had not yet

[111] It should be noted that Balkan Romance had also withstood palatalization of /k/ before front vowels (cf. Holzer 2007: 29).

affected the north-eastern border dialects of Gallo-Romance. The following place-names bear witness to this lack of palatalization.

- *Macher, Mecher* (Moselle) < Latin *maceria*
- *Kempraten* (Zürich) < Latin *centum prata*
- *Kirkel* (Saarland) < Latin *circulum*
- *Tackenpail* (Moselle, Dieuze) < Latin *decem pagi*
- *Kermeter* (Moselle Franconian) < Latin *coemeterium*

The Franconian toponymical element *macher* 'wall' going back to Latin *maceria* 'brickwork' is a case in point. Its Germanic fricative /χ/ suggests that the Romance donor form still possessed a velar /k/, which, after adoption into Germanic, could undergo the effects of the Old High German sound shift. As such, it contrasts with the place-names *Messeren, Metzeral* and *Metzerohl* from the Lorraine and Alsace region, which also are derived from Latin *maceria,* but do reflect the palatalization.

Although it is possible that the Gallo-Romance border dialects retained the Latin velars longer than the rest of Gallo-Romance, in the case of the place-names, we might just be dealing with fossilized onomastic material that retained an older pronunciation, because the link to the corresponding appellative had been lost (cf. Stroop 1984). Therefore the toponymic evidence and the Romance loanwords in Germanic do not necessarily contradict a dating of the palatalization to the late fourth century or fifth century CE (*contra* Pfister 1987).[112] In the Merovingian period, the assibilated pronunciation [ʦ] for Latin /k/ before front vowels can be inferred from spelling variations such as *Beceancorum* for *Byzantinorum* and *Niseam* for *Nicaea* (Vielliard 1927: 47).

In short, the affrication of /kj/ and the palatalization of /k/ before front vowels yielded a West Romance palatal /ʧ/, which was assibilated to /ʦ/ in the Gallo-Romance period. This assibilation must have happened at a relatively early date, since Romance /ʧ/ was kept apart from the secondary Gallo-Romance /ʧ/ that arose in the late Merovingian period.

3.25 Merger of /dj/, /j/ and /g/ before front vowels

In the early centuries CE, the sequences /dj/ and /j/ in prevocalic position developed into the affricate /ʤ/. Later, Latin /g/ before front vowels also developed into /ʤ/ and in most Romance dialects this led to a merger of etymological /dj/, /j/ and /g/ before front vowels.

[112] Pfister (1987: 183) adduces epigraphic evidence, such as the Greek spelling *ουρσικινος* for the name *Ursicinus* from Late Roman Trier (4th or 5th c. CE), in order to prove the persistence of a velar pronunciation [k] for front vowels. This evidence is interesting, as the recording of the name might predate the palatalization. However, in the case of onomastic material, we should also consider the possibility that the name preserves an archaic pronunciation.

The first change to occur was the gemination of yod in prevocalic position, i.e. /j/ > /jj/. This gemination is reflected in the long scansion of *maiorem* and *peiorem* in classical poetry, in occasional geminate spellings in epigraphy (e.g. *maiiorem*) and in the remarks of the Latin grammarians (Väänänen 1981: 52). The geminate /jj/ then got fortified to /ʤ/, a fortition that is typologically well-known from other unrelated languages (e.g. in Norse, Gothic, and Berber).

After the fortition of /jj/ > /ʤ/, the affrication of the yod-cluster /dj/ occurred. We may assume that the affrication of /dj/ > /ʤ/ ran parallel to the affrication of /tj/ > /ʧ/ and happened relatively early. The merger of /j/ and /dj/ into /ʤ/ in syllable-initial position is documented in the inscriptions of Pompeii and occasioned the inverted spelling <codiugi> for Latin *coniugī* 'to the spouse' (CIL X 2559, Väänänen 1981: 52). In Christian Latin texts, this affricate could be spelled with the letter <z>, which was pronounced as Greek dzeta = [ʣ], e.g. *zabolus* 'devil' < *diabolus, zaconus* 'deacon' < *diaconus* (cf. Väänänen 1981: 53).

According to Loporcaro, the palatalization of /g/ > /ʤ/ before front vowels is a relatively young development (Loporcaro 2009: 145), which did not happen simultaneously with the palatalization of /k/ > /ʧ/ before front vowels (Loporcaro 2009: 145-147). It seems likely that the palatalization of /g/ before front vowels post-dates the merger of /j/ and /dj/; this is suggested by the etymological contrasts that were maintained in Rumanian and Rhaeto-Romance (Väänänen 1981: 53), where the outcomes of /j/ and /dj/, on the one hand, and /g/ before front vowels, on the other, were kept separate, e.g. Grischun *džèndr* 'son-in-law' and *gjuf* 'yoke' (Rohlfs 1975: 9).

It seems that Gallo-Romance had a different merger of /dj/ and /gj/ in syllable-initial position than in intervocalic position. In syllable-initial position, the merger yields Gallo-Romance /ʤ/. In intervocalic position, /dj/ and gj/ merged in a yod (Meyer-Lübke 1913: 131; Zink 1986: 95; Pierret 1994: 163).

- Lat. *gaudia* > Gallo-Rom. **ʤæuja* > OFr. *joie* 'joy'
- Lat. *exagium* > Gallo-Rom. **essæjo* > OFr. *essai* 'test, experience'

In Merovingian Latinity, we find this merger reflected in the spelling confusion of the three sequences <di>, <gi> and <i>; as an example may serve the spelling of the Gallo-Roman name *Remegius* as *Remedius* and the word *maius* as *madius* 'larger' (Vielliard 1927: 59-60). The fact that we find the spelling <chlogio> for the Frankish royal name *Hlodio* in the works of Gregory of Tours, suggests that the merger was concluded in the sixth century already (*Libri Historiarum X,* liber 2, 9).

In the Merovingian redactions of the Salic Law, we occasionally find the sequence <zi> alternating with a grapheme <gi> in the Malberg glosses. In these cases, we may assume that <z>, which was normally used to render Greek [ʣ], was read as Gallo-Romance [ʤ].

- <thunzinus> : <thunginus> = OFrnk. **þungil-* 'venerable one'[113]
- <chengisto> : <chanzisto> = OFrnk. **hangist-* 'stallion'
- <ingymus> : <inzimis> = OFrnk. **ain-gim-* 'one-year old'

Curiously, this spelling <z> for [ʤ] is only found in the Malberg glosses and is never used in the Latin lexis of the law text. This also makes Van Helten's suggestion that we might be explain the <z> from a misreading of <g> in insular minuscule script (= <ȝ>) very unlikely (see Van Helten 1900: 241).

3.26 Patalalization of /nj, /lj/

In the late empire, sequences of /n/ and /l/ followed by yod gave rise to the new palatal consonants /ɲ/ and /ʎ/. The new palatal /ʎ/ is perhaps reflected in the epigraphic spellings <fiios> for Latin *filios* (CIL VI 667) and <aureia> for Latin *Aurelia* (CIL VII 9455, see Haadsma & Nuchelmans 1963: 29), although for these instances also dialectal influence of Faliscan might be invoked. The palatalization of /nj/ and /lj/ followed the rise of a secondary yod through resyllabification of /e/ and /i/ before back vowels and is generally dated to a moment around the fourth century CE (Lloyd 1987: 134).

- Latin *vīnea* > **βiña* > Old French *vigne* 'vine'
- Latin *folia* > **fɔʎa* > Old French *fueille* 'leaf'

In the case of palatal /ɲ/, the development must be placed before 400 CE, since it is reflected in the fifth-century Daniel inscription of the Daillens belt buckle, i.e. DAGNIHIL = Dañiel (Deonna 1945: 309). This spelling was made possible by the Romance palatalization of the Latin sequence /gn/ to /ɲ/, cf. Latin *signa* > ModSp. *seña,* ModFr. *signe* 'sign' (Zink 1986: 112-13). The next Merovingian attestation for this development is found in the chronicle of Pseudo-Fredegar, where Latin *regnante* and *cognomento* are spelled as *raenante* and *quoinomento* (cf. Richter 1934: 112; Rice 1902: 96; Devillers & Meyers 2001: 45).

3.27 Gallo-Romance i-infection

In the Early Medieval period, the Romance variety of Gaul also palatalized the apico-alveolar consonants /r/ and /s/ whenever they were followed by yod, i.e. Latin /rj/ > [rʲ] and Latin /sj/ > [ʃ]. These new palatal consonants provoked the rise of a secondary yod before the consonant, i.e. Gallo-Romance [jrʲ], [jʃ].

Latin *mansiōnem* > Gallo-Rom. **majʃonə*> Old French *maison* 'house'

[113] The identification was already made by Kern (1872). Wenskus (1964) and Schmidt-Wiegand (1991) prefer a connection to Gm. **þing-*, which in my opinion is neither more nor less convinging (see also ONW s.v. *thungin*).

Latin *area* > Gallo-Rom. *$ajr^{j}a$ > Old French *aire* 'air'

The recurring spelling <chairibertus> from the chronicle of Pseudo-Fredegar (MGH SS Rer.Merov. II: 134) shows that in the case of palatal /r/, this development was completed in the seventh century CE, i.e. Old Frankish *Harjaberht* [χarjaberχt] > Gallo-Rom. *$ha^{j}r^{j}əbert$ = <chairibertus> (cf. OFr. *hairbert*). The rise of a secondary yod also affects fricative consonant clusters that only arose in the late Gallo-Romance period, thereby corroborating a late date for the *i*-infection.

Latin *repatriāre* > Gallo-Rom. *$rəpaðr^{j}ar$ > *$repajðr^{j}ar$ > Old French *repairier* 'to return'

3.28 Pan-Romance lenition

The Latin stop system with its three-way distinction of voiceless stops, voiced stops and geminate stops underwent a drastic reorganization in the western Romania. Somewhere between the Classical Latin period and the first text monuments in the western Romance vernaculars, the Latin singulate stops were lenited and the Latin geminate stops were degeminated. The intervocalic voicing has a close typological parallel in the Celtic languages, which prompted Ascoli (1882: 33) to formulate the theory that Romance lenition should be attributed to a Celtic substratum. However, the case for continental Celtic lenition is controversial, and the epigraphic evidence that might substantiate it is ambiguous (Lloyd 1987: 160; Mees 2003: 15). We should also note that the southern Italian varieties whose historical populations were not influenced by Celtic-speakers, were affected by Romance lenition as well (cf. Posner 1996: 234-36). Nowadays, internal explanations for Romance lenition are favoured and scholars generally assume that lenition and degemination are two interrelated developments (cf. Lloyd 1987: 140-45).

- Latin /pp/, /tt/, /kk/> /p/, /t/, /k/
- Latin /p/, /t/, /k/ > /b/, /d/, /g/
- Latin /b/, /d/, /g/ > /β/, /ð/, /γ/

The directionality of this chain shift was discussed by twentieth-century structuralists such as Martinet (1952) and Weinrich (1958) and the dating of this chain shift has remained one of the great conundrums of Romance phonology. Scholars have traditionally considered the lenition to be a relatively young phenomenon (cf. Herman 2000: 46-47; Väänänen 1981: 57). Here, however, the epigraphic record provides evidence to the contrary: from the first century CE onwards, we find occasional but persistent spellings that suggest that Latin voiceless stops were voiced between vowels (Cravens 1991). It is remarkable that these spellings cover the entire Roman Empire, that is to say, lenited spellings are not only found in the western Roman Empire, where this chain shift is reflected in the west Romance daughter languages but also in the eastern Roman Empire where the Romance varieties

retain the Latin stops in their unshifted capacity. These facts have puzzled scholars for generations, and were subjected to a new investigation by Thomas D. Cravens (1991, 2000).

Cravens (1991), following a suggestion by Figge (1966: 185-188), argued that lenition had once been a phonetic voicing rule that encompassed the entire Romania and operated across word-boundaries. This would account for three salient facts: 1) epigraphic evidence for intervocalic voicing is attested very early, 2) voiced spellings are also found in the eastern Romania, and 3) in isolated lexemes initial Latin voiceless stops are continued as voiced stops in the Romance languages (see also Figge 1966).

Latin *conflāre*	'to inflate'	> MidFrench *confler*	'to make larger'
		> French *gonfler*	'to inflate'
Latin *tragula*	'rope'	> French *traille*	'ferry cable'
		> French *draille*	'stay line'
Latin *pruina*	'rime'	> OFrench *pruine*	'rime'
		> French *bruine*	'drizzle'

According to Cravens, data from the Italian dialects to the south of the La Spezia-Rimini line suggests that lenition had at one time been a pan-Romance allophonic rule (cf. Cravens 1991: 54-55). Although these southern Italian dialects seem to have withstood reorganization of the Latin stop system, voiceless and voiced stops often have weakened surface forms in intervocalic position. Noteworthy examples are the spirantization in the Tuscan dialects and the allophonic variation in Sicilian and Sardinian. Also, many southern Italian dialects do possess shifted stops in several isolated lexemes, e.g. Southern Italian *pagare* 'to pay' < Latin *pacāre,* Southern Italian *ago* 'needle' < Latin *acum,* Southern Italian *luogo* 'place' < Latin *locum.*

This led Cravens to suggest that the pan-Romance phonetic voicing rule was at one time present in the Eastern Romania as well, but was lost later on. This may have happened when the eastern Romance dialects extended the unshifted allophones to the intervocalic positions, which restored the original stop system and protected it from phonemic reorganization. It is exactly this phonemic reorganization that affected the western Romance dialects and radically distanced their phonology from that of Classical Latin.

Following the investigations by Cravens (1991, 2000), we can reconstruct the different developments in the Latin stop system that led to its reorganization in the western Romania. The sandhi-induced gemination rule known as syntactic doubling (Italian *raddoppiamento fonosintattico*) plays a pivotal role in these developments. Syntactic doubling consists of an assimilation of Latin initial stops with the final stop of a preceding word, i.e. Latin *vadit bene* > *vadibbene* > ModIt. *vabbene*. It was already suggested by Hall (1964) that syntactic doubling was a synchronic assimilation rule in colloquial Latin that covered the entire Romania.

Assuming that the rule affected such a wide area is a bold supposition, since syntactic doubling is only reflected in Italo-Romance. Still, it is clear that the origin of syntactic doubling must be projected back into the Roman period (cf. Loporcaro 1997, 2001: 276), as the assimilation rule is attested in the early centuries CE already. Evidence for this assimilation is found in the epigraphic record[114] (cf. Cravens 2002: 62) and in the scansion of a Pompeii graffito (cf. Fanciullo 1997).[115]

Syntactic doubling and the rise of a geminate allophone in initial position may have been the first step towards the reorganization of the stop system (cf. Cravens 2000). Following the gemination across word boundaries, a Latin stop[116] could have two allophones in initial position:

/p/	=	[p:] post-consonantally (following a word ending in a stop)
		[p] in all other positions
/b/	=	[b:] post-consonantally (following a word ending in a stop)
		[b] in all other positions

Then Romance lenition arose as a phonetic voicing rule which affected all intervocalic positions. Not only the intervocalic stops in the middle of words were lenited, but also initial stops that were preceded by a final vowel of the preceding word. At this second stage, the voiceless singulate stops were voiced and the voiced singulate stops were spirantized. Consequently, a Latin stop now had three allophones in initial position. Cravens assumes that this must have been the Proto-Romance situation:

/p/	=	[p:] post-consonantally
		[p] at the beginning of a phrase
		[b] in all intervocalic positions
/b/	=	[b:] post-consonantally
		[b] at the beginning of a phrase
		[β] in all intervocalic positions

The catalyst for the reorganization in the western Romania was the degemination of the geminate stops. This degemination stabilized the voiceless allophone in initial position,

[114] Examples from Latin epigraphy include *at tuos* (CIL VI 31066) and the famous sixth-century *abboce* inscription (ICVR II 6449, 39) in the tomb of Comodilla.

[115] Pompeii graffito 100.1173 (*quisquis ama valia peria qui nosci amare*) is often quoted as evidence for the loss of final dentals in Italo-Romance, but Fanciullo has argued that the distich is only metrical if we assume that the final dental assimilated to the following initial stop (cf. Loporcaro 2009b: 93).

[116] In the following excursus, the labial stops /p/ and /b/ are used to illustrate the phonological changes.

reducing the possible allophones from three to two. Since the eastern Romania was not affected by the degemination, in these regions the reorganization of the stop system was averted.

/p/	=	[p] post-consonantally or at the beginning of a phrase
		[b] in all intervocalic positions
/b/	=	[b] post-consonantally or at the beginning of a phrase
		[β] in all intervocalic positions

At this point, the western Romance reorganization of the stop system took place. In initial position, the voiceless allophone was restored in all phonetic environments: this could happen because, after the west Romance degemination, there were now more positions were the voiceless allophone occurred at the beginning of a word than the voiced allophone. The stabilization of the initial stops disturbed the predictability of the voicing rule and provoked phonemicization of the voiced allophones in the middle of words. This way, Latin /p/ between vowels was phonemicized as /b/ and Latin /b/ between vowels was phonemicized as /β/. After the stabilization of the voiceless allophones in initial position and phonemicization of the voiced allophones in medial position, the reorganization of the stop system was complete.

Latin /p/	> /p/ in initial position
	> /b/ between vowels in the middle of words
Latin /b/	> /b/ in initial position
	> /β/ between vowels in the middle of words

Because the voicing rule remained allophonic in the eastern Romania, no phonemicization of the shifted allophones occurred. In southern Italo-Romance, some allophony in initial position was retained (cf. Cravens 2000). In Daco-Romance, the unshifted allophones were restored in all intervocalic position, which explains why no lenition of the stop system is found in Rumanian (Alkire & Rosen 2010: 260).

Latin *capu*	'head'	> Rumanian *cap*
Latin *spatha*	'sword'	> Rumanian *spată*
Latin *acum*	'needle'	> Rumanian *ac*

Because of the phonetic nature of the voicing rule, the same restoration of the stop system could occur in some isolated areas in the western Romania. This is what happened in the Gascon varieties of Bearnais (Vallées of Aspes, Barétous) and in Aragonese Spanish, possibly under influence of a Pre-Basque substratum.

3.29 Gallo-Romance lenition

We have seen that Merovingian Latin orthography provides sporadic evidence for the voicing of the Latin voiceless stops. However, the fricative stage that is part of the above described chain shift stays largely invisible in Merovingian Latinity (cf. Pope 1934: 137). This is probably due to reluctance of the contemporaries to abandon the orthographic convention of using the voiced spellings <b>, <d> and <g> for the voiced spirants. The fricative stage is perhaps reflected in the spelling <lisa>[117] for <lida> [ljɛða] (cf. Gm. **lǣt* 'freed man') in the *Pactus Legis Alamannorum* (7th c. CE, MGH LL Nat.Germ. V: 22) but only surfaces in full in the Early Old French period. In the Strassbourg Oaths[118] we find the spelling <aiudha> for Latin *adiuta* 'help' and in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle (anno 890 CE) we find the borrowed place-names *Sant Loðan*, *Caðun* and *Roðem*[119] (cf. Modern French *saint-Lô, Caen, Rouen,* see Dietz 1993: 505).

Some indication as to when the voiceless stops reached the fricative stage is provided by the Gallo-Romance loanwords in Old English. The following loanwords are connected to the introduction of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England, and are therefore unlikely to have been borrowed before the Gregorian mission of 597 CE (cf. Campbell 1959: 210).

- Old English *lǣden* < [laːdɪna] < Latin *latina* 'Latin language'
- Old English *byden* < [boːdɪna] < Latin *butina* 'barrel, vat'
- Old English *abbod*[120] < [abbaːde] < Latin *abbātem* 'abbot'

These words show voicing of intervocalic /t/ > /d/ and fricativation of /d/ > /ð/, but not the shift of the voiceless stop /t/ to fricative /ð/, suggesting that in the sixth century CE, the Latin voiceless stops had not yet reached the fricative stage (cf. Wollmann 1993: 23, 25). The fricative stage of Late Gallo-Romance, when also the Latin voiceless stops became spirants, is reflected in the loanwords that show Old English /ð/ for Latin /t/ (cf. Campbell 1959: 210):

- Old English *Cundoð* < [kɔndaːðe] < Latin *Condātum* 'Condé'
- Old English *morað* < [moraːðo] < Latin **mōrātum* 'mulberry wine'
- Old English *sæþerige* < [saðoreːja] < Latin *saturēia* 'savory'

3.30 Conditioned loss of Latin /g/

In some phonetic environments, Latin /g/ may have been lost before the reorganization of the stop system in western Romance. This conditioned loss of Latin /g/ is attested in Latin

[117] Compare also Old French *bies* 'brook' (< OFrnk. **bedi*) and also Old French *resne* 'rein' for *reḍne* (< Lat. *retina*).
[118] Nithard, the ninth-century chronicler who recorded the oaths, is quite consistent in rendering contemporary Gallo-Romance /ð/ by the spelling <dh>, cf. <cadhellonica> = *catalaunica* (cf. ModFr. *Châlons*).
[119] Reflected in Early Middle English <roðem>, Petersborough chronicle, anno 1124.
[120] The /o/ in Old English in *abbod* is in all likelihood a weakening from older short /a/.

epigraphy from the late Empire onwards and is often reflected in the Romance daughter languages. The different phonetic environments that conditioned this loss are illustrated below:

1. Latin /g/ between non-back vowels — Latin *viginti* > *vinti* (CIL VIII 1163)
2. Latin /g/ between stressed vowel and /u/ — Latin *augusto* > *austo* (CIL VIII 9877)
3. Latin /g/ between two unstressed vowels — Latin *sarcofagus* > **sarcofus* > OFr. *sercueu*
4. Latin /g/ before /m/ — Latin *sagma* > *sauma* > OFr. *somme*

Development 1 is reflected in Latin epigraphy and the *Appendix Probi,* where we read *calcostegis non calcosteis* 'bronze roof beams' (line 12, Baehrens 1967: 5). Its consequences in Gallo-Romance can be illustrated by the Latin words *frigidus* 'cold' and *digitus* 'finger', the second of which is found in the Salic Law as *dido* (manuscript C6, cf. MGH LL Nat.Germ. IV, 1: 269).

- Latin *frigidus* > Rom. **fredʊ-* > Old French *freit* 'cold'
- Latin *digitus* > Rom. **detʊ-* > Old French *deit* 'finger'

Developments 2 and 3 are amply reflected in Merovingian Latinity and probably followed Romance lenition. In this stage, Romance /g/ had lenited to /ɣ/, a sound that was liable to assimilation in velar environments, such as following the vowels /o/ or /u/. Evidence from the Merovingian period include the following words:

- *Astodunum* (ca. 549 CE[121]) < Latin *Augustodunum* (cf. OFr. *Autun*)
- *Rotomaus* (ca. 511 CE[122]) < Latin *rotomagus* (cf. OFr. *Rouens*)
- *veltrauis* (ca. 516 CE[123]) < Latin *vertragus* (cf. OFr. *veltre* 'lévrier')
- *siutium* (ca. 507 CE[124]) < Latin *segusius* (cf. OFr. *siuz* 'sleuth hound')

The examples show that especially the environment between /a/ and /u/ was prone to loss of Gallo-Romance /ɣ/. Still, the form *seusius* from the *Pactus Legis Salicae* indicates that the loss could also occur between another stressed vowel and /u/ (cf. Meyer-Lübke 1890: 443).

Development 4 consists of the vocalization of /g/ to /u/ before /m/.[125] The development is also found in the *Appendix Probi,* where we read *pegma non peuma* 'bookcase' (line 85) and in the Late Latin forms *sauma* for *sagma* 'packsaddle' and *fraumentum* for *fragmentum* 'fragment' (Väänänen 1981: 65; Baehrens 1967: 5-8). A similar vocalization of /g/ to /u/ could occur before /d/ (cf. Richter 1934: 108), as is illustrated by the case of *smaragdus*

[121] Found in the council of Orléans 549 (MGH Conc. I: 110).
[122] Found in the council of Orléans 511 (MGH Conc. I: 10).
[123] Found in the Lex Gundobada (MGH LL Nat.Germ. II: 40)
[124] Found in the *Pactus Legis Salicae* (MHG LL Nat.Germ. IV, 1: 36-37)
[125] It should be noted that this development runs parallel to the West Germanic development of **bagma-* > **baum* (cf. OE *beam,* OHG *baum* 'tree') and **draugma* > **draum* (cf. OE *dream,* OHG *traum*).

'emerald' (cf. OFr. *ésmeraud, esmerald,* OSp. *esmeralda,* see FEW 12: 9) and the French place-name *Laon* < **lagdunum* < Gallo-Latin *Lugdunum*.[126]

3.31 Latin /k/ to Late Gallo-Romance /ɣ/

In the Gallo-Romance period, Latin /k/ was voiced intervocalically to /g/, and later reached the fricative stage /ɣ/. This Gallo-Romance /ɣ/ shifted to /j/ between non-back vowels, i.e. Gallo-Romance /a/, /e/, /ɛ/ and /i/ (cf. Pope 1934: 128; Richter 1934: 187-88). Since the fricative stage /ɣ/ was only reached in the seventh century CE, it should not surprise us that the shift to yod is not reflected in Merovingian Latinity.

- Latin *pacāre* 'to reconcile' > MerLat. *pagare* > OFr. *paier* 'to compensate'
- Latin *secāre* 'to cut' > MerLat. *segare* > OFr. *seier* 'to mow'

The transition to yod must have been completed before the ninth century CE, as it is reflected in the Old English form *Iona* for the Gallo-Roman place-name *Icauna* in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle (anno 887, cf. Dietz 1993: 499).

The Gallo-Romance /ɣ/ in velar environments developed into /w/ and was prone to loss. This happened whenever the /ɣ/ was in contact with the back-vowels /o/ or /u/ (cf. Pope 1934: 139); this means that the loss must have occurred when the final vowel /o/ was not yet reduced to schwa.

- Latin *paucum* > [pauwo] > Old French *po* 'few'
- Latin *Saugonna* > [sauwɔna] > Old French *Saona* 'Saône'
- Latin *secūrus* > [sewuro] > Old French *seür* 'secure'
- Latin *caecus* > [tsjɛwo] > Old French *cieu* 'blind'

A puzzling exception to this rule is found in the cases where /ɣ/ is positioned between stressed /a/ and unstressed /o/. In these cases, Gallo-Romance /ɣ/ also turned to yod (cf. Meyer-Lübke 1933: 149; Richter 1934: 184-85; Straka 1953: 299).

- Latin *vērācus* > [vəˈraɣo] > Old French *verai* 'true'
- Latin *lacus* > [ˈlaɣo] > Old French *lai* 'lake'
- Latin *Tornacum* > [torˈnaɣo] > Old French *tournai* 'Tournai'

Although Richter (1934: 183) and Straka (1953: 299) have argued that the loss of Latin /k/ and /g/ in velar environments must have happened simultaneously, this seems unlikely, and is contradicted by the testimony of Merovingian Latin. The loss of Latin /g/ is attested from the Early Merovingian period onward, whereas the loss of Latin /k/ is not reflected in Merovingian Latinity at all. It seems therefore likely that first Latin /g/ was lost and only

[126] The Romance reflex **esmaraudu-* provoked a reanalysis as **esmeraldu* (see FEW XII: 9).

later Latin /k/. Since the loss of Latin /k/ and /g/ will probably have occurred at the fricative stage /γ/, this is to be expected. After all, the fricative stage was reached significantly earlier for the Latin voiced stops (5th c. CE) than for the Latin voiceless stops (7th c. CE).

This also connects well with Tummers' (1966: 549-56) argument that a different development of place-names in *-ācum* can be found in Wallonia and Lorraine. In the spelling of early medieval Walloon place-names like <gemblaus> (Gembloux) and <stabelaus> (Stavelot), we find a reflex /aw/ for Latin *-acum.*[127] According to Tummers, this shows that these place-names are relatively young and joined the development of Latin /g/ between /a/ and /u/, e.g. Latin *fagus* > **faw* > Old French *fou* 'bush, shrubbery'. He connects this younger layer of place-names with the establishment of a Carolingian road from Attigny to Aix-la-Chapelle.

Taking the discussions on Romance lenition and the loss of the Latin velars into account, we may sketch the following developments.

Latin				Early Gallo-Rom.				Late Gallo-Rom.				Pre-French		
p	t	k	>	b	d	g	>	β	ð	γ	>	v	ð	j/ø
b	d	g	>	β	ð	γ/ø	>	v	ð	j/w/ø	>	v	ð	j/ø

It is interesting to note that the German place-names *Remagen* and *Dormagen* must have been adopted in the voiced or fricative stage of the Gallo-Latin suffix *-ācum,* indicating that certain areas of the German Rhineland may have remained Romance-speaking until the sixth or seventh century CE (cf. Richter 1934: 185).

Intimately related to the Gallo-Romance evolution of intervocalic Latin /k/, is the development of intervocalic Latin /kʷ/. Generally, the [k] element of intervocalic /kʷ/ follows the development of normal intervocalic /k/; Latin /kʷ/ first develops into /γʷ/, after which the [γ] is palatalized to yod and merges with the preceding vowel, or is lost next to a following /o/ (cf. Pope 1934; 134-135; Zink 1986: 149). In the former case, this left the /w/ as the sole remaining consonant; the intervocalic /w/ developed in Old French into /v/, but in the northern border dialects, the /w/ was often maintained, e.g. Latin *aequālis* > Walloon *ewel* 'equal'. In the latter case, the evidence of Merovingian Latinity makes it plausible that the labial element of /kʷ/ was lost at an early date, since Merovingian scribes often wrote Latin <co> as <quo> and <quu> as <cu>, e.g. Lat. *coactus* > MerLat. *quoactus* 'ancient', Lat. *antiquus* > MerLat. *anticus* (cf. Vielliard 1927: 44, 65-66). This gives us the following regular reflexes of intervocalic Latin /kʷ/ in Gallo-Romance:

[127] This Old Walloon /aw/ is reflected in the modern dialects as /u/ and /o/, a split which is probably due to an intermediate Old Dutch stage that affected the Walloon place-names in /o/.

- Latin *aequālis* > [iɛɣʷæle] > [iɛjwæl] > Old French *ivel* 'equal'
- Latin *antīquum* > [antiɣʷo] > [antiɣo] > Old French *anti* 'ancient'

In some cases, however, it seems that this regular development was circumvented and we find a different development of Latin /kʷ/. This is especially clear from the Old French words, that continue Latin *aqua* 'water', where we find as much as three different reflexes of the same etymon (cf. Pope 1934: 135).

- Latin *aqua* > [æɣʷa] > Old French *ewe, eawe* (cf. ModFr. *eau*)
- Latin *aqua* > [ægʷa] > Old French *egue*
- Latin *aqua* > [æχʷa] > Old French *aive*

In the case of Old French *egue,* we might be dealing with a Merovingian *mot savant,* that is, a borrowing from the written language. In the case of Old French *aive*, we might consider the possibility that the Romance etymon was contaminated with a Germanic word for water, i.e. WGm. **aχwa* 'water' (cf. Goth. *ahva,* OHG *aha* 'id.').

3.32 Lenition of stops + resonant clusters

Romance lenition did not only affect intervocalic stops, but also the voiced environment of a stop followed by a resonant. In the prehistory of Old French, lenition of Latin stops occured before /r/, /l/ and /n/. The following clusters are therefore affected:

	cluster	Latin	Gallo-Romance	Old French	
KR	/kl/	macula	> *maɣla	> maille	stain
	/kr/	lacrima	> *laɣrima	> lairme	tear
	/gl/	bragulare	> *braɣlar	> brailler	to cry
	/gr/	flagrāre	> *flaɣrar	> flairer	to reek
PR	/pl/	duplum	> *doblo	> double	double
	/pr/	opera	> *uɔβra	> uevre	work
	/bl/	flēbilis	> *fleible	>> feible	feeble
	/br/	febris	> *fjɛβris	> fievre	fever
TR	/tl/	spatula	> *espaðla	> espaḍle	shoulder

	/tr/	fratrem	> *fraðre	> freḍre	brother
	/dl/	*hrodoland	> *froðland	>> Roḍlant	personal name
	/dr/	hedera	> *jɛðra	> ieḍre	Helix hedera (ivy)
TN	/tn/	Rhodanum	> *roðno	> Roḍne	Rhône

As discussed above, the Latin stop system reached the fricative stage in Late Gallo-Romance of the seventh and eighth century CE. In their development to Old French, these lenition products were either retained or modified. In the case of a velar before resonant, the lenition product /ɣ/ turned to /j/. In the case of the labials before resonants, the lenition product /β/ turned to /v/ before /r/, but was fortified to /b/ before /l/. The dental stops are the only ones in the series that also underwent lenition in front of /n/. The lenition product /ð/ was retained into the Early Old French period, but was lost shortly after that.

3.33 Loss of /h/ and final /m/

Two developments that had been characteristic of colloquial Latin since the republican period, are the loss of /h/ and the loss of final /m/ in polysyllabic words.

The loss of final /h/ is ridiculed in a first-century BCE poem by Catullus (Carmen LXXXIV, see Haadsma & Nuchelmans 1963: 27) and is amply represented in the Latin graffiti in Pompeii (Väänänen 1967: 57). In Merovingian Latinity, the convention of writing Latin <h> was generally respected, but occasionally Latin <h> is omitted, as is the case in MerLat. <abiat> for Latin *habeat* 'may he have'. More often, however, hypercorrect <h> graphemes were added to Latin words that did not start with one. It is possible that the spelling of a non-etymological <h> was also motivated by a hiatus breaking aspiration across word boundaries, as is suggested by the Merovingian spelling <antehactis> for Latin *ante actis* (Vielliard 1927: 75-77).

The weakening of final nasals in polysyllabic words is reflected in the scansion of Classical poetry, and is commented upon by the rhetorician Quintilian (Väänänen 1967: 68). From the first century CE onwards, we find spellings where the final nasal in polysyllabic words is omitted, e.g. in the graffiti of Pompeii (Haadsma & Nuchelmans 1963: 27). In Merovingian Latinity, the amount of words in which final /m/ is omitted is beyond the counting (cf. Vielliard 1927: 72). We find relatively secure examples of the loss of final /m/ in the spelling of the Merovingian Latin numerals; in these words, spellings with <m> are seldom encountered (l.c.).

- MerLat. *cento* = Latin *centum* 'hundred'
- MerLat. *dece* = Latin *decem* 'ten'
- MerLat. *septe* = Latin *septem* 'seven'

We should however note that some omissions of <m> could be due to the misreading or loss of a nasal abbreviation in the manuscript tradition.

3.34 Fortition of Latin /w/

In the early centuries CE, the Latin approximant /w/ was fortified to /β/ in all positions (Lausberg 1967 § 5: 33, 35). This fortition is already found in the Pompeii graffiti (*baliat* = *valeat,* cf. Väänänen 1981: 50) and the first century CE wax tablet letters of Gaius Novius Eunus (*dibi* = *divi,* cf. Clackson & Horrocks 2007: 242). In initial position, the fortition is reflected in the *Appendix Probi,* where we read *vāpulō non baplo* = [βaplo] and *baculus non vaclus* = [βaklo]. It probably took some time before this development covered the entire Romania. We may note that a considerable amount of Latin loanwords in the Old Germanic languages equates Latin /w/ with Germanic /w/, cf. Latin *vinum* [wi:num] > Gm. **wīna-*. However, this does not necessarily mean that all loanwords that show this substitution date back to the time before the fortition (*contra* Van Loon 2014: 54). Gallo-Romance /v/ from the Merovingian period could apparently also be equated with Germanic /w/ (cf. Tummers 1962: 46-47), e.g. Gallo-Romance **villare* > WGm. **wīlari* (cf. ModGerm. *Weiler*), Gallo-Romance **vime* > WGm. **wīma* (cf. MidDu. *wīme* 'twig of a willow', cf. Müller & Frings 1968: 503-04). Three different stages in the development of Latin /w/ are reflected by the following Germanic words that all continue Latin *cavea* 'hollow, cage for animals' [kawea] (see also Weijnen 1999: 36-37).

Latin	Late Latin	Romance	Pre-French	Germanic	
cavea	> **kawja*			> MidDu. *koye, couwe*	'cage'
cavea	> **kawja*	> **kaβja*		> OHG *kebia,* MidDu. *kevie*	'cage'
cavea	> **kawja*	> **kaβja*	> Wall. **kavja*	> MidDu. *kave* (Flemish)	'chimney'

At some point in the Late Roman period, phonetic lenition affected the stop system. Because of this development, the lenition product [β] of Latin /b/ joined the fortition product /β/ from Latin /w/. In the middle of words, this led to a phonemic merger of Latin /b/ and Latin /w/. In initial position, however, the lenition rule was eventually reversed, thereby averting a phonemic merger. Romance /β/ was then free to shift to /v/ in Gallo-Romance and Italo-Romance. In several other Romance dialects (Sardinian, Southern Italy, Spanish, Catalan and Gascon), the /β/ still merged with the lenition product /β/ of the labial stops, a phenomenon

known as betacism[128] (Lausberg 1967 § 5: 35; Väänänen 1981: 50-51). In my opinion, it is this Romance allophony of /β/ in initial position that could explain the Flemish variant *vigge* 'piglet' (also Mons Walloon *vigot*) next to Middle Dutch *bigghe* (MNW s.v. *big*), and possibly also provide an etymology for the Dutch word *baas* 'supervisor', if its connection to French *vassal* 'nobleman' is correct (cf. Kerkhof 2015).

It seems likely that, in the reading tradition of Medieval Latin, the bilabial pronunciation /β/ for Latin <v> persisted. This would explain the numerous Medieval <b> spellings for Latin initial <v> and the inverted <v> spellings for Latin <b>. My impression is that these spellings occur more frequently in words that do not belong to the Classical Latin register, and for which therefore no Latin spelling norm existed (see Niermeyer 1984), e.g. Medieval Latin *bassus* for Latin *vassus* 'servant' (< Gaul. **wassos*) and *velfredus* for Latin *belfredus* (cf. OFr. *belfrei* 'wall-tower' < Old Frankish **bergfriþu*).

3.35 Latin /p/ and /k/ in stop + dental clusters

Latin /p/ and /k/ in the consonant clusters /pt/, /ps/, /kt/ and /ks/, in some varieties of colloquial Latin, were assimilated to /tt/ and /ss/ in the first centuries CE. This development probably started in Italy (cf. Richter 1934: 42) and is reflected in the common epigraphic spelling <vissit> for Latin *vixit,* inverted spellings like *opscultat* for Latin *auscultat* in the Pompeii graffiti and in the *Appendix Probi* where we read *auctor non autor* and *miles non milex* (cf. Baehrens 1967).

However, in other parts of the Romance-speaking world, Latin /k/ was spirantized to /χ/ when preceding a dental stop (Lausberg 1967, §430; 50). The resulting clusters /χt/ or /χs/ have then developed into /çt/ and /çs/,[129] whose palatal nature often facilitated the rise of a secondary yod, e.g. Latin *lacte* > **laçte* > ModSp. *leche* 'milk', Latin *coxa* > **koçsa* > ModIt. *coscia* 'hip' (see also Bonfante 1999: 36-37).

Curiously, the same development occurred in Gallo-Romance, although there it might have been facilitated by different sociolinguistic circumstances. It has been argued that the Gaulish substratum had provoked a peculiar Gallo-Latin pronunciation of the Latin consonant clusters /kt/, /ks/, /pt/ and /ps/ (cf. Adams 2007: 286-87). In this regard, we should note that in the Gaulish language, the stop /k/ was also fricativized to [χ] whenever it was in contact with a following /s/ or /t/.

- PCelt. **deksiwa* > Gaul. *deχsiwa* 'the right one' (Matasović 2009: 92)

[128] The Romance loanwords in South Slavic show that the pronunciation /β/ persisted in Balkan Romance until the sixth century (Holzer 2007: 31-32).

[129] The clusters /çt/ and /çs/ can be reconstructed for Balkan Romance for the moment that the oldest stratum of loanwords was borrowed into South Slavic (Holzer 2007: 32). Lausberg (1967 II § 430: 50) assumes that the Italian reflex /tt/ from Latin /kt/ also first went through a /çt/ stage.

- PCelt. **brikta* > Gaul. *briχtia* 'magic' (Matasović 2009: 79)

The results of this sound change merged with the outcome of another Gaulish development, that is, the shift from /φt/ and / φs/ to /χt/ and /χs/.

- PCelt. **uφselos* > Gaul. **uχselos* 'heighthened'

It is plausible that this Gaulish phonotactic rule was applied by Gaulish-Latin bilinguals to the pronunciation of the Latin sequences /pT/ and /kT/. Evidence for this Gallo-Latin pronunciation is provided by the La Graufesenque ostraca (1st c. CE), where we read *paraxidi* 'plates' for Latin *paropsidi* (< Gk. παροψίδες) and the Gaulish personal name *caχtos* from Latin *captus* 'captive' (Delamarre 2003: 112).

The merger of Latin /pt/ and /kt/ in Gallo-Romance /χt/ is first reflected in the Merovingian verse battle of Frodebert and Importun where Latin *acta* could be rhymed with *apta*. The fact that the Gallo-Romance sequence /χt/ provoked the rise of a secondary yod in Pre-French (e.g. Latin *facta* > Old French *fait*) shows that, at a later stage, it must have developed a palatal character, i.e. Latin /kt/ or /pt/ > Gallo-Romance /χt/ > Pre-French /çt/. It seems plausible that at the time that the Franks settled in northern Gaul in the fifth and sixth century CE, Gallo-Romance was still in the stage/χt/. This is supported by the fact that, in Germanic loanwords in Old French, the Germanic cluster /χt/ underwent the same development as the Gallo-Romance cluster /χt/, cf. Gm. **waχtan* 'to wait' > Old French *guaitier* 'to guard', Gm. **naχt* 'night' > East Walloon *né* : Latin *tractāre* > Old French *traitier* 'to engage with someone' (cf. Tuttle 1915).

In Merovingian Latinity, the etymological spellings are maintained for a long time, thereby obscuring a pronunciation feature which must have been quite old (Vielliard 1927: 48-49).[130] Still, we may note that in Merovingian Gaul the spelling <x> came to be used to denote etymological /s/ (cf. Rice 1902: 87-88). This is due to the fact that Gallo-Romance did participate in the simplification of Latin preconsonantal /ks/ to /s/ in groups of three consonants (i.e. /kst/ and /nks/), e.g. Latin *iuxta* > **justa* > Old French *juste.* Examples of the simplification can be found in the *Pactus Legis Salicae* where we read <espoliare> for Latin *expoliare* 'to plunder' and in inverted spellings such as <expatium> for Latin *spatium* 'space' (Schramm 1911: 25). Furthermore, it seemed that Merovingian scribes had a predilection for writing Latin /ks/ with a non-ambiguous sequence <xs>, a feature we have already encountered in our discussion of the Merovingian Latin texts (see Chapter 2).

[130] To my mind, the occurrence of the spelling <visit> for Latin *vixit* in the Merovingian epitaphs from Trier (cf. Jungandreas 1979: 71) should then also be taken as an inverted spelling provoked by the equation of <x> with <s>. It is perhaps possible that the Merovingian <th> spelling, which is occasionally found for Latin words with /kt/ and /pt/, was motivated by the fricative pronunciation of the cluster (Vielliard 1927: 78).

3.36 Gallo-Romance /st/

In Merovingian Latinity, something peculiar seems to be going on with the sequence /st/ of both Germanic and Romance origin. In isolated cases, Merovingian scribes confused the etymological sequences /st/ with /çt/ (< /χt/ < /kt/). In these cases, a spelling mistake involving <st> and <ct> does not seem likely, as the <s> and <c> graphemes were easy to distinguish in the various Merovingian scripts.

- <auctoritate> : <austoritate> < Latin *austēritātem*[131]
- <forecte> : <foreste> < Latin *forestis*[132]
- <tructis> : <trustis> < Gm. **druht-* 'troop' (Salic Law)
- <bructe> : <bruste> < Gm. **brust-* 'breast' (Salic Law)

A possible explanation could be, that, in some varieties of Gallo-Romance, the /s/ in the sequence /st/ had been reduced to an aspirated sound /h/, thereby foreshadowing the later loss of /st/ in Old French. The new sequence /ht/ could then have been associated with etymological /χt/, written as <ct>. We may note that Jungandreas noticed the same phenomenon in the Romance spelling of German place-names from the Moselland (1979: 38):

- <esternaco> [817] : <epternaco> < Gallo-Lat. *epternacum* (Echternach)
- <crusta> [897] : <cruochten> < Gallo-Lat. **crupta* (Kruchten)

A similar sound development /st/ > /χt/ occurred in the prehistory of Franco-Provençal, although the relative date of the sound shift is unclear (cf. Bern Deutsch *Tschachtlan* : MFr. *chastelain* 'castle lord', see Glatthard 1987).[133] It is possible, therefore, that the Merovingian <ct> spelling for /st/, and the inverted spelling <st> for /χt/, represents an old Gallo-Romance dialect feature. However, as long as the full scope of the phenomenon has not yet been established, this explanation must remain hypothetical.[134]

3.37 The Gallo-Romance palatal consonants

In the Gallo-Roman period, a new range of palatal consonants arose. Several of the processes that led to the rise of these new palatal consonants we have already discussed in the sections above. Here we will survey all the sequences that yielded a palatal consonant in the prehistory of the Gallo-Romance dialects, including those we have not yet discussed (see also

[131] Found in a manuscript containing the fifth-century *epitoma chronicon* (MGH Auct.Ant. Cron.Min.I, 463).

[132] Found in a manuscript containing an eighth-century formulary from Morbaix (MGH LL Form.Mer., 336)

[133] Glatthard (1987), following Tagmann (1946), assumes that this sound shift in Old Franco-Provençal occurred in the Late Middle Ages, but the date of the lexical transfers into Alemannic German only gives us a *terminus ante quem.*

[134] If this explanation is correct, parhaps MidDu. *luchter* 'candle-stick' can then be explained as a borrowing from a Gallo-Romance dialect variant [lyχtrə] next to expected [lystrə] (= OFr. *lustre* 'candle-stick'), the latter form being reflected in MidDu. *luster* and *luister* (*contra* Philippa e.a. EWN s.v. *luchter*).

Pope 1934: 120-134). These palatal consonants exerted considerable influence on the surrounding vowels, and their genesis therefore had profound consequences for the history of the Gallo-Romance dialects.

Latin	Romance	Gallo-Romance	Old French	
vetulum	> βɛ**kl**ʊ	> viɛʎə	vieil	'old'
macula	> mɑ**kl**a	> maʎa	maille	'stain'
rēgula	> re**gl**a	> reʎa	reille	'bar'
integrum	> ɪntɛ**gr**ʊ	> entɛ**rʲ**ʊ	entiere	'whole'
nascentem	> nɑ**sk**ɛnte	> naʃɛntə	naissant	'being born'
postea	> pɔ**st**ja	> puɔʃ	puis	'further'
cuneus	> kʊ**nj**ʊs	> koñə	cuin	'corner'
folium	> fɔ**lj**ʊ	> fuɔʎə	fueil	'leaf'
mēssionem	> me**sj**one	> meʃon	meisson	'harvest'
corium	> kɔ**rj**ʊ	> kuɔ**rʲ**ə	cuir	'leather'
noctem	> nɔ**kt**e	> nuɔçtə	nuit	'night'
platea	> pla**ttj**a	> pla**ts**a	place	'place'
facia	> fɑ**kj**a	> fa**ts**a	face	'face'
mercēdem	> mɛr**ke**de	> mɛr**ts**iðə	merci	'mercy'

In the case of Latin *vetulum* we may note that the secondary sequence /tl/, newly created by syncope, was substituted in the Romance languages by /kl/, a development which mirrors the /tl/ > /kl/ substitution of Pre-Latin that happened almost a thousand years before, e.g. Latin *pōculum* 'cup' < **pōklom* < **pōtlom* (De Vaan 2008: 485). The operation of this sound change is reflected in the *Appendix Probi* where we read *vetulus non veclus, vitulus non viclus* and *capitulum non capiclum* (*Appendix Probi*, lines 5, 6, 167, Baehrens 1967: 5-8) .

3.38 Fortition of /j/ following labials

In the section on the merger of Latin /j/, /dj/ and /g/ plus front vowels, we have discussed the early fortition of geminated /jj/ to /ʤ/. During the differentiation of the Gallo-Romance speech area, a second fortition of /j/ occurred: Gallo-Romance post-consonantal /j/ was fortified to /ʤ/ whenever it was preceded by the labial consonants /p/, /b/, /β/ and /m/ (Pope 1934: 129). The resulting clusters /pʤ/, /bʤ/ and /mʤ/ were later simplified to /ʧ/, /ʤ/ and /nʤ/ respectively. We may assume that the sequence /pʤ/was first assimilated in voice to the initial consonant, after which the initial consonant was lost, i.e. /pʤ/ > /pʧ/ > /ʧ/:

Latin *sapiam*	> **sapja*	> **sapʧa*	> Old French *sache* [saʧə]	'may know'
Latin *rubeum*	> **rʊbjʊ*	> **robʤə*	> Old French *roge* [roʤə]	'red'
Latin *cavea*	> **kaβja*	> **kabʤa*	> Old French *cage* [kaʤə]	'cage'
Latin *somnium*	> **sɔmjʊ*	> **sɔmʤə*	> Old French *songe* [sɔnʤə]	'dream'

This fortition represents a late development that only affected the northern Gallo-Romance dialects, not reaching the areas south of the river Loire. The only northern dialect that bypassed the development was Walloon (Remacle 1948: 74-75), the border dialect of a region that was predominantly Germanic-speaking until the ninth century CE (cf. Devleeschouwer 1957).[135] In Walloon, the yod was lost and the initial consonant was retained, a conservatism that may have been facilitated by the Germanic substratum where /pj/ and /bj/ were common (see section 4.11).

If we want to ascribe a date to this development, we may turn to several pieces of documentary evidence from the Merovingian period. We have already seen that the Gallo-Roman place name *Ambianis* (ModFr. *Amiens*) entered Old Frankish as **Ambini* (cf. *Embenum,* Anglo-Saxon chronicle, anno 884, Dietz 1993: 496) before the fortition took place. This makes it likely that the fortition postdates the settlement of the Franks in northern Gaul, i.e. the fifth century CE. That the place name *Ambianis* did undergo the fortition at one point, a development that is not reflected in the modern form *Amiens,*[136] is suggested by the Merovingian coin legends (see Eufe 2013: 71). The coin legends AMBEGANIS and AMBIGANIS (early 7th century, cf. Lafaurie 1953: 207) perhaps reflect the stage after fortition had operated, but before the simplication to /mʤ/ had taken place, i.e. Gallo-Rom. **Ambʤans* = AMBEGANIS.

The coin legends AMIANIS (B.N. n° 1113) and AMEANIS (B.N. n° 1111) could then represent the pre-stage of later Old French *Amiens*, i.e. Gallo-Rom. **amjanes* > *Amiens*. This

[135] It is possible that Mosel Romance also withstood the development, if the 12th century place name *Conpiul* goes back to **cumbiola* 'small valley' (cf. Jungandreas 1979: 67).

[136] The modern form Amiens might have undergone a substitution of /ʤ/ by /j/ after the /b/ was lost.

spelling, which fits the evolution of the modern French place-name, might reflect a different reading tradition than the one corresponding to spoken Gallo-Romance (see section 2.10); additional evidence for a different pronunciation of the cluster /mbj/ comes from the Merovingian spelling *concamio* for Latin *concambio* and *camiare* for *cambiare* (cf. Rice 1902: 98; Vielliard 1927: 59).[137]

When dating the affrication of the labial stops + yod, we also have to consider the following chronological facts:

- The entire development, from fortition of post-consonantal yod to cluster simplification, is completed in Early Old French already.
- The result of the cluster /pj/ was a palatal consonant /ʧ/ that did not merge with Romance /ʧ/. It therefore postdates the assibiliation of West Romance /ʧ/ to /ʦ/,
- The development has a limited geographic distribution and only affected northern Gallo-Romance.

Taking this into account, it seems clear to me that the fortition of yod behind labial consonants must be placed in the early Merovingian period. This dating situates the fortition early enough to be a Pre-French innovation, but late enough to postdate the assibillation of Romance /ʧ/ to /ʦ/ and the borrowing of the place-name *Ambianis* into Old Frankish. It is likely that the same fortition was applied to yod in the Merovingian pronunciation of Latin /nj/ and /rj/, as exemplified by the following Latin loanwords in Old French (Pope 1934: 229; Zink 1986: 228-29).

- Old French *linge* [lindʒə] < Latin *linea* 'lead line'
- Old French *lange* [landʒə] < Latin *lanea* 'woolen garment'
- Old French *serorge* [sərɔrdʒə] < Latin *sororium* 'brother-in-law'

3.39 Gallo-Romance palatalization of /k/ and /g/ before /a/

One of the hallmarks of the northern Gallo-Romance dialect continuum is the palatalization of /k/ and /g/ before /a/ and /au/ (Pope 1934: 127). It is plausible that this palatalization was facilitated by a fronted realization of the conditioning vowel /a/ as [æ] (Zink 1986: 107-08), an issue that is covered extensively in the section on Gallo-Romance /a/ (see section 3.14). The palatalization of /k/ in front of /a/ is shared by all central French dialects, but bypassed the northern dialects of Normandy and Picardy (Pope 1934: 487).[138]

[137] We might hypothesize that this alternative pronunciation was employed by a more learned stratum of the clergy, seeing as Amiens was a bishop see in the Early Middle Ages which might have introducing a more learned pronunciation of the place-name.

[138] The occurrence of a parallel palatalization of Latin /ka/ in Rhaeto-Romance and northern Italy has been interpreted as evidence that this early northern Gallo-Romance innovation eventually reached the Swiss and Italian Alps and was capable

- Latin *cantare* > Rom. **kantare* > Old French *chanter* [ʧanter]
- Latin *gaudium* > Rom. **gaujʊ* > Old French *joie* [ʤɔjə]

Richter suggested that the Merovingian <cha> spelling for <ca>, which is found in the Merovingian place-names *Charisago* (ModFr. *Cherisey*) and *Chaciaco* (ModFr. *Chassy*), might reflect the evolved pronunciation of /k/, which would justify dating the shift to the sixth century CE (Richter 1934: 215, 217). This supposition is tenuous at best, since we also find Merovingian <ch> spellings for <c> in positions that are not liable to palatalization, e.g. MerLat. *chunctis* for Latin *cunctis* (Vielliard 1927: 45; see also Müller 1979: 738). At any rate, the palatalization must have been concluded by the time the Rhineland field name *Tschalm* (Schweighausen) < Gaul. **kalmis* 'uncultivated land' was transferred from Gallo-Romance into Old High German, a transfer which is commonly dated to the Carolingian period (see Kleiber 2008: 337).

In terms of relative chronology, the palatalization of **ka-* > **ʧa-* occurred after the assibiliation of Romance /ʧ/ to /ʦ/ in initial position, because the two sounds did not merge. The Gallo-Romance affricates /ʧ/ and /ʤ/ were retained well into the Old French period, after which they assibilated to /š/ and /ž/. The dating of this palatalization must be placed early in the Gallo-Romance period, because Germanic loanwords in Old French are also affected by it.

- Old Frankish **Karal* > Old French *Charles*
- Old Frankish **marka* > Old French *marche* 'border district'
- Old Frankish **hlanka* > Old French *flanche* 'side'

The phonemicization of the palatalized allophone is traditionally associated with the delabialization of /k^{w}/ in the Early Old French period, which introduced a new sequence /ka/ to Old French.

The first written reflection of the palatalization may be present in the verse correspondence between Frodebert and Importun, assuming that the two poetic lifts of the first verse line and the first poetic lift of the second line alliterate.

> "*non gaudeas de dentes*
>
> *deformas tuos parentes*" (4, line 24-28)
>
> Don't rejoice in your teeth,
>
> You dishonor your parents (Shanzer 2007: 404)

---

of affecting the Romance varieties there (cf. Eichenhofer 1989: 26-27). It seems likely, though, that The palatalization of /k/ and /g/ before /a/ in Rhaeto-Romance is a parallel, but unconnected development (cf. Rohlfs 1975; Müller 1979).

If this is the correct way of reading the verse line, we may reconstruct the pronunciation: [nɔn ʤæwjas de dɛntes // defɔrmas tos parɛntes].

3.40 Gallo-Romance syncope

The following sections of this chapter concern some of the most debated issues of the prehistory of French: the dating of the different waves of Gallo-Romance syncope and apocope and their place in the chronology relative to lenition and spontaneous diphthongization. Due to limitations of space, this debate will not be covered in full. An exhaustive outline of the *Forschungsgeschichte* can be found in Yves Charles Morin's article of 2003. Rather, I will limit myself to providing a general overview of the rounds of syncope that affected Gallo-Romance, and discuss some of the more pertinent examples.

Naturally, this discussion follows the considerations of relative chronology that we have already established. To recapitulate: in this dissertation I have argued for the early operation of phonetic lenition in the stop system, but a relatively late phonemicization in the fifth century. Also, we have found that spontaneous diphthongization of the low mid vowels was a relatively late fifth-century, process that was preceded by OSL. These two considerations may prove to be essential for establishing the place that the different rounds of syncope hold in the chronology.

Syncope in the prehistory of French was dependent on stress, which was inherited from Latin: Latin stress was divided over a strong main accent, whose position was dictated by the Latin penultimate rule, and a weaker countertonic accent which generally lay on the initial syllable. Any syllables between the countertonic accent and the main accent can be called pretonic or intertonic (cf. Pope 1934: 112). The Latin penultimate rule states that, if the penultimate syllable of a Latin word was heavy, it bore stress. If the penultimate syllable was light, the stress was on the antepenultimate syllable. The tendency to reduce unstressed vowels was already present in pre-classical Latin (cf. Loporcaro 2009b: 61). However, no Romance variety was affected by syncope so drastically as the Old French dialects. This has fueled the suspicion that the heavy stress accent of the Germanic-speaking Franks may have facilitated the far-reaching syncope of the northern French dialects (cf. Pope 1934: 15; for a critique, see Noske 2009).[139] According to Loporcaro, it was this syncope of the Merovingian period that pushed the Gallo-Romance vernacular away from the Latin writing tradition (cf. Loporcaro 2009:69).

[139] Noske argues that Pre-French syncope and apocope cannot be caused by Frankish superstrate influence, because the Franconian dialects did not reduce the unstressed vowels before the eleventh century. This argument seems ill-informed since it leaves West Germanic apocope, syncope after heavy syllables and shortening of long vowels out of consideration.

We may observe that the Romance varieties of Gaul in their evolution from Latin onwards deleted the following unstressed vowels:

1. Final syllables other than /a/ were lost
    - Romance /a/ is retained as schwa
    - a supporting schwa is retained after consonant + resonant clusters
2. All vowels in unstressed penultimate syllables were lost
3. Vowels other than /a/ are deleted in intertonic syllables (Darmesteter's Law)
    - Romance /a/ is retained as schwa
    - a supporting schwa is retained after consonant + resonant clusters
4. If the Latin stress is preceded by two unstressed syllables, the first syllable is lost
    - Unless the first unstressed syllable is /a/

The third rule implies that vowels in Gallo-Romance intertonic syllables were treated the same way as Gallo-Romance vowels in final syllables:

- The vowel /a/ was retained as schwa in Old French
- Vowels other than /a/ were only retained as schwa when they supported a preceding consonant + resonant cluster.

This prosodic rule was first described by Darmesteter, and was therefore known as Darmesteter's Law (cf. Voretzsch 1901: 21; Meyer-Lübke 1913: 107; Malkiel 1983). We may observe the operation of these rules for vowel deletion in the following examples:

- Latin *pertica* = pértica > Old French *pérche* 'perch'
- Latin *latrōnem* = latrónem > Old French *larrón* 'bandit'
- Latin *vindicāre* = víndicàre > Old French *vengiér* 'to avenge'
- Latin *armatōrium* = ármatòrium > Old French *armeűr* 'weapony'
- Latin *līberātiōnem* = líberatiònem > Old French *livraisón* 'deliverance'

However, the reductions of these unstressed vowels was not a uniform process, and it has been noted that different rounds of syncope happened at different times, spanning a period that covered many centuries (Väänänen 1967: 40-45). If we want to untangle the order in which these reductions happened, we are dependent on considerations of relative chronology and on documentary evidence from Late Antique and Early Medieval Latinity. The available data enables us to recognize that syncope in some phonetic environments was very old and in others relatively recent. Here, I will take a look at the reductions that have affected all the West Romance languages equally and must therefore be ascribed to the Late Roman period.

1. Syncope of post-tonic vowel between liquid and dental
    a. Latin *viridis* > *virdis* 'green'
    b. Latin *laridus* > *lardus* 'lard'

2. Syncope of post-tonic vowel between a consonant and a liquid
    a. Latin *speculum* > *speclum* 'mirror'
    b. Latin *tabula* > *tabla* 'table
3. Syncope of unstressed vowel between /s/ and /t/
    a. Latin *posita* > *posta* 'put' [past ptc.]
    b. Latin *quaesita* > *questa* 'inquiry'

The relatively early date of these reductions is confirmed by the *Appendix Probi* (5th c. CE), where vowel loss in these positions is reflected in the spelling of 25 of the 227 erroneous forms (Väänänen 1981: 41; Baehrens 1967: 5-8).

It has been recognized from the early twentieth century onwards (cf. Richter 1934; Straka 1953, 1970) that the Latin variety of Roman Gaul underwent syncope in two further phonetic environments. This syncope happened before the break-up of the Roman Empire, but operated independently from the neighboring Romance dialects in Italy and Spain.

1) syncope of post-tonic vowels between /m/ and /n/
    - Latin *dominus* > Old French *don, dan* 'lord'
2) syncope of post-tonic vowels between /n/ and /t/
    - Latin *genitum* > Old French *gente* [adj.] 'of noble birth'

The early date of these reductions can be inferred from the above listed Old French words *don* and *gente,* since neither of them were affected by spontaneous diphthongization. Additionally, we can see in the Old French word *gente* that the /t/ of Latin *genitum* had not been voiced between vowels; this would place the syncope before the fifth-century phonemicization of the phonetic voicing rule.

Also in other environments, an unstressed vowel followed by /t/ was dropped before Romance lenition restructured the stop system. This can be illustrated by the following Old French words:

- Old French *bonteḍe* < Latin *bonitātem* 'goodness'
- Old French *det* < Latin *dēbitum* 'debt'
- Old French *faute* < Latin **fallita* 'mistake'
- Old French *hoste* < Latin *hospitem* 'host'

Further attempts at a relative chronology of Gallo-Romance syncope have been made by the romanist Straka. Straka (1970: 300-01), following Krepinsky (1931), identified several other environments where the reduction of the unstressed vowel can be dated relative to the operation of lenition and the spontaneous diphthongization of the low mid vowels. The following examples seem to indicate that the spontaneous diphthongization of /ɛ/ > /iɛ/ did not happen at the same time as the diphthongization of /ɔ/ to /uɔ/.

1. Reduction of unstressed penultimate vowel between /m/ and /t/

- Old French *frient* 'droning' < Latin *fremita*
    - Predates lenition
    - Postdates spontaneous diphthongization of /ɛ/ > /iɛ/
- Old French *conte* 'count' < Latin *comitem*
    - Predates lenition
    - Predates spontaneous diphthongization of /ɔ/ to /uɔ/

2. Reduction of unstressed penultimate vowel between /β/ and /t/ and / β / and /n/
    - Old French *muete* 'pack' < Latin *movita*
        - Predates lenition
        - Postdates spontaneous diphthongization of /ɔ/ to /uɔ/
    - Old French *juene* 'young' < Latin *juvenis*
        - Predates lenition
        - Postdates spontaneous diphthongization of /ɔ/ to /uɔ/

According to Straka, it is clear that the loss of unstressed penultimate vowels predates the operation of secondary diphthongization, i.e. /e/ > /ei/ and /o/ > /ou/ altogether. This can be illustrated by the following examples, in which the loss of the unstressed vowels blocked the conditions for OSL and the secondary diphthongization:

- Old French *det* [det] < Latin *dēbitum* 'debt'
- Old French *boḍne* [boðnə] < Gaulish *butina* (cf. OIr. *buden*) 'border mark'

We may note that the Old French word *bodne* underwent the syncope after the stabilization of the lenited stop system. This chronology is also implied by the Old French word *paḍne* 'wooden support for rafters' [paðnə] < Latin *patina* 'saucer' and *waḍne* 'puddle' [waðne] < Gaul. **wadana*.

However, it must be stressed that Straka's relative chronology is based on a small empirical basis, the data pool comprising just a dozen words. For this reason, the chronology that these words imply has often been contested (see Morin 2003). We may for example note that the early loss of unstressed vowels between /β/ and /t/ is contradicted by the following examples:

- Old French *coude* 'elbow' < **kóβıta* < Latin *cubita*
- Old French *malade* 'sick' < **maláβıtʊ* < Latin *malehabitum*

In these cases, syncope apparently postdated the phonemicization of intervocalic voicing. The case of Old French *coude* 'elbow' is complicated even further by the alternate form *coute* which did not undergo lenition and by the Picardian form *ceute* which on top of that may also have undergone secondary diphthongization, i.e. /o/ > /ou/ > /eu/ (Morin 2003: 135-36; FEW 2: 1450).

Because of these counterexamples, listed by Fouché in his *Historique Phonétique du Français* from 1969, most scholars assume that the regular reflexes of syncope are crossed by the influx of unsyncopated forms from social variants of Romance that have withstood the early vowel reductions (cf. Zink 1986: 40). Also the influence of literary Latin through *mots savants* should be taken into account, which especially in the cases of monastic vocabulary may have played an important role.

3.41 Neumann's Law

Another controversial topic is the dating of syncope of unstressed vowels before Latin /ka/. Traditionally, scholars have assumed an early syncope in paroxytone formations that end in Romance *–ıka* (Latin *–ica*) and a later syncope in proparoxytone formations in Romance *-ıkare* (Latin *-icare*). This would be implied by the Old French outcomes of Latin *pertica* 'perch' and Latin *vindicare* 'to avenge'.

- Latin *pertica* > Rom. **pɛrtıka* > Old French *perche* [pɛrʧə]
- Latin *vindicare* > Rom. **vendıkare* > Old French *vengier* [vendʒiɛr]

The early syncope of Romance *-ıka* would have predated the operation of lenition, i.e. **pɛrtıka* > **pɛrtka*. The resulting form **pɛrtka* would then have undergone the effects of Gallo-Romance palatalization of /k/ before /a/, i.e. **pɛrtka* > **pɛrʧa* > Old French *perche.*

The syncope in proparoxytone formations in Romance *-ıkare* would have postdated the operation of syncope, so that the intervocalic /k/ was first voiced to /g/, i.e. **vendıkare* > **vendıgare*. Then, syncope of pretonic vowels in proparoxytone words took effect, i.e. **vendıgare* > **vendgare.* Finally, the operation of Gallo-Romance palatalization of velar before /a/ would have palatalized the /g/ to /ʤ/, i.e. **vendgare* > * **vendʤare* > Old French *vengier.*

We may note that the distinction between the two syncopes would have generated an allomorphy between the proparoxytone word forms and paroxytone word forms:

- Rom. * *vendıkáre* > **vendʤare* > Old French *vengier*
- Rom. **véndıkat* > **vendʧat* > Old French ***venchet*

This allomorphy would then have been levelled through analogy: In the case of Old French *vengier,* the stem **vendʤ-* of the proparoxytone was generalized at the expense of the paroxytone stem ***ventʃ-*. In the case of Old French *prechier,* the opposite analogy happened with the voiceless affricate of the paroxytone stem **prɛʧ-* being generalized at the expense of regular Old French ***prɛdʤ-*.

- Rom. * *prɛdıkáre* > **preddʤare* > Old French ***pregier*
- Rom. **prɛ́dıkat* > **prɛdʧat* > Old French *prechiet*

The problem with this solution is that the directionality of the analogy, that is, whether the consonant of the infinitive or the finite word form is generalized, seems to be completely random.

Another problem is that the distinction between the syncope in proparoxytone words and paroxytone words does not account for the fact that paroxytone words in Romance *-*ɪkʊ* also yield a palatalized /ʧ/ (cf. Latin *porticus* > Old French *porche* 'porch'), although here the velar is not followed by /a/. In order to account for this discrepancy, Neumann (1890), followed by later generations of historical linguists (cf. Richter, Straka), argued that formations in Romance *-*ɪkʊ* underwent a different development from formations in Romance *-*ɪka.* This solution is sometimes called Neumann's Law (cf. Morin 2003: Mazzola 2013).

Neumann's Law states that formations in *-*ɪkʊ* would not have been affected by the first pre-lenition syncope, but by a second post-lenition syncope, i.e. Latin *porticus* > **pɔrtɪkʊ* > **pɔrtɪgʊ.* Then, this lenited /g/ would have been palatalized to /j/, yielding a sequence /ij/ which was fortified to /ʤ/, i.e. Rom. **pɔrtɪgʊ* > **pɔrtijɔ* > **pɔrtʤɔ.* Finally, this /ʤ/ was assimilated in voice to the preceding consonant, i.e. **pɔrtʤɔ* > **pɔrtʃə.* It is clear that these *ɪku*-formations were syncopated relatively late, because they undergo OSL and spontaneous diphthongization before the loss of the medial syllable. The syncope did however block the conditions for the secondary diphthongization. This places its operation between the two sound changes, ca. 400 – 650 CE.

- Latin *medicus* > [mɛdɪkʊ] > *mjɛðʤə > OFR. *miege* 'docter'
- Latin *sedicum* > [sɛdɪkʊ] > *sjɛðʤə > OFr. *siege* 'chair'
- Latin *haerēticus* > [ɛretɪkʊ] > * ɛreðʤʊ > OFr. *ererge* 'heretic'

This same development is invoked for the puzzling evolution of the Romance suffix *-*atɪkʊ* (Latin -*aticum*) to Old French -*age,* i.e. Rom. *-*atɪkʊ* > *-*adɪgʊ* > *-*adijʊ* > *-*adʤə.* Curiously, also some formations in *-*ɪka* seem to have undergone this Neumann's Law development, as shown by the following Old French words:

- Old French *forge* < **faβrɪka* < Latin *fabrica* 'smithy'
- Old French *tenerge* < **tɛnɛβrɪka* < Latin *tenebrica* 'dark'
- Old French *serge* < **sɛrɪka* << Latin *sērica* 'armour'
- Old French *mange* < **manɪka* < Latin *manica* 'sleeve'
- Old French *grange* < **granɪka* < Latin *granica* 'barn'

In the case of Latin *manica* and *granica,* the issue is further complicated by the fact that dialect variants exist which display the regular early syncope development, i.e. Old French *manche* and Old French *granche.* Despite the fact that many historical linguists have subscribed to the operation of Neumann's Law (see Straka 1970: 298-99; Mazzola 2013: 156), it may be clear that

the traditional account with its early syncope of paroxytone *ıka*-formations and Neumann's Law still leaves the evolution of the above listed words unexplained.

Richter (1934), attempting to solve the discrepancy between the two treatments, suggested we are dealing with two kinds of syncope in proparoxytone *ıka*-formations. Normal *ıka*-formations underwent early syncope, which predated lenition and yielded the affricate through Gallo-Romance palatalization before /a/, e.g. Latin *pertica* > Old French *perche* (Richter 1934: 146). Other *ıka*-formations would have withstood the early syncope, perhaps because they belonged to a different sociolect, and were syncopated after lenition had affected the medial /k/. These *ıka*-formations acquired their affricate through the fortition of /ij/ to /ʤ/, e.g. Latin *fabrica* > **faβrija* > **fərʤə* = Old French *forge* (Richter 1934: 171-73). Richter's chronology solves the problem, but gives an even more complicated account of the evolution of the *ıka*-formations.

A different solution was given by Mazzola (2013), who proposed to generalize Richter's second chronology of post-lenition syncope. He argued that all *ıka*-formations, both paroxytone and proparoxytone, were syncopated after lenition had been phonologized and acquired their affricate through the fortition of [ij]. A fortitified [ij] preceded by a voiceless consonant would have yielded a voiceless affricate [ʧ] and a fortified [ij] preceded by a voiced consonant would have yielded a voiced affricate [ʤ]. This can be illustrated by the the following examples:

- Latin *masticare* > **mastıgare* > **mastʤare* > Old French *mascher* 'to chew'
- Latin *masticat* > **mastigat* > **mastʤat* > Old French *maschet* 'he chews'
- Latin *vindicare*> **vendıgare* > **vendʤare* > Old French *vengier* 'to avenge'
- Latin *vindicate*> **vendıgat* > **vendʤat* > Old French *vengiet* 'he avenges'

This scenario seems very attractive and places the two types of syncope after the operation of phonetic lenition. This solution seems to be confirmed by the post-lenition syncope in Old Provençal (cf. OProv. *cargar* 'to load a freight' < Latini *carricāre*) and by the documentary evidence of Merovingian Latin where we find <pertega> for Latin *pertica* and <cabaligaverit> for Latin *cavalicaverit*. Now only two problems remain:

1. How to explain the vacillation in **-ıka*-formations between voiceless affricate and voiced affricate?
    - Old French *grange* ~ *granche* 'barn', *basoge* ~ *basoche* 'church', *mange* ~ *manche* 'sleeve'
2. How to explain the **-ıkare*-verbs that have a voiceless affricate where the final stem consonant predicts a voiced affricate?
    - Old French *chevaucher* 'to ride' instead of ***chevaugier*

Mazzola (2013), following Pope (1934) and Bourciez (1958), argues that the vacillation could be attributed to a dialectal preference for the voiceless affricate at the expense of the voiced

affricate. Since the cases of the lexical doublets show that the voiceless affricate is predominantly limited to the northern dialects of French, this preference might be attributed to the Germanic superstrate. It is not inconceivable that Germanic speakers may have possessed a tendency to impose a devoicing on the voiced affricate [ʤ] of Gallo-Romance.[140]

This brings us to a final piece of evidence from the *Pactus Legis Salicae*. There we find that Latin *collocāre* 'to place, put down' (cf. OFr. *colcher, coucher*) is in some places reflected by *culcare/colcare* and in other places as *colligare* (also *colligat, colligaverit,* e.g. *Pactus Legis Salicae*, c. LXI; MGH LL Nat.Germ.IV: 219). The spelling *colligare* is probably provoked by Latin *colligāre* 'to collect', but in the text *colligare* clearly means 'to put down' so that the connection to *collocare* is beyond doubt.[141] In my opinion, it is very well possible that these forms reflect the vacillation between the voiceless and voiced outcome of the fortified /ʤ/:

MerLat. *culcare* = [kolʧare] (cf. Old French *colcher*)

MerLat. *colligare* = [kolʤare]

Since the Salic Law was issued in the early sixth century and its major redactions belong to the sixth and seventh century as well, a possible reflection of the above described development in the text of the law code would correspond well with a relative dating between the spontaneous and the secondary diphthongization. This evidence from the Salic Law would then significantly predate the next earliest attestation of syncope; the spelling *solnacum* for the Gallo-Roman place-name *solonācum* (cf. ModFr. *Saunay*), found in the Passion of saint Leudegar from the late seventh century CE (Meyer-Lübke 1913: 108).

3.42 Overview of the reconstructed phonemes

We can now take stock of the reconstructed consonant systems for Early Gallo-Romance and Pre-French. The overview table that is given below shows that the consonant system of Gallo-Romance was not that different from the consonant system of Old Frankish; both Germanic and Gallo-Romance possessed the dental fricatives /ð/ and /θ/, and both Germanic and Romance possessed the velar fricative /χ/. Still, we should realize that the two languages did not allow these phonemes in the same positions. In the transfers from Germanic to Romance, incompatibilities between the distribution patterns were remedied by sound substitutions, e.g. Gm. /hl-/ > Gallo-Rom. /fl-/. We may also note that Gallo-Romance and its Pre-French successor contained several palatal consonants that had no equivalent in continental West Germanic.

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[140] In this regard, we may note that, in the transfer of foreign lexis, devoicing voiced palato-alveolar fricatives and post-alveolar affricates is common in both Dutch and German (e.g. ModE *badge* → Dutch *bètsj*).

[141] In this regard, it should be noted that ModIt. *coricare* "to put to bed, to lay down" is a relatively young development from Tuscan *corcare* (Dante), which developed from syncopated Romance **kolkare* (cf. Rohlfs 1966: 342).

Gallo-Romance consonants

Early Gallo-Romance						Pre-French					
p	t		k		k^w	p	t			k	k^w
b	d		g		g^w						g^w
β	ð		γ	χ		v	ð	θ		(h-)	
	s/z					(f)	s/z		ç		
	ʦ	ʧ					ʦ		ʧ		
		ʤ							ʤ		
		ʃ							ʃ		
m	n	ñ				m	n		ñ		
	r	r^j					r				
	l	ʎ					l		ʎ		
w		j				w		j			

We can also take a look at the reconstructed vowel systems of Early Gallo-Romance and Pre-French. Many scholars have argued that the vowel systems of Gallo-Romance and continental West Germanic have influenced each other (e.g. Frings 1939; Rauch 1967; Schrijver 2014). In my opinion, what has become very clear from the preceding analyses, is that the vowel system was on the move in the prehistory of French. We have, for example, seen that the amount of diphthongs greatly increased between the Proto-Romance period and the Pre-French period. We may therefore raise the question whether a more fine-grained understanding of the developments in the diachrony of Gallo-Romance still allows for the connection to continental Germanic that other scholars have argued is evident. A new point of interest, in my opinion, is the Gallo-Romance vowel /æ/ and its Pre-French continuation. We have already established that the evolution of this vowel shows a remarkable similarity to the evolution of the Anglo-Frisian vowel /æ/. Perhaps future in-depth investigations might provide us with a better understanding of how the West Germanic and Gallo-Romance vowel systems might have influenced each other.

Gallo-Romance vowels

Early Gallo-Romance	Pre-French
i u	i y u
e o	e
ɛ ɔ	ɛ ɔ
æ	æ a
iɛ uɔ	iɛ uɔ ui
	iɛi uɔi
	ei ou
	ɔu
au	ai

3.43 Conclusions

We may conclude this chapter by summarizing the outcomes and considerations of relative chronology that have been elaborated in the paragraphs above. This will be done by ascribing the discussed sound changes to one of six chronological stages: the early sound changes that date back to the Roman period have traditionally been considered as Vulgar Latin developments. In the following, we will divide this period into three different stages:

Roman Era developments

1. Early Colloquial Latin = third century to first century BCE
2. Colloquial Latin = first to third century CE
3. West Romance = fourth to fifth century CE

The prehistoric sound changes that date back to the Early Medieval period, have also been divided in three different stages.

Early Medieval developments

4. Early Gallo-Romance = sixth century CE
5. Late Gallo-Romance = seventh century CE
6. Pre-French = eighth century CE

Although many sound shifts cannot be dated relative to one another, the ordering aims to reflect, as far as possible, the chronological considerations that were discussed in the paragraphs above. As such, it can be regarded as a rudimentary attempt at a relative chronology. The overview will be concluded by a survey of the phonological systems at the dawn of the Early Gallo-Romance period in the early sixth century CE and at the dawn of the Pre-French period in the early eighth century CE.

Early Colloquial Latin

1. Latin short vowels develop lax pronunciation
2. Monopthongization of Latin /ae/ > [ɛː]
3. Monopthongization of Latin /oe/ > [eː]
4. Loss of final /m/ in polysyllabic words
5. Loss of Latin /h/

Colloquial Latin

1. Romance prosthesis of initial /sC/ clusters
2. Fortition of Latin /w/ > /β/
3. /e/ and /i/ in syllable onset become /j/ before non-front vowels
4. Late Latin assimilation of stops across word boundaries (syntactic doubling)
5. Affrication of Latin /tj/> /ʧ/
6. Onset of phonetic voicing of Latin /p/, /t/, /k/ > /b/, /d/, g// in voiced environments
7. Onset of phonetic spirantization of Latin /b/, /d/, /g/ > /β/, /ð/, /ɣ/ in voiced environments
8. Merger of Latin /w/ and /b/ as /β/in medial position
9. Merger of Latin /dj/ and /j/ into /ʤ/
10. Latin high mid vowel /i/ and /ē/ merge into /e/
11. Dialectal substitution or shift of /kt/, /ks/ and /pt/, /ps/ > /χt/, /χs/
12. Conditioned syncope of post-tonic vowels I

West Romance

1. Palatalization of Latin /g/ > /ʤ/ before front vowels
2. Latin high mid vowels /u/ and /ō/ merge into /o/
3. Palatalization of Latin /nj/, /lj/, /rj/ and /sj/ > /ñ/, /ʎ/, /r^{j}/, /ʃ/

4. West Romance degemination of /pp/, /tt/, /kk/, /bb/, /dd/, /gg/
    - Phonologization of West Romance voicing and spirantization
5. Conclusion of OSL and Ten Brink's Law
    - Redistribution of vowel length
    - Phonologization of West Romance vowel system
6. West Romance spontaneous diphthongization of the low mid vowel /ɛ/ > /iɛ/
7. Conditioned syncope of post-tonic vowels II
8. West Romance spontaneous diphthongization of the low mid vowel /ɔ/ > /uɔ/
9. Conditioned syncope of post-tonic vowels III
10. Affrication of Latin /kj/ > /ʧ/
11. Palatalization of Latin /k/ > /ʧ/ before front vowels
12. Reduction of vowel distinctions in final position to four vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/ and /u/
13. Early loss of West Romance /ɣ/ between front vowels and between /a/ and /o/
14. Dialectal shift of Romance /β/ > /v/
15. Palatalization of /gn/ > /ñ/

Early Gallo-Romance

1. Assibilation of West Romance /ʧ/ > /ʦ/
2. Northern Gallo-Romance fronting of [a] > [æ] in open syllables
3. Dialectal fronting of [u] > [y]
4. Gallo-Romance palatalization of /k/ and /g/ > /ʧ/ and /ʤ/ before /æ/
5. Dialectal diphthongization of the low mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ > /iɛ/ and /uɔ/ conditioned by following palatal
6. Reduction of mid vowels /e/ and /o/ > /ə/
7. Early Gallo-Romance /ɣ/ (= Latin /g/) > /j/ and /w/
8. Conditioned syncope of pretonic vowels in paroxytone formations
9. Gallo-Romance umlaut of /e/ > /i/ before palatal or /i/ following in next syllable

Late Gallo-Romance

1. Gallo-Romance fortition of yod preceded by labials > /Pʤ/
2. Spirantization of /b/, /d/, /g/ > /v/, /ð/, /ɣ/
3. Late Gallo-Romance /ɣ/ (= Latin /k/) > /j/ and /w/
4. Gallo-Romance yod infection of /rʲ/ and /ʃ/
5. Reduction of Late Gallo-Romance high vowels /i/ and /u/ > /ə/ in word-final position
6. Late Gallo-Romance backing of [æ] > [a] in closed syllables and before /w/
7. Early Gallo-Romance /aw/ > /ɔw/

8. Gallo-Romance secondary diphthongization of the high mid vowels /e/ and /o/ > /ei/ and /ou/
9. Raising of /ei/ and /æ/ > /i/ and /ɛ/ following palatal consonants

Pre-French

1. Diphthongization of /ɛ/ > /iɛ/ following palatal consonants (Bartsch's Law)
2. Apocope of Late Gallo-Romance schwa
    - Phonologization of /æ/ in open syllables
3. Reduction of /æ/ > /ə/ in word-final position
4. Late Gallo-Romance /ɔw/ > / ɔ/
5. Pre-French loss of /w/ < /ɣ/
6. Raising of /o/ > /u/
7. Simplification of triphthong /iɛj/ and /uɔj/ > /i/and /uj/

4 Language Contact and Pippinid prestige

4.1 introduction

In the Early Middle Ages, just as in any other time period of human history, the primary functions of language were representation, communication, and the expression of identity (cf. Joseph 2004). Whereas the first function is mainly a linguistic and cognitive matter, the latter two clearly have implications for our interpretation of how historical people thought about themselves, their community, and the world around them.

When speakers of different languages are in contact, a whole range of possible interactions can follow, and depending on the intention of the speakers, their non-verbal communication skills, and their linguistic aptitude, a successful dialogue can or cannot be established. Historical languages partly preserve the outcomes of these past interactions in the form of loanwords and lexical and structural calques, evidence which might be used to reconstruct the dynamics between historical speech communities. It therefore comes as no surprise that many generations of historical linguists have turned to evidence for historical language contact, primarily loanwords, as additional information on (pre-)historic migration and intercultural interactions. We may think of scholars such as Gamillscheg (1970) for the study of Germanic loanwords in Romance, Kiparsky (1934) for Germanic loanwords in Slavic, and Kenneth Jackson (1953) for Romance loanwords in British Celtic.

For a long time, though, the theoretical grounding for linguistic discussions on language contact was rather limited and only few dared to define socio-linguistic mechanisms and principles of possible outcomes (cf. Haugen 1950; Weinreich 1953; Gamillscheg 1960; Milroy & Milroy 1985). Fortunately, in recent decades the scholarly interest in language contact has surged, and new theoretical frameworks that might explain and contextualize its dynamics have been laid out (e.g. Van Coetsem 1988; Johanson 1992; Thomason & Kaufmann 1995; Winford 2005). We can therefore point to several handbooks that set out the generally accepted concepts (Thomason 2001; Trudgill 2001), and many monographs have appeared in recent years that reap the benefits of these advances in historical sociolinguistics (see Kiparsky 2015). It is important to note that some of these publications have also explored the sociocultural implications of (pre-)historic language contact, and even sought support in neighboring disciplines like archaeology and archaeogenetics. Especially noteworthy in this regard are several monographs on early medieval language contact, e.g. Schrijver (2014) on prehistoric substrate influence on Germanic, Celtic and Romance phonology, Lindqvist (2015) on Celtic interference in Old Norn, and De Vaan (2017) on Frisian substrate influence on Old and Middle Dutch.

In this chapter, I will try to reconcile the linguistic data of Old French that suggest contact-induced interference from Germanic with the new theoretical frameworks of historical sociolinguistics. They will allow us to lay out possible historical scenarios that might account for the linguistic facts, which can then be confronted with the historical data from the early medieval sources. It will be argued that it is exactly this historical dimension that might yield new sociolinguistic insights into how Old French acquired its decidedly Germanic signature, both on a lexical and a structural level. This may serve to illustrate how the scholarly debate on the issue of Romance – Germanic language contact can contribute to the historical debate on the infiltration and acculturation of Germanic speakers in Early Medieval Gaul.

4.2 Language contact

When we state that languages are in contact, we can distinguish several levels on which this may be the case:

- Different linguistic codes may be in contact in the mind of a bilingual or multilingual individual.
- Speakers of different linguistic codes may be in contact personally, a contact which is conditioned by its specific social setting.

The second level can be extrapolated to include the language community as a whole, in which different linguistic codes may be used both within the linguistic community itself and in contact with other linguistic communities. All of these types of language contact might entail instances of contact-induced language change. These instances are traditionally divided into two categories:

- Lexical copies or the 'transfer of lexemes'
- Schematic copies or the 'transfer of linguistic structure' including phonology, morphology and syntax

The first kind of contact-induced change is traditionally known as **borrowing,** and the second kind as **interference** (Weinreich 1953: 30), although valid objections might be raised to this terminology (cf. Johanson 1992; Pakendorf 2007). The language from which material is copied is traditionally called the donor or **source language** and the language receiving the copies is called the **recipient language**.

In the interaction of the different linguistic codes, scholars use the term L1 for the language that the speaker knows best (the dominant code), and L2 for the language that the speaker knows not as well as the L1 (the dominated code). It is important to note that the dominant code (L1) and the dominated code (L2) need not directly correspond to the

speaker's native language and his/her secondarily acquired language respectively.[142] On the social level, we may distinguish a speaker's primary code (or **emblematic language**) from his secondary code. It is a well-known fact that bilingual individuals can and do often switch between their different codes and insert lexical items, phrases and collocations from one code into the base frame of the other code. This process is known as **code switching**, and may affect both high- and low-fluency bilinguals.

Thomason and Kaufmann (1991) describe the operation of contact-induced change on the level of the linguistic community, and make a distinction between **language maintenance** and **language shift**. In the first case, a language underwent contact-induced change but endured. In the second case, a language died out because the linguistic community switched to a different code, and it is this new code that shows the signs of contact-induced change. They note that, in the case of **language maintenance**, we might expect lexical copies to occur first and only later schematic copies (which are mainly transmitted through the lexical copies). In the case of **language shift**, they expect schematic copies to be the main trace of historical contact which are independent of the lexical copies that may be absent all together.

However, it was convincingly argued by Gumperz & Wilson (1971), Aikhenvald (1999), and Ross (1996) that linguistic communities are more often than not stably multilingual, and also in these cases we might be dealing with substantial transfer of linguistic structure. The question remains how these instances of language contact might be modelled, and more importantly, how we might envision the interaction between different linguistic codes not on the level of the community, but on the level of the individual.

Van Coetsem (1988), later followed by Winford (2005), therefore takes another perspective, and describes the operation of contact-induced change on the level of the bilingual individual. Important in their approach is the concept of agentivity of either code that the speaker knows, which is determined by the relative proficiency of the speaker in these codes. When the speaker transfers elements from his/her non-dominant language (the source language) into his/her dominant language (the recipient language), the transfer of linguistic material is called **borrowing**, and the recipient language is agentive and pulls the material from the source language. This transfer will primarily concern lexical material, but also linguistic structure might be liable for borrowing. When the speaker transfers elements from his/her dominant language (the source language) into his/her non-dominant recipient language, **imposition** has taken place, and the source language is agentive and pushes the material into the recipient language.

Van Coetsem's model also helps us understand another outcome of language contact, which Ross called metatypy (cf. Ross 1996: 182). Metatypy may lead to bilingual communities

[142] Lucas (2015: 522-525), however notes that in most cases it seems appropriate to see the L1, the dominant code, as equivalent to the native code.

levelling their morphosyntactic structure across the two codes, leading to almost direct morpheme-to-morpheme translatability. Here, according to Ross, we might be dealing with the result of long-term bilingualism, in which morphological, semantic and syntactic features of a non-dominant L1 (often the emblematic identity-giving language) were transferred (or imposed) onto a dominant L2 (the more frequently used communication language).

It may seem clear that questions of language as an identity marker directly impinge on the subject of social prestige. Here the socio-linguistic concepts of **overt prestige** and **covert prestige** and **in-group** and **out-group** should be mentioned (Labov 1966; Trudgill 1972). Linguistic features associated with the speech of a socio-culturally dominating group in society (e.g. a warrior elite) may be accepted as prestigious on all levels of society and therefore carry 'overt prestige', both to the in-group and the out-group. In contrast, linguistic features of a socio-culturally dominated group in society (e.g. a slave population) may only carry prestige in the in-group and function as an important socio-cultural identity marker for this group. These features can be said to carry 'covert prestige' and are not accepted as prestigious by the society as a whole. It is interesting to note that linguistic features carrying covert prestige (e.g. features due to imperfect language acquisition by social new-comers) may become conventionalized and spread through the speech community as a whole (i.e. also to the mother tongue speakers), thereby acquiring overt prestige (see Lindqvist 2015: 78).

When a large speech community switches for prestige purposes to the language of a smaller but socially dominating group, we speak of **elite dominance** (Renfrew 1987); this model may be invoked to explain the spread of Hungarian among the Slavs in the Carpathian Basin, and Anglo-Saxon among the Britons in low-land Britain. Essential for the process of elite dominance to be successful, thereby causing the spread of an invasive language, is whether the elite maintain a social system that is open to recruitment among the bilinguals of the receiving society (Anthony 2007: 118-19). Conversely, a segregated and socially inward-looking elite is unlikely to be successful in spreading its language (see also Heggarty 2015: 618).

When we are dealing with the dynamics of contact-induced change, we may also ask how speech innovations of the bilingual individual become accepted in the linguistic community as a whole. These questions were addressed by Milroy and Milroy (1985), who proposed that linguistic innovators are likely to be marginal individuals maintaining a large social network with a lot of weak ties, thereby exposing themselves to more linguistic diversity than individuals maintaining a smaller social network of strong ties. As the amount of marginal innovators grows, a central 'prestigious' member of the group (the so-called 'early adopter') may adopt the innovations, make them fashionable and help them spread through the group. It stands to reason that a central member might only be tempted to adopt marginal innovations, if some gain could be had by adopting them, that is, they must have become numerous enough to be no longer associated with the marginal elements of society.

When we consider the social attitudes of a linguistic community to linguistic change, we may distinguish between exocentric speech communities that are relatively open to external linguistic influences, and endocentric speech communities that tend to hold on to their own norm (Pakendorf 2007: 38). This distinction explains why some speech communities even though they are submitted to extensive exposure from contact languages, may retain their own linguistic individuality (Andersen 1988).

If we want to model the different levels of impact of language contact in the languages of the world, we may turn to a four-part scale as provided by Thomason (2001), which analyzes the contact phenomena on the basis of the intensity of the contact.

- Casual contact
    - Very few bilinguals in the community
    - Borrowing of specialized content words
    - No structural influence
- Slightly more intense contact
    - Minority of fluent bilinguals in the community
    - Borrowing of content words and function words
    - Minor borrowing of structure
- More intense contact
    - Reasonable amount of bilinguals in the community, social factors favor bilingualism
    - Borrowing of content words, function words and basic vocabulary
    - Significant borrowing of structure
- Intensive contact
    - Extensive bilingualism in the community
    - Heavy borrowing of all kinds of words
    - Heavy borrowing of structure and/or typological restructuring of the recipient language

Some additional comments to the concept of borrowing in the narrow sense of the word, that is the transfer of lexical material, are in order. The diachronic borrowing of lexical material can be assumed to originate in synchronic code switching, and it may happen whenever a lexical item from a different code is inserted into a base frame of the recipient language (cf. Myers-Scotton 2002; Kossmann 2013). This might happen because the word adds a concept to the recipient language as is for example the case with the adoption of a new technological innovation or cultural practice (additive borrowing). It might also happen because the word replaces another word in the recipient language, as is the case if an L1 term is subjected to taboo avoidance or if the new term is felt to be more expressive or semantically fitting (substitutive borrowing). On a final note, we may point to the observation that, although lexical items are the first linguistic elements to be transferred in language contact, the

lexicon is in many cases also the most salient feature of a language, and often plays a role as identity marker ("we in this village use word X, but our neighbors use word Y"). It is therefore conceivable that depending on the sociocultural situation, significant constraints might be in place on the extent and nature of inserting foreign lexis into the emblematic language.

4.3 Contact with Gallo-Romance

In the case of northern Gaul, before the settlement of Germanic-speaking Franks in the fifth century, we may assume that spoken Gallo-Romance, a colloquial dialect of Late Latin, functioned as the emblematic language for the majority of the population (high-register Latin being restricted to the elite). Nevertheless, we should realize that the historical sources offer us very few metalinguistic comments that explicitly state that this is the case. Our assumption is mainly based on the general image of society that elite-biased written sources provide us, and on the identification of the term *sermo rustica* as a low-register variety of Latin, which in many cases might be true but does not rule out the possibility that occasionally different vernaculars such as Gaulish or Germanic are meant (*contra* Blom 2009).

The situation gets more difficult when we take into account the complicated case of the Rhine frontier zone, where Germanic – Romance bilingualism will have been common ever since the establishment of the Roman border (see section 1.6). In the more central areas of northern Gaul, bilingualism in rural communities will have been rarer, with the exception of isolated areas that held on to spoken Gaulish (see section 1.13). During the tetrarchy, the Roman government employed a policy of settling foreigners within the borders of the empire. This way, Germanic-speaking communities of *coloni* or *laeti,* along with Germanic-speaking soldiers who were settled as *foederati,* found themselves in a mainly Gallo-Romance-speaking environment, which may have prompted them to quickly adopt Gallo-Romance as a secondary communication language. However, although the sociocultural factors promoting Gallo-Romance as a secondary code may have been substantial, e.g. because of the links to the Romance-speaking urban centers, sociolinguistic typology teaches us that this not necessarily entails the abandonment of a primary emblematic code.

Another thing to consider in this regard, is that the Germanic speech community may have been reinforced by a steady influx of Germanic-speaking newcomers via chain migration. Here we should note that the rivers above the Somme-Aisne-Oise line, i.e. the Scheldt, the Lys, and the Meuse and its tributaries, all run northwards to the river delta of the Low Countries, facilitating return migration and a counter flow of goods and information downstream. Apart from the push factors in place on the other side of the river Rhine (possibly endemic warfare, seasonal raiding, and climate change), we also should not underestimate the pull factors of the Gallo-Roman countryside, not in the last place its abandoned agricultural fields belonging to the former villa system, and the proximity of the

Roman military offering work and protection. Furthermore, it would have made sense for the Germanic-speaking communities in the uncertain economic and political landscape of Late Roman Gaul to maintain large social networks with numerous weak ties; ties both with Gallo-Romance and Germanic-speaking rural communities, and both within and beyond the border of the Roman empire. Now that archaeologists and historians have abandoned the idea of a Late Antique Rhine border that was constantly controlled and policed, we may envision the communication lines between immigrant networks and their home communities to have been a lot more stable than has previously been assumed. If Guinet (1982) is right in his assertion that the majority of Germanic loanwords that are restricted to northern Gaul should be attributed to the period before the Frankish settlement, then it would be these Germanic-speaking farmer communities that are responsible for introducing the lion's share of Germanic lexis into Gallo-Romance.

This situation may not have changed drastically when Roman central authority collapsed in the middle of the fifth century. It was in this period that Germanic-speaking groups that we now identify as Franks moved into northern Gaul, a process that was more like a 'trickle' than a 'flood' (cf. Van Thienen 2016). But even if these demographic shifts were small-scale, evidence from toponymy, onomastics and history suggests that the Frankish political take-over had considerable effects on the Gallo-Roman socio-cultural landscape. After all, the Frankish takeover brought along new Germanic settlement names that make up the majority of the rural toponyms above the Somme-Aisne-Oise line and were prominent in the area to the north of the river Seine (Wartburg 1939: 300). The infiltration of Germanic-speakers also introduced a Germanic naming fashion that was extremely influential in Merovingian Francia and remained in place for most of the Middle Ages (cf. Bergmann 1997).

The question here is how this demographic upheaval would relate to the role that the Germanic language of the Franks may have played within this new Gallo-Frankish cultural landscape. Traditionally, this question has been put in terms of the demographic balance between indigenous and incoming population, that is, the percentage of Germanic settlers as opposed to the percentage of the Gallo-Romance receiving demographic (Wartburg 1939: see also Petri 1973 and Flobert 2002).[143] However, modern sociolinguistics has shown us that this approach is not productive, and the question actually comes down to the attitudes of the immigrant communities, their social prestige, and their relations both to the receiving society and their home country. As shown by numerous studies, small immigrant languages, especially languages associated with elites, may actually have significant influence on a larger speech community if the socio-cultural circumstances allow it.

[143] Wartburg estimated that no less than 15 percent and no more than 25 percent of early Gallo-Frankish society may have been Germanic-speaking (Wartburg 1939: 300) and Flobert (2002: 422) sticks to an estimate between 5 to 15 percent, although it is unclear on which he bases this estimate.

Here we are confronted with the problem that we do not have access to written sources outlining the attitudes and social strategies of Germanic-speaking immigrants (see also Lindqvist 2015: 78; Lucas 2015: 524). We therefore have to reconstruct these attitudes and strategies based on the traces of Germanic-Romance language contact that we accept as plausible, and by doing that we run the risk of turning our argumentation circular. Our inferences regarding the social context of the language contact should therefore be supported by typological evidence from other cases of language contact that may or may not share characteristics with the case that we try to understand.

4.4 Northern Gallo-Romance

This brings us to the Germanic superstrate hypothesis, a sociolinguistic hypothesis that aims to explain the presence and distribution of possible Germanic-like features in especially the northern dialects of Gallo-Romance. One of the first proponents of this hypothesis, Walther von Wartburg (1939; 1950; 1971) has argued that the historical dominance of the Frankish superstrate in Roman Gaul was one of the main reasons for the linguistic separation of northern Gallo-Romance from the wider Romance dialect continuum. Since the border between French and Provençal roughly coincides with the historical boundary of the Frankish realm in the early sixth century (486-507 CE), and since Frankish place names dominate in the north of France, this seems like an attractive solution (Wartburg 1939; Wartburg 1950b: 16-25; Elcock 1960: 231-35; Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 127).

However, when in the second half of the twentieth century the historical paradigm on the transition from Antiquity to Middle Ages shifted from mass migrations to accommodation of warrior elites many scholars rejected the superstrate solution as incongruent with the historical sources (Goetz 2003: 317). The demographic balance between indigenous and incoming population would therefore have been unfavorable to language shift, and possibly even to contact-induced change. This is why most romanists nowadays assume that the Frankish speaking aristocrats only made out a small fraction of the population of Gaul, and that Frankish was quickly abandoned for the more prestigious Gallo-Romance of the urban elites (Müller 1971; Pfister 1972, 1974; Posner 1995: 220).[144] This point of view is aptly summarized by Marius Sala in the following question: "how would imperfect use of a language more prestigious than Frankish have been so keenly imitated by the great mass of Romance native speakers, especially when it is reasonable to believe that the Franks themselves would have been at pains to learn Latin/Romance as 'correctly' as possible?" (Sala 2013: 203).

The position of the romanists, which we may summarize as the quick-shift-to Gallo-Romance hypothesis, is, apart from the historical demographic assumptions, mainly based

[144] See Galdi (2011) for a different opinion that better aligns with the Germanic superstrate hypothesis.

on the observation that Gallo-Romance was the only language remaining between Somme and Seine when in the ninth century the vernacular text traditions start. This would prove the greater prestige of Gallo-Romance, and hence the quick abandonment of Frankish among the ruling elite, which in its turn would preclude any structural influence of the superstrate language on Gallo-Romance (Sala 2013: 203). In this regard, the contact situation in Gallo-Romance would be comparable to the other Romance languages which had also endured Germanic-speaking elites and adopted numerous loanwords, but kept their Romance grammatical structure intact. However, does the absence of a Frankish vernacular in the ninth century indicate that the Franks shifted to Gallo-Romance within a couple of generations after moving to Gaul? Not by itself, since it is still possible that the Frankish language survived until the eighth century before the onset of the vernacular text tradition and could have influenced the Romance of Gaul with two centuries of far-reaching Romance-Germanic bilingualism (see also Green 1998: 169). This seems to agree with the fact that different strata of Frankish loanwords can be found in the French lexicon (Gamillscheg 1950: 9-10; Gamillscheg 1933; Guinet 1982).

Flobert (2002), in his article on Latin – Frankish bilingualism, discusses the case of the Frankish loanwords, but concludes that from the Gallo-Roman population only passive bilingualism could be expected, since the prestige of Roman culture would have made it very unlikely that a large amount of Gallo-Romans chose to speak Frankish actively (Flobert 2002: 421-22). Here, as well as elsewhere, the proposed sociolinguistic scenario is strongly biased by the scholarly narrative of Gallo-Roman continuity and Germanic assimilation; a narrative that, we should not forget, is almost completely informed by the highly programmatic Latin texts of a small literary elite.

We therefore need further evidence to support either position in the debate, whether it be the Germanic superstrate hypothesis or the quick-shift-to-Gallo-Romance hypothesis. Here the issue becomes difficult, since the interpretation of the historical and archaeological record which would shed further light on the Frankish take-over is ambiguous. Between the river Somme and Loire, archaeological research shows both signs of continuity and resettlement (Van Ossel 1997: 81-91; Van Thienen 2016), and the same historical sources, which scholars used to cite in order to support their view on mass migrations, are now cited in order to corroborate peaceful accommodation of warrior elites. On the sociolinguistic side however, our understanding of the mechanisms of language contact have improved greatly since the days of Wartburg. Whereas Wartburg believed that substantial flood-like migrations and demographic shifts were needed in order to explain far reaching contact-induced language change, we now know that the issue all comes down to social attitudes, social prestige, and the social structure of the elite group in question. Unfortunately, since the days of Wartburg, Gamillscheg and Petri, very few scholars have revisited the data from this new

perspective, with Martina Pitz (2000: 76) rightly calling the issue of Frankish influence on French a "chantier en friche" (abandoned construction site).

In order to make Frankish superstrate influence on French plausible, we need to consider the linguistic phenomena which can be attributed to such an influence, and the sociolinguistic situation which would have facilitated such an influence. In the rest of this chapter, I will outline the features of French which have been connected to Germanic superstrate influence and their discussion in the scholarly literature. Then, I will provide my own sociolinguistic scenario on the contact situation in Early Medieval Gaul and its consequences. Finally, I will discuss how possible contact-induced features of Walloon might substantiate my proposal.

4.5 Frankish influence

Walther von Wartburg (1950: 6-12) starts his argument defending the Germanic superstrate theory with the case of lexical borrowing from Frankish into Gallo-Romance. Between the first edition of the FEW in 1934 and the second revised edition in 1970, his etymological dictionary presently contains 497 Frankish lemmata marked with ANFR (Altniederfränkisch). Wartburg points out that the Frankish loanwords are not only limited to the semantic domains associated with a military aristocracy such as words for military titles, institutions of state, and law and military duties. The loanwords also extend into the semantic domains of flora and fauna, house building, the farmstead, agriculture, food, tastes, and human emotions. If only the kings and a small aristocracy had settled between the Canche and the Loire, we would expect limited domains of borrowing, but, as Wartburg points out, this is not what we find (Wartburg 1950b: 9). Only people who were concerned with menial tasks, such as tending the farm and tilling the soil, may have brought these words along and transferred them to the Gallo-Romance hinterland (Schmidt-Wiegand 1981: 12-13). However, it has often been noted that the amount of "rural" words, which derives from Germanic, is rather humble, constituting just a fraction of the terminology that Old French had at hand. For example, a look in the Anglo-Norman dictionary under the category 'agricultural terms' gives us 524 lemmata of which only 12 are Frankish in origin and only 6 English.[145] Legros (1942: 197) is therefore right in stressing that despite the Frankish settlement, the majority of the northern French lexicon remained firmly 'Latin'.

The strongest part of the argument of lexical borrowing is the geographical distribution of the loanwords, which, as far as they do not concern words for the feudal system and clothing items, rarely cross the river Loire, and are firmly rooted in the dialects of France that belonged to the sixth-century Frankish empire (Wartburg 1950b: 10; Pfister

[145] The Anglo-Norman dictionary was consulted online via the search function of the Anglo-Norman Online Hub: URL: http:// http://www.anglo-norman.net/.

1978: 83). The stereotypical lexical isogloss in this regard is the *hêtre* ~ *fau* line, with the northern dialects continuing the Germanic etymon **haistra-* or **haisa* (cf. ModDu. *heester*) and the southern dialects continuing the Latin etymon **fagus* (cf. Müller & Frings 1968: 207). Later Romanists have sought to downsize the amount of Frankish lexis present in the French lexicon (see Jänicke 1991 for the *Forschunggeschichte*), and indeed modern sociolinguistics teaches us that the transfer of lexical material does not necessarily imply wide-spread bilingualism (Thomason & Kaufman 1988). Nevertheless, the wide range of semantic domains and the different chronological layers of the Germanic loanwords suggest that the lexical transfer was more than just a short lived fashion. Furthermore, the fact that the amount of loanwords grows stronger the closer we get to the Germanic language border is significant, with Walloon and Picardian containing a substantially larger amount of Old Germanic lexis. The importance of the geographical argument will play a decisive role later on in the discussion of the syntactical features that have been attributed to Germanic influence.

On the phonological level, Wartburg (1950) and Gamillscheg (1982) have attributed several phenomena in Gallo-Romance to the Frankish superstrate influence.

- Diphthongization of the Romance high mid vowels because of Germanic stress
- Far-reaching deletion or reduction of unstressed vowels because of Germanic stress
- Introduction of loan phonemes /h/ and /w/
- Hypercorrect extension of Romance substitute phoneme /f/ for Germanic /h/ to Romance lexis
- Formation of etymological hybrids

Wartburg's assumptions on the effects of Germanic prosody have been sharply critiqued by Romanist scholars (see Sala 2013). Wartburg argued that the Frankish accent in Gallo-Romance produced exaggerated lengthening of vowels in stressed open syllables, which would have facilitated diphthongization. However, it has often been noted that accent-induced syncope was already underway in Proto-Romance, and reduction and deletion of unstressed vowels is also characteristic of the northern Italian dialects. Frings (1939) theory that these phenomena in northern Italy should therefore also be attributed to a Germanic superstrate, in this case Langobardic, is not in consonance with the occurrence of these phenomena in Italian dialects beyond the confines of former Langobardic rule (Sala 2013: 207).

The other examples of phonological interference of Germanic on Romance are virtually uncontested. Especially interesting is the erroneous application of the Germanic phoneme /h/ to etymological /f/ in Romance formations (cf. *Hinges* < Lat. *finibus, dehors* < Lat. *deforis*), thereby inverting the Romance substitution process of using /f/ for Germanic /h/. This seems to be a sociolinguistic strategy to emulate a Germanic accent. A similar sociolinguistic mechanism seems to be at play in the intrusion of Germanic /w/ in Old French words like *waine/gaine, wêpe/gêpe* and *wuivre/guivre.*

- OFr. *waine/gaine* < **waine* << **vagina* 'sheath'
- OFr. *wêpe/gêpe* < **wespa* << **vespa* 'wasp'
- OFr. *wuivre/guivre* < **wipera* << **vipera* 'viper'

Finally, we should consider the case of the etymological hybrids, where Gallo-Romance words were deformed under influence of phonologically similar Germanic words with the same meaning:

- OFr. *haut* < Rom. **alt-* + Gm. **hauh-* 'high'
- OFr. *wast* < Rom. **vast-* + Gm. **wōst-* 'barren land'
- OFr. *guez* < Rom. **vadu-* + Gm. **wad-* 'ford'
- OFr. *puiz* < Rom. **pottju-* + Gm. **puttja-* 'water well'

These constitute intriguing evidence for the close semantic associations between Germanic and Romance lexis, and might be evidence for a situation in which bilingual individuals were proficient in two native languages (cf. Legros 1942: 180-81).

Another interesting voice in the Germanic superstrate debate comes from Gerold Hilty (1968), who has tested Wartburg's hypothesis of Frankish superstrate influence by highlighting three syntactic features where French shows a remarkable deviation in linguistic structure from the norm in most surrounding Romance dialects (see also Rickard 1989: 57).

- Germanic color adjectives preceding the noun in Old French texts
- The prolonged survival of the case system in the Old French dialects closest to the linguistic border with Germanic
- Germanic-like V2 word order and pro-drop in Old French

According to Hilty, Frankish influence might be at play here as the decisive factor, in that it might have helped define tendencies that were already present in the Gallo-Romance proto-language. The possibility of Germanic influence on the syntax of Gallo-Romance has long been recognized and would make a good case for the structural influence of the Germanic superstrate on Gallo-Romance (Meyer-Lübke 1899: 697-698; Dauzat 1930: 434; Holmes & Vaughn 1933).

As regards the Old French color adjectives, Hilty has shown that, in the case of color adjectives of Germanic origin (*blanc, brun, blue, blond, fauve, gris, sor*), Old French almost always lets the adjective precede the noun (Hilty 1968: 496). This situation is continued in the border dialects of Picardian, Walloon and Lorraine French, where the same syntactic constraint is found; not only for color adjectives but for all adjectives, herein showing the same word order as their Germanic counterparts across the border (Sala 2013: 208).

The second phenomenon that Hilty (1968: 505-506) highlights is the survival of a nominative-oblique case system in Old French, whereas the case system is lost in most

western Old Romance languages such as Old Catalan, Old Spanish, and the Old Italian dialects. He argues that the living case system of Frankish might have slowed the process of collapse which the other Romance dialects endured. An argument against this view would be that this reduced case system also survived in Old Provençal where Frankish superstrate influence must have been significantly less than in the north. In order to counter this argument, Hilty argues that Germanic linguistic islands beneath the river Loire might have exerted superstratal influence on their surrounding Gallo-Romance environment. While admitting that this argument is not particularly strong, Hilty adduces another piece of evidence; the Old French nouns that belong to the *–a/-ane* and *–o/-one* declension, which largely consists of Germanic etyma. Here, there seems to be a geographical distribution which would support the Germanic superstrate hypothesis (Jud 1907: 113), namely the dialects closest to the Germanic language border possess a lot of these nouns and the further west one goes their amount diminishes. Pitz (2009: 192) expressed herself a bit more carefully when she argued that interference with Germanic may merely have reinforced the already existing *–a/-ane* and *–o/-one* nouns in Romance, but the geographical argument for northern Gallo-Romance still holds true.

This geographic distribution is also found in another argument of his. He notes that in Old French the case system survived the longest in the northeastern dialects. Froissart, an early fifteenth-century Walloon author, still employed the case system in his writings, whereas at that time it has disappeared in the more central dialects (cf. Jensen 1990). Other places where traces of the case system survive are found in some Franco-Provençal dialects in Switzerland, where the nominative-oblique contrast is retained in the demonstrative pronouns. Although this evidence is not uncontroversial (cf. Sala 2013: 209), the geographical argument is hard to ignore.

The final piece of evidence that Hilty discusses is possible Germanic influence in Old French V2 word order and the related phenomenon of pro-drop, a topic that has enjoyed considerable interest in scholarship on Romance syntax in the past few decades. Generally speaking, syntactic interference has often been the strongest candidate for contact-induced change in Gallo-Romance (cf. Legros 1942: 197; Mathieu 2009). In short, the following topics have been assumed to represent syntactic phenomena in which Gallo-Romance acts more like a Germanic-type language than a Romance-type language:

- V2
- Stylistic Fronting
- Do-Support
- OV orders
- Loss of Null Subjects

Without going into too much detail, I want to remark that most linguists would nowadays acknowledge that the earlier stages of Romance and Germanic were more similar in their

syntactic structure than the present-day languages (Mathieu 2007; Franco 2009; Varga 2017). However, the reason for this similarity is still hotly debated, with language contact, common inheritance, inter genus drift and pure coincidence being considered as possible explanations. Some scholars argue that we should be careful in trying to explain these features in terms of language contact as long as the inner-Romance typology of the syntactic features has not yet been fully charted out (cf. Wolfe 2015). Still, the intriguing fact remains that the word order constraints in Old High German and Old French are surprisingly similar (Eggenberger 1961: 142; Axel 2007).

A possible way to navigate the controversies about contact-induced Germanic-like syntax as opposed to internal Romance evolution, is connecting the issue with the concept of enhancement as proposed by Aikhenvald (2002: 238). Enhancement or frequential copying (cf. Johanson 1999: 52) is the facilitation of contact-induced change when the feature of the donor language is already present in the recipient language, albeit in a marginal, low frequency state. Under influence of the donor language, the recipient language may promote the use of the formerly marginal structure and thereby increase its use. It seems like this scenario, although the proper theoretical terminology was lacking at the time, was also envisioned by Hilty, and this way also the inner-Romance typology and the evidence of Late Latin can be incorporated into the diachronic explanation for Germanic-like features in Romance syntax (cf. Pitz 2004: 168).

Now that the possible contact-induced Germanic-like features of Gallo-Romance have been reviewed, we can turn to the evaluation of the Germanic superstrate hypothesis. Rebecca Posner (1995) has argued that the geographical distribution of the above discussed structural features, namely that the features are more prominent in the dialects nearest the language border, makes coincidental occurrence of these features on either side of this border unlikely. In general, the scenario of contact-induced change as the reason for the structural similarities between Germanic and French has the advantage of explaining the geographical contiguity of the phenomena in the Gallo-Romance dialect continuum with the neighboring Germanic languages. Their opponents have either ignored or trivialized the importance of the geographical argument. To my mind, Hilty and Posner are right in stressing the elegance and scope of the superstrate hypothesis, and these structural similarities between French and Germanic might very well originate in schematic copies due to the imposition of Germanic-like L1 features on a Romance L2.

4.6 The Pippinid Hypothesis

If these syntactic features should be attributed to Germanic influence, are we then not back at the problem with which we started? Namely, do we need a substantial influx of Germanic-speaking immigrants in order to explain the possibility of Germanic influence on French? Here I would like to refer back to the above discussed theoretical models of language contact from Van Coetsem (1988), Thomason & Kaufmann (1988), and Johanson (1992), who made it clear that substantial population replacement is not necessary for contact-induced change. I therefore would like to present my own theory in the form of a historical scenario that finds support in the aforementioned sociolinguistic literature; a scenario that does not preclude the possibility of a sizeable Frankish colonization in the north of France, but may act independently of it, thereby bypassing the demographic controversy. This theory is based on the assumption that there must have been linguistic consequences of the historical divide in the northern part of the Frankish realm, i.e. the divide between Austrasia in the northeast and Neustria in the southwest; after all, evidence from history, archaeology and toponomy gives us every reason to assume that there was a difference between the influence of the Frankish demographic element in these northern border regions of Gaul and in the rest of Gaul.[146]

Figure 3 Austrasia and Neustria in Merovingian Gaul

At the start of Frankish rule in Roman Gaul only a relatively small amount of Frankish-speakers will have infiltrated Gallo-Romance society and superimposed themselves on existing power structures. These warrior elites, who took control from Flanders to the present-day Provence were followed by groups of Frankish colonists who settled in the sparsely populated countryside in the north of Gaul (Wartburg 1965: 66-67; see section 1.5, 1.6).

[146] In this regard, Wartburg's observes (1950b: 22-23) that in the north and east of the Gallo-Romance realm (and a small strip in the Midi area) the Frankish toponyms in *-anges* and *-ens* were maintained, while in the center of Gaul the Frankish toponyms of the *-iacum* and *-court*-type dominate. Wartburg assumes that the Frankish colonies with the suffix *–inges* were largely substituted with the suffix *–iacum* and *-court* during the romanization of the later Merovingian period.

We may assume that near the present-day Romance-Germanic language border, in historical Austrasia, the linguistic contact between speakers of Gallo-Romance and Frankish was mainly adstratal, i.e. neither Frankish nor Gallo-Romance was socially dominant. Further south, in historical Neustria, the Gallo-Romance populace outnumbered the Franks, and the prestige of Gallo-Roman culture and language was reinforced by the presence of the Gallo-Roman walled towns. In those regions, the Frankish language stood in a superstratal relationship to Gallo-Romance and the linguistic influence of Frankish on Gallo-Romance was in all likelihood restricted to lexical borrowing. It is conceivable that in Merovingian Neustria, the Frankish language mainly functioned as an elite in-group language, a situation which may have lasted for just a couple of generations.

In the adstratal situation in Austrasia, in the northeastern part of the Merovingian realm, the consequences of the Frankish settlement were more profound; we may assume that Germanic-speaking Franks acquired Gallo-Romance as a second language (L2), and because the Franks adopted Gallo-Romance in adulthood, structural features from Frankish, their dominant emblematic code (L1), were imposed on Gallo-Romance as their secondary code (L2). This engendered a variety of Gallo-Romance ($L2^a$ = FG), which exhibited traces of schematic copying from Germanic phonology and somewhat less from Germanic morphology and syntax. The result was a defective Frankish variety of Gallo-Romance, that was used for communication with the Gallo-Romance speech community.

- Austrasian situation
    - Germanic-speakers = L1 Germanic, L2a 'Germanic-like' Gallo-Romance
    - Romance-speakers = L1 Gallo-Romance > L1 'Germanic-like' Gallo-Romance

Because Germanic speakers were socially dominant in the northeast corner of the Frankish realm, the Gallo-Romance-speaking communities copied the defective Gallo-Romance of the Germanic speakers, and Germanic-induced L2 features became conventionalized throughout society (i.e. Frankish Gallo-Romance acquired overt prestige). The result was an Austrasian dialect of Gallo-Romance, spoken by both ethnic Franks and ethnic Gallo-Romans, that showed traces of heavy structural borrowing from Germanic.

In the southwestern part of northern Gaul, the demographic balance will have been less favorable for the conventionalization of Frankish accents. We may assume that in Neustria, the Frankish aristocrats shifted to Gallo-Romance within a few generations, and their accent in spoken Romance exhibited less interference from their Germanic L1. As stated above, it seems likely that the prestige of urban Gallo-Roman culture will have precipitated the language shift. This does not mean that a Frankish accent in Gallo-Romance had never existed in Neustria, it merely means that it has left no traces.

- Neustrian situation
    - Germanic-speakers = L1 Germanic, L2 Gallo-Romance > L1 Gallo-Romance
    - Romance-speakers = L1 Gallo-Romance, L2 Germanic

In order to explain the 'Germanic-like' features in French, I would like to suggest that the Austrasian 'Germanic-like' dialect of Gallo-Romance spread to the rest of northern Gaul. Neustrian communities would have copied structural features from the Austrasian dialect in the wake of the Pippinid rise to power (*contra* Schrijver 2014: 108).[147]

In principle, this theory is reminiscent of Rebecca Posner's view that the structural Germanic influence on French should not be attributed to language contact in the Migration Age, but to language contact in the Carolingian period (750-950 CE, Posner 1995: 220). Although I would like to place this 'Frankish' influence somewhat earlier (700-750 CE), this largely agrees with my view. Another difference between her scenario and mine is that she argues that the Germanic of the Rhineland Franks exerted superstrate influence. I would argue, on the other hand, that it was substratum influence from the 'Germanic-like' Romance variety that developed in these border regions. This is in consonance with Gamillscheg's idea, that it was a Frankish-influenced Romance, which, as a prestige dialect, was responsible for the Germanic influence on French linguistic structure (Gamillscheg 1960: 543).

4.7 Historical framework

In order to substantiate this hypothesis, we must look to the historical sources. The Pippinid family had its power base in the valley of the Sambre, the area around Cologne and in the valleys of the Moselle and the Meuse (Costambeys e.a. 2011: 39). The Pippinid rise to power was accompanied by the investiture of Austrasian family members and allies on key positions in the Frankish realm (Riché 1993: 28; Werner 1965: 93-94). In this period, strategic key-points were monasteries and abbeys, which were the anchor points of local aristocratic families, and whose landed properties provided the financial basis for military and political adventures. Almost all the important noble families loyal to Charlemagne can be traced back to the Meuse-Moselle area and acquired their offices outside this realm by grace of Pippin II and Charles Martel (Werner l.c.). As Pierre Riché puts it: "Pippin lived in Austrasia, and from there, he drew his power, that is, his followers" (Riché 1993: 28).

When in 690 CE the see of Reims became vacant, Pippin installed the Ripuarian nobleman Rigobert. A few years later his Austrasian ally Griffo was made archbishop of Rouen, and another Austrasian nobleman Hildebert was put on the abbacy of St. Wandrille

[147] We should also consider the case of the adoption of two remarkable Germanic adjectives in Old French, which seem to imply a significant amount of social prestige for a Germanic contact language. In my opinion, OFr. maint 'very many' from OFrnk. *manigiþo 'multitude', and OFr. ne (...) guère(s) 'hardly any' from OFrnk. *ne (...) weigiro 'not much', originally belonged to Austrasian Gallo-Romance and were only later adopted in Neustria (see FEW XVI: 512-14, XVII: 469-471).

(l.c.). These ecclesiastical and political appointments were part of a purposeful strategy to consolidate power in order to expand their influence into Neustria (cf. Hummer 2005: 34).

His son Charles Martel continued the policy of replacing Neustrian noblemen with Austrasian allies. When he defeated his enemies, he consolidated his rule on Neustria by granting the most important power centers there to his nephew Hugh, an Austrasian family member (Claussen 2004: 32; Wood 2006: 212). Fulrad, an Austrasian noblemen who owned larges estates in the Alsace and Saarland, was entrusted in 754 by Pippin of Herstal, Charles Martel's son, with the abbey of St. Denis, the symbolic center of the former Merovingian realm (Riché 1993: 65-66). These Pippinid vassals from Austrasian stock will have brought along dependents, friends and soldiers to their new estates. The noblemen and their dependents were Austrasian Franks, who all spoke Gallo-Romance with the Austrasian 'Germanic-like' dialect.[148] We should consider that the Germanic element in Austrasian Gallo-Romance was continually strengthened by the cultural orientation of these bilingual regions to the Germanic-speaking north and east. In this regard, we may note that the family networks of the Pippinids stretched far into southern Germany (Werner 1982: 31).

Pippin's sons Carloman and Charles continued this strategy of using landed property often usurped or taken from ecclesiastical estates, to reward their Austrasian family and allies in order to entrench their new authority in 'foreign' Neustrian territory. In the eighth century, the clan members of the Austrasian Hugobert-Irmina family, who were intermarried with the Pippinid family, acquired leading positions in the entire Frankish realm, including the regions of Champagne, Burgundy, Provence and Acquitaine (Werner 1982: 32).

We should note that the women had a special role to play in connecting local Neustrian aristocracies with the Pippinid family (Wemple 1981: 54). Pippin married his son Drogo to Ansfled, the daughter of the Neustrian ruler Waratto, a long-time enemy of his. The son of Drogo and Ansfled was the aforementioned Hugh, Charles Martel's nephew, who was instrumental in securing the Pippinid grip on Neustria. The sister of Pippin II, Bertrada, married into a ruling Neustrian family as well and her son Charibert became count of Laon in the Aisne region. It seems reasonable to assume that the offspring of these mixed Neustrian-Austrasian marriages will have opted for the dialect of their influential Pippinid family and not for the dialect of their region.[149]

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[148] Here, it should be mentioned that, in this time period, the valley of the Moselle was still partly Romance-speaking and, in all likelihood, will have belonged to the Austrasian Gallo-Romance sphere (Pfister 1992).

[149] The linguistic consequences of a Pippinid rise to power where also considered by Maurice Broëns (1963), who assumed that the installation of Austrasian elites in the south of Frankish Gaul entailed the spread of another wave of Frankish place-names over the southern Gallo-Roman countryside: "*Ainsi (*Germanic place-names preceded by an article*) ne sont sans doute que des emprunts romans au vocabulaire des colons austrasiens que les Pippinides ont établis un peu partout à travers la Gaule par ceux-ci réunifée*" (Broëns 1963: 58).

When the Austrasian vassals of Pippin and Charles Martel built up networks of their own in the communities in which they settled, local powerholders, vying for the favor of the new Austrasian overlords, would have adopted the more prestigious Gallo-Romance dialect of the Austrasian Franks as communication language. In sociolinguistic terms, the Pippinid speech communities in Neustria were endocentric yet open communities, which allowed local power holders to become part of the new ruling elite. It is well conceivable that, in the period that followed, these local Neustrian noblemen switched completely to Austrasian Gallo-Romance as their new primary code. Alternatively, we may envision that the Neustrian elites emulated the speech habits of their Austrasian overlords and imposed the sociolinguistically marked features of the Austrasian dialect onto their local dialect.

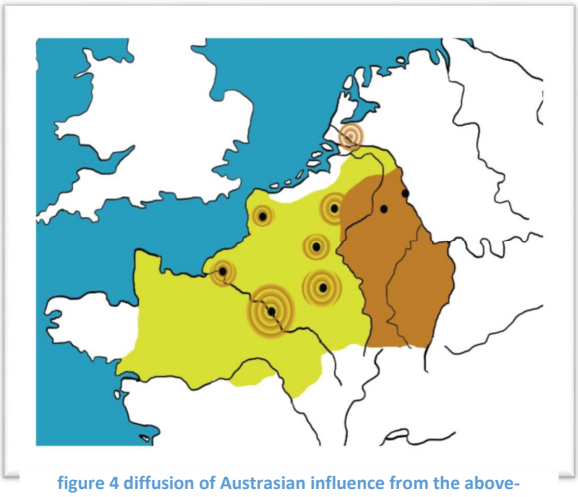

figure 4 diffusion of Austrasian influence from the above-mentioned Austrasian controlled abbacies

Furthermore, we should appreciate the role which itinerant kingship and ecclesiastical visitations may have played in the diffusion of the new Frankish Gallo-Romance standard. The Austrasian king and his *optimates* travelled through the Frankish realm, ruling the kingdom from local assemblies. So too did the bishops and the abbots, who toured the churches and monasteries that belonged to their ecclesiastical office. It is plausible that on these occasions the standard was the Austrasian border dialect.

This would provide us with a plausible sociolinguistic explanation for the heavy Germanic influence that we find in Old French (*contra* Schrijver 2014: 108); the southwestern dialects of northern Gallo-Romance, having withstood structural linguistic influence of Germanic during the sixth century (just like their southern-French counterparts), will have been replaced in the course of the eighth century by the more prestigious border dialects of Gallo-Romance which did undergo structural influence of Frankish.

Finally, we may note that in the Old French language, two sociolects are distinguished. The Old French word *franceise* (or *langue francor*) is used for the high variety of Old French, and the Old French word *romanz, romance* is used for vulgar speech and the subparisian variety of Old French (Rickard 1989: 41-42). It is at least suggestive that the word *romanz* (< **romanice*), which historically referred to the Gallo-Roman demographic element, seems to have been

less prestigious.[150] Initially, in the prehistory of the Old French language, the word *romanz/romance* would have been the normal word for colloquial Gallo-Romance. We may hypothesize that, after the Pippinid take-over, the term *romanz* may have been associated with the Neustrian Gallo-Romance dialect and stood in contrast with the new, more prestigious, Austrasian standard. The bilingual Austrasian Franks called their Romance variety *Franceise,* in the same way that they called their Germanic variety *Frenkisk*. In the later Middle Ages, the word *franceise,* as the term for the high variety of Old French, came to be identified with the Francien dialect of Old French.

4.8 The Dawn of Walloon

As stated above, southeastern Belgium belonged to the core lands of the Pippinid family and its dialect was without a doubt of the Frankish Gallo-Romance-variety. The toponyms in this region give evidence for bilingual communities far into the ninth century (Devleeschouwer 1957) and the networks of the aristocrats, who ruled the area extended into the Germanic-speaking regions of Brabant in the north and the Rhineland in the east. This Germanic orientation might explain why, in the High Middle Ages, innovations from the Francien dialect, which became dominant with the rise of the Capetians (1000-1100 CE), were not accepted by the speakers of the Frankish Gallo-Romance variety. The ruling families mainly consisted of aristocrats related to the Carolingians, and therefore had a strong regional pride, as is also known from the historical record. In sociolinguistic terms, we may assume that Walloon constituted an endocentric speech community, maintaining an open social network in relation to its Germanic neighbors. When the rest of the Gallo-Romance dialect continuum innovated, the Walloon dialects in south-eastern Belgium rejected the innovations of the neighboring Romance communities and therefore stayed remarkably archaic. This ushers in the dawn of Walloon, as it is marked by its archaism vis-à-vis the more central French varieties and its participation in later Germanic innovations.

4.9 Walloon and the Germanic influence thesis of Wilmotte

How could the case of Walloon provide more background and substance for the above proposed Pippinid theory? First we should recognize that not all French dialects that are spoken in Wallonia are properly Walloon: the Romance dialect that is spoken in the far west of Belgium, around Tournai, shares most of its evolution with Picardian French. It is therefore often regarded as a Picardian dialect, although a label Wallo-Picardian could also be applied. The Romance dialect in the far south-east of Wallonia (also called Gaumais), most often sides

[150] We may note that Kramer (1998) has a completely different take on the issue; he argues that Old French *romanz/romance* and *françeis/françois* were practically synonyms in the Old French period.

with Lorraine French and can therefore be regarded as a Lorraine dialect. Only the two remaining dialect areas can properly be called Walloon:

- Central Walloon = Namurois
- East Walloon = Liégois

Of those dialects, East Walloon, the language spoken around Liège, is often the most archaic. It is in the Liégeois dialect that we find a word for 'night' that must have been remodelled on the Old Dutch word **naht* 'night', because its vocalism presupposes a Gallo-Romance /a/ before /çt/:

- Lat. *facta* > Gallo-Rom. **façta* > EWall. *fé* 'done'
- ODu. **naht* → Gallo-Rom. **naçt* > EWall. *né* 'night.'

We may note that the native Walloon development would have yielded Wall. *nüt* [ny] (< **nɔçte* < Lat. *noctem*), which is the normal word for 'night' in the other Walloon dialects (Tuttle 1915). This quite remarkable example of lexical contamination in East Walloon exemplifies the bilingualism that must have been common in Wallonia since the Late Roman period.

The Belgian philologist Wilmotte was one of the first scholars to consider Romance-Germanic bilingualism as a contributing factor to the evolution of Walloon. In his 1893 monograph *Le Wallon : histoire et littérature des origines a la fin du XVIIIe siècle*, he made the following remark:

> "*La première série* (de traits distinctifs) *est commune aux dialectes wallons, d'une part, et, de l'autre, aux dialectes français de l'extrême Est, ainsi qu'aux dialectes parlés à l'Ouest par des populations qui ont subi le contact des Germains d'une manière plus durable ou plus profonde.*" (Wilmotte 1893: 24).

In his book, he provides a list of archaic traits in Walloon which are not found in the central dialects of French. According to him, these traits might be explained from Germanic influence in the northern border zone between Germanic and Romance. The features, which he explicitly connects to influence of Germanic, are listed below.

- Diphthongization of Rom. /ɛ/ in *- ɛlla > Old Wall. -eal, -ial
- Monophthongization of Gallo-Rom. /iɛ/ > Wall. /ī/
- Diphthongization of /o/ > /uo/ in closed syllables
- Rom. /u/ withstands Gallo-Rom. palatalization, i.e. absence of Gallo-Rom. /u/ > /y/
- Initial /w/ of Germanic origin is preserved
- Initial /h/ of Germanic origin is preserved
- Monophthongization of Gallo-Rom. /iu/ > Wall. /ȳ/
- Retention of Gallo-Rom. /kʷ/
- Retention of preconsonantal /s/
- Rom. /sC/ withstands Pan-Romance prothesis

- Rom. /sk/ > OWall. /sχ/ > East Wall. /χ/,/h/
- Walloon final devoicing

Whether these features can plausibly be attributed to substratum influence from Germanic remains to be tested, and in the following section this will be attempted. Below, several of these items will be evaluated in relation to the relative chronology of both Gallo-Romance and Germanic historical phonology. This way, we might establish how probable the status of each specific item as a contact-induced feature really is.

4.10 Developments shared with Germanic

The first listed development concerns the Walloon diphthongization in the suffix *- *ɛlla.* This development is peculiar, because in Standard French, diphthongization of /ɛ/ > /ɛa/ only occurred before /lC/:

- Pre-French *-*ɛls* > OFr. *-eals* > ModFr. *-eau*
- Pre-French *-*ɛlla* > OFr. *-elle* > ModFr. *-elle*
- Pre-French *-*ɛlla* > OWall. *-ealle* > Wall. *-eal*

If we want to explain this by interference from Germanic, we might argue that Germanic-speakers imposed a Germanic pronunciation on a Pre-French stressed vowel. In this regard, Wilmotte noted that the Walloon diphthongization runs parallel to the West Germanic diphthongization of /ē²/ > /ia/ and /ie/. However, in this particular case, we could also argue that the diphthong of the masculine suffix was analogically extended to the feminine suffix. The development is therefore not convincing as a Germanic induced phenomenon.

Another feature that Wilmotte considered as a possible influence from Germanic is the diphthongization of the low mid vowel /ɔ/ > /uo/ in closed syllables. We may note that Walloon diphthongization in closed syllables is unique within the French dialect continuum. Here, we could argue that Walloon-Dutch bilinguals extended the positions liable for diphthongization, since Old Dutch underwent a general diphthongization of /o/ > /uo/.

The Walloon monophthongization of /iu/ > /ȳ/, and in some Walloon dialects of /iɛ/ > /ī/, is also paralleled in the Dutch dialect continuum, as may be clear from the following examples (see Remacle 1948: 49):

- Pre-French **tiule* > Wall. *tül* [ty:l] 'tile'
- Pre-French **fɛsta* > OWall. *fiesta* > EWall. *fièsse, fise* [fjɛs], [fi:s] 'feast'
- WGm. **fiur* > MidDu. *vuur* [ʊy:r] 'fire'
- WGm. **sliɛp* > MidDu. *sliep* [sli:p] 'slept'

The monophthongization in Old Dutch is generally placed relatively late (Van Loon 2014: 125), so if Germanic influence is at play here, we would have to assume that Romance-

Germanic bilingualism persisted into the High Middle Ages (see also Schrijver 2014: 147). The same can be said for the /sk/ > /sχ/ change, which affected the Dutch dialects in the later Middle Ages (Van Loon 2014: 238).

The next feature is the preservation of /s/ in preconsonantal position. In Old French, preconsonantal /s/ had been voiced to /z/ before voiced consonants, and remained /s/ before voiceless consonants (Pope 1934: 151).

- Lat. *insula* > Pre-French **izla* > OFr. *isle* [izlə] 'island'
- Lat. *testa* > Pre-French **tɛsta* > OFr. *teste* [tɛstə] 'head'

Already in the twelfth century, in Old French, the preconsonantal /z/ was being dropped and a few centuries later, preconsonantal /s/ disappeared as well. Walloon remained impervious to this medieval French innovation, and retained the /s/ before consonants, although word final /st/ was eventually assimilated to /s/ (Remacle 1948: 74).

- Latin *ministerium* > Pre-French **mestjɛr* > Wall. *mèstî* [mɛsti]'job'
- Lat. *testa* > Pre-French **tɛsta* > OWall. *tieste* > Wall. *tièsse* [tjɛs] 'head'

It seems plausible that also this retention was supported by Germanic-Romance bilingualism; since the cluster /st/ was not altered in Germanic, Germanic-Romance bilinguals may have rejected the innovations when it reached their speech communities. In syllable-initial position, preconsonantal /s/ was also preserved in Walloon, and, more surprisingly, was not affected by Pan-Romance prosthesis (Remacle 1948: 40-42).

- Latin *scribere* > Pre-French **eskrirə* > Wall. *scrîre* [skrir] 'to write'

In my opinion, interference from Germanic is the most probable explanation for this; we may imagine that Germanic L1 speakers ignored the syllable-conditioned rule of vowel prosthesis and generalized the syllable onset without the prosthetic vowel (see section 3.20). This Germanic L1 feature was then continued in Walloon.[151]

Final devoicing was common to both Old Dutch and Old French, which might be explained from the scenario that the phonetic devoicing rule originally belonged to Old Frankish, and was imposed by Frankish bilinguals on their pronunciation of Gallo-Romance. We may note that, in Walloon, final devoicing is continued as a synchronic rule, whereas the other French dialects lost the rule in the course of the Middle Ages. In my opinion, it is very unlikely that final devoicing in Walloon is not connected to final devoicing in Dutch.

[151] We should note however that Walloon at a later point still adapted the intial sequences /sk/, /sp/ and /st/ to the Old French syllable-constraint. This rule is preserved in Walloon, where the form *scrîre* occurs after vowels, and *sucrîre* after consonants (Remacle 1948: 41).

Devoicing	Latin	Romance	Walloon		Modern French
*-b > -p	*barba*	**barba*	> *bēp*	"beard"	*barbe* [baʁb]
*-d > -t	*chorda*	**kɔrda*	> *kwɛt*	"cord"	*corde* [kɔʁd]
*-v > -f	*faba*	**faβa*	> *fēf*	"bean"	*fève* [fɛv]
*-z > -s	*rosa*	**rɔsa*	> *rōs*	"rose"	*rose* [roz]

4.11 Walloon archaisms

Another characteristic of the Walloon dialect area is its archaism in comparison to standard French, both in its lexicon and its phonology (see Legros 1942; Remacle 1948). Remacle (1948) provides a list of distinctive Walloon features that represent archaisms from before the year 1000 CE. I will highlight these features and explain how they might be connected to contact with Germanic:

- Special treatment of Gallo-Rom. /kk/
- Special treatment of labial + yod, i.e. Rom. *-pj-, *-bj-, *-mj- > Wall. p, b, m
- The retention of the loan phonemes /w/ and /h/
- non-fronting of Gallo-Rom. /u/
- non-delabialization of Gallo-Rom. /k^w/and /g^w/

The first development on the list concerns the Romance suffix **-kko* (< Gaul. **-kkos*), which is degeminated in Gallo-Romance and yields /k/ in Old French. However, in Walloon the Gallo-Romance geminate is palatalized to /ʧ/, as can be illustrated by the following examples:

- Rom. **bɛkko* (< Gaul. **bekkos*) > Wall. *bètch* [bɛʧ] 'beak'
  - > OFr. *bec* [bɛk]
- Rom. **sakko* 'sack' (< Gk. *σάκκος*) > Wall. *satch* [saʧ] 'sack'
  - > OFr. *sac* [sak]

As this palatalization is only found in Walloon, Lorraine French and Burgundian, dialects that immediately border the Germanic dialect continuum, interference from Germanic might be considered as an explanation. Schrijver (2014: 106) argues that the palatalization of the *bec/bètch* contrast can be connected to a language shift from Germanic to Romance; the aspirated Germanic [k:^{h}] would then have been substituted by Romance-speakers with [k^c], which later merged with [ts] (see section 3.23). This scenario is in consonance with my

proposal that, in the course of the sixth century, a language shift from Frankish to Frankish Gallo-Romance took place.

The next feature on our list is the special treatment in Walloon of Gallo-Romance labial + yod sequences. The following examples show the expected outcome of these sequences in Old French:

- WGm. **hapja* → OFr. *hache* [hatʃə] 'axe'
- WRom. **simja* (cf. Lat. *simius*) > OFr. *singe* [sɛ̃ndʒə] 'monkey'
- WRom. **raβja* (cf. Lat. *rabiēs*) > OFr. *rage* [radʒə] 'rage, madness'
- WRom. **kaβja* (cf. Lat. *cavea*) > OFr. *cage* [kadʒə] 'animal pen'

In Walloon, however, the labial consonants are preserved:

- WGm. **hapja* → Wall. *hèp* [hɛp]
- WRom. **simja* > Wall. *hèm* [hɛm]
- WRom. **raβja* > Wall. *rèp* [rɛp]
- WRom. **kaβja* > Wall. *tchèf* [tʃɛf]

Wilmotte (1893: 29) has argued that the preservation of the labial consonant in Walloon might be connected to the loss of post-consonantal yod in ninth-century Old High German (Braune-Mitzka 1967: 108). We may note, however, that this suggestion is contradicted by the preservation of the yod following WRom. /β/:

- WRom. **roβjəla* (cf. Lat. *rubeola*) > Wall. [rovjul] 'measles'
  - > ModFr. *rougeole* [ruʒɔl]
- Rom. **goβjone* (cf. Late-Lat. *gobio*) > EWall. [govjõ] 'goby' (species of fish)
  - > ModFr. *goujon* [guʒõ]

Nevertheless, it is still possible that interference from Germanic phonology played a role in the preservation of the labial stops in these sequences; since in the West Germanic languages the post-consonantal yod does not transfer its palatal features to the preceding labial, it is possible that when the affrication of labial stops spread over the dialect continuum, bilingual Walloon speakers were less inclined to innovate their pronunciation.

The next feature concerns the retention of the loan phoneme /h/. It is beyond doubt that the preservation of Germanic /h/ and /w/ in Germanic loanwords in the northeastern French dialects is due to language contact with Germanic (cf. Dalola 2015). It is well-known that Latin lost the /h/ in the first centuries CE, and Gallo-Romance acquired a new /h/ as a loan phoneme from Old Frankish (see section 3.33):

- OFrnk. **hagja* → Gallo-Rom. **haja* > OFr. *haie* [hajə] 'hedge'

This initial /h/ was preserved into modern French until the sixteenth century, but later disappeared from the spoken language.[152] East Walloon and Gaumais preserve this /h/ up to the present day, e.g. Gallo-Rom. **hagja* > East Wall. *haj* (: Fr. *haie* [ɛ]). It seems plausible to me that the wide geographical distribution of the initial aspiration in Old French can be connected to the prestige of the Austrasian Gallo-Romance dialect in the Pippinid period.

The loan phoneme /w/, however, did not enjoy such a wide acceptance in the Gallo-Romance dialect continuum. Generally, Germanic words that had initial /w/ were substituted by Romance speakers with /gʷ/, the closest articulatory counterpart in their consonant system. Only in Picardian, Lorraine French and Walloon do we find Germanic /w/ continued as /w/ (cf. Pope 1934: 228):

- WGm. **wardōjan* → Gallo-Rom. **(g)wardar* > Wall. *wârdé* 'to guard'
  - > ModFr. *garder*
- WGm. **want* → Gallo-Rom. **(g)wanto* > Wall. *want* 'glove'
  - > ModFr. *gant*

In my opinion, Germanic-Romance bilingualism in the Merovingian period is the only convincing explanation for the retention of the loan phonemes /h/ and /w/ in the northeastern border dialects of French.

The next feature concerns the resistence of Walloon to Gallo-Romance fronting of /u/ > /y/. The approximate date of this shift in the prehistory of French is unclear, but most scholars assume that it happened relatively early (see section 3.13). It is striking that Walloon escaped this palatalization, thereby keeping Romance /u/ as Walloon [u] up to the present day:

- WRom. **kulo* (cf. Lat. *cūlus*) > Wall. *kou* [ku] 'anus'
  - > ModFr. *cul* [kyl]
- WRom. **nudo* (cf. Lat. *nūdus*) > Wall. *nou* [nu] 'naked'
  - > ModFr. *nu* [ny]

In recent years, several scholars have argued that Germanic influence might be responsible for this Walloon archaism (e.g. De Vaan 2017: 36). Although other explanations have also been proposed (e.g. Schrijver 2014: 140), to me this seems like the most probable explanation.

The next feature concerns the Walloon resistance to delabialization of Romance /kʷ/ and /gʷ/ following nasals. These Romance phonemes were preserved in Early Old French, but were delabialized to /k/ and /g/ around the twelfth century:

- WRom. **kʷando* > OFr. *quand* > Fr. *quand* [kã] 'when'
- WRom. **lingwa* > OFr. *lingu* [lɛ̃ngw] > Fr. *langue* [lãg] 'tongue, language'

[152] Note that the aspirated *h-* in modern French still prevents elision, e.g. *le havre* [ləʔavrə] : l'homme [lɔm].

In East Walloon, however, this /k^{w}/ is still there, thereby maintaining the Romance phoneme up to the present day. Similarly, Gallo-Romance /gw/, instead of losing its labial element, shifts to /w/ in all Walloon dialects (see Remacle 1948: 73).

- Rom. *k^{w}*ando* > EWall. [kwã] 'when'
- Rom. **lingwa* > Wall. [lɛ̃w] 'tongue, language'

In my opinion, it seems plausible that also the preservation of the labialized velars in Walloon is connected with Germanic-Romance bilingualism: since Early West Germanic possessed a /k^{w}/ phoneme, Germanic-Romance bilinguals may have withheld the Gallo-Romance /k^{w}/ phoneme from innovation. Similarly, since Early West Germanic also possessed a sequence /ng^{w}/ (e.g. WGm. **sing^{w}an* 'to sing'), this may have protected the Gallo-Romance /g^{w}/. When the nasalization in Walloon was phonemicized by the loss of the preconsonantal nasals, Early Old French /g^{w}/ was simplified to /w/ in Walloon, a development that was also common in the prehistory of the West Germanic languages.

4.12 Bilingualism in medieval Wallonia

When we take the above discussed issues into consideration, a complicated picture emerges as to the contact situation that gave rise to the shared features between Walloon and the neighboring Germanic dialects. What follows is an attempt to provide a simplified sociolinguistic scenario that would account for the data and sketch a socio-historical background to how the Frankish Gallo-Romance variety came into being and evolved into Walloon.

Before the infiltration of Frankish-speaking elites into the Roman empire, a northern variety of Gallo-Romance was spoken in Wallonia, in all likelihood as the emblematic L1 code of the Gallo-Roman population. At that moment, there were already Germanic-speaking communities there, the results of earlier incursions and the purposeful settlement of Germanic-speaking farmers and soldiers by the Roman government. When the Franks settled in Wallonia in the fifth and sixth century, the social status of Germanic overtook that of Gallo-Romance, and a situation of intensive contact and widespread bilingualism ensued. Practices like exogamic marriages and fosterage will have facilitated the integration of the different genetic input groups and thereby consolidated a sociolinguistic situation of stable bilingualism.

In the hybrid Germano-Gallo-Roman peasant society of the Merovingian period, Germanic may have been socially dominant, but both Romance and Germanic would have constituted useful communication languages (depending on the needs of the specific situation). This is when bilinguals whose dominant code was Frankish imposed Germanic-like features on the Romance variety of Wallonia and at that moment Frankish Gallo-Romance

was born. It is possible that, in the resulting bilingual society of Merovingian Wallonia, in many communities, both Germanic and Romance were taught in childhood, leading to a situation where bilingual individuals were equally proficient in either code. Under these conditions, it is very well conceivable that Germanic and Romance underwent phonological and structural convergence, which might explain some of the shared features between Walloon and Germanic that we have discussed above.

Frankish Gallo-Romance and its successor, Pre-Walloon, did participate in the Romance innovations of the Merovingian period, thereby undergoing Gallo-Romance diphthongization, Gallo-Romance syncope, and the Gallo-Romance palatalizations (except for the palatalization of labial stops). This would agree well with the above sketched scenario in which Frankish Gallo-Romance was in the Merovingian period still at the periphery of the dialect continuum. However, from the late seventh century onwards, the Romance dialect of northeastern Gaul became the new prestigious norm. This new Austrasian prestige norm spread over Francia, when the Pippinid rulers installed Austrasian noblemen in key positions of early Carolingian power structures. This would explain why from the Post-Carolingian period onwards the border dialects remained impervious to innovations from the center, as there was little motivation for speakers of the erstwhile prestige norm, whose culture was oriented towards Germanic-speaking regions, to adopt new speech habits from Reims and Paris.

4.13 Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued that the 'Germanic-like' features of Standard France, should not be attributed to a Frankish superstratum in the Merovingian period, but to the Pippinid installation of Austrasian elites in the greater Frankish realm. This solution bypasses some of the traditional complications of the debate. When the Austrasian dialect of Gallo-Romance became the prestige dialect and new standard language of the Carolingian period, 'Germanic-like' features of Austrasian Gallo-Romance were imitated in Neustria.

After the Carolingian period, the Francien dialect became the new center of new linguistic innovations. However, the Austrasian periphery (Wallonia and Lotharingia) rejected the innovations from Paris; Wallonia and Lorraine, for a time at least, remained oriented to the Germanic-speaking north and east. Structural interference from Germanic is exhibited by the Walloon dialect in both its linguistic archaisms, which date back to the Carolingian period, and its linguistic innovations, which are mirrored in Middle Dutch and Middle High German.

5 As the Falcon flies: Common Slavic *sȍkolъ and Malberg <socelino>

Introduction

The Pact of the Salic Law, a codification of the customary law of the Merovingian Franks, addresses the legal concerns of the Germanic-speaking peoples that had settled in the sixth century between the Ardennes forest in Belgium and the river Loire in France (see Rivers 1986; Drew 1991). A lot of these legal concerns had to do with the contingencies of everyday life on the farmstead (cf. Quak 1983: 6; Drew 1991: 49). The provisions of the Salic Law show that animal husbandry was especially important to the Merovingian Franks, as is clear from the following facts:

- The Salic Law starts with legal provisions for the theft of livestock (Höfinghoff 1987: 255-56).
- The articles on the theft of livestock indicate a specialized knowledge of animal husbandry, that is, the raising and breeding of livestock (Höfinghoff 1987: 256).

In the manuscripts that preserve the Salic Law, many corrupted glosses are found that are preceded by the abbreviation <malb> or by the full word *mallobergo* (< Gm. **maþlaberg-* 'court of law', see chapter 1). These glosses are known in the scholarly literature by the name 'Malberg glosses' and from etymological analysis it is clear that many of them go back to Germanic lexis. It is likely that the Malberg glosses at one time belonged to a spoken Frankish vernacular that was used during the administration of justice in Early Merovingian society (see chapter 1). In the later Merovingian period, the corruption and reinterpretation of the glosses show that the words became part of a legal register which was no longer understood.[153] This present investigation concerns one of these obscure glosses from the Salic Law whose origin might touch upon some interesting aspects of cultural transmission between Late Antique Europe and the Eurasian steppes.

Birds

Law article VII of the Salic Law (*de furtis avium* or *de avis furatis*) provides the different compensation tariffs that had to be paid in case one was successfully charged with the theft of birds. The law article singles out domesticated birds that were reared on the farmyard for meat and eggs and wild birds that were hunted in traps. We can divide these different birds into three categories.

- Hunting birds (falcon, kites and sparrow-hawk)

[153] It may therefore be practical to translate the sequence [mallobergo X] as 'in judicial speech this is X' and view the language of the glosses as a fossilized remnant of Late Merovingian legalese.

- Fowl (geese, chickens and swans)
- Doves and birds caught in traps

Relevant to this present investigation are the hunting birds, the theft of which is covered in four articles.[154] The value of a falcon or a sparrow-hawk was estimated to be the same at 120 denarii (silver pieces) whereas the most costly was the theft of a falcon from a cage at 1800 denarii. The fact that the latter hawk was kept in a cage and valued higher is probably commensurate to the amount of training the bird had received; nevertheless, in comparison to other articles dealing with the theft of animals these compensation tariffs were probably not extraordinarily high (cf. Höfinghoff 1987: 161). It seems therefore likely that we are dealing with the hunting birds of ordinary farmers and not with the finer bred birds of the aristocracy.

1. Theft of a falcon from a tree in a garden (accipitrem de arbore)
2. Theft of a falcon from a perch (accipitrem de pertica)
3. Theft of a falcon from a cage (accipitrem deintro clavem)
4. Theft of a sparrow-hawk (sparuarium)

In the law articles that concern hunting birds, three Malberg glosses are featured. The following etymologies for the glosses are found in Quak[155] (1983; 52-55: 2017) and repeated by Höfinghoff (1987).

- § 1, § 3) Malb. *ortfocla* (*orflocla, arthocla*) < Rom. **orto-* + Gm. **fugal* 'yard bird'
- § 2 Malb. *uueiano* (*uueippe, uegano*) < Gm. **wīwan-* 'kite'
- § 4 Malb. *socelino* (*sucelin*) < Gm. **sōkil-* 'seeker'

The first etymology interprets the Malberg gloss *ortfocla* as an etymological hybrid with a Romance first element **orto-* (cf. Lat. *hortus* 'garden') and a Germanic second element **fugal-* 'bird'. Both elements are clearly recognizable within the spelling of both the early Merovingian A-tradition and the late Merovingian C-tradition and the interpretation is etymologically supported by similar hybrid compounds in the other Germanic languages (e.g. OE *ortgeard* 'orchard'); the etymology therefore convinces completely. The second etymology connects the Malberg gloss *uueiano* with OHG *wio/weho* 'kite' and MidDu. *wiwe, wuwe* ' id.', words that go back to a Proto-Germanic form **wīwo ~* wīwan-* (Quak 1983: 54). The spelling is only supported by the Late Merovingian C-tradition but the post-Merovingian D and K traditions which rarely contain Malberg glosses had also included the word, suggesting that for these scribes the meaning was still transparent. This etymology is also satisfactory.

[154] We may also note that the Salic Law only provides law articles concerning the theft of the hunting birds, whereas the Pact of the Alamannic Law also ventures into the illegal hunt with these birds (cf. Rivers 1977: 101).
[155] Also to be found in the database (URL: http://gtb.inl.nl) of the Old Dutch dictionary project (ONW) of the Dutch lexicography institute (INL).

Sparrow-hawk

The present investigation concerns the etymology of the third Malberg gloss, i.e. Malb. *<socelino>*, found in the fourth clause of the relevant law article. This clause is about the theft of a sparrow hawk, a small bird of prey (Accipiter nisus), which translates Merovingian Latin *sparuarium* in the Latin text. Curiously, the clause is absent from the early Merovingian A-tradition and can only be found in the later Merovingian C-tradition, the Herold manuscript and the post-Merovingian K-tradition. The Malberg gloss is only contained in manuscript C6 and the Herold manuscript (H), giving us just two spelling variants to work with. The full Latinate text of the clause is as follows:

> § 4 *Si quis sparuarium furauerit, mallobergo* **socelino** (C6)/**sucelin** (H)*, sunt denarii CXX qui faciunt solidos III culpabilis iudicetur excepto capitale et dilatura.* (MGH LL Nat. Germ. IV; 40).
>
> "Whoever will have stolen a sparrow-hawk, in judicial speech **socelino/sucelin**, this is 120 denaries which is 3 solidos if he is judged guilty, not including the value and the reparation payment."

Quak (1983: 54-55; *contra* Kern 1900) suggest that we may connect Malb. *<socelino>* to Old Norse *sœkja* 'to seek, to visit, to attack' and Old English *sēċean* 'to pursue' that was combined with the Germanic agent noun suffix *-*ila* (cf. Krahe-Meid 1967 § 86; 85). This would give us 'seeker, pursuer' as etymological naming motive for the Malberg sparrow-hawk word which is not necessarily unconvincing.[156] A similar naming motive has been suggested for Germanic **habuk-* in its connection to the root **hab-* 'to grab, to snatch', making the hawk a 'grabber, a catcher' although Kroonen has shown that this etymology is untenable (cf. Kroonen 2013: 197). Also, no reflexes of this formation, i.e. PGm. **sōk-* + *-ila,* can be found in the other Germanic languages, nor can we point to any chance survivals as loanword in the Romance languages. Quak's explanation of the Malberg gloss <socelino> as reflecting OFrnk. **sōkil-* is therefore completely dependent on its inner-Germanic etymology and derivation.

[156] Maslo (2015) has shown that most simplex bird names related to falconry characterize physical aspects or traits of the bird leading to semantic narrowing; exceptions are the compounds in which the first element could highlight the function of the bird, for example designate the animal that is hunted with the bird (see also the Old Bavarian hawk names in Rivers 1977: 170).

Germanic–Slavic isogloss

I would like to contend that a better and more convincing etymological connection is present in the Slavic languages where we find highly similar looking words in the meaning 'falcon'[157] (cf. Vasmer 1957 vol II: 688). The Slavic word family may be illustrated by the following cognates:

ORuss. *sókolъ* 'falcon'

Bulg. *sokól* 'falcon'

Pol. *sokół* 'falcon'

Czech/Slov. *sokol* 'falcon'

S/Cr. *sókõ*, *sokòla* 'falcon'

We may note that in Lithuanian we also find the word *sãkalas* 'falcon, sparrow hawk, vulture', but this form is commonly regarded as a borrowing from Slavic (cf. Fraenkel 1965: 757: Vasmer 1957 vol II: 689).

On the basis of the Slavic cognates, we may reconstruct a Common Slavic form **sȍkolъ* 'falcon' that goes back to a Proto-Slavic form **sȁkalъ*.[158] This form later underwent the Proto-Slavic /a/ > Common Slavic /o/ shift. The Proto-Slavic word is connected by Vasmer (1957 vol II: 688-89) to Skt. *śakuná-, śakúni, śakúnta-*'a rather large bird', a connection that is deemed possible but ultimately unconvincing by Mayrhofer (1996 EWIA II: 603). Chernykh (1999: 185) however connects PSl. **sȍkolъ* to the verb **sočiti* 'to pursue' (cf. PIE **sok^{w}-*, see also Vasmer 1957 vol II: 704-05), which is unlikely because a presumed Proto-Indo-European formation **sok^{w}-* + **-olos* is not found in any other language, nor was **–olъ* a productive suffix in the prehistory of Slavic. The origin of the Slavic falcon word is therefore still unclear.

The connection between the Germanic and the Slavic bird name seems evident to me as the formal similarity between Slavic **sȍkolъ* and the Malberg gloss <socelino> cannot be denied. It is however clear that the words are not related via the IE ancestral language since an inherited Germanic /k/ does not correspond to an inherited Slavic /k/. We may therefore assume that the words are connected through a borrowing process. If the words were transmitted from one language to the other, it should be noted that it is more likely that the word was transmitted from Germanic to Slavic than the other way around (cf. Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 69). If that is also the directionality that is involved in this connection, we should take

[157] This semantic difference between a falcon and a sparrow-hawk is trivial since both birds are relatively small raptors that may easily have been referred to by the same name (compare Latin *accipiter* 'sparrow hawk, falcon').

[158] The nature of the accentuation is unclear since Serbo-Croatian points to a neo-circumflex accent whereas the rest of the Slavic languages confirm an acute accentuation. The latter accentuation is provided in my reconstruction.

the following sound correspondences that are relevant in Germanic – Slavic lexical transfers in account (Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 221).

1. Germanic words in /ō/ are reflected in Proto-Slavic with /au/ > CSl. /ū/
2. Germanic words in /u/ are reflected in Proto-Slavic with /ъ/ > CSl. /ъ/
3. Germanic words in /a/ are reflected in Proto-Slavic with /a/ > CSl. /o/

These sound correspondences show that we have a phonological mismatch between the Germanic root and the Slavic root when we want to explain the connection between the two through a borrowing from Germanic to Slavic.

- Germanic **sōk-* > CSl. ***suk-*
- Germanic **suk-* > CSl. ***sъk-*

Here we should take a step back and take a closer look at the Malberg gloss and the philological basis for its interpretation as Germanic **sōkil-*; It is important to realize that the gloss <socelino> is only found in the C6 manuscript, a single manuscript in the late Merovingian C-tradition. The C6 gloss is supported by the Herold manuscript that gives us <sucelin>, but we should take into consideration that the Herold manuscript is a sixteenth century printed edition combining manuscripts from the C-tradition and B-tradition and other lost manuscripts whose redaction cannot be established (Eckhardt 1969: XL). This crucially affects the reliability of the <o> vowel in <socelino> since the Late Merovingian C-tradition regularly confuses the <u> and <a> vowel of the Merovingian minuscule script (cf. also Seebold 2018). This confusion happened because both the Merovingian <a> grapheme and the Merovingian <u> grapheme were open at the top. The same <a>/<u> corruption can be found in the Salic Law in the cases of <mardo> for <murdo> and <flamen> for <flumen> (Van Helten 1900: 2037).

Since it is therefore possible that the original gloss was <sacelino> instead of <socelino>, we may envision the following scenario which constitutes in my opinion a plausible way in which an original gloss <sacelino> could have been corrupted to <sucelin> and <socelino>:

1. The Malberg gloss was entered as <sacelino> into one of the prototypes of the Late Merovingian manuscript traditions.
2. Somewhere in the Late Merovingian period the gloss <sacelino> was read as <sucelino>
3. The form <sucelino> was alternated with <socelino> according to the Merovingian <u>/<o> variation (see section 3.10). This would give us the spelling of the C6 manuscript.
4. The form <sucelino> was shortened to <sucelin> in the manuscript that Herold took as the example text for his edition.

An interpretation of the Malberg gloss <socelino> as <sacelino> would allow us to distill a Germanic form *sakil- 'sparrow hawk, falcon'. As to the suffix of the Germanic word which the Malberg gloss gives as <el> plus the Romanizing extension <ino>, we may follow Quak (1983: 54-55) in his analysis that we can interpret it as an agent noun suffix in PGm. *-ila.[159] In this regard, we should note that we find another bird name in the Salic Law that shows a suffix form <el> (cf. Pactus Legis Salicae c. 7 § 6)

- Malb. <sundelino> = PGm. *sundil 'water bird'

A Frankish word *sakil would give us a viable donor form for a lexical transfer between Germanic and Slavic. Although the directionality is now ambiguous, it seems safe to start from the assumption that the transfer followed the general directionality trend of Germanic lexical material entering Slavic. The discrepancy between the Germanic and the Slavic suffix may be attributed to Germanic, where a suffix alternation between *-il-/*-al-/*-ul/*-l- is well established (Krahe-Meid 1967: 85).

- Gm. *sakil-/*sakal- → PSl. *sȁkalъ > Csl. *sȍkolъ

The only question that remains is where this Germanic falcon/hawk word originally came from. The Germanic form *sakil- also allows a connection to Gothic *sakuls* 'quarrelsome', a derivation from the verb *sakan* 'to quarrel, to dispute' and related to the above mentioned *sōkjan- 'to seek'. This would make Germanic *sakil- a 'fight bird' or a 'quarrel bird'. In my opinion however, this etymology is unconvincing since the Old Germanic languages all show a semantic narrowing of the root PGm. *sak- to the verbal domain of 'to quarrel' and 'to argue' (see Kroonen 2013: 423).

Since we have assumed that the birds were included in the Salic Law because of their use in hawking and falconry, we should note that the practice of hunting with birds only entered Europe at a relatively late date. It is therefore likely that we are dealing with a 'wanderwort', and when we want to understand its etymology, we should take the spread and origin of the cultural practice into account. In the next section we will therefore sketch how falconry came to Roman Gaul in the first place.

Spread of falconry

The origin of hawking is commonly placed in the Middle East, since the earliest depiction of it is found in a palace relief in Mosul dating back to the eighth century BCE (Allsen 2006: 135). The Greek physician Ctesias, writing at the Achaemenid court in the fifth century BCE,

[159] In the Old Dutch dictionary, a slight emendation to Quak's (1983) analysis is made by interpreting the sequence <elin> as the Germic suffix *-ilōn ~*-ilan. This however problematizes the etymology since *-ilan- is a denominal suffix and not a deverbal suffix (Krahe-Meid 1967: 87). Website consulted at 17-02-2018 at URL: http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=ONW&id=ID5670&lemmodern=zoekel

situates the hawking sport in Persia and India and several centuries later we first encounter hawking in the Far East. In Chinese sources the practice of hunting with birds from horseback is connected to the nomads of Central Asia and the Japanese recount that they adopted it from Korea (Allsen 2006: 136). It seems therefore reasonable to assume that hawking spread from the Middle East to the steppes of Central Asia and from central Asia to the Far East.

Greek and Roman writers occasionally refer to hawking but no mention is made of it being a common past time in their own regions. It seems therefore likely that in Antiquity it never became popular in the Greco-Roman world (cf. Allsen 2006: 136). This changed in the fifth century, when we suddenly encounter hawking as a sport for young aristocratic men in the writings of Paulinus of Pella and Sidonius Apollinaris (Lindner 1973: 119; Allsen 2006: 136). This coming into vogue of hawking in the Late Roman Empire is commonly connected with the integration of Germanic-speaking peoples in the Roman aristocracy. This is supported by the fact that the Germanic word **falkōn/*falkan-* all but completely replaced the Latin word *accipiter* in the Romance languages.[160] The Germanic word for 'hawk' i.e. Gm. **habuk-*, which was also a 'wanderwort', likewise spread to neighboring languages (cf. Kroonen 2013: 197):

- Gm. **habuk-* > Fin. *havukka*
- Gm. **habuk-* > MidW *hebawc*

It seems therefore likely that in the Germanic successor kingdoms of the Early Middle Ages hawking was a popular sport, practiced by farmers, noblemen and clergymen alike, as is clear from the Germanic law codes and the Church council reports (cf. River 1977: 101, 170; Allsen 2006: 136).

In order to understand the prehistoric transmission of hawking and hawking terminology, we should take note of its socio-cultural context, i.e. the role hawking played in pre-modern societies. It may be noted that hunting with birds is one of the most affordable types of hunting which could be practiced without expensive equipment or a retinue.[161] This means that the practice of hawking was easily transmitted since no special technology was needed and the trained hawks themselves could easily be sold or traded across cultural and linguistic borders. This connects well with the fact that in many European and Middle-Eastern languages names for hunting birds are loanwords, showing that in the exchange of hawking technology, the terminology was very likely to be transferred as well.

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[160] Latin *accipiter* had a Late Latin variant *acceptor* 'hawk' which does have a Romance afterlife in OSpan. *aztor* ' id.'. From this Old Spanish form the word spread again over the southern *Romania*, i.e. ModIt. *astore*, Campid. *stori*, Prov. *austor*, ModFr. *autour* 'id.' (see Meyer-Lübke REW 68: 6). We may note that also the Germanic word **sparwari* (cf. ModDu. *sperwer*, ModG *Sperber*) was widely diffused in the Romance dialect continuum (e.g. ModFr. *épervier*, cf. FEW XVII: 172)

[161] This can be illustrated by taking a look at hawking practices among present-day nomads in Inner Asia where hawking is still an egalitarian affair (Allsen 2006: 136). This

French borrowings

- OFr. *faucon* 'falcon' < Gm. **falkōn/*falkan-*
- OFr. *épervier* 'sparrow hawk' < OFrnk. **sparwari*
- OFr. *girfauc* 'gyrfalcon' < OFrnk. **gērfalk*
- OFr. *gabiez* 'falcon hunt' < OFrnk. **gabaiti*

Arabic borrowings

- MArab. *al-bāz* 'falcon' < MPers. **bāz*
- MArab. *al-sunqur* 'falcon' < OTurk. **suŋkor*
- MArab. *al-ṣaqr/al-saqr* 'sacer falcon' < OTurk. **čakrı*

Hawking and falconry remained a popular sport for most of the Middle Ages, with the exchange and trade of finely bred hawks connecting aristocratic families all over Europe. In the Early Middle Ages, falcons were commonly used as gifts to accommodate diplomacy, which may be illustrated by the example of the Anglo-Saxon bishop Boniface sending a hawk and two falcons to the king of Mercia (Tangl 1916: 142). In the centuries that followed, [162] hawking terminology also travelled from the Romance speaking south back to the Germanic-speaking north as can be illustrated by the following examples:

- MHG *derzel* 'male sparrow hawk' < OFr. *tercuel*
- MHG *sakers* 'sacer falcon' < MArab. *al-ṣaqr*

As the Middle Ages drew to a close, the trade in the gyrfalcon (Falco rusticolus) spanned the Eurasian continent. This way, the thirteenth century German emperor Frederick II could list traits and qualities of birds bred in far-away Mongolia. In that time, falconry was primarily envisioned as the past-time of kings and royalty as is clear from the Hungarian writer Simon of Kéza imagining that Attila the Hun rode into Europe with an Altai Turul falcon crested in his banner (Gesta Hungarorum c. 10).

Here we should note that the networks involving the spread of falconry did not only run from east to west, but also from north to south. Although many goods in the Eurasian trade travelled along an east-west axis, luxury goods, of which falcons are a prime example, were an exception (cf. Allsen 2006: 147). This is how hawking was transmitted around the start of the Islamic era to the Arabs in Iraq via the Persian speaking peoples of Iran and Central Asia. In the centuries that followed, the nomads of Central Asia engaged in a long-

[162] The Old English form *wealh-hafoc* 'Welsh/French hawk', found in the OE version of 'Alexander's letter to Aristotle, shows that the influx of southern hawk/falcon breeds back to the Germanic-speaking north already started in the ninth century. It is interesting to note that this falcon/hawk word made it all the way to Scandinavia, cf. ON *valr* 'falcon' (see De Vries 1962: 642)

lasting transfer with the Arab world in which they supplied the finer bred birds in exchange for tribute and trade privileges (Allsen 2006: 144-47).

Wanderwort

The rough chronology of the cultural transmission of hawking is therefore clear: 1) hawking originated in the Middle East and spread to the nomadic peoples of Central Asia. 2) Germanic and Slavic speaking peoples adopted hawking from the nomads on the eastern European steppes. 3) hawking entered the Roman empire in the wake of the infiltration of Germanic-speaking warrior elites. 4) hawking spread to the Arab world when the Arabs came into contact with Persia and its Inner Asian trade networks.

It is therefore reasonable to assume that the languages of the nomadic peoples of Central Asia are a good place to start looking for the origin of our Germanic-Slavic hawk-word. Two language families should then be taken into consideration, namely Turkic and Iranian. Here I want to propose an etymology that ties both language families to our Germanic –Slavic falcon/sparrow hawk word, although, as is common in the case of *wanderwörter,* I will not pretend to be able to solve all phonological problems. I therefore want to stress that the following scenario of lexical transfers merely represents a hypothesis that I deem plausible.

In Turkish we find two lexical items (Clauson 1972: 410), referring to hunting birds, that show a reasonable phonological similarity to our Germanic – Slavic hawk word.

- OTurk. *čaγrı* < Proto-Turk. **čakrı* 'Falco sacer'
- OTurk. *čavlı* < Proto-Turk. **čawlı* 'merlin, stone falcon'

Despite the Turkish words being very similar, the forms cannot be etymologically reconciled and if they are connected to each other it must be via an unknown linguistic intermediary. It is the first term, i.e. Proto-Turk. **čakrı*, that offers us a connection to Iranian. This connection was proposed by Volker Rybatzki (2011: 373), but on the wrong assumption that Iranian **čarka/čakra* (cf. ModPers. *čarḫ/čarg*[163] 'hunting falcon') would have been the donor form for Turkic **čakrı*. The reconstructed form cannot be correct since already in Proto-Iranian times all instances of /kr/ shifted to /χr/. Alternatively, we may take an Iranian form **čaχra* as the donor word and assume a phoneme substitution *χ → *k in the transmission to Turkic. A lexical transfer from Iranian to Turkic is not unusual since in the first millennium CE many Iranian words entered the Turkic languages (see Golden 2006). It is also possible that the

[163] For the Iranian falcon words, see also Le Coq (1914: 11) and Schapka (1972: 63). An interesting complication is offered by the possible interference from a possible Proto-Iranian form **čarkasa/*karkāsa*, cf. Av. *kahrkāsa,* but also here the phonological correspondences are irregular (cf. Abaev 1958 :I303; Cheung 2002: 175).

directionality of the borrowing should be inverted and we are dealing with a borrowing from Turkic to Iranian.

- Proto-Turkic *čakrı ← Middle Iranian *čaχra
- Middle Iranian *čaχra ← Proto-Turkic *čakrı

We may note that it was in all likelihood the same Iranian/Turkish word complex that supplied the Arabic term for falcon, i.e. Arabic *al-saqr/al- ṣaqr*.[164]

Furthermore, we should remark that the etymology of neither the Old Turkic word nor the Middle Iranian word can be retrieved. It seems likely that in neither language it was an inherited word and it remains therefore unclear what the original donor language was.

Whatever the case, we can take the Proto-Turkic form *čakrı as our starting point for a scenario that connects the Iranian/Turkish word complex to the Germanic and Slavic languages of the Early Middle Ages. In Late Antiquity, several nomadic confederations speaking Turkic and Iranian languages roamed the steppes of western Eurasia. In this socio-cultural context of transhumance, long distance trade and inter-clan warfare, Turkic-speakers may have been in regular contact with speakers of Alanic, a north-east Iranian language. A historical development which may have facilitated Turkic-Alanic language contact is the westward expansion of the Pre-Hunnic Xiongnu confederation in the third century CE (Kim 2016: 38). During this expansion, the Xiongnu confederation absorbed the Turkic-speaking Dingling peoples between the Altai mountains and the Caucasus and later moved into Alanic territory. We may therefore assume that in this period Turkic-speaking elements of the Xiongnu confederation were in direct contact with the Alans (cf. Kim 2016: 66-67).

If we accept the scenario that the Proto-Turkic word entered Alanic in the early centuries CE, the Alanic/Proto-Ossetic sound law /ri/ to /l/ brings us very close to a possible donor word for the Germanic- Slavic falcon/hawk-word.[165] We may then assume that the following developments took place:

- Proto-Turkic *čakrı → Alanic *čakl
    1. Regular Proto-Ossetic development from /ri/ > /l/
- Alanic *čakl → Germanic *sakl > WGm. *sakal
    2. Substitution of Alanic /č/ by Germanic /s/[166]

[164] An inner-Arabic derivation of Arab. *al-saqr* 'falcon' from Arab. *al-ṣaqr* 'brown' does not provide a satisfying etymology. That Arab. *al-ṣaqr* is a loanword might also be suspected based on the vacillation of the initial consonant between /s/ and /ṣ/ and a loan from Turkish would account for the initial consonant, since in the Pre-Islamic period the *ṣad* was still pronounced as /tsˀ/, i.e. Turk. *čakrı → Arab. *tsˀaqr (see Al-Jallad 2014).

[165] for the sound change, see Bielmeier (1989: 241) and Cheung (2002; 40, 100).

[166] We may wonder whether it is possible that Proto-Iranian /č/ had in the Alanic period already developed into the /ʦ/ sound that we can reconstruct for Pre-Ossetic. An Alanic /ʦ/ would reduce the phonetic distance to the Germanic /s/ with

3. West Germanic anaptyxis of /kl/ to /kal/

The transfer from Alanic to Germanic could then be dated to the late fourth century CE, when barbarian confederations consisting of both Germanic speakers and Alanic speakers moved into the Roman Empire.

The only objection that could be raised against it, is that at some point Pre-Ossetic clusters of the /CL/ type were metathesized to /LC/, cf. PIIR. **tigra-* > Oss. *cyrğ* 'sharp' (cf. Cheung 2002: 34). Since the date of this metathesis is unclear, it is possible that the borrowing of OTurk. **čakrı* as Alan. **čakl* predates its operation.

On the Germanic side, everything seems to be in order; both the sound substitution and the anaptyxis are unproblematic developments that are supported by the following facts:

1) The sound substitution is also found in the Late Antique name of the Alanic warlord Sangibanus < Alanic **čangi-ban* 'he who commands the flank' (see Vernadsky 1963: 408-9).

2) the anaptyxis in *-CL# is regular for West Germanic after the loss of the nominative ending (see Boutkan 1995: 161).

The Slavic word **sȁkalъ* would then be an adaptation of the Germanic word **sakl* ~ **sakal*, a lexical transfer which corresponds to the general directionality of Germanic – Slavic lexical copies (cf. Pronk-Tiethoff 2013). A transmission from Germanic to Slavic and not the other way around is also more likely because Slavic did have a /č/ with which they could have rendered Alanic /č/ (cf. CSl. *črьtogъ* 'bedroom' ← Alan. **čartāga*, see Gołąb 1992: 320).

To summarize the historic scenario implied by the above sketched lexical transfers: We may envision the transmission of the word for 'falcon, hawk' to have started in Late Antiquity when the practice of hawking was common across the Eurasian steppes. There, an Old Turkic word for falcon could have been transmitted to Alanic, a language spoken to the north of the Black Sea and the Caucasus mountains. This may have happened in the early centuries CE through the trade networks of the Late Antique steppes or in the context of the pre-Hunnic Xiongnu westward expansion which brought Turkic-speaking peoples in direct contact with the Alans to the north of the Caucasus mountain range. When the Huns moved into the Black sea region, the Alans attached themselves to the Gothic confederation consisting of mainly Germanic-speaking peoples who dwelled on the eastern European steppes. This engendered a close cultural and linguistic contact with Germanic-speakers (see also Hyllested 2017: 27-33) and thus the Asiatic word may have entered Germanic as a specialized hunting term. From Germanic, the word spread to Slavic where it became the general word for 'falcon'. Finally, the Germanic word was replaced by newer terminology

which it was replaced. However, this seems unlikely since Proto-Iranian post-consonantal /č/ developed into Ossetic /ʤ/ (See also Cheung 2002: 22-23)

which is very likely for a term that was associated with specific breeds of animals (Maslo 2015: 181). In this way, the word disappeared in the other Germanic languages, while surviving as a single Merovingian Frankish hunting term in the Merovingian legal register of the Salic Law.

Conclusion

To conclude, in this chapter I have argued that the Malberg gloss <socelino> 'sparrow hawk' should be read as <sacelino> which can be connected to Common Slavic **sȍkolъ* 'falcon'. Both languages borrowed the words as falconry and hawking terminology when they adopted the practice of hawking from the Central Asiatic cultures to their east. The Germanic and the Slavic words may be connected with Turkish *čaγrı* and Iranian **čaχra-* which also provided the word for hawk in Arabic. The intermediate language that transmitted the word from Turkic to Western Europe would have been Alanic where Proto-Turkic **čakri* would have yielded Alanic **čakl* before the Pre-Ossetic metathesis of /CL/ > /LC/. The Alans are without a doubt the most logical intermediary between the cultures of Central Asia and Europe, since they were the linguistic and cultural neighbors of the Germanic peoples from the second century to the fifth century CE. This Alanic form **čakl* would have been adopted into Germanic as **sakl* ~ **sakal* and, probably via Germanic, into Slavic as **sȁkalъ*. As falconry spread over the Eurasian continent in the course of the first millennium CE, Central Asiatic terminology likewise spread its wings over neighboring languages.

6 Between coulter and carruca in the Early Middle Ages

Introduction

Since the early bronze age, European farmers have tilled the land by using a plough to break open the soil before sowing the crops. In the millennia that followed, ploughing terminology improved slowly but steadily as new arable land was claimed (cf. Andersen e.a. 2013). A primitive plough type might lie behind the Proto-Germanic word **hōhan-* (cf. Goth. *hoha* 'plough') that can be connected to Proto-Slavic word **soxá* (cf. Old Russian word *soxá* 'stake, plough'), a word that denoted both a wooden stake and a plough. Also the Proto-Indo-European etymology of the word shows that we are dealing with semantic narrowing from an older meaning 'branch' or 'wooden stick' (cf. Skt. *śā́khā* 'branch', Lith. *šakà* 'id.', Derksen 2015: 439).

In the Roman period, farmers were using the scratch or ard plough that consisted of a wooden beam to which an obliquely placed share-beam and share were connected. Although different variants existed, the scratch plough that the Romans used was in principle the same tilling implement that the Germanic peoples used. We may note that Latin and the Old Germanic languages share an inherited formation for this plough type, implying that the plough that this formation referred to might reach far back into European prehistory (cf. Adams 1997: 434).

- Latin *arātrum* < PIE **h_2erh_3trom*
- PGm. **ardra-* (cf. ON *arðr*) < PIE ** h_2erh_3trom*

Pliny recounts (Naturalis Historia 18: 272) that in his time an improved plough from Gaulish Rhaetia was gaining ground; a plough with wheels that was locally called *plaumorati,* a word whose etymology is as of yet obscure.[167] We do know the later Gallo-Romance name for this wheeled-plough which was *carrūca,* a word that consisted of the Celtic root **karro-* 'wagon' plus the Celtic diminutive suffix **-ūka* (cf. OIr. *carr,* MW *carr* 'id.', see Matasović 2009: 191). Therefore originally the word *carrūca* probably meant 'cartlet' in Gaulish.

From the Carolingian period onwards, the word *carrūca* came to denote the heavy wheeled plough in contrast to the scratch plough that was still called *arātrum.* The original meaning 'cart' was also maintained, as is clear from the reflexes of *carrūca* in Old French and Old Provençal.

OFr. *charrue,* OProv. *carruga* 'heavy plough, cartlet' (FEW 2: 424)

[167] If Baist (1886: 285-286) is right in arguing that *plaumorati* should be read as *ploum rhaeti* 'rhaetic *ploum'* it may contain the same etymon as the Germanic word **plōga-,* Langob. *plouum* (Edictum Rothari, 7th c. CE), OHG *pfluog,* OE *plōg* (see also Blažek & Dufková 2016).

It has been assumed that the Germanic word **plōga-* 'plough' (cf. OHG *pfluog,* ON *plógr,* OE *plōg* 'id.') was the Germanic term for this new heavy plough type.[168] When the heavy plough spread across Central Europe, Germanic plough terminology likewise spread to the Slavic speaking regions where the word for heavy plough was adopted as CSl. **plugъ* and the word for plough beam as CSl. **grędeljь* (Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 86-87, 105).

This chapter will try to establish whether we can find linguistic traces of the proliferation and use of the heavy plough in Merovingian Francia, that is present-day France, the Low Countries and Germany. We will look for these traces in the Old High German glosses and the early medieval Germanic law codes. As such, the investigation in this paper may complement existing accounts both from the historiography of medieval technology and the archaeological record.

Technology

Before exploring the traces of the heavy plough in the historical linguistic record, we should first consider the technological aspects of the plough and its respective components. The antique scratch plough was relatively simple in design. It roughly consisted of four main parts, here listed in the order in which they occur when we start from the yoke to which the draft animals were attached and end with the share that cuts the soil:

- Yoke beam (Lat. *tēmō*)
- Plough beam (Lat. *būris*)
- Share beam (Lat. *dentilia*)
- Share (Lat. *vōmer*)
- Handles (Lat. *stiva*)

In the antique scratch plough, the yoke beam (Lat. *tēmō*) was the wooden part that connected the plough to the yoke. The yoke beam was connected to the plough-beam (Lat. *būris*), which, in turn, was connected to the share-beam (Lat. *dentilia*). In the share beam, the plowshare (Lat. *vōmer*) was embedded. Additionally, Roman ploughs had ridging implements consisting of ears (Lat. *aures*), a ridging-board (Lat. *tabellum*) or an asymmetrical share which could throw the soil on either side of the plough (White 1967: 139-140). The handles of the plough (Lat. *stiva*) stuck out in the opposite direction of the plough share and allowed the farmer to control the depth of the furrow. In one of the variants of the scratch plough, the Roman bow ard, the handles also served as a ploughtail that ensured stability. This explains why the same word (Lat. *stiva*) was used for both the handles and the plough tail.

[168] In some works (e.g. Comet 1997; Raepsaet 1997) the word 'ard', i.e. scratch-plough, is contrasted with the plough, i.e. heavy wheeled-plough. Because in the tradition of Indo-European linguistics, the ard-plough is also considered a plough, I consider the distinction between ard and plough not conducive to the discussion.

In comparison to this Roman scratch plough, the Gallo-Roman *carrūca* 'heavy ploug' was definitely more complex. One of the innovations of the heavy plough was the use of the coulter (Lat. *culter*[169] 'knife') (Raepsaet 1997: 44), consisting of an iron knife stuck through a hole in the ploughbeam. It vertically cut into the ground and cleared away the roots of weeds before the ploughshare followed suit. The coulter was especially needed for heavier soils and was therefore mainly used in northwestern Europe (White 1967: 133). The origin of this ploughing innovation is disputed, with most scholars placing it in the Germanic and Celtic speaking lands to the north of the Roman empire; we may note that early coulters from the second to the fifth centuries CE have been excavated in Hungary, Germany, northern France and the British isles (Andersen e.a. 2013: 8).

Another innovation was the mould-board, a broad board-like implement attached to the share beam that dragged over the ground and turned the soil after the share had entered (Raepsaet 1997: 43). The fact that Isidore of Sevilla does not mention a mould-board or even a ridging-board among the components of a plough in his sixth century encyclopedia (Etymologies XX, cf. Throop 2005) might indicate that in his time the mouldboard was not yet common. Finally, we should mention the wheels of the Early Medieval *carrūca.* The wheels, attached to a fore-carriage under the plough beam, allowed the plough to become heavier since they lessened the burden to the animals. They also allowed for more work comfort and more control over the ploughing depth.

In Early Medieval continental manuscripts only the scratch plough without mould-board was regularly depicted. The reconstruction drawing of an Anglo-Saxon wheeled-plough in fig. 4 is based on one of the earliest depictions (MS Cott. Tiberius B V) of this new plough-type in its entirety. It was the use of the heavy plough in combination with new crop rotation systems that allowed for better harvests and bigger grain yields in the High Medieval period (Raepsaet 1997: 60; Andersen e.a. 2013: 2-3).

In Early Medieval Gaul, we see the replacement of the scratch plough by the heavy plough reflected in the replacement of Old French *arere* 'scratch plough' (< Lat. *arātrum,* FEW XXV: 83) by Old French *charrue* 'heavy plough' (< Gallo-Lat. *carrūca*). A continuation of the Old French word *arere* survives in the northeast corner of the Gallo-Romance dialect continuum in East Walloon *erére,*[170] where it is used as the default word for plough (Wartburg 1928: 123). The survival of the Latin word in Walloon points to the possibility that for some time the two kinds of ploughs were used alongside each other (cf. Raepsaet 1997: 45;[171] Comet 1997: 24).

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[169] The word *culter* in the meaning 'coulter' is not attested in Classical Latin, its occurrence in Pliny is due to a corruption in the text (White 1967: 133).

[170] We should note that influence of MidDu. *erren,* MHG *ern/eren/erren* 'to plough' might have facilitated the survival of the word in Walloon (De Vaan p.c.).

[171] Raepsaet (1997: 45) calls attention to the fact that for various economic, geographic and botanical reasons the heavy plough and the ard could be used alongside each other and we cannot associate the use of either plough with a specific

An interesting complication of this general picture is that archaeologists have recently identified an intermediary plough type between the Germanic-Celtic heavy plough of Late Antiquity and the Carolingian heavy plough of the High Middle Ages (cf. Thomas e.a. 2016). This so-called 'swivel-plough' had a moveable mould-board and 'floating' coulter. It was called a swivel plough because the coulter could be placed on either side of the plough beam. In principle, the swivel plough can be regarded as an early version of the Carolingian heavy plough.

We may also note that Old French terminology associated with ploughs and ploughing kept a distinctively Gaulish signature. In addition to the semantic broadening of Gaulish **karrūka* to include the meaning 'heavy plough', we can identify the following Gaulish lexical relics among the Gallo-Romance words for plough parts and field cultivation.

- Gaul. **sukko-* 'pig-snout' > OFr. *soc* 'plough share'.
- Gaul. **klēta* 'hurdle' > OFr. *claie* 'share beam'
- Gaul. **rika* 'furrow' > OFr. *raie* 'furrow, ditch'
- Gaul. **kambetta* 'crooked implement' > OProv. *cambeta* 'coupling of the plough'
- Gaul. **gasko* 'ard plough' > OFr. *gaskiere* 'plough land'[172]
- Gaul. **teimōn* 'plough beam'[173] > OFr. *timon* 'plough beam'

It is possible that some of these Gaulish words were already in use in Roman times as plough terminology. This raises the question at what point the Gallo-Romans started to use the word *carrūca* for heavy plough. Curiously, in the Early Medieval law codes the Gallo-Latin word *carrūca* still exclusively referred to a cart:

- In the Salic law, a carrūca drawn by a horse is mentioned (Pactus Legis Salicae c. 63, Echkhardt 1969: 101). It is clear from the fact that the *carrūca* is drawn by a horse and not by a team of oxen that we are dealing with a cart here (*contra* Schmidt-Wiegand 1981: 21).
- In the Alamannic laws, the theft and the breaking of the front and rear wheels of a carrūca is mentioned (*Pactus Legis Alamannorum* c. 20, Eckhardt 1966: 26). The heavy wheeled plough was two wheeled which also makes it clear that we are dealing with a cart instead.

monoculture. Sigaut (1985) however points out that the cultivation of oats was closely associated with the new heavy wheeled-plough.

[172] The Gaulish word **gasko* (cf. OIr. *gescae* 'branch;) would show the same semantic development as Gm. **hohan-* from 'twig, branch' to 'ard plough' (see FEW IV: 54).

[173] It has been argued that Lat. *tēmo* was borrowed into Gaulish as *teimon* which would explain the /i/ vowel of the Old French form *timon* 'share beam' (FEW XIII: 168).

This accords well with the observation that in the Old High German glosses, Gallo-Latin *carrūca* is exclusively translated with words meaning 'wagon' or 'cartlet' and not once with the meaning 'plough' (AAG XII: 151).

- OHG *wagan*
- OHG *reitwagan*
- OHG *karra*
- OHG *karruh*

It is only in a ninth century Carolingian capitulary (Capitularium Pistis, 869 CE) that we first find the word *carrūca* associated with ploughing. In this legal proclamation, it is used in the phrase *carruca indominicata,* which is interpreted by Niermeyer as 'demesne arable field, as much land as can be ploughed by one wheeled plough in one season' (cf. Niermeyer 1976: 148).

It seems therefore unlikely that in the Merovingian period the word *carrūca* had not yet acquired its meaning 'heavy plough' since two hundred years later it could be used as a land measure. This problem can be solved if we assume that we are dealing with a difference in register; in the written acrolect of Merovingian Gaul, the Latin word *arātrum* still covered all types of ploughs. In the spoken Gallo-Romance basilect however the two plough types may have already been distinguished, with the word *carrūca* denoting the heavy wheeled plough and the word *arātrum* the scratch plough. Our conclusion must be that the Gallo-Latin word *carrūca* does not help us in identifying the use of the heavy wheeled plough.

Vernacular plough terminology

A glimpse of the Germanic terminology for plough components can be caught from the Old High German glosses. In the case of the Latin term for ploughshare (Lat. *vōmer*), the scribes who entered the Old High German glosses made the following equations (AAG XII: 480):

- Plough share (Lat. *vōmer*)
    - OHG *waganso*[174] 'share'
    - OHG *karst* 'pick'
    - OHG *scaro* 'share'
    - OHG *seh/seho* 'pick-axe'

It is possible that different kinds of shares hide behind these different terms. OHG *seh* and OHG *karst* could have referred to a specific kind of ploughshare that hacked into the soil whereas a OHG *scaro* could have been associated with horizontal share-beams where the share

[174] OHG *waganso* is an etymological cognate to Latin *vōmer* (i.e. PGm. **wagnisan-*, cf. ON *vangsi*, ModNo. *vagnse*, see Kroonen 2013: 565), i.e. PIE **u̯og^{wh}-*.

cut into the soil. Still, we should also consider the possibility that the difference between *karst* en *seh* tells us nothing and some glossators were just confused about what plough part Latin *vōmer* actually was.[175]

For the other plough parts we can draw up the following list of correspondences between the Latin terms and the Old High German words with which they were equated.

- Yoke beam (AAG XII: 448)
    - OHG *dīhsila*
    - OHG *grintil*
    - OHG *langwid*
- Plough-beam (AAG XII: 140)
    - OHG *pfluoghoubit*
    - OHG *pfluogeshoubit*
- Share beam (AAG XII : 435-36).
    - OHG *riostar*
- Plough tail (AAG XII: 435)
    - OHG *geiza*
    - OHG *pfluogeszagil*
    - OHG *pfluogsterz*
- Plough handles (AAG XII: 435)
    - OHG *geiza*
    - OHG *riostar*

Interesting is the polysemy of OHG *riostar*, referring to both the share beam and the plough handles. This makes sense if we take into account that in many depictions of medieval ploughs we see that the share beam and the plough handles are part of the same wooden component. When in the course of the Early Middle Ages the use of the mould-board became more common, the meaning of OHG *riostar* might have been extended to include the mould-board. By the Middle High German period this extension was a fact since MHG *riester* could refer to all parts of the plough that were attached to the share beam.

Coulter

It is clear from the evidence of the glosses that none of the above described words exclusively refers to a heavy plough and all of them may just as well refer to the scratch plough. The only plough part which can be directly tied to a heavy plough is the coulter, a knife-like plough component that was not part of the Roman plough (see Thomas e.a. 2016). The design of the

[175] The fact that the Latin word is not continued in Pre-French, the Romance language that German speakers were probably most familiar with, would not have made it any easier (Meyer-Lübke 1911: 722, REW 9448).

bow ard, the most common variant of the scratch plough, was virtually incompatible with the use of a coulter because of its curved plough beam. It is therefore likely that if we can establish that a Germanic word for coulter was in use in the Merovingian period, we might take this as evidence for the use of a heavy wheeled plough.

In the Old High German glosses, the vernacular term for coulter is hard to identify because most of our glosses come from copies of Christian-Latin texts that do not mention coulters.[176] Still, we may suspect that some Old High German words for 'coulter' are given as glosses to Latinate *cultrum* 'knife', which in later Medieval texts does refer to the coulter.[177]

- Coulter (AAG XII: 191).
    - OHG *seh*
    - OHG *mezzisahs*?
    - OHG *scaro*

OHG *seh* 'pick' (← Rom. **seka* < Rom. **sekare* 'to cut') was continued in Middle High German *sech* 'coulter' and still survives in Modern German *Sech* where it also has this meaning. It is therefore possible that already in Old High German the word *seh* had the meaning coulter. In the German speaking Rhineland also a OHG form **kolter* may have existed because the distribution of the etymon in Old English,[178] Middle Dutch and Middle Low German makes it likely that the word belonged to the so-called Rhineland lexical transfers from Late Antiquity (see Müller & Frings 1968: 207-09).

The gloss *mezzisahs* 'meat knife' on the other hand looks like a literal translation of the Latin meaning 'knife' and probably did not refer to the coulter at all. The glossing of *cultrum* with the OHG word *scaro*, a word mainly attested in the meaning 'ploughshare' (Lat. *vōmer*), may have been due to the possibility that both a ploughshare and a coulter were considered 'knives' on a plough. It is however also possible that the glossator did not know what Latin *vōmer* actually referred to which may have led him to conflate the terms.

Old Frankish plough terminology?

We can now take a look at the Salic Law where some scholars have assumed that an Old Frankish word for plough and an Old Frankish word for coulter can be found. Schmidt-Wiegand (1981: 18) argued that a Frankish word for plough is present in a law article on pushing a plough from another man's field.

[176] This is understandable since most of these texts were written in southern Europe where the coulter did not exist.
[177] The confusion between Lat. *culter* and Lat. *cultrum* is undubitably due to Pan-Romance apocope of final **-um* which rendered Lat. CULTER → Rom. **kultre* and Lat. CULTRUM → Rom. **koltro* almost identical.
[178] The meaning 'coulter' for the Old English word is secured by its use in Ælfric' colloquy: "Se smiþ secgð, hwanon sylan scear oþþe culter, þe na gade hæfþ buton of cræfte minon?" [ÆColl 0142 (220)].

Salic Law (Pactus Legis Salicae c. XXVII)

§ 16 *Si quis aratro de campo alieno anteostauerit aut iactauerit uel testauerit, mallobergo auuerphe* (C6)*, sunt denarii DC qui faciunt solidos XV culpabilis iudicetur.* (Eckhardt 1962: 43).

If someone will have pushed a plow from another man's field or has thrown it off or he objects against it, in judicial speech *auuerphe,* these are six hundred denarii which constitute 15 solidi if he is judged guilty. (see Drew 1991: 90; Rivers 1986: 69-70).

According to Schmidt-Wiegand, the Frankish word would be hidden in the Malberg gloss <auuerphe> which is found in two manuscripts that belong to Merovingian redactions; the gloss reads <auuerphe> in manuscript C6 (late sixth century) and <anh unerbo> in the Herold manuscript (sixteenth-century print edition, see chapter 1) which led Schmidt-Wiegand to hypothesize that we are dealing with a compound involving the Frankish word **angōn* 'hook' (cf. OHG *ango*).

- MerLat. *angun unuerbo* ← Gm. **angōn* 'plough' + Gm. **werpe* 'throw'

The textual basis for reconstructing this word is unconfortably small; we are dealing with only two manuscripts that preserve the gloss and in the only medieval one the presumed first element has largely disappeared. Furthermore, Schmidt-Wiegand's assumption that the <h> spelling of the Herold manuscript must go back to an older spelling <ch> for Frankish /g/ is problematic since <h> spellings for <ch> are only found in initial position. In my opinion, it is more likely that the first part of the gloss <auuerphe> contains a Germanic prefix **ā-* (see also ONW s.v. *werf*[179]).

The Salic Law has also been thought to contain a word for coulter that would be featured in a law article concerning the theft of another man's '*cultellus'* (cf. Rivers 1986: 111; Drew 1991: 126). This assumption is made by Rivers in his 1986 translation and by Drew in her 1991 translation. In my translation I will use the more neutral term 'knife', which, as I will show, is more appropriate here.

Salic Law (Pactus Legis Salicae, c. LXVd, Echkardt 1962: 235)

c. 65d. *De cultello sexxandro. si quis alteri cultellum furaverit et ei fuerit adprobatum, ipsum in loco restituat et insuper denarios qui faciunt solidos XV culpabilis iudicetur.*

"on a sexxandro knife. If someone will have stolen another man's knife and it is proven, may he put it back and furthermore pay (600) denaries, which constitute 15 solidi if he is judged guilty."

[179] Consulted at URL:
http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=ONW&id=ID5057&article=auuerphe&domein=0&conc=true

Surprisingly, the law article on the *cultellus* provides a non-latinate word in the title (i.e. de cultello **sexxandro**), a word which may very well go back to a vernacular Frankish expression that was corrupted in the Merovingian manuscript tradition. The univerbation should then be ascribed to the Merovingian scribe. This Frankish expression can be interpreted as a Germanic clause including the word **sahs* ‘ knife’ and the word **anþar* ‘other’ (cf. Van Helten 1900 § 184). This would allow for the following etymologization.

- Lat. *cultello sexxandro* ← Gallo-Rom. **koltello* + Gm. **sahs* **anþars* ‘another’s knife’

Still, it seems unlikely that this law article actually refers to the coulter of a plough. The law article is only found in the Merovingian B10 manuscript and is placed between a preceding article on the appropriation of fallow land and a following article on injuring pregnant women. The place of the article within the mostly thematically organized Salic Law makes an agricultural interpretation very improbable (*contra* Schmidt-Wiegand 1981: 20-21).[180] An earlier occurrence of ‘*cultellus*’ in the Salic law almost certainly refers to a regular knife since it is featured in a law article on fruit trees (*Pactus Legis Salicae*, c. VIII, Eckhardt 1962; 43).

Where are the coulters?

This leads us to another interesting observation; in the law codes of Early Medieval Gaul, the theft of coulters, an essential part of the heavy plough, is ignored. This is of course not significant by itself since the law codes were not meant to be exhaustive. However, the *Lex Burgundionum*, another law code from sixth-century Gaul, likewise ignores the coulter; it is interesting to note that in this law code the theft of a plough share is explicitly mentioned.

> **Burgundian Laws** (Liber constitutionum XXVII § 9)
>
> *Si quis ingenuus vomerem furto abstulerit, duos boves cum iunctura et aparatu aratri domino tradere conpellatur.* (Von Salis 1892: 65).
>
> If a free man will have taken away in theft a ploughshare, may he be forced to give two oxen with yoke and plough to the lord.

This objection becomes more significant if we take into consideration that ploughs in the Early Middle Ages could be left on the field after a day’s work. This habit we find implied in the earlier mentioned article of the Salic Law where the contingency of a farmer throwing a plough from another man’s field is covered.

[180] For this reason, also Schmidt-Wiegand’s assumption that we are dealing with an Old Frankish form ***seh?* (← Rom. **seka*) in the gloss <sexxandro> fails to convince (Schmidt-Wiegand 1981: 20). Note that for a Frankish gloss of the Merovingian period we would expect a form **sek-* with an unshifted /k/.

Other sources from the High and Late Middle Ages tell us that these derelict ploughs ran the risk of being robbed of their shares and coulters; this can be illustrated by an anecdote from the twelfth century Roman de Rou, a verse chronicle of the history of the Norman dukes. In one of the passages on the rule of duke Rollo, it is recounted that the peace that Rollo ensured meant that peasants would no longer have to remove the shares from the plough, as was their wont. Any ploughshare or coulter that was stolen would be compensated for by Rollo himself.

Roman de rou (Roman de Rou v. 1976-79, Pluquet 1823: 99)

mal daignera sis fers de sa charue oster,

ne muchier desoz rée, ne a ostel porter,

por creime de larron, ne por creime d'embler,

mal fera soc ne coltre ne apleit remuer.

"He need not bother to remove the irons of his heavy plough, nor hide them beneath the furrow, nor carry them home for fear of thieves or taking, he need not bother removing ploughshare, coulter nor *apleit.*"[181]

We may therefore wonder why the Salic Law does not mention the theft of ploughs nor the contingency that ploughs could be robbed of shares and coulters. The absence in the law code of the theft of a plough is a curious omission for such a valuable tilling implement, but a possible answer to the second question could be that the ploughs of Merovingian Gaul were generally of the scratch or ard plough type, which did not necessarily have an iron plough share and coulter. The possibility that the scratch plough may have been the 'default' plough type of Merovingian Gaul, could be connected to the reduction of arable land under cultivation that characterizes the transition from the Late Roman economy to the Merovingian economy (Esmonde Cleary 2013: 271-86). Still, there is of course no way to prove or disprove this in any other way but through archaeological evidence which for this period remains ambiguous (Esmonde Cleary 2013: 452-54). In conclusion, we may remark that the testimony of the law codes from Merovingian Gaul does not provide additional evidence corroborating the use of heavy ploughs. It might rather point to the opposite, that is, to the limited role that the heavy plough may have played in Early Merovingian agriculture.

This is in line with historical research that has argued that the heavy plough only became the main instrument for land tillage in Carolingian times (White 1962; Bloch 1966) and archaeological research that states that only from the seventh century swivel ploughs became more and more common in Merovingian Francia (Henning 2009: 153-58; Thomas e.a. 2016).

[181] In the translation of Burgess & Van Houts (2004: 33) Old French *apleit* is interpeted as 'harness'.

Edict of Rothar

This brings us to a final observation. It has been argued that in the case of northern Italy the historical linguistic record does reflect the introduction of the heavy wheeled plough (cf. Van der Rhee 1970: 109-111; Schmidt-Wiegand 1981). This evidence comes from the seventh century edict of Rothar, a promulgation of Langobardic customary law, where we find the word *plouum* used alongside the Latin word *arātrum.*[182]

> **Edict of Rothar** (Edictum Rothari c. 288, Pertz 1868: 69)
>
> 288. *Si quis plouum aut aratrum alienum iniquo animo capellaverit, conponat solidos tres, et si furaverit, reddat in actogild.*
>
> If someone will have cut another man's **plovum** or aratrum, may he pay three solidi and if he will have stolen it, may have give it back in compensation.

The word *plouum* is commonly interpreted as a Romance adaptation of Germanic **plōga-*, a word that, as we have argued above, might very well refer to the heavy plough (Van der Rhee 1970: 109-111). The fact that the Langobardic word was taken over by the northern Italo-Romance dialects (cf. the *piodo/piovo* type of the AIS linguistic atlas, map 1434-45) makes it likely that the borrowing of the Germanic plough word was connected with the spread of a new plough type in Italy (Schmidt-Wiegand 1981: 31; Morlicchio 2004: 104).

In northern Gaul, however, hardly any Germanic terminology associated with ploughing was transferred into Gallo-Romance (cf. Gamillscheg 1934: 304; Schmidt-Wiegand 1981: 25).[183] It is plausible that this difference reflects the fact that the Germanic-speaking and Romance-speaking peoples of the Rhine border and northern Gaul shared roughly the same ploughing technology. In northern Italy however, the heavy plough was relatively unknown and there the influx of Germanic speakers did lead to the adoption of a new plough word.

Conclusion

To conclude, in this chapter I have surveyed the linguistic evidence that can be connected to the proliferation and use of the heavy plough in Merovingian Francia. We have found that the only vernacular plough terminology that can confidently be connected to the heavy plough or swivel plough is the word for coulter. The Old High German glosses allow the

[182] The occurrence of *plovum* in the additions to the Leges Baiuwariorum is due to insertions from the Langobardic laws, as shown by Francovich Onesti (1999: 111).

[183] A notable exceptions would be Old French *haie* 'coupling of the plough' (cf. OFrnk. **hagja*) replacing the above mentioned Gaulish word **kambetta* (cf. FEW XVI: 41).

identification of just one word for coulter, namely OHG *seh.* Another word for coulter, a hypothesized OHG **kolter*, might have been used in the Germanic-speaking Rhineland, although this is uncertain and mainly based on its distribution, that is its occurence in Old English, Middle Dutch and Middle Low German. We have also noted that the early medieval Germanic law codes curiously ignore the theft of a coulter in their legal provisions on agricultural offenses. This could be interpreted as evidence for the marginal role that the heavy plough may have played in Early Merovingian land cultivation. This situation will have improved in the Late Merovingian and Carolingian period as the 'swivel plough' and the heavy plough became more common.

In this regard, the linguistic record can be argued to complement the archaeological record, that is, its limited reflection of coulter-words and the absence of coulters in Merovingian law codes may reflect an intermediary phase in the evolution of Merovingian land tillage.

Figures

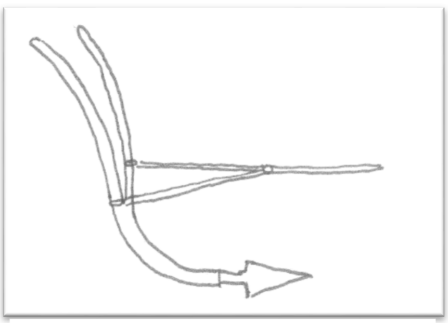

figure 5 'ard plough', based on illustration in f. 106 Utrecht Psalter 9th c. CE

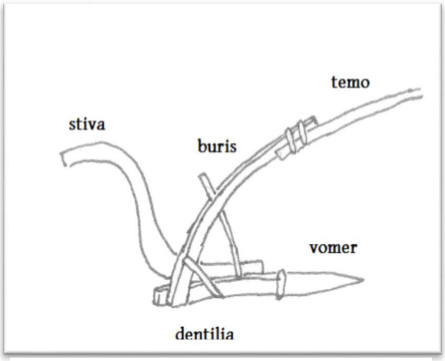

figure 6 Roman arātrum 'bow ard' Cherchel mosaic 4th c. CE

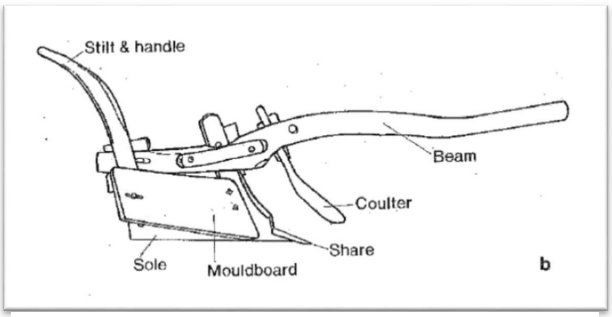

figure 7 Medieval heavy plough. Source: Fowler (2002)

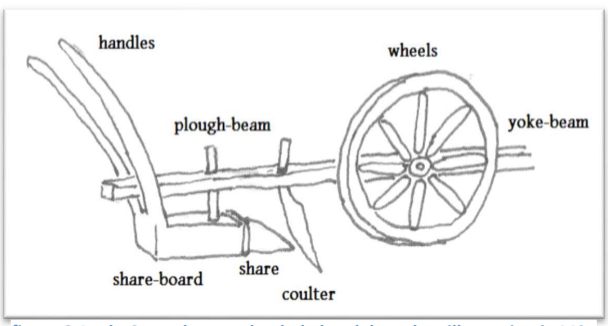

figure 8 Anglo-Saxon heavy wheeled plough based on illustration in MS Cott. Tiberius B V, 10th C. CE

7 Adding Insult to Injury

Introduction

In Early Merovingian Gaul, the free-born Franks constituted the highest stratum of society. They owned their own farms, travelled the roads freely and were better protected in legal disputes than the Gallo-Romans, the land-bound peasants, the freedmen and the slaves (cf. Von Olberg 1991: 60; see also Drew 1991: 46). But the life of a Frank was not without care and when the king raised the levy, the farmer turned fighter and rode off to war. Also in times of peace, the free-born Frank had a personal duty to violence . When the honor of the family was threatened, the relatives were duty-bound to exact reparation and avenge the affront (cf. Miller 1990).[184] And in a society where one's social position needed constant asserting and protecting, it did not take much for a conflict to arise (cf. Brown 2011). In Merovingian Gaul, a word said in anger was often all it took.

Insults

An entire chapter of the Salic Law, titled 'on abusive terms' (*de convitiis*), provides legal maxims for cases that involved the exchange of ill words.[185] In that regard, the legal customs of the Franks can be compared to those of other early medieval societies: law articles dealing with insults and slander have also come down to us from Visigothic Spain (code of Leovigild), Longobardic Italy (edict of Rothar), Anglo-Saxon England (law of Æthelberht) and Early Wales (laws of Hywel Dda). Generally speaking, insults in early medieval law codes can be divided into the following gendered categories and subdivisions:

- Insults deprecating the honor of a man
    - Lack of bravery
    - Lack of honesty
    - Being effeminate
- Insults deprecating the honor of a woman
    - Lack of sexual propriety
    - Lack of social decency
    - Being a witch

What may be clear from the sketch above, is that all insults target a perceived transgression of the gender dichotomy and thereby accuse the receiver of the insult of disturbing the social

[184] Miller (1990: 30) characterized this social system of retributive violence between families as an 'economy of honor'.
[185] Depending on the manuscript, the law article 'on abusive terms' can be found in different chapters of the Salic law. In manuscripts of the Merovingian A and C redaction, the law article constitutes chapter XXX and in the post-Merovingian D redaction it is chapter XLIX.

order of society (cf. Clover 1993). The provisions of the Salic Law are no exception to this: in the pre-Carolingian redactions of the Salic Law (A, C, D), the following injunctions are found that concern cases of insults deprecating the honor of a man or a woman.

- Insults at a man
    - Being effeminate — **A/C** =clause 1 — **D** = clause 1
    - lack of bravery — **A/C** = clause 2, 4, 5, 6 — **D** =clause 3, 5, 6
    - lack of honesty — **A/C** = clause 7 — **D** = clause 2
- Insults at a woman[186]
    - lack of sexual propriety — **A/C** = clause 2 — **D =** clause 4

It stands to reason that from these law articles fascinating historical information about Frankish society and concepts of masculinity and gender roles can be distilled (e.g. Nelson & Rio 2013).

Among linguists, the Salic Law is mostly famous for the vernacular glosses (the Malberg glosses) that are almost exclusively found in the pre-Carolingian redactions. Also the law article on insults includes some of these glosses. This brings us to an interesting peculiarity; in the Merovingian A and C redactions hardly any vernacular glosses to the law article are provided, whereas this situation is completely different in the mid eighth-century D redaction. In the D redaction, issued in the time of Pippin the Short (cf. Ubl 2017: 223), several clauses of the law article are marked by the gloss <iscrabo>/<estrabo> . In this investigation, the philological context of the gloss will be explored and a new etymology will be provided.

Latin text

The Malberg gloss <iscrabo>/<estrabo> is featured in manuscripts of the D redaction and in the Herold manuscript, a sixteenth century print edition based on the Merovingian C and B redaction and other lost manuscripts (cf. Ubl 2017: 227). The gloss is featured in the clauses that cover the following cases:

- calling someone libelous or a liar
- calling a free-born woman a prostitute
- accusing someone to have fled from the enemy

Since all clauses that contain the gloss concern an abusive term that was probably more than a mere derogatory comment and rather constituted an unjust accusation, the gloss might be interpreted as meaning ‘slander’ or just plainly ‘insult’ (cf. Van Helten 1900: 414). In order to

[186] Accusations of witchcraft are covered in a separate law article (LXVII) of the Salic Law.

illustrate how the gloss is featured in the text, we may take clause 2 from manuscript D7 as an example.

> **Salic Law** (Eckhardt 1969: 88, D7)
>
> § 2 Si quis alterum falsatorem clamauerit et non potuerit adprobare, mal. **iscrabo**, sol. XV cul. iud.
>
> "if someone will have called another a liar and he cannot prove it, in judicial speech **iscrabo**, may he pay 15 gold pieces if he is judged guilty"

When we want to establish what linguistic form might hide behind the spelling, we should take note of the following spelling variants in the manuscripts. The forms are given according to Eckhardt's edition (cf. Eckhardt 1962: X; 1969: 88).

- D-redaction
  - <iscrabo> (clause 2, manuscript D7)
  - <solis trabo> (clause 4, manuscript D7)
  - <ischrabo> (clause 2, manuscript D8)
  - <hischrabo> (clause 2,manuscript D9)
  - <solestrabo> (clause 4, manuscript D9)
- Herold manuscript
  - <extrabo> (clause 2, manuscript H)
  - <austrapo> (clause 5, manuscript H)

The above listed spelling variation can be significantly reduced if we take a couple of peculiarities of Merovingian scribal practices into account. We should take note of a scribal error reflected in D7 and D8 and another scribal error reflected in D7 and D9

- The spelling <scr> and <schr> can be explained from <str> and <sthr> as a misspelling provoked by the similarity between the Merovingian graphemes <t> and <c> (Van Helten 1900: 238)
- The spelling with initial <sol> can be explained from a misplaced abbreviation <sol> for *solidi* 'gold coins' (cf. ONW s.v. *strāpa*)[187]

Other spelling variants may have been motivated by the interference of the Merovingian reading tradition of Latin. It is important to realize that the Merovingian scribes were

[187] There is a small chance that <sol> represents a Germanic word **sōl* 'dirt' (cf. OE *asōlian* 'to become dirty', Low German *sōl* 'dirty'), a lengthened grade formation next to Gm. **salwa-* (cf. ON *sǫlr* 'dirty yellow, OHG *salo* 'dirty', see Boutkan-Siebinga 2005: 360-61). The form <solestrabo> might then be a compound denoting a particularly vile insult. However, it seems more likely that we are dealing with a misplacement of the abbreviation <sol> for *solidi.*

conditioned by this reading tradition when they interacted with Latin texts (see section 2.17). The following spelling features may be interpreted as such.

- The spelling of an initial <h> in <hischrabo> was probably a scribal hypercorrection motivated by the Gallo-Roman reading tradition of Latin, where the initial Latin <h> was dropped in pronunciation (see section 3.33).
- The presence and alternation of an initial <i> or <e> before <str> was probably motivated by the Gallo-Roman reading tradition of pronouncing an epenthetic vowel /i/ or /e/ before /sC/ clusters (see section 3.20).
- The spelling <xtr> can be explained from <str> as a Merovingian spelling variant motived by the Gallo-Romance merger of etymological /kstr/ and /str/ (see section 3.35).
- The alternation between <b>/<p> was probably motivated by the Gallo-Roman reading tradition of pronouncing intervocalic <p> as /b/ or lenited /β/ (see section 3.34).

This allows us to distill an underlying form for the Malberg gloss, namely /ⁱstrabo/, or, alternatively, /ⁱstraβo/, if we take the lenited Gallo-Romance pronunciation of written <b> into account.[188] This word might reflect a Frankish word of Germanic origin, a Frankish word of Romance origin or even a Frankish word of Gaulish origin (cf. Quak 2017; see section 1.18).

Etymology

A fanciful early attempt at an etymology came from Knut Jungbohn Clement in a posthumously published study (1879) on the Salic Law. He argued that the Malberg gloss <estrabo> originally belonged to the clause on calling a woman a prostitute. He proposed to connect the gloss to the Frisian word *strabbe* which he translated as an 'unruly, stubborn, headstrong person'; the word <estrabo> would then have referred to the woman as a 'mulier rixosa' (Jungbohn Clement 1879: 167). However, it seems likely that Jungbohn Clement misheard the word because the Frisian dictionary cites it with an /o/ vowel as *strobbe* (WFT s.v. *strobbe*[189]) and connects the Frisian word to Dutch *strobbe* 'stubborn child' and Dutch *strubbelen* 'to be stubborn'. It is therefore clear that this etymology cannot be correct.[190]

A vastly better etymological connection was offered by Van Helten in 1900 (cf. Van Helten 1900: 414). He argued that we should connect <estrabo> with a group of similar-looking

[188] Although previous scholarship has not provided formal accounts of how spoken Romance interfered with the Latin spelling, most scholars still recognized that the underlying form should be <estrabo> or <strabo> (cf. Van Helten; Eckhardt 1969: 75).

[189] Consulted at URL: http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WFT&id=99193&article=strobbe

[190] Jungbohn Clement's alternative suggestion that <solestrabo> might contain the German word *traben* 'to trot' is not any better since it ignores the operation of the Old High German sound shift.

Germanic words whose meanings aptly approximate the content of the clauses in which the gloss is featured (cf. Benecke e.a. 1854-1866: 671; Lexer 1872: 1221; Kluge-Seebold 2002: 888).

- MHG *strāfe* 'scorn, insult'
- MHG *strāfen* 'to chide, to insult, to punish'
- MidDu. *strāfen, strāven, straffen* 'to refute, to scorn, to insult'
- OFris. *straffia*, straffie*[191] 'to insult'

Van Helten assumed that the Malberg gloss reflects an Early Medieval pre-stage of the Middle High German verb *strāfen*. Through corruption and misspellings, a Germanic form **strāfō* (in his opinion an inflected verbal form) was deformed into the <estrabo> gloss that we find in the Salic Law (Van Helten 1900: 414). The problem with this scenario is that the Middle Dutch and Old Frisian words are relatively young; the Old Frisian form *straffie* only occurs once and goes back to the fifteenth century (third Emsingo manuscript, ca. 1450). The Middle Dutch word is unfortunately not much older[192] (1420 – 1470, see MNW s.v. *straffen*).

This led De Vries (De Vries & De Tollenaere 1971: 707) who took the Middle High German attestations of *Strāfe* as starting point, to argue that the German-Frisian-Dutch word complex originated around the thirteenth century in Germany. The Frisian and Dutch words should then be considered late medieval borrowings of German legal terminology. This scenario has the benefit of explaining the recent date of the Dutch and Frisian attestations but brings us no closer to answering where German *Strāfe* came from.

The most recent etymology comes from Seebold (2012), who was inspired by the metaphorical secondary meaning 'to slander' of Latin *carpere* 'to pick, to pluck, to gather' (see Lewis & Short s.v. *carpo*). Seebold argued that the gloss <estrabo> could be connected to Latin *carpere* via Latin *excarpere.* In order to make this etymology work, he derives <estrabo> from a Romance pre-stage **estrapere* that via an intermediary **esterpere* would go back to Latin *excarpere.* According to Seebold, from this reconstructed **estrapere* both the Frankish word reflected in <estrabo> and the Middle High German word *Strāfe* could be derived. However, since almost all Romance sound changes that Seebold needs for this etymology are irregular and contradicted by the testimony of Old French (e.g. OFr. *escharz* 'niggardly' < Latin **excarptus*), this etymology can safely be discarded.[193]

The editors of the ONW (2013 s.v. *strāpa*[194]) went back to Van Helten's discussion of the gloss. They accepted Van Helten's etymological connection but chose to project the Middle

[191] Manuscript E3 5:61: "Js hit ac thet hit hua straffie sa scelt nawt stonde..." (text accessed via the TDB, courtesy of the Fryske Akademy).
[192] However, EWN s.v. *straf* (Philippa e.a. 2003-2009) gives as oldest attestation the line 'Ic straffe haer woerde, ic en machs niet horen' from 'dit sijn Seneka leren' for which they give the date 1400 – 1420 CE.
[193] Seebold requires the following irregular developments for his etymology, which are in contradiction to the historical phonology of Early Romance: 1) Latin /ksk/ > Romance /sts/, 2) /CerC/ > /CarC/ and 3) /CarC/ > /CraC/
[194] URL: http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=ONW&id=ID5662&article=iscrabo

High German noun back into Proto-Germanic (cf. Brüch 1922). The Malberg gloss <estrabo> would then continue a Proto-Germanic form **strǣpō* (f.) which was also reflected in Middle High German *Strāfe.*[195] They connect this Proto-Germanic form **strǣpō* and its verb **strǣpōjan-* to the following Proto-Germanic words and their reflexes:

- PGm. **straupijan-* > OE *strīepen* 'to strip', MidDu. *strōpen* 'to strip, to streak, to brush'
- PGm. **strīpōjan-* > ModG *streifen* 'to streak'

It is however clear that these words cannot be connected to the **strǣp*-root since an inherited Proto-Germanic root vowel /ǣ/ does not ablaut with an inherited Proto-Germanic /au/ or /ī/. Although the semantic link between the Malberg gloss and the Germanic *Strāfe*-words is still plausible, the formal mismatch between the proposed cognates shows that the inner-Germanic derivation cannot be maintained. If we want to connect the gloss of the Salic Law to the German-Dutch-Frisian word complex, we will need a better etymology for the German word.

Gaulish

I would like to contend that a convincing etymological connection for Middle High German *Strāfe* and the Malberg gloss <estrabo> can be found in the Celtic language family. In Middle Welsh we find two words that provide a satisfying semantic match.

- MW *ffrawt, ffrawdd* 'passion, ardor, zest, insult, injury'
- MW *ffraw* 'passionate, brisk, lively, swift, fervent'

Both words cover the semantic range of 'ardor' and 'passion' with MW *ffrawdd* also including the meaning 'insult' and 'injury'. We may note that the meaning 'insult, injury' can easily be derived from a wider meaning 'passion, ardor' as is clear from Middle High German *Zorn* 'ardor, anger, verbal dispute, insult' that shows the same polysemy (Lexer s.v. *Zorn*).

The Middle Welsh words *ffrawdd* and *ffraw* are in all likelihood lexical doublets that can be reduced to a single Old Welsh form **ffrawf* 'passion, ardor, insult' (cf. Vendryes 1929: 255-256; *contra* Schrijver 1995: 441, 443). This Old Welsh word then split into the dissimilated but commonly used noun *ffrawdd,* whose semantics were mainly negative, and the isolated, but not-dissimilated adjective *ffraw,* whose semantics were mainly positive.[196] The Old Welsh form **ffrawf* would go back to Proto-British form **srāβos* 'passion, passionate' (cf. OIr. *sráb* 'torrent'

[195] That the Dutch word was borrowed via a German form with a singulate /f/ is suggested by Maastricht Dutch *strāve* (cf. De Vries & De Tollenaere 1971: 707).
[196] Dictionary of the Welsh language, s.v. *ffrawdd,* consulted at URL: http://welsh-dictionary.ac.uk/gpc/gpc.html.

< PCelt. *srābos), a form that closely approximates the Germanic word complex that we are seeking to explain.[197]

- OW ***ffrawf* < PBritt. *srāβos*
    - PBritt. *sr- > *ffr- (cf. Schrijver 1995: 440)
    - PBritt. *-β- > *-f (cf. Schrijver 1995: 351)

This would give us a British Celtic form that we can compare to the Germanic *Strāfe*-complex and the Malberg gloss. I would argue that the connecting link between the Celtic words and the Germanic words may have been Gaulish, the continental Celtic language of Gaul that in Roman times bordered the West Germanic dialect continuum. The question when Gaulish ceased to be spoken has captivated the minds of many generations of scholars (see Blom 2009). Its survival in Belgium seems to be secure up to the third century CE if we take the Gaulish inscription on the Baudecet tablet as decisive in this regard (Plumiers-Torfs 1993; see also Schrijver 2014: 49). It is therefore possible that when the Franks settled in fourth century Wallonia and Lorraine, they still encountered Gaulish-speaking rural communities.

In this regard, we may note that the Walloon dialect of French is home to some peculiar Gaulish relics that are restricted to the northeastern periphery of the Gallo-Romance dialect continuum. These relics might indicate that Gaulish may there have survived longer than in the more central parts of Roman Gaul (see Legros 1942: 194).

- Wall. *duhon* 'goblin' < Gaul. **dusion* (FEW III: 195)
- Wall. *dieffe* 'thick clay' < Gaul. **derwo-* (FEW III: 50)
- OWall. *ancrawe* 'female salmon' < Gaul. **ankorawo-* (FEW XXIV: 514)

Still, it seems overly ambitious to assume that Gaulish was still spoken at the moment that the gloss was added, which was at the earliest in the sixth century and at the latest in the eighth century. But even if the Germanic-speaking Franks did not encounter speakers of Gaulish in the northeastern border region of Roman Gaul, it is still possible that Gaulish lexis entered their language through a Romance intermediary. This may have been the case with several Gaulish words that are continued in Old Dutch toponyms.

- Gaul. **wabero-* 'forest stream' > Rom. **waβro-* > ODu. *waver* 'forest' (FEW XIV: 92)
- Gaul. **nauda-* 'marsh' > Rom. **nauda-* > ODu. *node** 'marsh'[198](FEW VII: 53)

Either way, it is plausible that Gaulish substratum words in either Germanic or Romance could have been known to the Frankish lawyers, who redacted the Salic Law in the Merovingian period.

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[197] It is likely that the medieval Welsh words continues the same Proto-Celtic word **srābos* that we find in Old Irish *sráb* 'torrent'.

[198] For the Germanic connection to a purported PGm. **hnōþu-*, see Van Durme (1996: 355).

We can then consider three possibilities when we want to establish which language the Malberg gloss <estrabo> reflects: 1) the Gaulish word *srāβos entered Old Frankish directly when the Franks were in direct contact with Gaulish speakers. 2) Gaulish *srāβos entered Gallo-Romance and the form we find reflected in the Salic Law is a Romance form. 3) the Gaulish word *srāβos entered Gallo-Romance first and then got adopted into Old Frankish when the Franks were in contact with Gallo-Romance speakers.

1.	Gaul. *srāβos	→ OFrnk. *stravu ~ *strafu		<estrabo>
2.	Gaul. *srāβos	→ Gallo-Rom. *estraβo-		<estrabo>
3.	Gaul. *srāβos	→ Gallo-Rom. *estraβo-	→ OFrnk. *stravu	<estrabo>

We will return to this problem later in this chapter. For now we continue with the question what the inclusion of the gloss in the manuscripts of the Salic Law tells us about the moment when the word was still in use. When we recall that the gloss is featured in the D-redaction and the Herold manuscript, the following facts should be taken into consideration:

- The late sixth-century C redaction does not include the gloss.
- The early eighth-century D redaction does include the gloss.
    - The D redaction is assumed to copy material from seventh-century example texts.
- The Herold manuscript also includes the gloss.
    - The H manuscript is assumed to incorporate text from the Merovingian B and C redactions.

Although there are many uncertainties in the stemma, it seems plausible to me that the gloss was added in the late Merovingian period. A hypothetical scenario could be that the gloss was entered by a seventh-century Frankish scribe into a lost Late Merovingian prototype, which would have been written between the C tradition and the D tradition. Evidence for such a lost seventh-century tradition comes from the *Septinas Septem* collection and a recently rediscovered Paris BN 441 manuscript (cf. Ubl 2017). Subsequently the gloss may have found its way into the Herold manuscript and the D manuscripts.

Gallo-Romance

I want to continue the present investigation by arguing that in the French dialects an additional connection can be found that reinforces the proposed etymology by confirming the former existence of a Gaulish form *srāβo- in Roman Gaul. This evidence consists of a group of French and Provençal words that share the same semantic range of the Celtic and Germanic words and are also phonologically similar (FEW XVII: 253).

- Walloon (Liège) *strabot* 'insult, term of abuse'
- Lorraine (Metz) *estrabot* 'insult'

- Provençal *estrambord* ‘passionate action, vivid expression of a feeling’[199]
- OFrench *estrabot* ‘satirical poetry’

It seems plausible to me that these words at least partly continue the same Gaulish etymon **srāβo-* ‘passion, ardor, insult’, albeit it in the slightly altered from **estrambo-*. The Gallo-Roman pre-stage of the above listed words displays the traces of nasal epenthesis, a process that spuriously affected Romance vocabulary.[200] We may note that the Old French word and the Walloon/Lorraine dialect words appear without a nasal but this may be due to secondary de-nasalization that is common to the northeastern corner of the Gallo-Romance dialect continuum (Lathi 1953: 23-24,32; Remacle 1948: 68-69). It is unclear why the Gaulish etymon underwent nasal epenthesis during its transfer into Gallo-Romance but for similar cases in the Romance dialect continuum the following possible reasons have been outlined[201] (Schuchardt 1911; Malkiel 1990):

1. Assimilation at distance induced by a nasal elsewhere in the word
2. Lexical contamination by a semantically related word that contains a nasal
3. Lexical contamination by a phonologically similar word that contains a nasal

Wherever the assimilation option cannot apply, most etymologists reckon with the option of lexical contamination. For the case of **estrambo-* none of these scenario’s seems to provide a satisfactory explanation and we are left with the possibility that in this case the lexical model for the nasal epenthesis is lost to us.[202]

Semantic contamination

However, the main problem with connecting the above listed words to Gaulish **srāβos* does not so much lie in the presence of a spurious nasal, but consists of the extensive semantic contamination that must be assumed for the prehistory of these words. Credit is due to Corominas who discussed the etymological factors influencing the Gallo-Romance words when he untangled the etymologies of the Spanish *estrambote-estribote* word complex (Corominas 1954: 440-45, 449-51). His conclusions were accepted by Wartburg and taken up

[199] FEW (XII: 284) mentions that the suffix of this word is probably influenced by Provençal *transport* for ‘emotion’

[200] The explanation of these non-etymological nasals in the Romance lexicon remains a problem today and led Meyer-Lübke (1890: 485 § 587) to state that the nasal infixation belongs to the most difficult part of the metatheses and epenthetic processes of Romance historical phonology.

[201] A fourth possibility that Schuchardt mentions is phonetic reinterpretation of phonemes during lexical transfer when the source language has a stop and the recipient language only spirants. This may have been the case for Italian loanwords in Modern Greek (Schuchardt 1911: 87).

[202] We may note that a similar case of an epenthetic nasal before a labial stop needs to be assumed for the prehistory of Old French *brimber* ‘to beg, to stroll, to roam’ next to Old French *briber* ‘id.’ (etymology unknown, cf. FEW I: 527) and Old French *pompon* next to Old French *poupon* ‘pumpkin (Latin *pepōnem*, cf. FEW VIII: 210-11).

in his etymological dictionary of French (FEW XVII: 253-54). Corominas' word history can be summarized as follows and concerns three relevant etymological factors:

1. Germanic **streupa-* 'stirrup' was continued as loanword into Pre-French as **estrieve* (cf. OFr. *estrief* 'id.')
    - The Pre-French word **estrieve* spread to the Iberian peninsula where it was adopted as Old Spanish *estribo* in the meaning 'stirrup'.
    - Old Spanish *estribo* acquired a variant *estribote* through semantic association with other horsemanship terminology that had the suffix *-ote*
2. Arabic *al-markaz* had a concrete meaning 'stirrup, support' and a metaphorical meaning 'supporting verse/rhyme'.
    - In Spain, the semantic range of Arabic *al-markaz* was transferred to Old Spanish *estribote* which now also referred to both 'stirrup, poetic genre, verse'
3. Greek στραβός 'crooked, bent' was continued in Romance as **estrambo-* 'crooked, bent' with an intrusive nasal of unknown origin.[203]
    - When in the High Middle Ages poetic terminology spread across the Mediterranean, the Old Spanish word *estribote* likewise spread north to France in the form of Old Provençal *estribot.*
    - In France, the word *estribot* was associated with the word **estrambo* 'crooked, bent' leading to a connotation 'satirical poetry' as in Old Provençal *rima estrampa* 'faulty rhyme'.
    - A contaminated form *estrambot* meaning 'satirical poetry' arose that is found in Old Provençal, Old Spanish and Old Italian.

Because of the semantic link to Old Provençal *estribot, estrambot* 'satirical poetry' and Old Provençal *rima estrampa* 'faulty rhyme', most scholars have linked Walloon and Lorraine French *estrabot* 'insult' to the Spanish word complex, that is, the contamination between the etyma **streup-* 'stirrup, supporting verse' and **strambo-* 'crooked'. If we want to separate a hypothesized **estrambo-*$_1$ of Gaulish origin from the **estrambo-*$_2$ of Greek origin, we need external evidence that compels us to do so.

To my mind, this external evidence may be provided by the Middle Breton word *stram* 'hateful, horrible, malediction' (att. 1519 CE, Hemon 1976: 2973). This word is commonly explained as a loanword from Old French **estrambot* (Wartburg 1966: 284), but we may note that the Middle Breton word does not continue any meaning associated with poetry. In my opinion, Middle Breton *stram* 'hateful, malediction' is therefore more easily derived from an

[203] Malkiel's suggestion that the introduction of the nasal in Latin *strambus* might have occurred in order to stress comicality does not convince me (see Malkiel 1990: 237).

Old French word **estram* < **strambo-*[204] meaning 'insult, term of abuse' rather than a form **estrambot* meaning 'literary genre, satirical verse'.

At a later moment, the southern etymon, **estrambo-*$_2$, whose meaning was tied to poetry may slowly have displaced the meaning of the northern etymon, **estrambo-*$_1$, which led to the semantic contamination that we find in Old French and the French dialect words. Only in Walloon and Lorraine French did the original meaning 'insult' persist, which is understandable when we consider that this meaning may have been supported by the existence of an Old Frankish **stravu* ~ **strafu* 'insult' on the other side of the language border.

We may even hypothesize that the nasal infix of the northern Gallo-Romance form is relatively recent and only occurred when in the High Middle Ages an original northern Gallo-Romance word **estraβo-* was associated with the southern Gallo-Romance form **estrambo-*. This would mean that the Middle Breton word was also borrowed after the southern Gallo-Romance word had already deformed the northern word which is not likely if we want to argue that the Old French donor word reflects an archaic stage in the word history.

Malberg gloss

We can now return to the question of the linguistic identity of the gloss; does the Malberg gloss represent a Gaulish loanword in Germanic, simply a Gallo-Romance word or a Gallo-Romance loanword in Germanic that happens to be of Gaulish origin?

In my opinion, the easiest solution would be to separate a Gaulish form **estraβo-* from a Gallo-Romance form **estrambo-*. We can then assume that the form **estraβo-*, that we find in the Salic Law, reflects the Gaulish loanword in Old Frankish, and that Gallo-Romance only had forms with nasal epenthesis. The Walloon and Lorraine dialect forms would then almost directly continue the early Gallo-Romance stage **estrambo-*$_1$. In the south of France, there was also a form **estrambo-*$_2$ of Greek origin which initially did not interact with the northern form since in the north, other words were used to denote 'crooked, bent' (e.g. OFr. *courbé* 'id.' ⇐ Lat. *curvare* 'to bend'). These etymologies may be summarized as follows:

- Gaul. **sraβo-* 'insult, passion'→ Old Frankish **strāvu* ~ **strāfu* 'insult'
- Gaul. **sraβo-* 'insult, passion' → Northern Gallo-Rom. **estrambo-*$_1$ 'insult, passion'
- Greek στραβός 'crooked, bent'→Southern Gallo-Rom. **estrambo-*$_2$ 'crooked, bent'

In the High Middle Ages, however, the semantics of the two homonyms got mixed, when minstrels brought a 'wanderwort' from the Iberian peninsula to the south of France. From there it quickly spread across the Gallo-Romance dialect continuum.

[204] We may note that we do not need the suffix for the Breton form.

- Gallo-Rom. **estrambo-*$_1$ 'insult, passion' ↔ Rom. **estrambo-*$_2$ 'crooked, bent'

From that moment onwards, the contaminated Old Provençal word *estrambot* will have displaced the original northern Old French form **estram.* Only in the northeastern periphery did the meaning of **estrambo-*$_1$ persist.

Earlier etymological suggestions

Here it should be mentioned that the connections, which I have proposed above, are not entirely new and several aspects of them have already been touched upon by earlier scholars:

- Emile Littré (1863: 142-46) connected the Malberg gloss to the French dialect words meaning 'insult'.
- Brüch (1922: 199-215) connected the French dialect words (meaning 'insult') to Middle High German *Strāfe* 'insult'.

Littré however did not relate the Malberg gloss to the *estrambote-estribote* complex within the Romance languages, and he also did not account for the French historical development that connected <estrabo> to Walloon *estrambot*. Brüch (1922: 199-215) likewise ignored the *estrambote-estribote* complex and described, although hesitantly, a scenario in which a Germanic form **strāpō,* the assumed pre-stage of Middle High German word *Strāfe*, would have crossed the border into Gallo-Romance as **estrabo.* From there, the Pre-French word would have spread to the far edges of the Romance dialect continuum. This scenario was rejected by Corominas (1954: 443), because of the isolation of the Middle High German word, and the short time window for the diffusion over the Romance languages.

My scenario considers the Middle High German word *Strāfe* to be a loanword from Gaulish **srāβos,* thereby accounting for its isolation in a plausible way. The northeastern French dialect words would likewise continue the Gaulish etymon, albeit in a form with nasal epenthesis. I remind the reader that a hypothesized Gaulish form **srāβos* would constitute a perfect formal and semantic match to the Proto-British form **srāβos,* that we must reconstruct for Welsh.

Austrasia and Germany

On a final note, we may try to contextualize the historical context, which links the gloss to the German and Dutch dialect words. As stated above, I assume that the Malberg gloss was entered by a Frankish lawyer into a seventh-century Merovingian prototype. In my opinion, it is very likely that the person who added the gloss would have come from Austrasia, the northeastern part of the Frankish realm. The reason for this is that the addition of new vernacular glosses would better fit the bilingual northeast than the predominantly Romance-

speaking southwest. We should also note that the gloss was taken over in the D manuscripts, a redaction that can directly be tied to Pippin the Short and the Austrasian take-over in Late Merovingian politics (cf. Ubl 2017).

The gloss may therefore be linked to seventh-century Austrasia, a bilingual and bicultural region, which included the Meuse valley, the upper Moselle valley and the Rhineland (cf. Pfister 1992). It is therefore plausible that the Austrasian glossator knew both the Old Frankish word **stravu* and the Pre-French word **estrambo-*.[205] I have argued above that we may regard the simultaneous occurrence of the word in Old Frankish and Old French as a reflection of the same Gaulish substratum, that was home to Austrasia before its speakers switched to Romance and Germanic.[206]

After Pippin the Short issued his redaction of the Salic Law, we lose track of the word, and for the next five centuries it disappears from the written record. It surfaces again in Middle High German *Sträfe,* where it is mainly found in the meaning 'reproach, insult' (Lexer s.v. *strafe*). We may illustrated this by its occurrence in *Alpharts Tod,* a thirteenth-century poem, which is preserved in a late fifteenth-century manuscript.

> "*Ich het ys bylch vermeten, das ich dorch solich straffe wer gein Bern gerieden.*" (Alpharts Tod, line 38-39, Lienert & Meyer 2007: 14)
>
> "I would have gladly avoided it, that because of such reproach, I have ridden to Verona."

It is interesting to note that the legal meaning of the word first appears in texts from southeastern Germany and Austria. There we find it in the form *straff,* e.g. Dresden (1285 CE), Nürnberg (1348 CE), Sankt Pölten (1386 CE, see DRW s.v. *straf*[207]). The Middle High German verb *straffen* is attested a little later (Trient, Switzerland 1307 CE), but also mainly in these southeastern regions.[208]

In order to explain this eastern locus, we can assume, that, in the High Middle Ages, the word spread from Austrasia to the east. This may have happened gradually, but we could also consider migration from the Rhineland to the dioceses of Bamberg, Salzburg and Passau as a contributing factor. In the southeast of Germany, the word might have acquired its connotation of 'punitive legal action', which replaced the older meaning 'reproach, insult,

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[205] Ironically, the presence of a nasal line abbreviating the /m/ that would allow us to distinguish the two forms is easily lost in Merovingian manuscript traditions.

[206] The survival of a Gaulish substratum word in the two languages of seventh-century Austrasia may not be a coincidence, since it is possible that in this peripheral area of Roman Gaul, Gaulish may have survived longer than in the center.

[207] Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch, consulted at: URL: http://drw-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/drw-cgi/zeige?index=woerterbtext&term=straf.

[208] An exception is *straffen* in a diploma from 1317 from the city of Speyer, see Deutsches Rechtswörterbuch s.v. *straffen*, consulted at: URL: http://drw-www.adw.uni-heidelberg.de/drw-cgi/zeige?index=woerterbtext&term=straffen

verbal rebuke'. This semantic specialization could then, later, have spread to other parts of the Holy Roman Empire, including the Low Countries.

This southeastern origin of the legal meaning would also explain why in Middle Dutch the word first appears with a double <ff>, a form that corresponds to southeastern Middle High German *straff* and *straffen* (MNW s.v. *straf*). The Middle Dutch variant *strāven* could then be considered as a native Dutch form; a Dutch continuation of the Old Frankish word **stravu.*[209]

If this scenario is correct, we would be dealing with the semantic contamination of two etymological doublets: a southeastern Dutch verb *strāven* that had retained the original meaning 'to insult', and a southeastern German loanword *straffen, straefen* with the legal meaning 'to enact punishment':

- MidDu. *strāven* ← ODu. **stravōn* 'to insult, to scorn'
- MidDu. *straffen, straefen* ← Southeastern MHG *straffen* 'to punish'

This scenario would be further strengthened by an in-depth study of the Middle Dutch attestations, but this is beyond the scope of this present investigation. My suggestion therefore remains hypothetical.

We may conclude that, despite these complications, De Vries' (De Vries & De Tollenaere 1970: 707) assessment that Middle Dutch *straffen* and Old Frisian *straffia** were German loanwords, remains unaffected. We can add to De Vries' suggestion, by arguing that the borrowing of the German legal term might be tied to the diffusion of Roman Canon law. In this regard we may note that Roman canon law reached the Low Countries mainly via the universities of the Holy Roman Empire (De Ridder-Symoens 1992: 287-88). Eventually, the legal meaning 'to exact punishment' replaced the older Merovingian meaning, both in Dutch and in German.

Conclusion

To conclude, in this chapter I have argued that the Malberg gloss <estrabo> belongs to a Late Merovingian redaction of the Salic Law and reflects an Old Frankish word **stravu* 'insult'. This Old Frankish **stravu* would constitute a borrowing from a Gaulish word **srāβos* 'passion, insult' that was in use in the northeastern border region of Late Antique Gaul. The Gaulish word is cognate to Middle Welsh *ffraw* 'passionate, lively' and *frawdd* 'ardor, passion, insult', words that reflect a Proto-Celtic form **srābos* 'torrent'.

[209] Middle Dutch strāven could then be considered as a Rhineland dialect form, coming from Cologne and Trier. In my opinion, this is not a satisfying solution because in the German Rhineland the word is only attested in its legal meaning in the sixteenth century (DRW s.v. straf).

From the same substratum in northeastern France, the Gaulish word **srāβos* entered Gallo-Romance where it was continued as **estrambo-* 'insult, passion', a form that had undergone nasal epenthesis. The northern French word **estrambo-* which in Old French would have yielded **estram* was in the High Middle Ages displaced by a southern France word *estrambot* 'satirical poetry', the curious outcome of a contamination between a Spanish loanword and a Greek loanword. The original meaning of the northern French word was retained in the northeastern border dialects of Walloon and Lorraine in the form *estrabot* 'insult, injury' and in Middle Breton in the Old French loanword *stram* 'hateful, malediction'.

In southwestern Germany, the Old Frankish form **stravu* was continued as a legal term and surfaces in the thirteenth century as Middle High German *Strāfe* 'insult'. From the German universities, the word spread in the Late Middle Ages as a legal term to the Low Countries where it was adopted into Late Middle Dutch as *strāfe, straffen* and in Old Frisian as *straffia**. We may therefore conclude that when insult was added to injury and found its way into the Salic Law, we received a valuable clue on how to etymologize one of the most crucial legal concepts of German and Dutch.

8 An Old French origin for Dutch polder

Introduction

The Modern Dutch word *polder* refers to diked lands in the alluvial coastal area of present-day Flanders and the Netherlands. In the Late Medieval and Early Modern period, these lands were drained by use of windmills, giving rise to the typical Dutch landscape of the western Netherlands where elongated plots of lands are divided by a myriad of straight ditches that stretch as far as the eye can see. As a Dutch culture word, the word *polder* spread during the Early Modern period to English and Italian where respectively *polder* (1604) and *poldro* (1640) are attested in the seventeenth century (Van der Sijs 2006: 145). Later, other European languages adopted the Dutch word *polder* in reference to the diked lands of the Dutch coasts (Van der Sijs 2010: 524). Although it is clear that the word *polder* is tied to the Dutch landscape, its origin is contested. The aim of the present investigation is to provide a new convincing etymology for the *polder*-word. This etymology will be supported by the historical context of the earliest land reclamation projects in the Low Countries. I will therefore first provide the relevant historical background.

Historical overview

In Roman times, the Dutch and Belgian coast consisted of a coastal barrier of dunes followed by inland peat moors. In the early centuries of the Common Era (CE), the coastal barrier of Zeeland and Flanders was breached by the sea and the peat was flooded (Wintein 2007[210]). As the dune strip was broken, several new tidal inlets allowed the sea to deposit sand and clay sediment on the peat. In the centuries that followed, inland saltmarshes arose (Wintein 2007; Baeteman 2007: 8). In the Zeeland and Flanders coastal area, the practice of diking these saltmarshes goes back to the twelfth century.

Originally, diking began as a defense against seasonal inundation, but in the course of the eleventh and twelfth century the welding together of local dikes and the construction of sea ramparts created new arable land (Hoppenbrouwers 1997: 96). This newly accreted land was consolidated by the construction of defensive dikes which allowed settlers (*hospites*) to colonize the new marine clay polders. These endikement projects were funded by Flemish abbeys who saw land reclamation as a viable means of enlarging their landed wealth (Hoppenbrouwers 1997: 97). Judging from the diplomatic evidence, the saltings of the Flemish coastal plain were probably the first to be diked in (l.c.). It may have started with the mud

[210] Presentation consulted digitally at URL:
http://www.vliz.be/docs/Zeelessen/Noordzeesymposium/PP_Holocene_ingressie_WillyWintein.pdf

flats around the island Cadzand and those in the estuary of the river Yser. Then the Zwin flood area followed suit. Only in the thirteenth century do we find records of similar land reclamation projects in the territory of the counts of Holland. The oldest 'Holland' polders are found on the South-Holland islands (Alblasserwaard, Aartswaard, Hoeckenisse) and consisted of two kinds of land reclamation projects, that is, peat drainage and the offensive diking of saltings. Although the practice of draining the peat marshes started earlier in the tenth and eleventh century, we might consider that the concept of reclaiming land in the tidal area slowly radiated northwards from its inception in Flanders. The endikement projects of the twelfth century also had demographic consequences as they entailed a population spread from the coastal levees to the inland alluvial saltmarshes.

Old Dutch

The oldest attestations of the word *polder* date back to the twelfth century and refer to agricultural lands of, respectively, the abbey of Egmond and the county of Flanders.

(Liber S. Adalberti, Oppermann 1933: 79)

> *pro animo Gherardi, filii Mauricii, data sunt duo iugera et unum hond in polra, que solvunt annuatim III solidos* (1130-1161 CE)
>
> "for the soul of Gherard, the son of Mauricius, two morgen and one *hond* are given *in polra,* which pay yearly III solidi".

(Gros Brief, Verhulst & Gysseling 1962: 175)

> *Ratio Lamsini notarii Ypris in domo comitis, eodem die ex eodem anno* [...] *super mare et polra et wast* 17 l. (1187 CE)
>
> "The register of notary Lamsin of Ypres in the castle of the count (...) on the same day, in the same year, on the sea and the *polra* and the *wast,* 17 pounds".

The oldest recording is a note in the thirteenth century *Liber Sancti Adalberti* which dates back to the time of abbot Walther (1130-1161 CE). The localization of the land to which this *polre* referred is moot. The placement of the phrase *in polra* between other lands in *Hemecekirke* (Heemskerk) and *Alkmere* (Alkmaar) would point to a locality in Kennemerland (province of North-Holland). Scholte (1978: 256) however argued for localization in the Delfland and Schieland area (province of South-Holland) since there are no lands called *polre* to the north of the Delfland before 1300 and the abbey of Egmond did not possess any lands to the south of the Delfland.

The second twelfth-century attestation is found in a diploma from Bruges (1187 CE), which is reproduced in a property list of the count of Flanders known as the '*Gros Brief*' (Verhulst & Gysseling 1962). Here the text reads '*super mare et polra et wast XVII librae*' which translates as "on the sea and the *polre* and the uncultured lands, 17 pounds" (cf. ODu. *wast* 'untilled land', ONW *wast*[211]). This phrase illustrates the proximity of the arable land called *polre* to the sea. The Old Dutch word is also encountered from the twelfth century onwards as an element in toponyms. The following occurrences are recorded in Gysseling's *Toponymisch Woordenboek* (1960):

Abbekines polra (ca. 1200 CE), Watervliet (Gysseling 1960: 34)

kerkpolre (1177-1184 CE), Cadzand (Gysseling 1960: 559)

sudhpolra (1138-1153 CE), Ramskapelle (Gysseling 1960: 1105)

sudpolre (1190 CE), Cadzand (Gysseling 1960: 1105)

These places are all located on the Flemish coast and the Zeeland estuary of the river Scheldt and confirm the southern Dutch original locus of the word[212]. The oldest attestations all point to a final vowel /a/ which was weakened to schwa in the late twelfth century.

Middle Dutch

In Middle Dutch, the gender of the noun is masculine, although we have a single phrase in which a feminine gender is implied, i.e. *in de polre* (Pijnenburg e.a. VMNW 2001: 3822). Since the preposition *in* selects for a dative or an accusative case, we would expect a demonstrative *den* if the noun was masculine. Here the noun must therefore be interpreted as a feminine accusative singular, judging from the demonstrative *de* that follows the preposition. Feminine gender would be in consonance with the final /a/ of *polra* in the Old Dutch attestation on the diploma from Bruges. Alternatively, we could argue that the final /a/ is due to the latinization of the word as *polra* and the Old Dutch word was originally masculine. Nevertheless, the Old Dutch attestations all have final /a/ which is hard to reconcile with an Old Dutch masculine noun. Therefore I assume that the gender of the noun was originally feminine, i.e. Old Dutch *polra* (f.), which became masculine when the vowel timbre of the ending weakened to schwa, i.e. Middle Dutch *polre* (m.).[213]

[211] Consulted digitally at URL: http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=ONW&id=ID3810&lemmodern=wast

[212] We may also note that to the present day the alluvial lands of the Flemish coast are called *De Polders* in the Brabant dialects of Dutch.

[213] We may note that in Middle Dutch, the masculine noun MidDu. *polre* was latinized as *poldrus* (cf. Niermeyer 1976: 811; Pijnenburg e.a. VMNW 2001: 3822).

The Middle Dutch occurrences of the word point to a markedly Flemish origin. Whereas the word is only found twice in the west of Holland, it occurs 62 times in West Flemish sources (Pijnenburg e.a. VMNW 2001: 3822). As noted above, the twelfth century *polre* in the Egmond property list may refer to localities in either Kennemerland or the Delfland. However, there is another factor at play which might explain the use of a Flemish term in an Egmond property list. The twelfth century occurrence of the word *polre* in the Egmond sources goes back to a diploma issued by the Flemish abbot Walther (1130-1161 CE) who, before he accepted the abbacy of Utrecht, was associated with the St. Bavo abbey of Ghent (Declercq 1993: 165-166). We may therefore suspect that he used a Flemish term which at that time may not have been common in Holland. If this explanation is correct, it would reinforce the southern Dutch distribution of the word.

Enigmatic is the occurrence of the word in England where we find *poldre* (1232) and *polres* (1246) in thirteenth century Cheshire. We also have a Middle English *polre* in Lincolnshire (1316) and a *Newpolder* (1448) in Sussex (Beekman 1941: 422). Here the meaning of the word also seems to be 'low-lying land reclaimed from the sea'. An early loanword from Flemish seems to be the best solution for explaining these English names. We should not forget that in the High Middle Ages a substantial amount of Flemish colonists settled on the English countryside (Toorians 1998: 74).

Etymologies

Now that we have explored the relevant historical background and the oldest attestations of the word, we can turn to the etymologies that have been suggested. Uhlenbeck (1901: 305) argued that Modern Dutch *polder* should be connected to Modern Dutch *poel* < Gm. **pōl-* 'puddle, quakmire' (cf. OE *pōl,* OHG *pfuol*[214], OFris. *pōl*), a word whose origin is also unclear. According to Kroonen (2013: 398), the cognates in Balto-Slavic, i.e. Lith. *balà* 'marsh' OCS *blato,* and possibly Latin *palūs, palūdis* point to a substratum word **bal-t-,* but, unfortunately, little more can be said about this hypothetical substratum origin.

This connection between ModDu. *poel* and *polder* was accepted by Gysseling (1975) who attributed Germanic **pōl-* to the non-Germanic substratum he called Belgic. According to Gysseling, this Belgic word **pōl-* may have acquired a Latin collective suffix **-āria* yielding Latin **pōlāria.* The phonological development needed for **pōlāria* to have become Old Dutch *polra* is problematic to say the least. Gysseling assumes irregular shortening of **pōlāria* to **polria,* a development that according to Gysseling has a parallel in the evolution of the toponyms *Marne* < Gallo-Lat. *mātrōna* and *Menen* < Gallo-Lat. **moininio* (Gysseling 1975: 2). In the toponyms, however, the short vowel is due to the Romance loss of distinctive vowel

[214] OHG *pfuol* is attested in the forms *pful, púl, phúl* gl. *palus, volutabrum, lama* (Schützeichel AAG VII: 293-294).

length, e.g. ModFr. *marne* < Rom. **matrona* < Lat. *mātrōna*. If we would be dealing with a Romance etymon, this would not be a problem, cf. Lat. *sōlārium* 'roof terrace' > Romance **solariu* (cf. OFr. *solier* 'balcony, roof terrace, chamber') → Old Dutch *solre* gl. *solium = solarium* (cf. MidDu. *solre* 'roof terrace, upper floor', see ONW lemma SOLRA[215]). However, since **pōl-* was in all likelihood a Germanic etymon (Kroonen 2013: 398), it seems overly convoluted to assume a Romance intermediate stage which allowed vowel shortening after which the word must have re-entered Germanic. This scenario is also unlikely because no form *polarium* or *polaria* is attested in Latin or Medieval Latin, as noted by Pijnenburg e.a. (2001: 3822 VMNW s.v. *polder*).

Not only the phonological connection to Gm. **pōl-* is shaky, but, as is rightly noted by Desnerck e.a. (2012: 32), the semantic connection is also far from compelling. Whereas the Germanic **pōl*-words refer to puddles in the low-lying swamps, the Middle Dutch *polder* on the other hand seems to refer to high-lying diked land. For these reasons, Beekman (1941: 419) considered a connection to Middle Dutch *polle* 'tip, top of something'. Because Modern Dutch *polle* is found in the meaning 'alluviated land, tip of land sticking out' in the saltmarshes of Friesland, he projects this meaning back into Middle Dutch. A Middle Dutch *polle* in this meaning would then have been extended with a suffix *–re.* This connection between Dutch *pol* and *polder* is repeated by De Vries (De Vries & De Tollenaere 1971: 536-37) and Philippa e.a. (2003-2009: 568) and is considered the most plausible explanation for the Dutch *polder* etymon (Scholte 1979: 255). This explanation however meets several unpleasant difficulties.

1) It is unclear what the function of the suffix *–re* would have been. Philippa e.a. regard this as the main problem for the connection to ModDu. *pol* (Philippa e.a. 2003-2009: 568). The secondary nominal suffix *-re* is reflected in several Dutch formations that do not in any way explain a presumed derivational relationship between ModDu. *polle* and *polder*.

- ModDu. *modder* 'mud' < WGm. **mudra-* (inherited formation)
- ModDu. *klodder* 'splodge' ⇐ ModDu. *klad* (expressive)
- ModDu. *spetter* 'spat' ⇐ ModDu. *spetteren* (deverbal)
- ModDu. *splinter* 'splinter' ⇐ ModDu. *splint* (agent noun)

2) The meaning 'land outside the dike that sticks out of the sea' is unattested for Middle Dutch and Early Modern Dutch. The Dutch word *polle* first occurs in the glossary of Kiliaen (Etymologicum Teutonicae Linguae, 1599) where it is regarded as an eastern Dutch word, i.e. *polle, pol, Sax. i. cacumen, fastigium* 'tip, elevation' (MNW *pol*[I216]). In Kiliaen we also find *polle, polleken, Sax. Fris. vertex capitis, caput, capitellum* 'top of the head, head'. Kiliaen does not

[215] consulted online at URL: http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=VMNW&id=ID13311&lemma=solre and http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=ONW&id=ID1788&lemma=solre

[216] consulted digitally at URL: http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=MNW&id=43364&lemmodern=pol

record the meaning assumed by Beekman (1941: 419), nor does he record a Flemish Dutch or Holland Dutch use of the word.

3) The aforementioned meaning 'land outside the dike that sticks out of the sea' is only found in Friesland of the modern period (Beekman 1941: 419-420). Beekmann gives multiple occurrences of the word *polle* meaning 'salting' in Frisian coastal municipalities (l.c.). In the Frisian dictionaries, we find ModFris. *pôle* with the meanings 'tip of something, small island, elevated land, salting' (FW *PÔLE*[217]). It needs no further argument that this leaves a substantial geographical gap to the original Flemish locus of the Old Dutch *polre*-place-names. A toponymical element (-)*pol*(-) is also found in the east of the Netherlands, for which Beekman gives examples in Limburg, Overijssel and Gelderland (Beekman 1941: 419). Beekman concedes that for these place-names a meaning 'hill, elevation' should be assumed.

For the above listed reasons, I deem the connection of Old Dutch *polra, polre* to Early Modern Dutch *polle* 'tip, top of something' to be tenuous at best.

Flemish sandbanks

It is noted by Desnerck e.a. (2012: 33), that the word *polder* is also represented as a name for several Flemish sandbanks that lie in front of the mouth of the river Scheldt, i.e. 'Franse Polder' and 'Engelse polder'. These sandbanks are recorded in maps from the seventeenth century onwards as *Fransche Polder* and *Engelsche Polder.* According to Desnerck e.a. (l.c.), the fact that the names *Fransche Polder* and *Engelsche polder* are alternated with *Fransche pol* and *Engelsche pol* reinforces the connection with Middle Dutch *polle* 'alluviated land, tip of land sticking out'. However, their assertion (Desnerck e.a. 2012: 33) that the attestations of *Fransche pol* and *Engelsche pol* are older than *Fransche polder* and *Engelsche polder* is only true by a decade. Already Henricus Hondius in a map from 1633 has *Fransche polder* and *Engelsche poldr* (Bossu 1983: 80-81). This is only fifteen years after the latest possible date for Visscher's recording (ca. 1621 CE) of *Fransche Pol* and *Engelsche Pol.*

Furthermore, a sandbank which lies in front of the coast of Dunkirk is also named *Polder.* This *polder*-name is missed by Desneck e.a. (2012) and already occurs in the map of Flanders made by Gerard Mercator (ca. 1550). Also, whereas the sandbank names *Engelsche polder* and *Fransche polder* sometimes occur with the word *pol* instead of *polder*, this is not the case for the *polder* in front of Dunkirk which is consistently spelled *polder* from the 16th century until its disappearance in the eighteenth century.

[217] consulted digitally at URL: http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=WFT&id=77750&lemmodern=pol

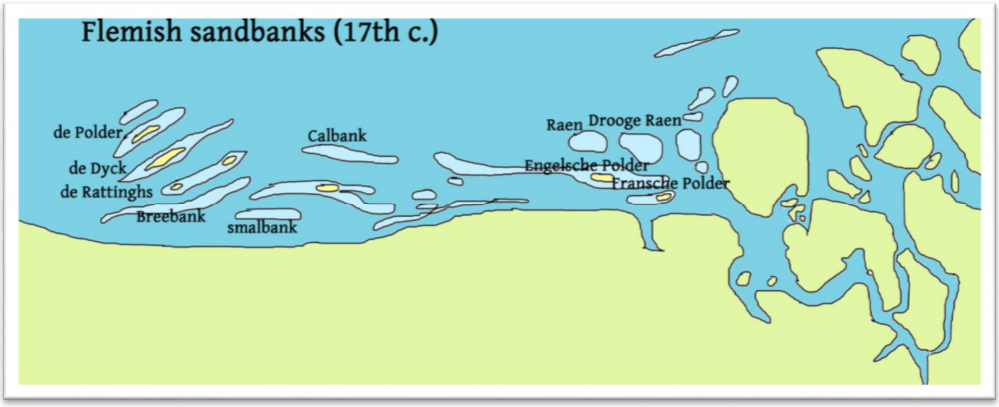

figure 9 map based on Hondius 1636 (Bossu 1983: 80-81)

To sum up: we are dealing with three sandbanks. Two are situated to the south of the tidal inlet between the island of Walcheren and Zeeland Flanders and are to the present-day known as 'Engelse polder' and 'Franse polder'. The third is the last in a row of sandbanks in front of the coast of Dunkirk and was historically known as *Polder*. In the late eighteenth century it disappears from the maps.

Below I will provide a list of attestations of the aforementioned sand banks. This list is based on a study of the sixteenth and seventeenth century maps outlining the Flemish coast which are reproduced in Bossu's *Vlaanderen in oude kaarten* (1983). First the name of the cartographer is given, followed by the date of composition of the relevant map and finally the different *polder*-names that are recorded on that map.

- Gherardus Mercator (ca. 1537[218]) *Polder*
- Lucas Waghenaer (ca. 1584[219]) *Polder*
- Pieter van den Keere (dated 1622[220]) *Polder*
- Nicolaes Visscher (dated 1611-1621[221]) *Dyck Polder, Fransche Pol, Engelsche Pol*
- Henricus Hondius (dated 1636[222]) *de Polder, Fransche polder, Engelsche poldr* (sic!)
- Willem & Joan Blaeu (dated 1635[223]) *Dyckpolder, France pol, Engelse pol*
- Pieter Goos (dated 1666[224]) *Polder*
- Frederick de Wit (ca. 1688[225]) *Fransche Polder, Engelsche Polder*

[218] Bossu (1983: 50-51)
[219] Bossu (1983: 68-69)
[220] Bossu (1983: 72-73)
[221] Bossu (1983: 118-119)
[222] Bossu (1983: 80-81)
[223] Bossu (1983: 96-97)
[224] Bossu (1983: 116-117)
[225] Bossu (1983: 126-127)

- Carel Allard (dated 1696[226]) *Fransche pol, Engelsche pol,*

As is clear from the list above, the oldest attestation of the *polder* sandbank in front of Dunkirk (1537 CE) predates the names of the Zeeland Flanders sandbanks (ca. 1620 CE) by almost a century. Furthermore, the variation *pol* ~ *polder* in 'Franse polder' and 'Engelse polder' co-occur in seventeenth century maps without a clear lead as to which of the two is the older. It is my contention that the *polder*-name of the Dunkirk sandbank tips the balance in favour of the *polder* variant. The variant *pol* would then have been a shortening of *polder.* Another argument that pleads against the assumption that the Zeeland Flanders sandbanks were originally named after MidDu. *polle* is the fact that the word *polle* in the meaning 'tip of land sticking out of the sea' is limited to Friesland. There is therefore a clear geographical gap between the Frisian *polle*-names and the two Zeeland *pol*-sandbanks. For these reasons I believe that the Zeeland Flanders sandbanks were originally named *polder*, thereby not denying the possibility that association with ModDu. *pol* might have provoked the shortening to *pol.* Desnerck e.a. (2012: 33) admit that it is hard to imagine what would have prompted the naming of sandbanks after polders since they have virtually nothing in common.

Tidal marshes and saltings

It is my contention that the Flemish *polder*-sandbanks hold the key to the etymology and original meaning of the Old Dutch word *polra.* Since the concept of offensive diking was new in the twelfth century, the word must first have had a different older meaning. The fact that the Flemish sandbanks called *polder* are contiguous to the first diked saltings that are called *polre* in the Old Dutch and Early Middle Dutch period is in my opinion striking.

In the Late Antique and Early Medieval period, settlements were situated on the dune islands of the Zeeland coastal barrier, the two km wide sandy strip which separated the open sea from the inland tidal marshes (Beekman 1932: 261; Baeteman 2007: 5). It is plausible that the Early Medieval population of this coastal strip used the same word for the uninhabited tidal marshes to the west and east of the dune strip. In my opinion, the Old Dutch word *polra/polre* was the word for tidal marsh. Whereas the supratidal marshes (saltings) to the east of the island settlements were diked and colonized, the supratidal (saltings) and intratidal marshes (mudflats) to the west were left uninhabited. Several of these mudflats later drowned and became sandbanks, thereby explaining the *polder*-names for the sandbanks in front of the Flemish coast. The Old Dutch word *polra* would also have covered the meaning of the Modern Dutch word *schor* 'tidal marsh/salting outside the dike' < EMidDu. *schor* 'shore,

[226] Bossu (1983: 134-135)

salting outside the dike'. In short, the meaning 'tidal marsh' offers a new perspective on the etymology of Old Dutch *polra*.

We may note that several old saltings on the Flemish and Zeeland coast are named *zand* 'sand' < MidDu. *sandt* < ODu. *sant* (ONW lemma ZAND[227]), cf. ODu. *Cadesand* (1111 CE) 'Cadzand' (Zeeland Flanders, see Toorians 2002: 19). These saltings were also known in Old Dutch as *werpelant* 'banked up land' (l.c.) on account of the fact that the high-lying saltings arose when fine-grained sediments composed of clay and sea sand were deposited on the tidal flats (Baeteman 2007: 4). Also drift sand from the dune strip banked up on these saltings, giving the supratidal marsh land area a sandy impression. Just as other Zeeland and Flemish saltings are named *zand* after the fine-grained soil which caused their existence, I believe the nature and consistency of the soil might also have been the naming motive for the saltings called *polre.*[228]

Old French *polre*

In this regard, I want to point to Old French *puldre, pouldre* (first attested ca. 1200 CE) which is found with the main meaning 'dust, dust-like substance, dirt' but may also refer to 'grains of sand' (Tobler-Lommatzch 1969: 1660-1663). The Old French word derives from Latin *pulvis, pulveris* 'dust, powder, sand' which in the oblique form *pulverem* [acc.sg.] provoked the coining of an analogical Romance feminine **pulvera.* This form developed into Gallo-Romance **polra* which yielded Old French *poldre.* The Romance intervocalic /lr/ cluster was broken up by an epenthetic dental, i.e. /l^{d}r/, in the Francien dialect of Old French (Pope 1934: 148), but in the north this epenthesis did not occur (Pope 1934: 489), e.g. Old French *polre* 'sand' (Lorraine dialect, ca. 1200 CE). A northern Proto-French **polra* (f.) 'fine-grained sand', as opposed to Proto-French **sable* 'coarse-grained sand' (cf. OFr. *sable* 'id.', see Wartburg FEW XI: 18), may have been borrowed in Flanders as Old Dutch *polra* (f.) 'tidal marsh'. It is a distinct possibility that we are dealing with an Old French calque of Old Dutch *sant* which was in use among the bilingual elites of Early Medieval Flanders.

The Old Dutch word *polra* eventually underwent Dutch epenthesis to Middle Dutch *polder* (Schönfeld & Van Loey 1959: 56). The Middle Dutch spellings *polre* may also have had an epenthetic /d/ which was not reflected in orthography (l.c.). Noteworthy is the occurrence of *polre* in an Old French diploma by countess Margherita of Flanders in 1269 CE (Tailliar 1849: 302; FEW XVI: 644). The diploma records the sale of land near the present-day town of Damme (West Flanders). In this case it is plausible that we are not dealing with a Flemish loanword in Old French, but rather with the insertion of a Flemish word in a French

[227] consulted digitally at URL: http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=ONW&id=ID4821&lemmodern=zand
[228] We may note that the polder complex near present-day Ostenisse and Hontenisse (Zeeland-Flanders), which is now known as 'Zandpolder', is named *Sanda sive uuerpelant* in 1170 CE (ONW lemma ZAND).

text (*contra* Van der Sijs 2006: 145). After all, it is not surprising that we can find a Flemish word in a Flemish diploma, in reference to a Flemish locality.

Sand

Although Old French *poldre* means 'dust' and the meaning 'sand' is secondary, a metonymical development from the meaning 'dust' to 'sand' is natural and can be established from Old French contexts where *poldre* unambiguously refers to sand. The following contexts come from *Le Roman de la Rose*, a late thirteenth century Old French poem:

- (...) *e par terre eslever les poudres* (Le Roman de la Rose, v. 17896)
  "and from the ground, lift up the grains of sand"
- *e poudres de sablon menues* (Le Roman de la Rose, v. 18049)
  "and little grains of sand"

We may also point to the meaning of Middle English *poudre,* a loanword from Francien Old French, which did not only mean dust, dust-like substance, but also meant soil, dirt, sand (Kuhn 1952: 1153-56, MED lemma *poudre*[229]):

- *For þat erth...uprisand fra þe grund bers þe pudre up o-loft* (Cursor Mundi, 21076, ca. 1300 CE)
  "for the earth, rising from the ground, bears the sand up in the sky"
- *He mote be wel yware of þre þinges, þat þe sonne, þe wynde and þe dust þat is reysed of þe poudre of erþe be behind his backe* (...) (Vegetius, 75b, 1408 CE)
  "he should be well aware of three things, that the sun, the wind and the dust that is raised from the sand of the earth, would be behind his back"

In this regard, we may also point to the Middle Dutch fish-name *poeder* (MNW lemma POEDER[II230]) which is found in a 15th century diploma on fishing rights in the Zwin basin (Gailliard 1882: 279).

- *Up varsschen zalm, poederen, meerzwijn, stuer* (...) (ca 1477 CE)
  "on fresh salmon, *poederen,* porpoise, sturgeon (...)"

We may note that the etymology of the fish name on traditional terms is obscure. To me it seems plausible that it is connected to the Old French word *poudre* [pudrə] in its meanings 'dirt, soil'. It is even possible that we are dealing with a dialectal calque of MidDu. *grondele* 'gudgeon', a small fish well-known for its occurrence in brackish estuaries.

[229] consulted online at URL: http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED34203&egs=all&egdisplay=compact
[230] consulted online at URL: http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=MNW&id=43255&lemmodern=poeder

Zavel

Old Dutch *polra* would not have been the only Romance loanword for a condition of the soil.[231] Another Romance word for 'sand' crossed the language border with Dutch in the Early Middle Ages. From the Old Dutch period (1198 CE), we have the toponym *Sauelberga* (Mechelen, province of Antwerp, ONW lemma SAVEL[232]) in which we recognize the Latin words *sabulō*[233] 'coarse-grained sand' and *sabulum* 'sand'. In the Middle Dutch period, the word *savel* refers to fine-grained sand used for making roads, streets and mortar (MNW lemma SAVEL[234]). The same word is also reflected as *sawel* in the German border dialects of the Rhineland, Luxemburg and Lotharingia (Wartburg FEW XI: 18). Past scholarship has directly connected Middle Dutch *savel* to Latin *sabulum* (cf. De Vries & De Tollenaere 1971: 856). However, in Latin *sabulum* we are dealing with a plosive /b/ which cannot account for the Dutch /v/. A loanword of the Latin etymon in the West Romance stage (300-600 CE, see chapter 4) is more attractive since Latin plosive /b/ later developed into West Romance /ƀ/ which can account for the Dutch /v/. Two West Romance formations might have been the donor word for Old Dutch *savel*. To these, we might add one possible Old French (800-1300 CE) word.

1. Latin *sabulum* > WRom. **saƀlʊ* → WGm. *saƀal* > ODu. *savel*
   This scenario has a direct parallel in the development of Latin *tabulum* to Middle Dutch *tavel/tafel.* The West Germanic **-al*-suffix weakened in the late Old Dutch period to *-el,* which would explain the Old Dutch attestation *sauelberga.* It is therefore an attractive solution which is advocated by Wartburg (FEW XI: 18).
2. Latin *sabellum* > WRom. **saƀɛllo* → WGm. *saƀel* > ODu. *savel*
   This scenario connects Old Dutch *savel* with the Romance etymon **saƀello,* which is reflected in the central Old French dialects as *savel* (Old Dauphinois, see FEW XI: 5). The Romance suffix **-ello* would then be responsible for the Old Dutch *-el*-suffix.
3. OFr. *savel* > ODu. *savel*
   We might also assume that Old French *savel,* the continuation of WRom. **saƀɛllo,* was the donor word for Old Dutch *savel.* Then Old French *savel* must also have occurred in the northern Old French dialects. Wartburg (1959, FEW XI: 5) argues that this might have been the case, since the northern dialect form *savelon*[235] 'sand' in Picardian, Walloon and Lotharingian seems to presuppose an Old French base **savel.*

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[231] For this connection, I am indebted to Michiel de Vaan (p.c.) who pointed out the case of ModDu. *zavel.*

[232] consulted digitally at URL: http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=ONW&id=ID4822&lemmodern=zavel

[233] Wartburg (REX XI: 17) convincingly argues that ModFr. *sable* 'sand' does not reflect Latin *sabulum* since ModFr. *sable* 'sand' only occurs regularly from the 16th century onwards. In the Middle Ages, the French word for sand was OFr. *sablun* < Lat. *sabulō.* Therefore ModFr. *sable* should be explained as a *Rückbildung* from OFr. *sablon/sablun* 'sand' just like ModFr. *glace* 'ice' is a *Rückbildung* from OFr. *glaçon* 'ice'.

[234] consulted digitally at URL: http://gtb.inl.nl/iWDB/search?actie=article&wdb=MNW&id=48469&lemmodern=zavel

[235] Northern Old French savelon cannot directly have been the donor word for Old Dutch savel since OFr. *savelon would have been borrowed as Middle Dutch saveloen.

All three options are possible scenarios for explaining the origin of Old Dutch *savel.* However, the formal match between Old French *savel,* provided it existed in northern Old French, and Old Dutch *savel* is striking. The proximity of the French word to the Dutch language border make a borrowing from an Early Old French dialect on the northern border of the Gallo-Romance dialect continuum an especially attractive scenario. We may remind the reader that the word is limited to southern Dutch, that is, the Germanic dialect that immediately borders northern French (cf. Wartburg XI: 18; MNW SAVEL). If the etymon was borrowed in the Romance stage, we might expect a larger distribution of the word in the Germanic dialect continuum.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have argued for an Old French origin of Old Dutch *polra, polre,* the ancestral form for Modern Dutch *polder.* It has long been recognized that the traditional connection of ModDu. *polder* to Modern Dutch *polle* 'tip, top of something' leaves the suffix *-re* unexplained. We have also noted that the alleged meaning 'tip of land outside the dike' is only found in modern Friesland which leaves a chronological and geographical gap to twelfth century Flanders and Zeeland. Since the word *polder* referred to the innovative concept of reclaiming land by offensive diking, it must have had a different meaning before this practice developed in the twelfth century. I have pointed to the fact that the first *polders* were diked tidal marshes and in this regard we have found that several mud flats in front of the Flemish and Zeeland North Sea coast are also named *polder* in coastal maps of the seventeenth century.

I have argued that the original meaning of Modern Dutch *polder* might therefore have been 'tidal marsh' which was in the twelfth century semantically narrowed to 'diked salting'. The Dutch toponyms in Old and Middle Dutch *sant, sandt* 'sand' show that these saltings of the Flemish coast could be named after their sandy soil. The same naming motive might be present in Old Dutch *polre/polra,* which, as I have argued, goes back to Early Old French **polra* 'dust, dirt, sand' (cf. OFr. *poldre, poudre*). This lexical transfer from Early Old French to Old Dutch may have occurred in the Flanders coastal region where it was used in reference to the sandy saltings in the alluvial coastal area. An Old French etymology for Dutch *polder* therefore sheds new light on the Early Medieval origin of what eventually became the hallmark of the Dutch landscape.

9 Troubles with the Taifali ethnonym and its occurrence in Gallo-Romance toponyms

Introduction

In Late Antiquity, vast barbarian confederations roamed the Central-European lands north of the Roman border. Many of these late antique confederations are well-known and well-studied. This is the case for the Vandals, the Franks, the Alans, the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, and the Burgundians. Other barbarian peoples, due to the scarcity of our historical sources, remain in the shadows. This is the case for the Rugians, the Gepids, the Rhoxalans, and the Taifali. In this chapter, I am concerned with the Taifali, a barbarian people that historians often group with the Alans and the Sarmatians (see Jiménez Garnica 1999: 125).

Although the Taifali are one of the lesser-studied barbarian peoples, in recent decades multiple small contributions on the Taifali have been published (e.g. Cameron 1992; Jimenez 1999; Green 2011). Romanists have been interested since the late nineteenth century, in the toponyms that could be connected to the Taifali ethnonym (Richard 1886; 435; Longnon 1929: Vincent 1937). Later linguistic research, from the second half of that century (Lebel 1964; Chambon 1996), commented on many of the phonological problems that affect these place-names. This raises the question whether there is anything left to investigate.

Surprisingly, although the majority of the problems of the Taifali toponyms have been discussed before, many of them remain unsolved. In this investigation, several of these remaining puzzles will be tackled. Furthermore, an in-depth diachronic analysis of the Taifali toponyms might shed light on how Gallo-Romance adapted non-Frankish settlement names.[236]

This chapter consists of two parts. In the first part, earlier research on the Taifali ethnonym is reviewed and the etymologies that have been proposed for the ethnonym are evaluated. In the second part, the phonological problems concerning the Taifali toponyms are submitted to a new investigation. This way, this chapter strives to give a synthesis of the available research, both germanicist and romanist, while critically assessing and emending the proposed linguistic theories.

[236] We may note that many Romanist contributions on the Taifali have not reached scholars outside of francophone academia. An English overview of this Romanist scholarship may remedy this.

Historical context

The Taifali enter recorded history in a late third century panegyric by Mamertinus (*Panegyrici Latini* 3, 17,1; ca. 291 CE *taifalorum*). According to Ammianus Marcellinus, one of our main sources on fourth-century Roman history, the Taifali roamed the Rumanian lands to the west of the Gothic Terwingi confederation (*Res Gestae* XXXI, 3).

Zosimus recounts that in 332 CE, Taifali horsemen are part of the Gothic armies, when the Taifali and the Goths fight together against the Roman emperor Constantine the Great (Wolfram 1979: 104). Furthermore, in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, a fifth-century administrative document recording the military units of the Roman Empire, we find the Taifali listed in the mounted regiments of the *equites honoriani* (Not.Dign. Oc. VI). Their equestrian prowess might be taken as evidence for a possible nomadic origin (Wolfram 1979: 104). Much (1926: 24) has argued that the Taifali belonged to the same group as the Lacringi, another barbarian people of the Rumanian plains. After all, the Lacringi and the Taifali are often mentioned together in Late Roman historiography. This argument is accepted by Steinhauser (1950: 8) and repeated by Wolfram (1979: 104), but cannot be substantiated in any meaningful way.

In the year 377 CE, the Taifali were involved in a Gothic raid that was intercepted and crushed by the Roman military. The surviving Taifali and Goths were resettled by the Roman authorities within the borders of the Roman Empire (see Much 1919: 305-06). Their presence in Gaul is corroborated by the *Notitia Dignitatum,* where we find the "*prefectus Sarmatarum Gentilium et Taifalorum Gentilium*" (Not.Dign. Oc. XLII 65) stationed in *Pictavis* (Poitou). Despite their close affiliation to the Goths, neither an Iranian[237] nor a Germanic etymology for the ethnonym has been accepted (see Sitzmann 2005: 271). Still, their close association with the Goths makes it plausible that the Taifali group was at least partly Germanic-speaking.

Attestations

The different attested spellings of the ethnonym are listed below according to Schönfeld's *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen-und Völkernamen* (Schönfeld 1911: 219) and Reichert's *Lexikon der altgermanischen Namen* (Kraml & Reichert 1987: 647). In this list, I will separate the forms that Schönfeld deems reliable from the likely corruptions and scribal errors.

- Reliable
    - Taifali
    - Thaifali

[237] Agustí Alemany (2000) in his book on the Alans in recorded history evidently does not consider the Taifali as an Iranian people. He therefore also does not give an Iranian etymology for the ethnonym. The presence of the phonem /l/ in the word also complicates an Iranian etymology, since in Alanic/Sarmatian only PIr. **ri/*ry* yields an *l*-phoneme, i.e. PIr. **ri/*ry > *li/ly.*

    - θαΐφαλοι
- Corruptions
    - Thaufali
    - Taifruli
    - Tuifali

The reliable spellings in Latin transcription come from writers such as Ammianus Marcellinus, Mamertinus, Eutropius, Jordanes and Paeanius, who give the ethnonym as *taifali/thaifali.* The Greek transcription from Zosimus as θαΐφαλοι also seems trustworthy. Schönfeld therefore takes an underlying ethnonym *taifali* as starting point. He assumes that the name had a voiceless initial /t/ and that the Latin spellings with initial <th> and the Greek spellings with initial <θ> are reflections of this voiceless /t/. This spelling variation is not uncommon, since Roman authors often show hesitance in rendering the Germanic voiceless stops, e.g. *thervingi* for Gm. **terwing* (see also Schönfeld 1911:: XXII).[238]

We may start our review of the etymological suggestions with Schönfeld (1911), who deems the etymology of the Taifali ethnonym to be obscure and is unwilling to take a shot in the dark. He refers to Zeuss (1837: 433) for an earlier attempt. Zeuss connected the ethnonym to a Germanic **þaif-* which would be reflected in an alleged Old English form ***þāfian* 'to allow, suffer, approve, consent to.' The Old English word ***þāfian,* however, does not exist and the actual Old English etymon is *þafian* 'to consent to, to agree with' with a short vowel (Bosworth & Toller 1898: 1034). Since the Old English short vowel /a/ cannot go back to PGm. /ai/, Zeuss' proposal must be rejected. Also Diculescu (1932: 13) thinks that we are dealing with a root **þaif-* on the basis of the suffix alternation **-al/*-ul.* However, as this suffix variation is only found in three spelling variants and one of these is conjectural, I think we can safely say that the numerous *taifal*-spellings that give a suffix **-al-* are the more reliable ones.[239]

Steinhauser's proposal

One etymological explanation for the tribal name Taifali deserves special attention, since it is accepted in the often quoted monograph on the Gothic peoples by the historian Herwig

[238] The vacillation of classical writers in writing Germanic **t* with either <t> or <th> spellings might reflect the inability of Romance speakers to write the aspirated nature of the Germanic voiceless stop, i.e. PGm. /t/ = [t^h]. This was already suggested by Schönfeld (1911: XXII).

[239] In the Verona List (ca. 385) edited by Riese (1878: 129) under the name *Nomina provinciarum omnium* (seventh century CE) the form *tafruli* is given as the reading of Muellenhof. This list is only preserved in one Verona manuscript and many ethnonyms are read incorrectly by Muellenhof, e.g. *crinsiani* for *frisiavi* (Riese l.c.). In the manuscripts of the *Res Gestae* of Ammianus Marcellinus we find once a spelling *taifolorum* which could easily be a scribal error provoked by the following *o* of *-orum*. In the '*Panegyrici Latini*' (Baehrens 1874: 147) speech by Mamertinus we also find *taifolorum* in only one manuscript for which the same explanation of a scribal error might be invoked.

Wolfram (1979: 104). This explanation was first proposed in an article by Steinhauser titled '*Kultische Stammesnamen in Ostgermanien*' (Steinhauser 1950). In this article, he suggests that several East Germanic tribal names are in need of a Celtic etymology. A case in point, in this regard, would be the tribal name of the Victovali, another nomadic people that roamed the steppes of Central-Europe in Late Antiquity (Steinhauser 1950: 13). The ethnonym Victovali seems to have a clear cognate in the Welsh personal name *Gueithgual* < PCelt. **wiχtowalos* 'battle-ruler', as first pointed out by Much (1919).

The survival of Celtic ethnonyms in Central Europe of the Migration Age is not surprising, since there is also some lexical evidence that supports the proximity of Celtic and Germanic-speaking peoples in the first centuries CE. This evidence comes from Gothic and consists of the following Gaulish loanwords (cf. Green 1998: 156-158; Pronk-Tiethoff 2013: 56):

- Goth. *siponeis* 'disciple' < Gaul. **sek^{w}on-*
- Goth. *kelikn* 'tower' < Gaul. *keliknon*
- Goth. *alew* 'oil' < Gaul. **olewo-*
- Goth. *dulgs** 'debt' < Gaul. **dligo-*

Unfortunately, the additional Celtic etymologies that Steinhauser proposes are less convincing.[240] In the case of the Taifali, Steinhauser argues that we are dealing with a first Celtic element **dai-* < **daφi-* which would be cognate to Latin *daps* 'sacrificial meal', Greek δάπτω 'to devour, to consume' and Old Icelandic *tafn* 'sacrificial animal' < PIE **dh$_2$p-/*dh$_2$pno-* (cf. De Vaan 2008: 161; Matasović 2009: 92). The second element /fali/ would then be identical to the second element in the ethnonym Victovali, i.e. PCelt. **walo-* 'ruler' (cf. OIr. *fal* 'rule', see Matasović 2009: 402). The Celtic ethonym **daiwali* would then have undergone the effects of Grimm's Law to Germanic, i.e. **daiwali* > **taiwali* > *taifali.* This explanation is unattractive for the following reasons:

1. Unknown to Steinhauser, the PIE root **dh$_2$p-* is preserved in Celtic and in the same formation type **dh$_2$pno-* as in Germanic, i.e. PIE **dh$_2$pno-* > PCelt. **daφno-* > **dauno-* > OIr. *dúan* 'offering of a poem' (Watkins 1970; Matasović 2009: 92). A formation PIE **dh$_2$pi-* is not found in any other Indo-European daughter language. It is therefore unlikely that this form occurred in Celtic alongside PIE **dh$_2$pno-* > OIr. *dúan.*
2. Whereas the Celtic element **walos* in the ethnonym Victovali, and possibly in the ethnonym Vacharnavali is secured by its consistent spelling with <u>, the ethnonym Taifali is only found with an <f>. This is especially significant because the Victovali and the Taifali are mentioned alongside each other in the works of Ammianus Marcellinus.

[240] His theory that the name of the Naharnavali is connected to an unattested Proto-Celtic heteroclitic **naswar, *naswan-* (cf. Gk. ναός 'temple', see Beekes 2009: 995) is unconvincing.

It seems to me that a Celtic etymology for the tribal name Taifali cannot be right and its acceptance in the monumental work of Wolfram is therefore unfortunate. Nevertheless, Steinhauser's insistence that the ethnonym should be parsed as **tai-fali* is in itself an interesting deviation from the analysis by Zeuss (1837: 433) and Diculescu (1932: 13).

Grimm's proposal

A similar parsing of **tai-fali* was made by Jacob Grimm in 1866. Grimm argued that the first element of the ethnonym represents the Germanic form of the name Dacia, the classical regionym for the Transdanubian province, i.e. EGm. **tahja* (Grimm 1866: 223). Since we know that Germanic-speaking peoples had also adopted other geographical names in Central Europe before the first Germanic sound shift, the most notable one being **harfada-* for the Carpathians (cf. ON *harvaðafjǫll*[241]), this suggestion should not be rejected outright.

We may note that the Germanic word *harvaða* for the Carpathians is also a chance survival in a single line of the archaic Old Norse *Hunnenslachtlied* (Battle of the Goths and the Huns), and without it, we would not have known that Germanic peoples had adopted geographical names in Central Europe so early as for them to undergo the effects of the first Germanic sound shift (see Green 1999: 11-12). Therefore, it is possible that in Antiquity more geographic names were adopted by the Germanic peoples roaming the stretch of forests, steppes and marshes between the Baltic and the Black Sea. We might think, for example, of the Bastarni and the Sciri, who could have adopted the name **dakja* somewhere in the third or second century BCE. This name **dakja* would have yielded PGm. **táhja-* after the Germanic sound shift. Grimm then assumed PGm. **tahja* would have become **tahi-* in the composition (Grimm 1886: 223[242]). According to Grimm, the ethnonym 'Taifali' could then be analyzed as East Germanic **tahi-fali* meaning "the *fali* of Dacia."

In the end, however, this theory is also unsatisfactory, and for the main reason that we would expect the Germanic fricative /h/ [χ] to be reflected as <ch> or <h> in at least one of the numerous attestations of the ethnonym.

In other words; if the first element of the ethnonym was really Germanic **tahja-,* why do we not have a single spelling <tachifali> or <tacifali> preserved in the sources? After all, Germanic /h/ is usually well preserved in other Latin renditions of Germanic onomastic

[241] The Battle of the Goths and the Huns sequence (Hunnenslachtlied) is quoted in the *Saga Heidreks konungs ins Vitra*, chapter 10 (Tolkien 1960: 45).

[242] This is possible if the PGm. **tahja-* was interpreted as a neuter *ja*-stem but not if it was interpreted as a feminine *jō*-stem. After all, in compounds with a *jō*-stem noun as the first element, the *ja*-suffix was preserved in Gothic, e.g. Goth. *wiljahalþei* "respect of persons" (Casaretto 2004: 289). If, however, PGm. **tahja-* was interpreted as a Germanic neuter *ja*-stem, it would have developed into East Germanic **tahi-* (cf. Goth. *kuni* < Gm. **kunja-* "relationship").

material (Schönfeld 1911: XXII; Gysseling 1992: 15). It is therefore clear that also Grimm's etymology should be rejected.[243]

Taifali and Westfali

With the etymology of the second element, we find ourselves on more solid ground. Schutte (1933: 46) interpreted the second element of the Taifali ethnonym, i.e. Gm. **fal-*, as etymologically cognate with the names *ostfali* 'Eastfalians' and *westfali* 'Westfalians', ethnonyms that are mentioned in the *Capitulare Saxonicum* (797 CE) and the Frankish Royal Annals (775 CE). The second element in the tribal names *ostfali* and *westfali* is commonly assumed to go back to OHG **falah* < WGm. **falh* "fallow land" (cf. OE *fealh*), which would make the **falhīz* the inhabitants of fallow land (see Neumann 1994: 171-172).

Another possibility would be that the element **fal-* is connected to Gm. **falōn* "field, steppe" (cf. OSw. *fala* 'plain', Swedish place-names *Falan*, *Falun*, Hellquist 1922: 127; Kroonen 2013: 126). This would fit well with the geographical position of the Taifali on the plains west of the Terwingi (Visigoths). Furthermore, an ethnonym building on a root meaning "plain" is also found in the Old Russian people of the *Poljane* (*Nestor Chronicle*, chapter III), which continues the same Proto-Indo-European root **polH-* 'field'.[244] This would allow for an explanation of the ethnonymic element *–fali* < (PGm. **falīz*) in *Taifali* as 'the plain dwellers'.

In my opinion, the connection to Gm. **falōn* 'plain' is less problematic than the connection to PGm. **falha-* 'fallow land'. In the case of the Westfali, the connection to PGm. **falha-* is supported by the Latin spelling *falai,* which provides evidence for an underlying Old Saxon **falah,* with epenthetic /a/ in the sequence /lh/. If the element *fali* in Taifali really continues Gm. **falhīz* we would like to find at least one spelling that confirms the former presence of a Germanic /h/, e.g. <taifalci> or <taifalchi>.

Still, also the connection to the Germanic word **falōn* remains speculative. After all, it seems premature to explain the second element, as long as the first element has not been given a satisfying etymology. Unfortunately, this still leaves us with Sitzmann's (2005: 272) correct assessment that etymological connections for the Taifali ethnonym are still wanting.

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[243] A possible solution to the absence of <h> in the attestations would be to assume that the <h> was lost in a Romance intermediary stage but this seems *ad hoc* and unattractive.

[244] The Gothic ethnonym *Greutingi* may have contained the same naming motive, if we interpret the name as 'plain dwellers' (cf. OE *greot*, OHG *grioz* 'grit, sand, earth' > 'plain'). In Gothic, as in Old Russian, the natural counterpart to the 'plain dwellers' where the 'forest dwellers', i.e. the Gothic *terwingi* (cf. ON *tyrvi* "coniferous wood") and the Old Russian *drevljane* (cf. OCS *drěvo* "wood") < PIE **deru-* "tree" (See also Specht 1939: 226-228).

Taifali toponyms

We can now turn to the vestiges of the Taifali ethnonym in the western provinces of the Roman empire. It has been argued that several toponyms in the western Roman Empire reflect the name of the Taifali. These toponyms would be the traces of the Taifali groups that were relocated to communities in the western Romania following their defeat in 377 CE (see Richard 1896: 419-42).

I remind the reader that the presence of the Taifali in the Western Romania is corroborated by the *Notitia Dignitatum* where it is stated that equestrian regiments of Taifali were part of the western Roman field army (Not.Dign. Oc.VII). These regiments are situated in Gaul, Italy and '*intra Britannias'*. It is possible that Taifali settlements may also be reflected in the following Italian and Spanish place-names.

- Tivoli, Italy < *Taifalum*[245] (8th c. CE)
- Tafalla, Spain < **Taifalja*[246]

Kenneth Cameron (1992) has argued the ethnonym Taifali is also to be found in English toponyms such as Tealby (Late Old English *Tavelesbi*), Tablehurst and Tellisford. In the entry for Tealby, Cameron quotes his collaborating author John Insley, who rejects a connection to OE *tæfl* (f. ō-stem) 'playing board' and Old Danish *tafl* 'square piece of land' (ODan. *taflhøgh*). One of his main objections to this etymology is that the Old Danish and Old English words cannot account for the suffixal /s/ (see also Ekwall 1960). Rather, according to Insley, the first element of *Tavelesbi* would go back to the ethnonym **Tǣflas/*Tāflas,* in the same way as the place-name Wales in South-Yorkshire goes back to OE *Walas* 'foreigners, britons' (Green 2011: 5). The second element of Tealby, which is undeniably Scandinavian in origin, was then added during the Norse settlement of northern England, in the tenth and eleventh century CE.

This etymology is repeated by Hough (1994) and more recently by Green (2011), who connected the Taifali-etymology for Tealby with the continued sixth and seventh-century resistance of the Britto-Roman settlements in Yorkshire against the Anglo-Saxon invaders. According to Green, it is possible that the inhabitants of these settlements still identified themselves as **Tǣflas/*Tāflas,* i.e. the descendants of the fourth-century Roman Taifali regiments. In this regard, Green points to the Notitia Dignitatum where Taifali regiments are ascribed to the Roman field army '*intra Brittanias*' (Not.Dign. Oc. VII).

Although it is inadvisable to connect the transmission of a place-name with any sort of statement about identity or population continuity, it is not totally unthinkable that the

[245] For the phonetic evolution, see Gamillscheg (1935: 34). See Corti (2004: 51) for a discussion of the oldest attestation of the Italian place-name.

[246] See Rouche (1977: ftn 18) for a discussion of the Spanish place-name.

Taifali name may have survived in English toponyms. Green notes that also another continental Germanic ethnonym might survive in an English place-name.[247]

- ModE. *Swaffham* ← OE *Swǣfas* + OE *hām* 'homestead of the Suebians'

In my opinion, however, the connection of the English toponyms to the Taifali ethnonym seems far-fetched, especially when better connections in Old English and Old Danish are at hand.

Although it is possible that some Taifali regiments were settled in Britain, the toponymic evidence for such a settlement is meagre. Furthermore, it seems reasonable to assume that most Taifali regiments were settled in Gaul; the theory that the Taifali ethnonym can be found in modern French place-names is therefore far less controversial.

Taifali in Gaul

The *Notitia Dignitatum* informs us that a regiment of Sarmatians and Taifali was stationed in the *Pictavis* region (Poitou) of Gaul (Not.Dign. Oc. XLII). These Taifali are suspected to have raised the mysterious non-Gallo-Roman standing stones in the Poitou region, which must date from the late fourth to early fifth century CE (Curtet 1958). More than a hundred fifty years later, the Poitou region is still known as Theiphalia, as recounted by Gregory of Tours (6th c. CE).

> "*Igitur, beatus Senoch , gente Teiphalus, Pictavi Pagi quem Theiphaliam vocant oriundus fuit.*" (Vitae Patrum XV)
>
> "Thus, the blessed Senoch, of the Theiphal people, sprang forth from the Poitou shire which they call Theiphalia"

It is very likely that this name Theiphalia continues the same Taifali name of the groups who were settled in the Poitou region in the fourth century. Gregory of Tours also recounts that a sixth-century Aquitanian bishop called Austrapius, was attacked by Taifali rebels in 561 CE (Hist.Franc. IV 18). This suggests that the Taifali name retained some significance as a community or district name.

[247] It is possible that also the place-name *Swavesey* should be connected to the continental Germanic ethnonym **Swēbi* (cf. Fellows-Jensen 1995: 65). We should note, however, that for both the place-name *Swaffham* and *Swavesey*, a connection to the Old English personal name *Swæf* is also possible.

French toponyms

Already in the nineteenth century, the French toponymist Richard (1896: 435) argued that the Taifali ethnonym is present in several French place-names, a theory that is still widely-held today (Longnon 1929: 129; Vincent 1937: 132; and most recently Nègre 1991: 12441). The French toponyms listed below, are generally agreed to contain the ethnonym. This list is mainly based on the overview of Rouche (1977: 137[248]), but missing Taifali toponyms were added from other publications (Gamillscheg 1934: 134; De Beaurepair 1982: 136; Lebedynsky 2011: 182).

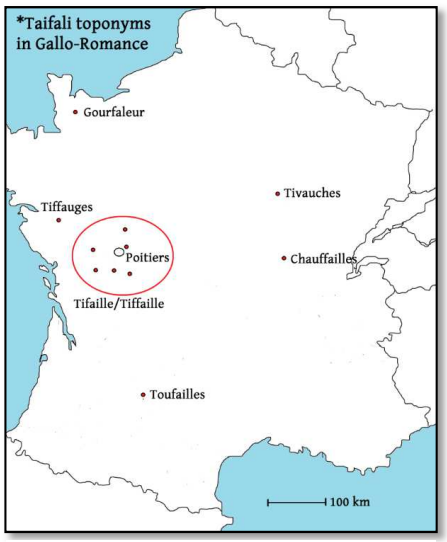

figure 10 Taifali toponyms in Roman Gaul

- Poitou
  - Tifaille (1x)
  - Tiffauges (2x)
  - Tiffaille (4x)
  - Tiffanelier (1x)
- Languedoc
  - Toufailles
- Central France
  - Taphalescas (1340 CE)
- Eastern France
  - Tivauches
  - Chaufailles

The question now is whether the French place-names can be connected to the sixth-century form *Teiphalia* from Gregory of Tours and by extension to the Taifali ethnonym. Since this question involves the Gallo-Romance adaptation of Germanic /ai/, we may turn to Wartburg (FEW XVI: 2) and Gamillscheg (1970: 359) for an overview of the relevant

[248] Rouche discussed the place-names in the context of Late Antique barbarian settlements in Aquitaine (cf. Rouche 1977: 137, 10/1-2 footnote 19, see also Lebedynsky 2007: 182). Two place-names that have been connected to the Taifali are left out of consideration: 1) Gourfaleur in Normandy which has been explained from **curte tefalorum* with haplology of the second /te/. This etymology is possible but the formation type does not correspond with all the other presumed Taifali place-names. 2) Chaufaille in Cossac-Bonneval which is left out because no pre-modern attestations are found which makes a derivation from dialectal *chaufaille* 'brushwood' or *chaufaud* 'scaffold' just as likely.

developments; they showed that the adaptation of Germanic /ai/ in Early Gallo-Romance reflects two layers of loanwords.[249]

- Layer of West Germanic loanwords
  - Germanic /ai/ = Gallo-Rom. /a/
    - WGm. **haist-* → Gallo-Rom. **hasta* > OFr. *hâte* 'haste'
- Layer of Merovingian Frankish loanwords
  - Germanic /ai/ = Frankish /ei/ > /ē/ = Gallo-Rom. /ɛ/
    - OFrnk. *gabēti → Gallo-Rom. *gabɛt- > OFr. *gabiez* 'falcon hunt'
    - OFrnk. *haistra → Gallo-Rom. *hɛstra > OFr. *hêtre* 'shrubbery'

For the Merovingian layer, Wartburg and Gamillscheg assumed that Germanic /ai/, through an intermediary stage /ei/, became the Frankish monophthong /ē/. This /ē/ was substituted in Gallo-Romance with /ɛ/, which diphthongized to /iɛ/ in tonic and countertonic position.[250] The Gallo-Romance diphthong /iɛ/ was in Old French simplified to /i/ in initial syllables.

- OFrnk. *gērfalk → Gallo-Rom. *gɛrfalk- > OFr. *girfauc* 'gyrfalcon'

If this scenario is correct, we can sketch the Gallo-Romance adaptation of the Germanic name Taifali as follows:

- Gm. *taifalīz > *teifali > OFrnk. *tēfali → Gallo-Rom. *tɛfalja > Pre-French *tiɛfalja
  - Pre-French *tiɛfalja > OFr. *tifaille*

This would mean that the form *Teiphalia* that Gregory of Tours wrote down, reflects the early Frankish form with the diphthong /ei/, and not the later Frankish monophthong /ē/ or the Gallo-Romance adaption /ɛ/. The possibility that the French place-names may have been adopted from Frankish is interesting, since it suggests that the name entered Gallo-Romance a lot later than the fourth-century settlement of the Taifali. The only example of a place-name, that does not represent the Frankish pre-form, would be the medieval attestation <taphalescas>, which could, in theory, reflect the older layer of Germanic loanwords (see Lebedynsky 2011: 182).

[249] A third layer of loanwords may be present in the cases where Germanic /ai/ is equated with Gallo-Rom. /aʲ/ in /aʲCj/ as seems to be the case with Gm. **haitan* > OFr. *souhaidier* 'to wish', Gm. **wainōn* > Pic. *waignier* 'to cry'. We may note that this reflex is limited to cases where French would allow palatal infection (Gamillscheg 1970: 359).

[250] We may note that diphthongization in countertonic position is only assumed for Germanic material (1970: 359).

Different types

When we assume that the above listed place-names are all related to the same form /tɛfalja/, we must conclude that the material exhibits a remarkable degree of heterogeneity. We can divide the material into the following three categories:

- Toponyms that begin with /tif/ or /tiv/
    - Tifaille, Tiffaille, Tiffauges, Tivauches Tiffanelier,
- Toponyms that begin with /tuf/
    - Toufailles
- Toponyms that begin with /ʃof/
    - Chaufailles

An additional complication is that for all these categories, we find Medieval spellings with <eo> or <eu> in the first syllable of the historical attestations:

- Tiffauges <teofalgia>
- Toufailles <theufales>
- Chaufailles <teotfallensis>

This heterogeneity and the peculiar medieval spellings have thus far not been explained and raise the question whether we are really dealing with one underlying name type. In the remainder of this article, I want to address this question and provide some answers to how these place-names could or could not reflect the Taifali ethnonym.

Medieval spelling

A problem that affects all three categories of presumed Taifali place-names are the medieval attestations that write <eo> or <eu> for a vowel that later turns up in Old French as /i/. This spelling in <eo> is first encountered in the ninth century in the Poitou shire name *pagus theophalgicus* (royal charter 839 CE, Charles the Bald). It is very likely that this is the same Poitou shire as the *pagus teiphalia* that was mentioned by Gregory of Tours in the sixth century. We therefore need an explanation that can account for a spelling <eo> for a Gallo-Romance /ɛ/, which goes back to a Germanic /ai/. Guinet in his discussion of the Taifali place-names did not find an answer to this problem and concluded that '*l'évolution de* ai *initiale reste obscure*' (Guinet 1982: 157).

Here I want to offer a solution, which would enable us to reconcile the attestations with <eo> or <eu> to the historical development of a Gallo-Romance form /tɛfalja/. I remind the reader that the Gallo-Romance form /tɛfálja/ developed via /tiɛfalja/ into Old French

tifaille. Therefore, in my opinion, we might be dealing with a non-etymological spelling for the pre-French diphthong /iɛ/, the continuation of Gallo-Romance /ɛ/. Because in the Early and High Middle Ages, place-names in Latin contexts were latinized and not yet written in a French orthography, scribes were confronted with the problem of how to write the Old French diphthong /iɛ/, in words that had no established Latin spelling.

The main source of Old French /iɛ/ was of course Romance stressed /ɛ/, which was diphthongized to /iɛ/ in open syllables (see section 3.6). Another source of Old French /iɛ/ came from Frankish words in /io/, a sound that was consistently written <eu> or <eo> in Latinate spelling. Guinet (1982: 78) argued that Frankish /io/, in the lexical transfer between the two languages, was substituted with Gallo-Romance /iɛ/.[251]

- Gm. **steura* > OFrnk. **stiora* →OFr. *estiere* 'rudder' (FEW XVII: 272)
- Gm. **streup* > OFrnk. **striop* → OFr. *estrief* 'stirrup' (FEW XVII: 252-54)
- Gm. **speut* > OFrnk. **spiot* → OFr. *espieth* 'pike' (FEW XVII: 178-79)

This would give a French scribe two ways of writing Early Old French /iɛ/:

- Gallo-Rom. /iɛ/ = Latinate <e> = Romance /ɛ/
- Gallo-Rom. /iɛ/ = Latinate <eu> from Frankish /io/

Although the first spelling option is also found for Germanic lexis in Old French (cf. OFr. *lethgia* for the Walloon place-name Liège), it seems likely that in the case of the Taifali toponyms we are dealing with the second option. In conclusion: because both Germanic /ai/ and Germanic /eu/ yield Old French /iɛ/, a non-etymological spelling <eu> for Old French /iɛ/ was possible.[252] This way, a French scribe could write <teofalia> for an Early Old French form /tiɛfalja/.

[251] Lunderstedt had a different opinion and assumed that Gm. /eu/ yielded Gallo-Rom. /iɛ/ only in pre-tonic syllables (Lunderstedt 1928: 306). He points to several Old French words where Gm. /eu/ in stressed syllables is reflected as a disyllabic sequence OFr. /iɛu/, e.g. OFr. *espieu* 'javelin' < OFr. **speut* 'id.', which runs parallel to the development of OFr. *dieüs* 'god' < Rom. **deus*. In my opinion, his case is made significantly weaker by the fact that the words that have attestations with a triphthong are outnumbered by the more often encountered reflex /iɛ/.

[252] If this solution is correct, we can take the spelling <leotos> for <letos> 'freedmen' of manuscript A2 of the Salic Law (ONW s.v. laat) as a reflection of a Gallo-Romance pronunciation /liɛdos/, where the spelling <eo> was used to render Gallo-Romance /ie/. The same word is continued in OFr. *liege* [adj.] < Rom. **lɛtikʊ* ← Gm. **lǣt-* (see FEW XVI: 463).

Tiffaille, Tiffauges and Tivauches

The place-names that begin with /tif/ are all found in the Poitou region. The single form, that begins with /tiv/, is found in eastern France (Corsaint, Côte-d'Or). The variation between these forms raises the following two questions:

- How can we account for the difference between medial /f/ and /v/?
- How can we account for the different suffixes, i.e. *-aille*, *-auges* and *-auches*?

The first question comes down to whether the presumed underlying form /tefalja/ joined the development of Latin /f/ to Old French /v/. The operation of this voicing rule seems to be conditioned by the surrounding vowels: Latin /f/ was first voiced to Gallo-Romance /v/ in all positions, but before reaching the Old French and Old Provençal stage, the /v/ was lost when it was in contact with back vowels (cf. Lebel 1951: 185; Pierret 1994: 172).

- voicing
    - Lat. **malifatius* > OFr. *mauvais* 'evil'
    - Lat. *raphanus* > OFr. *ravene* 'radish'
- Loss
    - Lat. *sarcophagus* > **sarkovaɣu* > OFr. *sarcou* 'coffin'
    - Lat. *prefunda* > **prevonda* > OFr. *preon* 'valley'

At first glance, it seems like the /tif/ names have withstood the voicing, whereas the /tiv/ form shows the expected voiced reflex. A possible explanation could be that the /tiv/ place-name is older and predates the Gallo-Romance voicing and the /tif/ place-names are younger and postdate the voicing. This however seems unlikely since the resettlement of the Taifali people in Gaul, and therefore the introduction of the /tɛfalja/ form is dated to the same time period. Another explanation would be that the difference between the /tif/ and /tiv/ forms goes back to different Gallo-Romance adaptations of a Germanic phoneme. If we assume that Gallo-Romance /f/ between vowels was already in the fifth century phonetically voiced to /v/, in some areas, speakers of Gallo-Romance might have rendered Germanic /f/ with Gallo-Romance /v/, and in other areas, they might have reintroduced a new /f/ as a loan phoneme from Germanic. For now we will leave the problem of the /f/ instead of expected/v/ here, and we will come back to it at a later point in this chapter.

The second question concerns the difference between the suffix *-aille*, *-auges* and *-auches* that occur in the /tif/ and /tiv/ forms. This problem has already been addressed by Guinet in his 1982 monograph on the Germanic loanwords in French. He assumed that next to a primary form /tɛfalja/, also the adjectives /tɛfalika/ and /tɛfalikʊ/ existed. Because adjectives in **-ikʊ* underwent syncope at a later moment than adjectives in **-ika*

(Neumann's Law), the result would be two different adjectival formations (see Mazzola 2013: 156; see section 3.41):

- Gallo-Rom. *tɛfalja > *tiɛfalja
- Gallo-Rom. *tɛfalikʊ > *tɛfaligo > *tɛfaljo > *tiɛfaldʒo
- Gallo-Rom. *tɛvalika > *tɛvalka > *tiɛvaltʃa

This way, the /tif/ and /tiv/ forms, with their different suffixes, can all be traced back to one underlying form /tɛfalja/.

Chaufailles and Toufaille

The place-names that begin with /tuf/ and /ʃof/ are located well outside of the Poitou region, and one might argue that these forms do not need to reflected the same underlying form /tɛfalja/. We should, however, realize that the /tif/ and /tiv/ place-names are closely connected to the /tuf/ and /ʃof/ names through their medieval spelling with <eu> and <eo>.

The problem is therefore that we find the medieval spellings <theufales> and <teotfallensis> for the place-names Toufailles and Chaufailles.[253] In these cases, we cannot be dealing with an non-etymological spelling <eu> for Old French /iɛ/, since the modern place-names cannot continue an Old French /iɛ/. We therefore need to explain how these medieval attestations with <eu> and <eo> can be linked to the modern place-names and subsequently, whether this would still allow a connection to the Taifali ethnonym (cf. Dauzat & Rostaing 1963: 182; Rossi 2009: 279).

In order to explain the connection between the medieval spellings and the modern place-names Toufailles and Chaufailles, we may consider the possibility that in these words the <eo> spelling reflects a Gallo-Romance sequence /e$^{\$}$o/. This sequence represents the continuation of Latin disyllabic /e$^{\$}$u/, but is also found in cases of Greek loanwords, where it continues Greek /eo/ and /eu/. Evidence from the fourth-century *Appendix Probi* shows that this sequence was simplified to /o/ at an early date already. This simplification from /e$^{\$}$o/ to /o/ is also clear from the Old French and Old Provençal reflexes.

- Latin *ermeneumata* > Late Lat. *erminomata* (App.Prob. 190)
- Latin *meum* [ACC.SG] > OFr. *mom/mon*
- Latin *theofania* > OProv. *tofania*

[253] This diploma that contains the attestation, a charter issued in 882 CE by king Carloman, can be consulted online at the site of the "chartes originales antérieures à 1121 conservées en France" project of the University of Lorraine: URL: http://www.cn-telma.fr/chartae-galliae/charte255165/

The modern place-name Toufailes is therefore consistent with the phonological evolution of a Gallo-Romance sequence /e^{s}o/ to Old French /o/, which in the Toufailles dialect area was raised to /u/ after the Middle Ages (Jochnowitz 1973: 84).

- Gallo-Rom. *te^{s}ofalja > *tofalja > *tufaʎa > Toufailles

The same development would apply for the place-name Chaufailles in the Mâconnais dialect area where the oldest attestation Chofalli from the fourteenth century gives us the expected /o/ vowel (Rossi 2009: 278). We then have to assume that this /o/ vowel withstood raising to /u/ because of contamination with the Franco-Provençal appellative *chaufaille* 'brush wood' (l.c.).

Furthermore, in the place-name Chaufailles, the deformation of the initial consonant from /t/ to /ʃ/ could be explained by assuming that the sequence /e^{s}o/ was re-syllabified to /jo/, which allowed a palatalization of Gallo-Romance /tj/ to Old French /ʧ/. This Old French /ʧ/ may have been reinforced by formal association with Franco-Provençal *chaufaille* 'brush wood'.

- Gallo-Rom. *te^{s}ofalja > *tjofalje >> Chofali > Chaufaille

The proposed evolution from /tj/ to /ʧ/ is supported by the parallel development of the saint's name *sanctus Teotfredus* into *Saint-Chaffrey* and *Saint-Choffrey* (cf. Chambon 1996: 96). The same development can also be found in a series of French personal names, whose first element is thought to contain Germanic **þeuda-* 'people' (l.c.):

- Chabbert < Gm. **þiodaberht*
- Chabbaut < Gm. **þiodabald*
- Chatard < Gm. **þiodahard*

It seems therefore likely that, in the cases of these personal names, the Frankish diphthong /io/ was not substituted with Gallo-Romance /iɛ/, but rather with Gallo-Romance /e^{s}o/, which developed into /o/ and was later weakened to /a/.[254] This scenario is supported by a Merovingian coin legend, where we read <thudegisilo> for the Germanic personal name *theodegisil* (Lunderstedt 1928: 324[255]) and the medieval attestation *Leomania* (< Gm. **leudaman-*) for the Gascon place name *Lomagne* (Broëns 1963: 60).

Another simplification of the Gallo-Romance sequence /e^{s}o/ is suggested by the Old Provençal name *Teiric,* from older Gallo-Romance **tedriko*, where we find Provençal /e/ for

[254] We might also be dealing with influence from the name type Jaubert, Gauffrey from Germanic **gaut-berht* (cf. Guinet 1982: 44-45)

[255] It is unfortunate that Lunderstedt does not provide the provenance of the Merovingian coin.

Gallo-Romance /e$^{\$}$o/ (Voretzsch 1900: 629). This form is supported by the Latinate spelling *Tedericus*, that is encountered in Latin texts from the Carolingian period. We can assume that what separates the two developments was a difference in accentuation. This would allow us to sketch the following possible developments of Gallo-Romance /e$^{\$}$o/ (see also Haubrichs 2014: 212-13):

- Gallo-Rom. /é$^{\$}$o/ > /e/
    - Gm. **þeudarīk* → Gallo-Rom. **Te$^{\$}$odriko-* > OProv. *Teiric*
- Gallo-Rom. /e$^{\$}$ó/ > /o/
    - Gallo-Rom. **te$^{\$}$ofaña* > OProv. *tofania* 'epiphany'
    - Gm. **breuwan* → Gallo-Rom. **bre$^{\$}$ovare* > OProv. *brouar* 'to scorch'
    - Gm. **þeudafridu-* → Gallo-Rom. **Te$^{\$}$ofredo-* > OProv. *Choffrey*

To conclude, the modern place-names in /tuf/ and /ʃof/ as found in Toufailles and Chaufailles can be derived from a Gallo-Romance form /te$^{\$}$ofalja/, which closely resembles the Gallo-Romance type /tɛfalja/ but is not identical with it.

Folk etymology

After the identification of these two Gallo-Romance prototypes, /tɛfalja/ and /te$^{\$}$ofalja/, a final important question remains; is it possible that not only the first Gallo-Romance prototype, but also the second one contains the Taifali ethnonym?

The easiest solution would be to separate the two types and argue that the toponyms in /tif/ and /tiv/ do contain the Taifali ethnonym, and the other toponyms in /tuf/ and /ʃof/ do not. If we still want to reconcile the two types, we might consider a different scenario: as we have seen, there are two possible ways in which Germanic /eu/ can be reflected in Gallo-Romance: one way involved the substitution of the Frankish diphthong /io/ by a Gallo-Romance diphthong /iɛ/, and the other way involved the equation of Germanic /eu/ with the Gallo-Romance disyllabic sequence /e$^{\$}$o /.

- Gm. /eu/ > OFrnk. /io/ → Gallo-Rom. /iɛ/ > /iɛ/ or /i/
- Gm. /eu/ → Gallo-Rom. /e$^{\$}$o/ > /o/

We might argue that, at some point in the Early Middle Ages, the place-name /tiɛfalja/ was associated with the Gallo-Romance element /tiɛd/ [tjɛð], a form which continues the Frankish noun **þioda-* 'people'.

- ModFr. *Thiebaud* < OFrnk. **þiodabald*
- ModFr. *Thieffroy* < OFrnk. **þiodafridu*

- ModFr. *Thierry* < OFrnk. **þiodarīk*
- OFr. *Tiedeis* < OFrnk. **þiodiska-* 'Germanic vernacular'

Such a scenario involving folk etymology and lexical recasting is not unusual for place-names, whose meaning had become obscure and which were continued in a foreign language (Laansalu & Alas 2013).

If we assume that Gallo-Romance /tiɛfalja/ was deformed into /tiɛdfalja/, the form /te$^{\$}$odfalja/ might have been created as a non-etymological re-archaization. This would give us the following scenario:

1. A Germanic ethnonym Taifali enters Gallo-Romance as /tɛfalja/, which diphthongized to /tiɛfalja/.
2. Gallo-Romance /tiɛfalja/ is associated with the lexeme /tiɛd/ from Germanic origin, which leads to a contaminated form /tiɛdfalja/. This form /tiɛdfalja/ could be written with a non-etymological <eo> spelling.
3. Later, the form /tiɛdfalja/ provoked an archaization as /te$^{\$}$odfalja/. In this case, the Gallo-Romance disyllabic sequence /e$^{\$}$o/ developed into Pre-French /o/.

The assumption that such a folk etymology occurred, could account for several additional facts:

- The consonant cluster /df/, in a presumed Gallo-Romance form /tiɛdfalja/ and /te$^{\$}$odfalja/, might be responsible for the /f/ consonant in the majority of the place-names, cf. ModFr. Thieffroy < Gm. **þiodafridu* (see Lebel 1951: 181).
- The consonant cluster /df/, in a presumed Gallo-Romance form /tiɛdfalja/ and /te$^{\$}$odfalja/, might be responsible for the <teotf> spellings in the medieval attestations.

It may be clear that this solution is not straight forward. Still, in my opinion, it is the only way in which the connection between Tiffailles, Toufailles and Chauffailles can be maintained. We may note that a similar solution was hinted at by Lebel (1964: 181), who stated that "*le nom de* Teifali *paraît avoir été refait en* Teotfali *d'après les nombreux noms germaniques par* Teot-". In the end, however, it seems prudent to give up the connection between the two types, and resign ourselves to the position that only the /tɛfalja/ type continues the Taifali ethnonym.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have first reviewed the scholarship on the Taifali ethnonym and evaluated the etymologies that have been proposed in earlier research. I have shown that neither the Celtic etymology by Steinhauser, nor the Germanic etymology by Grimm is convincing. Only the second element of the ethnonym can be provided with a satisfying etymology, i.e. Gm. **falōn* "plain" (cf. OSw. *fala*). We should however realize that any etymology for the second element remains weak, as long the first element has not been explained. For now, the etymology of the Taifali ethnonym remains unsolved.

The second part of this chapter was concerned with the traces of the ethnonym in place-names in Britain and Gaul. The hypothesis that English place-names such as Tealby and Tablehurst reflect the tribal name Taifali seems unlikely and the evidence supporting it is meagre. For Late Roman Gaul, the situation is much clearer; in the case of Roman Gaul, we have a contemporary fifth-century source, the *Notitia Dignitatum,* which recounts that Taifali military regiments were settled in the Potiou region. The settlement of Taifali groups in Gaul might be reflected in various French place-names, which can be reduced to two Gallo-Romance prototypes, i.e. /tɛfalja/ and /te^{s}ofalja/.

In the Poitou region, we find place-names representing the /tɛfalja/ type, which can plausibly be linked to the military settlements of the *Notitia Dignitatum.* We have seen that Gallo-Romance /tɛfalja/ presupposes a Frankish intermediary stage /tēfalja/, and not an older Germanic form /taifalja/. This is an interesting outcome, as it adds to the concept of a multilingual Merovingian realm, where, at some point, Germanic was spoken as far south as the Poitou region. The second type, /te^{s}ofalja/, can only be connected to the Taifali ethnonym, if we assume that the place-names were affected by folk etymology and lexical deformation. Ultimately, this solution might create more problems than that it solves.

10 Conclusion

This dissertation comprises a study of the sociocultural and sociolinguistic factors that defined the linguistic encounter between Germanic and Romance in Late Roman and Merovingian Gaul. This final chapter summarizes and evaluates the main results.

As concerns the prehistory of French and the establishment of the Gallo-Romance dialect area, this dissertation has argued that the following factors played an important role:

- The disintegration of the Roman Empire from the third to the fifth century CE can be considered a 'catastrophic event' in the sociolinguistic sense of the word; it brought along demographic shifts and changes in social patterns that may have accelerated linguistic change in Roman Gaul.
- The political dismemberment of the Western Roman Empire in the late fifth century CE disrupted the geographical mobility that had until then tied Gallo-Romance to the wider Romance-speaking world.
- Because Merovingian scribes employed an evolved Gallo-Romance reading tradition when practicing Latin literacy, Merovingian Latin displays traits of the spoken Gallo-Romance vernacular.
- Merovingian Latin orthography should therefore be studied in consideration of a Gallo-Romance pronunciation.

As concerns Merovingian Frankish society, the investigations in this dissertation have made the following observations on how the vernacular languages reflect elements of, and shifts in Merovingian sociocultural identities:

- The first generation of Merovingian Franks belonged culturally and linguistically to the hybrid Germano-Gallo-Roman frontier zone of Late Roman Belgium.
- Later generations of Merovingian Franks considered their Frankish language to be an important part of their non-Roman identity.
    - This is clear from the inclusion of Germanic lexis in the Salic Law.
    - This is clear from their cultivation of runic literacy.
    - This is clear from the different semantic domains of borrowed Germanic lexis, which are present in the French dialects.
- The different Germanic lexical strata in the French dialects show that the interaction between Germanic-speakers and Gallo-Romance speakers lasted several generations, and that the Franks brought along non-elite lexis as part of their home culture; language functions here as a cultural artefact that fits Bourdieu's (1977) concept of the 'culture of the private'.

- In Austrasia, the bilingual society of northeastern Gaul, native speakers of Frankish imposed a 'Germanic accent' on their pronunciation of Gallo-Romance.
    - When these features were conventionalized throughout the Austrasian speech community, the result was an Austrasian dialect of Gallo-Romance, which was marked by the imposition of Germanic L1 features.
- In the late seventh and early eighth century, the Austrasian 'Germanic-like' dialect of Gallo-Romance spread to the southwest of northern Gaul in the wake of the Pippinid take-over of the Merovingian realm. This elite replacement facilitated the stabilization of a new Gallo-Romance prestige dialect.

As concerns the Salic Law, the investigations in this dissertation have pursued a new approach to the etymology of the Malberg glosses, which highlights the idiosyncrasies of the Merovingian scribal tradition and its relation to the Gallo-Romance vernacular. In this dissertation, the following observations were made:

- The Germanic lexis of the Salic Law has to be read in consideration of a Latinate spelling that was pronounced with Gallo-Romance phonology.
- The Malberg glosses contain Gaulish lexical items, presumably Gaulish loanwords in Germanic.
- The early Merovingian A-redaction of the Salic Law contains glosses that, by the time of the late sixth-century C-redaction, were no longer understood by Romance speaking scribes.
- The A-redaction of the Salic Law was, in all likelihood, connected to the fifth-century Germanic-speaking communities of Late Roman Belgium.
    - This is supported by the presence of Rhine Frankish elements in the Malberg glosses.
    - This is supported by the presence of Gaulish lexis in the Malberg glosses.
    - This is in consonance with the presence of North Sea Germanic elements in the Malberg glosses.

On a more general level, this dissertation has established the importance of the following factors, some of which were already mentioned in previous scholarship, but which, in my opinion, have received too little attention:

- The etymological possibilities of considering reconstructed Romance as a contact language.
- The late survival of Gaulish in isolated areas of Late Roman Gaul.
- The importance of the Gallo-Romance reading tradition for Merovingian Latin.
- The role that the northeastern border dialects of Gallo-Romance may have played in the prehistory of French.

It is my contention that, when we take the above mentioned factors into consideriation, we come to a better understanding of the relationship between the written language and the Merovingian spoken vernaculars. In my opinion, such an approach has the potential of reinvigorating the lexical study of Merovingian Latinity. I therefore expect, that in the years to come, more information about the vernacular languages of Merovingian Gaul will come to light.

Finally, the investigations in this monograph were written from an interdisciplinary point of view, in anticipation of a new dialogue between archaeologists, historians and historical linguists. Although it might be hard to find agreement on some major points of contention, in my opinion, it seems at least feasible to agree on one thing; all pieces of evidence that have come down to us from Late Roman Gaul and Merovingian Gaul should be taken into consideration, also linguistic evidence. I therefore hope that the investigations in this monograph can convince at least some scholars outside of historical linguistics that data from the historical linguistic record should be part of our interpretative models of the Late Antique and Early Medieval past.

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AAG Schützeichel: *Althochdeutscher und Altsächsischer Glossenwortschatz*
CIL *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
EWA Lloyd: *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen.*
EWN Philippa: *Etymologisch Woordenboek van het Nederlands.*
FEW Wartburg: *Französisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch.*
MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historia*
MGH Auct.Ant. = *Auctores Antiquissimi*
MGH Concil. = *Concilia*
MGH SS Rer.Merov = *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum*
MGH LL = *Leges in folio*
MGH LL Form.Mer. = *Leges Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*
MGH LL Leg.Nat. = *Leges nationum Germanicarum*
MGH DD Mer. = *Diplomata regum Francorum e stirpe Merovingica*
MNW Verwijs/Verdam: *Middelnederlands Woordenboek.*
ONW Quak: *Oudnederlands Woordenboek.*
REW Meyer-Lübke: *Romanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch.*
VMNW Pijnenburg: *Vroegmiddelnederlands Woordenboek.*

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Nederlandse samenvatting

Deze dissertatie bestaat uit een studie van de socioculturele en sociolinguïstische factoren die een rol hebben gespeeld bij het taalcontact tussen Germaanssprekenden en Romaanssprekenden in Laat-Romeins en Merovingisch Gallië. In deze samenvatting worden de belangrijkste bevindingen samengevat en geëvalueerd.

Wat betreft de voorgeschiedenis van het Frans en de totstandkoming van het Galloromaanse dialectcontinuüm, zijn in deze dissertatie de volgende factoren als belangrijk bestempeld.

- Het uiteenvallen van het Romeinse rijk, een proces dat zich voltrok van de derde eeuw tot de vijfde eeuw, kan beschouwd worden als een 'catastrophic event' in de sociolinguistische betekenis van de uitdrukking; het bracht demografische verschuivingen en veranderingen in sociale patronen met zich mee, die de taalkundige evolutie van het Romaans in Romeins Gallië versneld hebben.
- De politieke disintegratie van het Westromeinse Rijk in de late vijfde eeuw heeft de geografische mobiliteit, die tot dan toe het Galloromaans met de wijdere romaanssprekende wereld had verbonden, ernstig beperkt.
- Omdat Merovingische klerken een geëvolueerde Galloromaanse leestraditie gebruikten wanneer ze Latijnse geletterdheid bedreven, vertoont het Merovingisch Latijn sporen van de gesproken Galloromaanse vokstaal.
- De spelling van het Merovingisch Latijn moet dus worden bestudeerd in de context van een Galloromaanse uitspraak.

Wat betreft de Merovingische samenleving, zijn in deze dissertatie de volgende observaties gemaakt over hoe de Merovingische volkstalen elementen van en verschuivingen in socioculturele identiteit weerspiegelen.

- De eerste generatie van de Merovingische Franken maakten op cultureel en taalkundig vlak deel uit van de hybride Germaans-Gallorromeinse grenscultuur van Laat-Romeins België.
- De daaropvolgende generaties van de Merovingische Franken beschouwden hun Frankische taal als een belangrijk gedeelte van hun niet-Romeinse identiteit.
    - Dit blijkt uit het opnemen van Germaanse woordenschat in de Salische Wet
    - Dit blijkt uit de cultivatie van runengeletterdheid door de Merovingische elite
    - Dit blijkt uit de verschillende semantische domeinen van Germaanse leenwoordenschat in de Franse dialecten.

- De verschillende Germaanse lexicale strata in het Frans laten zien dat de interactie tussen Germaansprekers en Galloromaanssprekers in Merovingisch Gallië enkele generaties heeft geduurd en dat de Franken hun alledaagse (niet-elitaire) woordenschat als gedeelte van hun thuiscultuur met zich mee brachten naar hun 'target destination'. Taal fungeert hier als een cultureel artefact dat te begrijpen is vanuit Bourdieu's (1977) concept van 'the culture of the private'.
- In Austrasië, het noordoostelijke deel van Merovingisch Gallië waar de samenleving tweetalig was, spraken moedertaalsprekers van het Frankisch het Galloromaans uit met een 'Germaans accent'.
    - Toen het 'Germaanse' accent van de Merovingische Franken werd overgenomen door iedereen in de Austrasische samenleving (dus ook door de mensen wier moedertaal Galloromaans was), ontstond er een specifiek Austrasisch dialect van het Galloromaans. Dit Galloromaanse dialect werd gekenmerkt door een 'Germaanse' taalkundige structuur. Deze Germaanse invloed was dus het gevolg van de tweedetaalverwerving van de eerste generatie van Germaanssprekende Franken.
- In de late zevende en vroege achtste eeuw, werd de Austrasische variëteit van het Galloromaans het prestigedialect van het gehele Frankische rijk. Dit gebeurde in het kielzog van de Pippinidische machtsovername in de vroege achtste eeuw, waarbij sprekers van het Austrasische grensdialect de nieuwe machtshebbers van het Frankische rijk werden. Deze elitevervanging heeft geleid tot de stabilisatie van een nieuwe Galloromaanse 'standaardtaal'.

Wat betreft de Salische Wet, hebben de deelonderzoeken in deze dissertatie een nieuw perspectief op de etymologie van de Malbergse glossen naar voren gebracht. Deze methodologie bestaat uit het rekening houden met de eigenaardigheden van de Merovingische schrifttraditie en haar relatie met de Galloromaanse volkstaal. In deze dissertatie zijn de volgende observaties gemaakt:

- Wanneer men de Germaanse woorden in de Salische Wet leest en probeert te interpreteren, moet men rekening houden met het feit dat de Latijnse grafemen uitgesproken werden met een Galloromaanse uitspraak.
- De Malbergse glossen bevatten oorspronkelijk Gallische woordenschat, vermoedelijk Gallische leenwoorden in het Germaans.
- De vroeg-Merovingische A-redactie van de Salische Wet bevat glossen, die in de late zesde eeuw niet meer begrepen werden door Galloromaansspekende klerken.
- De A-redactie van de Salische Wet moet in verband worden gebracht met de Germaanssprekende gemeenschappen die in Laat-Romeins België woonachtig waren.

Op een algemener niveau zijn in deze dissertatie de volgende bevindingen gedaan, waarvan sommige reeds bekend waren, maar, naar mijn mening, te weinig aandacht hebben gekregen in de wetenschappelijke literatuur. Het gaat hier om de volgende zaken:

- Het in overweging nemen van gereconstrueerd Romaans als een contacttaal in vroegmiddeleeuws taalcontact en de mogelijkheden die dit biedt voor de etymologie van vroegmiddeleeuwse woordenschat.
- De mogelijkheid dat het Gallisch relatief lang zou kunnen hebben overleefd in geïsoleerde delen van Laat-Romeins Gallië.
- Het belang van de Galloromaanse leestraditie van het Merovingisch Latijn.
- De rol die de noordoostelijke grensdialecten van het Galloromaans hebben gespeeld in de voorgeschiedenis van het Frans.

Ik ben ervan overtuigd dat als we deze voornoemde zaken in ogenschouw nemen, we tot een beter begrip komen van de relatie tussen het geschreven Latijn en de gesproken volkstalen in de Merovingische samenleving. Naar mijn mening heeft een dergelijke aanpak de potentie om het onderzoek naar de woordenschat van het Merovingisch Latijn nieuw leven in te blazen. Ik verwacht daarom dat in de komende jaren nieuwe informatie over de volkstalen van Merovingisch Gallië aan het licht wordt gebracht.

Ten slotte moet gezegd worden dat het onderzoek in deze dissertatie uitgevoerd en gepresenteerd is als voorschot op een nieuwe interdisciplinaire dialoog tussen archeologen, geschiedwetenschappers en historisch-taalkundigen. Alhoewel het moeilijk zal zijn de meest fundamentele meningsverschillen te overbruggen, meen ik dat het haalbaar is om het tenminste over één ding eens te worden: al het bewijsmateriaal dat tot ons is gekomen uit Laat-Romeins en Merovingisch Gallië moet bekeken worden, ook taalkundig bewijsmateriaal. Ik hoop daarom dat het onderzoek in deze monografie wellicht enkele niet-taalwetenschappers weet te overtuigen dat historisch-taalkundige data deel moet gaan uitmaken van de historische duiding van het laat-antieke en vroegmiddeleeuwse verleden.

Curriculum Vitae

Peter Alexander (Peter-Alexander) Kerkhof was born in Cali, Colombia, on the 28th of January 1988. He was adopted from a Caleño orphanage in 1990 by Christine Kerkhof-Ruijter and Henk Marius Kerkhof, who raised him in the Netherlands, in the western Brabantish village of Wouw. He obtained his VWO-Gymnasium diploma from Gymnasium Juvenaat Heilig Hart in Bergen op Zoom in 2006. He continued to study medieval history and comparative Indo-European linguistics at Leiden University, specializing in the languages and cultures of Early Medieval Europe. Peter-Alexander obtained a B.A. degree in History (cum laude) in 2009 and obtained an M.A. degree in comparative Indo-European linguistics (cum laude) in 2012.

From 2014 to 2016, Peter-Alexander worked as a lecturer at Leiden University and taught courses in comparative Indo-European Linguistics and historical linguistics for the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL) and the Leiden Summerschool for Languages and Linguistics. Meanwhile, he was working on his PhD dissertation under the supervision of prof.dr. Alexander Lubotsky.

From 2016 to 2018, Peter-Alexander exchanged Dutch academia for Belgian academia and worked for the EVALISA project at the linguistics department of Ghent University. Peter-Alexander has published scholarly articles on Old Germanic etymology and Indo-European etymology, as well as popularizing articles on the history of the Dutch language and Dutch etymology and toponomy. From September 2018, Peter-Alexander is back at Leiden University as an assistant professor and research fellow in comparative Indo-European linguistics and Old Germanic philology.