



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

**Language, law and loanwords in early medieval Gaul:
language contact and studies in Gallo-Romance phonology**
Kerkhof, A.E.

Citation

Kerkhof, A. E. (2018, October 9). *Language, law and loanwords in early medieval Gaul: language contact and studies in Gallo-Romance phonology*. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/66116>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/66116>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Language, Law and Loanwords in Early Medieval Gaul

Language Contact and Studies in Gallo-Romance phonology

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

Alexia Elise Kerkhof

geboren te Cali

in 1988

Promotor: Prof.dr. A.M. Lubotsky
Co-promotor: Dr. Michiel de Vaan

Promotiecommissie: Prof.dr. J.E.C.V. Rooryck (Secretaris)
Prof.dr. A. Quak
Prof.dr. N. Van der Sijs, Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen
Prof.dr. A.P. Versloot, Universiteit van Amsterdam

“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

Table of Contents

Abbreviations	1
Abbreviations of Languages	1
Symbols	2
Academic abbreviations	2
Acknowledgements	3
Introduction	5
Aim and structure	6
Relevance	9
Linguistic sources and terminology	9
Methodology	12
1 Language and the Early Medieval Past	14
1.1 The access to the past	14
1.2 The transformation of the Roman world paradigm	16
1.3 Language and Identity	20
1.4 Language and Archaeology	21
1.5 Roman transformation and Germanic infiltration	23
1.6 Language and the Roman border zone	27
1.7 Language in Migration Age Gaul	31
1.8 The Franks	33
1.9 The Germanic linguistic identity of the Franks	34
1.10 The Germanic cultural identity of the Franks	37
1.11 Salic Law in northern Gaul	39
1.12 Germanic lexis in the Salic Law	43
1.13 The survival of Gaulish	45
1.14 Fifth-century Gaulish	47

1.15 Gaulish in the Swiss Alps and Brittany	49
1.16 Late Gaulish sound changes	51
1.17 The Franks and the Gallo-Romans	55
1.18 The Franks and the fate of Late Gaulish	56
2 Early Romance behind the Latin veil	61
2.1 The Latin ancestor	61
2.2 From Proto-Romance to Vulgar Latin	64
2.3 The new paradigm	66
2.4 Critique on the ‘one-norm theory’	67
2.5 Evaluation of Wright’s thesis	70
2.6 Medieval Latin	73
2.7 Gallo-Romance	74
2.8 The separation of Gallo-Romance	76
2.9 Merovingian Latin and Merovingian Gallo-Romance	77
2.10 Merovingian Mots Savants	79
2.11 The testimony of Merovingian texts	79
2.12 Romance and the <i>Pactus Legis Salicae</i>	81
2.13 Romance and the Merovingian diplomas	82
2.14 Romance and the Merovingian formularies	85
2.15 Romance and the chronicle of Pseudo-Fredegar	87
2.16 Romance and the verse correspondence of Frodebert and Importun	89
2.17 Some general remarks on Merovingian spelling	92
3 Gallo-Romance historical phonology	94
3.1 Sound laws and chronology	94
3.2 The reorganization of the Latin vowel system	95
3.3 The dialectal division of the Romania	97
3.4 The dawn of West Romance	98
3.5 Ten Brink’s Law	99

3.6 Romance diphthongization of the low mid vowels	100
3.7 Diphthongization because of a following palatal.....	103
3.8 Diphthongization of the high mid vowels.....	104
3.9 Germanic loanwords and Gallo-Romance diphthongization.....	105
3.10 Merovingian spelling and the Gallo-Romance vowel system	106
3.11 Gallo-Romance /ei/ in Germanic borrowings.....	107
3.12 Gallo-Romance /iɛ/ in Germanic borrowings.....	111
3.13 Gallo-Romance fronting of /u/.....	114
3.14 Gallo-Romance fronting of /a/	115
3.15 Gallo-Romance palatalization and Bartsch' Law	116
3.16 Fronted /æ/ and palatalization of /ɣ/	119
3.17 Gallo-Romance brightening and relative chronology	119
3.18 Gallo-Romance metaphony and umlaut.....	120
3.19 Latin glides	123
3.20 Romance prosthesis.....	123
3.21 Ascoli's Law	124
3.22 Gallo-Romance final vowels.....	124
3.23 Affrication of /tj/ and /kj/	126
3.24 Palatalization of /k/ before front vowels.....	130
3.25 Merger of /dj/, /j/ and /g/ before front vowels.....	131
3.26 Palatalization of /ɲj, /lj/.....	133
3.27 Gallo-Romance i-infection	133
3.28 Pan-Romance lenition	134
3.29 Gallo-Romance lenition	138
3.30 Conditioned loss of Latin /g/.....	138
3.31 Latin /k/ to Late Gallo-Romance /ɣ/	140
3.32 Lenition of stops + resonant clusters.....	142
3.33 Loss of /h/ and final /m/	143

3.34 Fortition of Latin /w/	144
3.35 Latin /p/ and /k/ in stop + dental clusters	145
3.36 Gallo-Romance /st/	147
3.37 The Gallo-Romance palatal consonants	147
3.38 Fortition of /j/ following labials.....	149
3.39 Gallo-Romance palatalization of /k/ and /g/ before /a/	150
3.40 Gallo-Romance syncope.....	152
3.41 Neumann's Law	156
3.42 Overview of the reconstructed phonemes	159
3.43 Conclusions	161
4 Language Contact and Pippinid prestige	165
4.1 introduction.....	165
4.2 Language contact.....	166
4.3 Contact with Gallo-Romance	170
4.4 Northern Gallo-Romance.....	172
4.5 Frankish influence	174
4.6 The Pippinid Hypothesis	179
4.7 Historical framework.....	181
4.8 The Dawn of Walloon.....	184
4.9 Walloon and the Germanic influence thesis of Wilmotte	184
4.10 Developments shared with Germanic	186
4.11 Walloon archaisms.....	188
4.12 Bilingualism in medieval Wallonia	191
4.13 Conclusion.....	192
5 As the Falcon flies: Common Slavic *sŏkolъ and Malberg <socelino>.....	193
6 Between coulter and carruca in the Early Middle Ages	205
7 Adding Insult to Injury	218
8 An Old French origin for Dutch polder	233

9 Troubles with the Taifali tribal name and its occurrence in Gallo-Romance toponyms ..	245
10 Conclusion	263
Bibliography.....	266
Nederlandse samenvatting	306
Curriculum Vitae	309

Table of Figures

figure 1 triangle model based on Schmidt-Wiegand 1975	12
Figure 2 the Somme - Aisne line	24
Figure 3 Austrasia and Neustria in Merovingian Gaul.....	179
figure 4 diffusion of Austrasian influence	183
figure 5 'ard plough'	216
figure 6 Roman arātrum 'bow ard' Cherchel mosaic 4th c. CE	217
figure 7 Medieval heavy plough. Source: Fowler (2002).....	217
figure 8 Anglo-Saxon heavy wheeled plough	217
figure 9 map based on Hondius 1636 (Bossu 1983: 80-81)	239
figure 10 Taifali toponyms in Roman Gaul	253

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.	Wall.	Walloon
S/Cr.	Serbo-Croatian	WGm.	West Germanic
Slov.	Slovak	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.	<i>capitulum</i>
cf.	<i>confer</i>
e.a.	<i>et alii</i>
e.g.	<i>exempli gratia</i>
id.	<i>idem</i>
l.c.	<i>loco citato</i>
s.v.	<i>sub verbo</i>
vs.	<i>versus</i>
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, Séan 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.