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STURE URELAND:
Contact typology and glottogenesis in Northern Europe
1100–1600 – aspects of historical Euro linguistics

1. Introduction

In order to understand the rise and geographical spread of the modern languages of Northern Europe it is necessary to look back to the period which is in the focus of this article: the Late Middle Ages¹. Since all European languages have interacted with each other from the very beginning, it will be necessary to sketch a contact typology of the languages spoken around the Baltic Sea. It will also be necessary to present a model of glottogenesis for Scandinavia² and the Baltic States.³ Before I discuss the specific contacts between 1100–1600 A.D. and the necessity of treating North European glottogenesis within a Euro linguistic historical framework, the transfer and integration processes will also be discussed which occur between the dominating source languages in the south and the recipient languages in the north of the European continent. Such transfer and integration of technical, religious and literary know-how from the south is reflected in the lexicon, phraseology, syntax and spelling of all the languages of the north. It is a known fact that Mediterranean civilization spread north in the Early Middle Ages to the peoples north of the Alps, to the North Sea and Baltic Sea Regions carrying new concepts of a religious, literary and technical nature. This information had to be expressed in a language which the northern peoples did not possess at that time. New linguistic resources had to be created to meet this need and challenge from the south. This is known in German historical linguistics under the phrase ›Wörter und Sachen‹.⁴ The process of translating and

1 For a unified view of the languages and cultures of the Baltic Sea Region, see *The Uppsala University Programme*: e.g., WESTIN: 1993; RUNBLOM and ROTH: 1993; GUSTAVSSON, LING, and TEGBORG: 1994; GERNER and KARLSSON: 1995; RYDÉN: 1994 and MACIEJEWSKI: 2002.

2 Cf. URELAND: 1987a, 98–101, for a contact model of Scandinavian glottogenesis and also Fig 1 in Section 2.

3 This is an abbreviated and up-dated version of URELAND and VORONKOVA: 1999 presenting a typological contact model of Scandinavia and a contact and glottogenetic model for the Baltic States.

4 This phrase was a slogan for a group of researchers in Switzerland (cf., e.g., JABERG and JUD: 1928) and Germany (Fritz Krüger, Gerhald Rolf, Theodor Frings, Walter Mitzka

copying words and phrases from Latin and Greek to express new ideas and things constitute an important aspect of the cultural development, in German called ›Sprach- und Kulturausgleich‹.⁵ The international vocabulary originating from Greek, Latin and later Romance languages is consequently a well-known aspect of what the Germans also call ›Spracheuropa‹. It is transferred in different ways through a multitude of channels of communications: trading routes, wars, christianization, literature, (learned) bilingualism etc., leading to different kinds of cultural and linguistic contacts. Here we will be concerned with the transit routes of linguistic items and structures to Scandinavia and the Baltic States, whereby some examples will be presented which demonstrate the need of a Eurolinguistic approach.

2. The roofing of European languages

A historical roofing model of the European languages by Latin and Greek is shown in Fig. 1 below, which has to be complemented by more detailed roofing models of Scandinavia (Fig. 2) and the languages in the Baltic states, where Medieval Latin

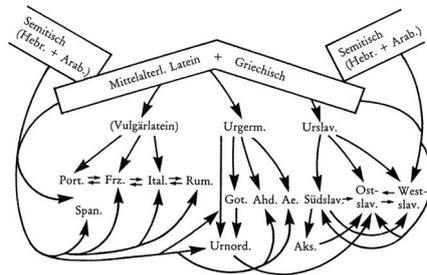


Fig. 1: The roofing of European vernaculars between 500–1200 A.D. (From URELAND: 1987, 102)

occupy the top-most roof, but where the roofs in-between vary considerably due to different sociohistorical development.⁶

Thus by viewing the rise of the European literary languages as being dependent to a very large extent upon the translation and copying of Mediterranean models from the south to the north in a pan-European

framework, we will contribute to an approach called ›Eurolinguistics‹, which is a term coined by Nobert Reiter.⁷

etc.) who included aspects of material culture, folklore, folk art in their descriptions of Romance and Germanic dialects. See also e.g. *Słownik Starożytności Słowiańskich* ›Dictionary of terms of the ancient Slavic material culture‹: 1961–1996 for the Slavic countries.

5 Cf. BETZ: 1944; 1949.

6 For the concept of ›roofing‹ see ›Überdachung‹ in KLOSS: 1952, 20, and GOOSSENS: 1971.

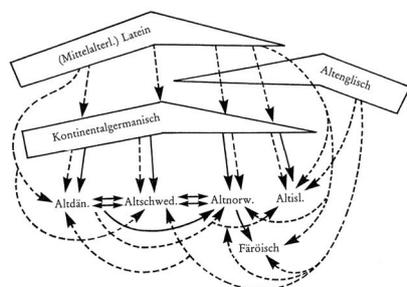


Fig. 2: The roofing of North Germanic vernaculars between 800–1500 A.D. (From URELAND: 1987, XVI)

In political discussions today it is fashion to speak of mobility in Europe concerning capital investment, trade, service and education (the four freedoms). However, in comparative-historical linguistics a European and even an Asian view, has prevailed, in which the languages of Europe have always been treated within a pan-European framework. Modern contact linguistics of the past

twenty years has also contributed to such a European-wide view in describing European glottogenesis.

3. Contact typology of the Baltic Sea Region

3.1 German as a contact language

Departing from the results which have already been published in contact-linguistic research,⁸ we can now present a sketch of the convergence of the languages which have been in contact with each other since the Late Middle Ages in the Baltic Sea Region.⁹ A great number of publications can be mentioned which give us an overview of the contacts in Scandinavia and the Baltic States, so that a contact typology for these two areas can be sketched. By having access to a Dominance-and-Transference-Model as has been elaborated by contact linguistic research, we can observe a whole series of contact phenomena in orthography, phonology, morphology, lexicon and phraseology of all languages spoken in Scandinavia and the Baltic States, both in the past and the present.¹⁰

7 Cf. REITER: 1994 and 1995.

8 Since WEINREICH: 1953 and HAUGEN: 1953 a new type of linguistics has evolved which deals with the convergence of languages through bilingualism both in the individuals and between different social groups.

9 Cf. also Puškin Theses 3 and 4 in URELAND: 2003, 25 on the historical and social scenario underlying the network of similarities (convergence) and dissimilarities (divergence) between European languages.

10 Cf. examples in URELAND and VORONKOVA: 1998, 103; and 1999.

Of special interest for us in the Baltic Sea Region¹¹ is the influence of Middle Low German (MLG) on the languages spoken around the Baltic Sea. Middle Low German besides Medieval Latin and French is perhaps the most striking example of an innovating force, as it was a source and intermediary language together with Middle Dutch (MDu) for all the languages spoken around the Baltic Sea during the Late Middle Ages: 1200–1700. The role which these two languages played for the glottogenesis of Scandinavian languages has also been known for a long time in Germanic and Scandinavian studies.

In the 1980s these contacts between Continental Germanic and Nordic languages became popular again among researchers in Scandinavia and Germany, because these researchers worked in a new approach to language: Contact Linguistics. I am referring here to the four conferences »Niederdeutsch in Scandinavia 1985–1991«, but also to the LAMA-Symposium »Sprachkontakt in der Hanse«.¹²

Graphic descriptions of MLG contacts dealt with at the conferences »Niederdeutsch in Skandinavien 1985–1991«, the conference in Riga 1985, and the ELAMA-Symposium 1986 are given in Ureland and Voronkova.¹³ The relevant language pairs are MLG-Finnish (3 articles), MLG-Estonian (1), MLG-Livian (1), MLG-WSlavic (2), whereas Latvian and Lithuanian and Old Russian were not treated to begin with. The Scandinavian languages in contact with MLG were instead dealt with much more (47 papers in all), besides MLG-Middle-English/Norn (1 paper), MLG-Old Frisian (1), MLG-MDu (1) and MLG-Mlat (1 article). However, the small number of papers dealing with the languages on the eastern side of the Baltic Sea is striking here, but it was expanded through a conference in Riga in 1995,¹⁴ where MLG-Russian was treated in 3 papers: MLG-Estonian (2), MLG-Latvian (2), MLG-Lithuanian (1), MLG-Old Prussian (1), Old Prussian-Ostpreuß. dialects (1) and MLG-MHG/Early NHG (6). Notice that we are also involved with triple contacts between MLG-

¹¹ The term »Baltic Sea region« is used here in the sense of »the Baltic drainage area« as used by *The Uppsala University Programme* for the purpose of analysis, synthesis and planning (cf. RYDÉN: 1994 and WESTIN: 1993, 5).

¹² Cf. URELAND: 1987b and also SCHÖNDORF et al.: 1987–1995; HYLDGAARD-JENSEN, VINGE and CHRISTENSEN: 1989; ELMÉVIK and SCHÖNDORF: 1992.

¹³ URELAND and VORONKOVA: 1999.

¹⁴ Cf. BRANDT: 1996.

Latvian-Estonian, MLG-Latvian-(Old)Russian and MLG-(Baltic) – Old Prussian-(German) Prussian dialects.

It should be noticed that in most of the mentioned language pairs MLG constitutes a source or intermediary language, whereas the North- and East-European languages in the periphery are indicated as recipient languages without contributing much in return. The socio-historical development motivates us to depict the contacts in this way, because MLG together with Medieval Latin and French are the centres of linguistic innovations from the Late Middle Ages down to the 20th century as the dominating languages for trade connections and cultural exchange, which leads to linguistic and cultural adaptation in the Baltic Sea Region.

3.2 Contact mosaic in the Baltic States

It would be wrong to claim that the language pairs given above reconstruct all the language contacts in the Baltic States. A more general and specified configuration of language contacts must be given. In Fig. 3, the more important contact languages have been enumerated, which include the large national languages of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the following figure:

In Estonia

- | | | | |
|-------|------------------|---|---|
| (1) a | Estonian | : | Old Swedish/East Swedish dialects
(Estonian Swedish) |
| b | Estonian | : | Baltic German (MLG and NHG) |
| c | Estonian | : | Old Russian |
| d | Estonian Swedish | : | Baltic German |
| e | Estonian Swedish | : | Russian |
| f | Estonian | : | Finnish |
| g | Estonian | : | Latvian |
| h | Estonian | : | Livonian (with Courland) |
| i | Estonian | : | Yiddish |

In Latvia

- | | | | |
|-------|---------|---|-----------------------------------|
| (2) a | Latvian | : | Old Swedish/East Swedish dialects |
| b | Latvian | : | Baltic German (MLG and NHG) |
| c | Latvian | : | Russian |
| d | Latvian | : | Estonian |
| e | Latvian | : | Livonian |
| f | Latvian | : | Lithuanian |
| g | Latvian | : | Polish |
| h | Latvian | : | Yiddish |

In Lithuania

(3) a	Lithuanian	:	Gothic
b	Lithuanian	:	Old Russian (Ukrainian)
c	Lithuanian	:	Polish
d	Lithuanian	:	(ML)G (Baltic German)
e	Lithuanian	:	Yiddish
f	Lithuanian	:	Latvian
g	Lithuanian	:	Old Prussian
h	Lithuanian	:	White Russian

Fig. 3: List of potential language contacts between indigenous languages in the Baltic States

In all, 25 historical language contacts are enumerated, which have played a significant role for the development and rise to national languages on the eastern side of the Baltic Sea. However, it is not my intention here to discuss all these specific contacts in detail. There are also a number of smaller languages such as Livian, Votic, Ingrian¹⁵ and Karaim which have not been included in Fig. 3.

3.3 Contact zones in Scandinavia and Estonia:

North Germanic and Fenno-Ugric

The contacts between North Germanic and Fenno-Ugric (Sámi, Finnish/Carelian, Estonian, Livonian) is historically very old. It has also been the object of a large number of investigations because contact between languages and peoples constitute an important factor of glotto- and ethnogenesis.¹⁶ The present-day linguistic map of the languages spoken in the northern parts of the Scandinavian Peninsula is a result of long-lasting interethnic contacts since the Early Middle Ages. The wide and complex geographical distribution of North Germanic- and Fenno-Ugric-speaking areas along the thousand-mile-long mountain range (Kölen) between Norway and Sweden, and also in northern Finland and on the

¹⁵ Cf. HAARMANN: 1972–1984.

¹⁶ Cf., e.g., THOMSEN: 1869; SKÖLD: 1961; 1979; KOIVULEHTO: 1983; KYLSTRA et al.: 1991; HOFSTRA: 1995b, 87; SCARDIGLI: 2002b – Proto-Germanic and Gothic in Finnish and Sámi; SKÖLD: 1983; NIELSEN: 2002 – West Germanic; Hakulinen: 1979; LAANEST: 1982 – Old Swedish; HOFMANN: 1988; GUSTAVSON: 1991; *Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja*: 1955–1978 – Gotlandish; HOFSTRA: 1995a; KANTOLA: 1987; RITTER: 1989 – Middle Low German; RÜBEKEIL: 2002 – Scandinavia in ancient tradition; KOIVULEHTO: 2002; SCARDIGLI: 2002a – Scandinavia and non-Germanic languages; SCHULTE: 2002 – Scandinavia and multilingualism.

Kola-Peninsula has been summarized in Table 1, whereby the division of the Sámi varieties into South (LpS), Central (LpC), North (LpN) and East Sámi (LpE) is used as appropriate denotations.

The ethnic contact zones are also classified according to the geographical and ecological conditions under which the speakers of North Germanic, Sámi and Finnish live:

- (a) along the Scandinavian mountain range on both sides in the forests and mountains: the South Sámi (LpS) and the Central Sámi (LpC) together with Swedish and Norwegian speakers.¹⁷
- (b) in the Norwegian fjords and also in Finnmark: the fjord-Sámi (LpFio)/the North Sámi (LpN) and the Finnish-speaking Kvens (fiT) together with the Norwegian speakers.¹⁸
- (c) on the Kola-peninsula: the East Sámi (LpE) together with Carelian speakers (fiKrl), Finns, Russians, Zyrians (Komi) and even Uralic-speaking Samoyeds.
- (d) in the costal and forest areas of Sweden, Finland, Carelia and Estonia: Swedish speakers together with Finns, Carelians, Ingrians, Veps and Estonians.¹⁹

The inter-ethnic and linguistic pattern of contacts in this huge territory is presented in the following table:

A. Along the Scandinavian mountain range and in the fjords:

(1a) South Sámi (LpS) in contact with Proto-Scandinavian/North Swedish/North Norwegian dialects in:

- Engerdal – Røros (LpS) (Hedmark)
- Tännäs – Mittådalen (LpJämt)(Härjedalen)
- Snåsa (Nord-Trøndelag) (LpS) – Frostviken(LpJämt)(Jämtland)
- Åsele(LpÅs) – Tärna (LpUm)(Västerbotten) – Hattfjelldal – Vefsn (LpS) (Nordland)

17 Cf. also URELAND: 1995, Table 1, 47–48, and URELAND: 1997, 1985, showing an overall table and a linguistic map respectively of the Sámi, Finnish and North Germanic geographic distribution and settlement in northern Scandinavia.

18 Cf. especially the linguistic map of the ›North Calotte‹ in URELAND: 1997 and the more southern parts in the map of Swedish, Finnish, Sámi, Carelian and other speakers in the Swedish Empire (1660) published in DE GEER and WANDE: 1990, 96.

19 Cf. recent research on archaeology and ethnolinguistics and historical contacts between Sámi and North Germanic in Central Scandinavia in the pre-Viking and post-Viking periods: KORHONEN: 1984; ZACHRISSON: 2001 and 2004, and in KUSMENKO: 2003; 2004a; 2004b; 2005 on phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical interference from Sámi on Runic and Old Swedish in Central Scandinavia during the Early Middle Ages and later. (See also criticism of the Sámi-Influence-Hypothesis by BAUDOU: 2004, 17–33.)

(rb) Central Sámi (LpC) in contact with Proto-Scandinavian/North Swedish and North Norwegian dialects in:

Arjeplog and Arvidsjaur (LpP) (Norrbotten)
Jokkmokk and Gällivare (LpL) (Norrbotten)

(rc) North Sámi (LpN) in contact with Proto-Scandinavian/North Swedish/North Norwegian dialects/North Finnish dialects (fiT) in:

Jukkasjärvi (LpJu), Vittangi, Soppero, Karesuando (LpT)(Norrbotten)
Hamarøy, Musken, Tysfjord, Sørfjord, (Nordland)
Skånland, Gratangen, Salangen, Spanndalen, Vassdal (LpFio)
Kautokeino (LpKt), Karasjok (LpKr), Utsjoki (LpUt)(Finnmark)

(rd) North Finnish (fiT) of the Kvens in contact with North Norwegian dialects/North Sámi (LpN) (Finnmark)

Western Kven dialects spoken in:
The area of Lyngen Fjord
The area of Nordreisa on Kvænangen Fjord
The area of Alta Fjord

Porsanger Kven dialects spoken in:
The area of Laxelv in Porsanger Fjord
The area of Børselv in Porsanger Fjord

Eastern Kven dialects spoken in:
The area of Tanaelv in Tana Fjord
The area of Neiden between Finnmark and North Finland
The area of Pasvikdal at the Russian border
The area of Vadsø at the Vardanger Fjord
The area of Vardø at the Vardanger Fjord

(B) In Northern Finland: East Sámi (LpE) in contact with:

(re) Proto-Scandinavian/North Finnish dialects/Russian
Inari Sámi (LpI) (Lake Inari)
Kildin Sámi (LpKld) (Lake Inrari and Kola Peninsula)
Ter Sámi (LpTer) (Kola Peninsula)

(C) In North Sweden and North Finland (coast and forest areas):

(2a) Finnish (fiT), (fiKe)/Proto-Scandinavian/New Swedish dialects in Torne Valley and Swedish iron ore areas
(2b) Finnish/Proto-Scandinavian/East Swedish dialects (Finland Swedish)
(2c) Finnish/Russian
(2d) Finland Swedish/Russian

(D) In Estonia

(3a) Estonian/Proto-Scandinavian/East Swedish dialects (Estonian Swedish)
(3b) Estonian/Baltic German (MLG and NHG)
(3c) Estonian/Russian
(3d) Estonian Swedish/Baltic German
(3e) Estonian Swedish/Russian

Table 1: Typology of language contact in Northern Scandinavia and Estonia

4. Glottogenesis and roofing

4.1 In Scandinavia

In Fig. 3 and Table 1, there is one important dimension missing for a historically relevant description of the glottogenesis in the Baltic States: the roofing of this area by international languages. As I mentioned in the Introduction we can demonstrate with the help of the Pan-European Language-Dominance-Model in Fig. 1 that written Latin and Greek played a crucial role for the genesis of European national languages, i.e. through direct contacts and the literary influence of learned bilingualism.

From Old Irish in the west to Old Russian in the east, from OHG in the South to Old Norse in the north, we know that Latin and Greek were active in the rise of European vernaculars to written languages. They were midwives of European glottogenesis. The codification and standardization of the European vernaculars to written vehicles of communication would not have been possible without the linguistic and cultural roofing by Latin and Greek.

As far as the Scandinavian languages depicted in Fig. 2 are concerned, this dependency on codification models from the medieval languages of the south has been symbolized in the form of different roofs and arrows.

This general claim of an early roofing effect during the Early Middle Ages is continued during the Late Middle Ages in that Medieval Latin, Middle Low German and Old English was to become the models for languages in the west during the missionary period, whereas Byzantine Greek and Old Church Slavonic became model languages for the languages in the east. As can be seen from the more detailed Fig. 4 we are confronted with centuries of language domination in the Baltic States which also include other lan-

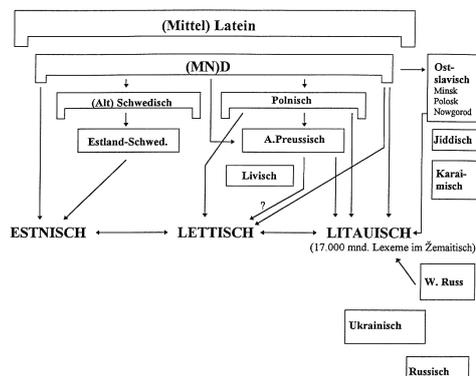


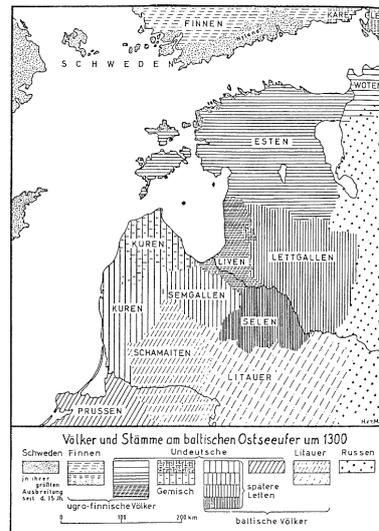
Fig. 4: Roofing of languages in the Baltic states between 1200 and 1700 A.D. with special reference to the transfer of Germanisms
(From VORONKOVA and URELAND: 1999, 225)

guages than Latin and Greek. Thus we have to do with an extremely complex historical development which have given rise to the modern languages in the north and the east.

4.2 In the Baltic States

Having pointed out that a mere list of the language contacts in the Baltic states (cf. Fig. 3) is too one-dimensional for a deeper understanding of the rise of the languages in the Baltic States, the more important contacts between Medieval Latin, Baltic German, Russian, Swedish, Polish etc. for the genesis of Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian have to be recapitulated. The German influence, being the more important influence, at least in the beginning, should here be in focus.²⁰

Up to 1,800 German lexemes have been found in Latvian²¹ almost the same number (1,662) in Estonian²², but much fewer in the Lithuanian Standard Language, where only about 50 Germanisms have been shown to exist.²³ However, in the southwestern border dialects of Lithuanian (*Žemaitia*) thousands of them have been traced. As an explanation of this chaos of language contacts in the Baltic States one can point to the complex history of conquests and reconquests to which the Baltic States have been exposed. Important in this context is the ethnic map of 1300 A.D., where the various ethnic groups are indicated (cf. Map 1) and the political map of the borders in 1386, with an indication of the areas of The Teu-



Map 1: Peoples and tribes in the Baltic states in the 14th century (From JOHANSEN and MÜHLEN: 1973, 3, Fig. 1)

20 The roofing of languages in the Baltic States between 1200 and 1700 with special reference to the transfer of Germanisms is figured in URELAND and VORONKOVA: 1999, 225.

21 Cf. SEHWERS: 1918; 1925; 1953.

22 Cf. Kull and Raiet acc. to RÄTSEP: 1986.

23 Cf. ALMINAUSKIS: 1935 and Voronkova, orally.



Map 2: Political borders in the Baltic area and Poland 1386 (From MITZKA: 1959, Map 1)

tonic Order and the extension of the Kingdom of Lithuania and Poland (cf. Map 2), in which areas the influence from dominating languages was different: in East Prussia, Latvia and Estonia, German became the dominating official and cultural language especially during the Hanseatic League and after the Reformation, whereas in Catholic Lithuania-Poland, Lithuanian and Polish became the dominating languages. However, after the Russian conquest of Estonia and Lifland (Lat-

via) in the 18th century (The Peace of Nystad in 1721) Russian became a new roofing language.²⁴

5. Internationalisms in the Baltic Sea Region

5.1 Translating and copying

After this general orientation of the socio-historical roofing of the languages in Scandinavia and the Baltic States I would like to present some examples of the two processes of copying and translating.²⁵ These are fundamental in language contact, because they give rise to a great number of innovations in practically all components of a given language.

We know from Nordic historical linguistics that so-called interferences in North Germanic syntax (participial constructions, Accusative-with-Infinitive- (ACI)-constructions, passive -s-construction, relative constructions with (*hvilken*); in morphosyntax (definite articles, passive morphemes (*bliva*), plural suffixes) and in phraseology and word formation together with the transference of an enormous number of foreign words from Latin, Greek and Continental Germanic penetrate North Germanic. The transfer and integration of both structural items, word order and

24 Cf. the roofing of languages in the Baltic States after 1721 with special reference to the transfer of Germanisms in URELAND and VORONKOVA: 1999, 226.

25 See also URELAND: 1986, 35.

lexical items are due to external (Semitic²⁶ and Greek²⁷ (the Bible), Latin²⁸) religious, literary and technical information.

Through translating and copying on the part of natural or literary bilinguals the whole Europeanization of the primitive European vernaculars was started, the syntactic structures of which some examples were just presented from North Germanic. This Pan-European view of the Nordic languages and their immediate dependency on foreign Mediterranean models for the rise of Old Swedish and Old Danish was not prevalent in the days of nationalism. Text books and even scholarly theses on the codification of the Old Scandinavian laws for instance claimed the native Nordic origin of the older texts, whereas in each component of the language from orthography and lexicon to syntax and phraseology the international European influence was visible and undeniable. In this context, I would like to mention Utterström's criticism of this narrow national-philological view. Such criticism which is an excellent example of a European view of the Nordic languages contributed to a Europeanization of Nordic Studies in Sweden in the 1970s and 1980s.²⁹

5.2 Examples of Europeanisms in the North

In order to gain an over-all view of how so-called Europeanisms have spread throughout the Baltic Sea Region three lexical items transferred from three different source languages (Latin, Proto-Scandinavian and Middle Low German) in the Middle Ages will be discussed here at some length.

The impact of translating and copying processes on language development due to multilinguals has been shown as far as the influence of Latin on Runic and Old Swedish syntax and morphosyntax are concerned, which is of a much more fundamental linguistic change than the importation of lexemes for new objects and inventions. However, the

26 Cf. KONTZI: 1982, especially Maps 1–14; 2005 and INEICHEN: 1997 on Arabic contacts with Romance languages.

27 Cf. HAHN: 1907; NEUMANN and UNTERMANN: 1980; POLOMÉ: 1983, 5II, 536–540, on Greek linguistic influence in the Roman Empire.

28 Cf. also FEHLING: 1980 on syntactic interference through copying and translation from Latin and Oriental languages into European languages.

29 Cf. URELAND: 1987a, 106–107, and UTTERSTRÖM: 1975; 1978; 1983; 1987 for examples of copying and translation in the Runic inscriptions and Old Swedish law texts.

lexical transfer in the past of new technical inventions (*anchor*), the spread of new sea food (*herring*) from the coast to the interior areas and new terms for wooden constructions (›room or bathhouse‹) will be discussed here, nevertheless.

The first of these lexemes to be discussed is from Greek (*ankyra*), Latin (*anchora*) ›anchor‹ or Italian (*ancora*), the second from Proto-Scandinavian (**silaða/*siþlo, *siðlo*) ›herring‹ and the third (MLG *stove/stuve*) ›heated room‹ or ›bath room‹ from Middle Low German. They have been chosen here as three typical examples of the spread of lexemes into the two areas of Europe under study which one could claim to be internationalisms during the medieval period and which have remained up to the modern languages of Northern Europe, so that one could also regard them as Common Europeanisms of the North.

5.2.1 Transfer of Lat. *anchora* and MLG *anker*

into the languages of the North Sea and Baltic Sea Regions

A very old and well-known lexeme is the denotation for ›anchor‹, which is copied either directly from Latin *anchora*, Italian *ancora*, Old French *ancre* into North Germanic (e.g. Old Sw. *ankar, akkare*, neuter) or via Continental Germanic (MLG *anker*, MLDu *anker*, masculine) to North Germanic and the Baltic languages (Lith. *inkaras*, masc. and Latvian *enkurs*, masc.), but also into Baltic Finnish (Finn. *ankkuri*, Est. *ankur* and North Lap *añ'kur*) and East Slavic (Old Russ. *jakor'*). All these forms show phonetic similarities with the Latin/Romance source lexeme. In some forms the nasal has also been assimilated as in Old Swedish and Old Icelandic, which may explain the Finnish form, whereas the vowel has undergone change in Lithuanian (*inkaras*, Latvian *enkurs*) and especially through breaking of *a* to *ja* in Russian (*jakor'*), which thus has a non-nasal. Both a nasal and a non-nasal form is also visible in the west: Old English *ancor/ancer* but Old Irish *accaire* and Manx *aker*, the forms of which probably originate from Old Norw. *akkeri* (c.p. also Old Icel. *akkeri*) without a nasal. Continental Germanic has only nasal forms: Old Frisian/MLG *anker*.³⁰

The spread of these phonetic forms depends on the spread of the new invention along the trading routes of the Early Middle Ages. Some ety-

30 Cf. also the map in URELAND and VORONKOVA: 1999, 232.

mologists are of the opinion that the North Germanic forms originated in the Latin-speaking Low Countries on the Rhine and were imported via Continental Germanic (Old Frisian and MLG) along the North Sea coasts to Scandinavia, since Latin *anchora* was a new ship equipment with two arms and replaced the old device of anchoring with simple stones.³¹

The Old Sw. double forms *akkare/ankar* were no doubt the prototypes for the copying and transfer into Finnish *ankkuri*, Estonian *ankur* and North Lapp *añ'kur*. The Baltic forms (Latvian *enkurs* and Lithuanian *inkaras*) but also Old Russ. *jakor'* could be described as phonological and morphological integrations from North Germanic. It is known that the east-bound Vikings sailed both via the rivers Dvina and Vistula but also via the Gulf of Finland, Lake Ladoga and the Volchov to Novgorod and Kiev during the reign of the Kiev-Rus'. They were anchoring on the rivers and lakes (such anchors have been found in Viking ships, e.g. the Ladby Ship of the 9th century). Thus with the Viking ships the new denotation for anchor was spread into the Finno-Ugric and Baltic languages and Old Russian. The oldest mention of *jakor'* is in the Old Russian »Nestor Chronicle« from 1154³² and later in Tönnies Fenne's »Conversational Russian-Low German Handbook«³³.

The Russian example in the latter MLG source is an indication, however, that a second route of importation via MLG as an intermediary language is possible, but the early example of *jakor'* in the Nestor Chronicle (12th century) makes this transfer improbable, as the MLG trade had not developed to that extent in that early period. The Scandinavian connection is therefore more probable also for the Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanian forms, because the trading and settlement of the Swedish Vikings are known from archeological diggings on the islands of Dagö and Ösel as well as along the coasts of Estonia and the rivers Dvina, Neva and Volchov.³⁴

31 Cf. HELLQVIST: 1970, 22; PFEIFFER: 1993, 43.

32 *Nestor Chronicle*, 1154, 31.16 (reference quote from MÜLLER: 1977).

33 HAMMERICH and JAKOBSON: 1970, 106,8.

34 Cf. URELAND and VORONKOVA: 1999, 229–231, for more details and a map on the spread of other denotations for »anchor«.

5.2.2 Transfer of Proto-Scand. **silaða/*sīþlo/*sīðlo*
into the languages of the North Sea and Baltic Sea Regions

The second example of internationalisms in the Late Middle Ages belongs to the fishing terminology: ›herring‹, which occurs in a given geographical distribution in Northern Europe. It is an excellent example of the transfer of a term for ›fish‹ which indirectly shows the contact patterns between North Germanic and Baltic Finnish and Slavic in the east on the one hand, and North Germanic and English (Shetland), Welsh, and Picard French in the west, on the other.

The geographical spread of the phonological forms for ›herring‹ in Finnish (*silakka*) and Estonian (*salakas* ›white fish‹), North Lap *sallit* in the north and Latvian (*silke/silkis*), Lithuanian (*silke*) and Old Russian *seled'*, *sel'd'*, *seledka*) in the middle to the West Slavic languages (Pol. *śledź*, White Russ. *selzedžec*, Ukr. *seledec* in the south and east is to be seen in a clear correlation with the North Germanic forms (Old Sw. *sildh*, *silþ*, Mod. Swed. *sill*, Old and Mod. Dan. *sild*) and not with MLG *hering* (the form *Siele* for ›Hering‹ is a later dialect form in Northern Germany due to contact with the Scan. form *sillörsild*). The exact route and period of transference into the eastern languages on the Baltic Sea is difficult to reconstruct, that is, whether the Proto-Scand. Form **silaða/*sīþlo/*sīðlo* was first transferred via Finland (c.p. Finnish *silakka*) and Estonia (*salakas*) and then via the River Dvina and the Vistula into Slavic and Baltic Languages during the Viking period, or whether it was in the Late Middle Ages (12th–13th centuries) that this term was taken over from the rich fishing waters in the South Baltic Sea. We know from the chronicles of exclusive fishing of *sill* ›herring‹ in the waters off the coasts of Scania (Skanör and Falsterbo), in which also ships of the Hanseatic League took part, without incorporating the North Germanic denotation for ›herring‹. The question is when and how the North Germanic forms could penetrate into the Baltic and Slavic languages. A third route of the transfer of **silaða/*sīþlo/*sīðlo* into East Slavic would be the northern sea route of the Vikings via the Neva, Lake Ladoga, the Volchov, Novgorod and then down the Dnepr to the Ukraine (Kiev). An answer to this problem for ›herring‹ in the eastern European languages is dependent on our possibilities to reconstruct the Baltic and Slavic forms in a plausible way with the means of historical linguistics.

Replicas of North Germanic **silaða/sīþlo/*sīðlo* also occur in the west: cp. Shetl. English *silt/sildin*, Welsh *silod* and Picard-French *célerin* from **sild hering*, a contamination of *sild* and *hering*, meaning ›a kind of anchovy‹. The occurrence of these forms in the North Sea languages is to be seen as a reflection the trading contacts during and after the Viking Period.

5.2.3 Transfer of MLG *stove/stuve* ›(bath)room‹ into the languages of the Baltic States and Slavic languages

The third lexeme for an object which has acquired the status of an internationalism in the east is the denotation for ›(heated) room‹ or ›(bath-)room‹ and ›small house‹ or ›village house‹. They are replicas of MLG *stove(n)/stuve* and are found everywhere in the Baltic and Slavic languages: Old Russ. *is(t')ba* ›village house‹, ›bath house‹,³⁵ and *istba* ›village house‹,³⁶ White Russ. (Dial. Vilnius) *izba*, Ukr. *izba* and Polish *izba*, *zba* ›village house‹.

It has also spread to the Baltic languages, e.g. Lith. *stuba* ›living room‹, ›(small) house‹ (archaic) replaced by *kambarys* ›living room‹ (cp. French *chambre*); Latvian *istaba* ›living room‹, ›small house‹ and Old Prussian *stubo* ›living room‹. The same root is also found in a phonologically changed form in Finnish *tupa* ›small house‹, Estonian and Livonic *tuba* ›small house‹, ›room‹, where the dental fricative has not been preserved, which is deleted in Finnish, Estonian and Livonic. The question is whether these forms derive from MLG *stuve* or from a North Germanic *stuva* or *stugha*, which also contains forms of a somewhat different structure in North Germanic: Old Sw. *stugha* besides *stuva/stova* ›small house‹ and meaning ›room‹ in compounds such as *baþstova* ›bath room‹ (cp. Modern Sw. *bastu*); Old Danish *stuwe* ›room‹, Mod. Dan. *stue* ›room‹; Norwegian *stoge/stuge* besides *stove* and *stue*; Mod. Ice. *stofa* ›room‹. The North Germanic examples with a velar voiced stop /g/ or a labio-dental fricative /v/ are not to be treated as transfer-forms from MLG *stove*, but are considered as original North Germanic cognates, which have possibly been transferred into Baltic Finnish, whereby the initial dental fricative /s/ has been deleted, except in North Lapp.: *stâppo* ›small

35 *Nestor Chronicle*, 57.5 (12th century, reference quote from MÜLLER: 1977).

36 HAMMERICH and JAKOBSON: 1970, 94.18.

house«. To what extent MLG *stove* has also served as a prototype for the transferences in North Germanic and Baltic Finnish is unclear.

A map with the equivalents of MLG *stove/stuve* ›(bath)room‹³⁷ also contains other continental Germanic forms but with a different meaning: Dutch *stoof* ›foot heater«, Mod. Eng. *stove* ›oven«, but Old Eng. *stofa* ›bath room«. The modern meaning of *stove* in English is probably from MLG or MDU due to semantic transfer in Middle English. There are also forms like Pol. *chata* in frontier areas of Poland–Lithuania–White Russia which is a transfer from Old Hungarian *haz* with phonological integration.

6. Eurolinguistics, nationalism and the spread of Europeanisms

The examples of translation and copying of syntactic/morphosyntactic structures in Swedish and Old Swedish law texts and chronicles from Middle Latin (cf. Section 5.1) together with the wide transfer of lexemes from Latin/Romance areas (e.g. Lat. *anchora* in Section 5.2.1), from North Germanic (e.g. **silaða/*sīðlo/*sīþlo* in Section 5.2.2) and from MLG (e.g. *stove* in section 5.3), all this shows clearly the great importance of language contact for the distribution of new denotations for new inventions and things. With new things, new denotations have spread from the source languages via intermediary languages to the recipient languages in Northern and Eastern Europe.

As I mentioned above, the phenomenon has long been known in the old type of linguistic research under the term ›Wörter und Sachen«. There is, however, a considerable difference in the view of contact linguistics. While national philologists regard the foreign lexical material as more or less peripheral and insignificant for the rise of the national language, especially with regard to phonology and morphology, contact linguists regard the great amount of transfers and integrations as a result of interaction between peoples from various language regions in speech and writing (oral or literary multilingualism) and as being the nucleus of linguistic and cultural innovation.³⁸ Our examples from the spread of three lexemes and the introduction of SOV-Latin/German word order patterns have demonstrated that we cannot isolate the scope of European lan-

³⁷ As given in URELAND and VORONKOVA: 1999, 24f.

³⁸ Cf. Puškin Thesis 2, in URELAND: 2003, 25, which stresses the effects of multilingualism as the major cause of linguistic convergence and divergence.

guages within national borders, but must of necessity introduce a Pan-European historical perspective. In the course of the European languages, there have always existed internationalisms, also in the earliest texts. Even in the first runic inscriptions, we can trace contacts with the Mediterranean area, among other things in the Runic script itself, which is a fusion of Greek, Latin, Germanic or possibly also Etruscan alphabet.³⁹

Reiter suggests the term ›Eurologistik‹ as appropriate for describing the Europe-wide network of internationalisms which occur in European languages, the geographic distribution of which is hardly describable in terms of national borders and within a national scope.⁴⁰ A linguistic penetration of national and ethnic borders is a fact which is due to cultural penetration on a Pan-European level throughout the history of Europe. The rise of Europeanisms is a fascinating study which requires great knowledge of historical and cultural processes since the Antiquity. Eurologistics in this sense can contribute to deeper insights into the structure of each language in all its components. No European language has been isolated, neither in its genesis nor in its historical development.

However, representatives of national philologies have been confronted with the questions: Which language has delivered which lexeme which was found to be the same or similar between two languages. As long as it was Greek or Latin which was the source language, nobody had anything against mentioning them as the source for the new lexeme (cf. e.g. *ankare*), but on the Balkans (e.g. in Romania and Greece) and lately in Lithuania and Latvia other sources for the new denotations have been looked for and national criteria have been used to cleanse the vocabulary of foreign lexemes, which are not native and which do not correspond to national movements. This has happened for instance in Greece, where Turcisms have been cleaned out in Katharevousa and been replaced by Greek denotations. Also in Romanian where Slavicisms and Turcisms have been replaced by innovations, often based on or copied from French prototypes.

In Lithuanian and Latvian words from Russian are also victims of puristic cleansing: e.g. Lith. *bliuzė* ›blouse‹ (from Russ. *bluzka* ›blouse‹) re-

39 Cf. the large number of works dealing with the creation and spread of runes: e.g. WIMMER: 1887; VON FRIESEN: 1904–1906; PEDERSEN: 1923; MARSTRANDER: 1928; HAMMARSTRÖM: 1929; SHETELIG: 1930; ARNTZ: 1935 and 1938; ASKEBERG: 1944; KRAUSE: 1971; LIESTÖL: 1981; ANTONSEN: 1975; 1982; DÜVEL: 2001; PALM: 1992; 2004 etc.

40 Cf. REITER: 1995.

cently occurs as Lith. *palaidinė*, Lith. *troleibusas* ›bus‹ (from Russ. *trolleibus*) occur as *autobusas*,⁴¹ but also Anglicisms are replaced, (McDonalds) *hamburgeris* (from Eng. *hamburger*) occurs also Lith. *mėsainis*.

In Scandinavia and in the British Isles we have been lucky not to be exposed to such exaggerated national hysteria, which in the Baltic States are understandable after so many years of suppression of national identity. However, such outbursts of purism have little to do with the natural development of a given language. Linguistic signs in the sense of Saussure belong to nobody. They arise in a given pattern and spread from one language to another acc. to cultural and economic needs of given periods. One cannot lend them to somebody to get them back, one can only learn them. Consequently it is for the native speaker indifferent from where a term or a denotation for a new invention or a new thing comes, whether it is now a question of an *anchor*, *sill* ›herring‹, *plough* or *fax*, *computer*, *internet* or *e-mail*.

It is in other words of no importance for the language user from whom he learnt the denotation, decisive was that he could use it. That certain lexemes are cleansed out from a vocabulary depends on an unfortunate term for the transfer of a lexeme between two languages: ›borrowing or loan words‹. Such terms arose in the 17th century.⁴²

In the discussion on source language (German ›Gebersprache‹, ›Leitsprache‹, ›Meistersprache‹), intermediary language (›Vermittlersprache‹) and recipient language (›Nehmersprache‹, ›Gesellensprache‹), there is in the terminology itself a discrimination which gives support to national superiority and gives a wrong picture of the interlingual processes which have been active in history. If one uses the term ›loan words‹ for the lexemes which came, for instance, into Swedish as transferred lexical items during the Middle Ages,⁴³ one gets the impression that all these lexemes from the Continental languages originated in MLG or MDu, whereas a large number of these international lexical denotations went via Continental Germanic (MLG or MDu) as intermediary languages for new things and inventions (cf. Sw. *ankare*, *plog*, *ämbete* etc.) into not only the Nordic but also Baltic Finnish, Baltic and Slavic languages, but

41 In 1996, spoken.

42 Cf. Zingref, 1591–1635: »frembder sprachen entlehnung«, Lehnwort, Entlehnung etc. (reference quote from REITER: 1995, 32).

43 Cf., e.g., WESSÉN: 1970.

which did not originate in MLG or MDu. Thus only a historical European perspective can do justice to the transferences and integrations which have taken place in the linguistic and cultural exchange in the North Sea and Baltic Sea Regions. This international approach to the ›Europeanisms‹ will play a significant role for creating common identity in a feeling of belonging together to a European heritage in vocabulary and other components of the language⁴⁴ and on the basis of this insight a foundation may be laid for a cooperation at an international level, to which linguistics can contribute considerably.⁴⁵ A European type of linguistics in this sense — Eurolinguistics — can help to give information on ›Spracheuropa‹ and the significance of European internationalisms.

Summary

This paper is a contribution to the description of the rise of languages in northern Europe between 1100–1600. It begins with the necessity for explaining the convergence of the languages of the Baltic Sea and North Sea Regions, whereby a number of roofing models of glottogenesis in Scandinavia and the Baltic languages are presented showing Medieval Latin as the top – most roof but with varying roofs in between (MLG, Anglo-Norman, Polish, etc.) according to different sociohistorical development.

The processes of copying and translating have also been stressed as constitutive for North European Glottogenesis, whereby the Mediterranean source languages have served as model languages, often with Continental Germanic (MLG, MDu) serving as intermediary languages for Scandinavian, Baltic-Finnish, Slavic and Baltic languages. The linguistic convergence which arise through the transferences and integrations of a common stock of European lexemes and structures shared between the European languages – Contact-Europeanisms – is the goal of a new trend in European linguistics, which we have chosen to call Eurolinguistics. The goal of this paper was to show that the period 1100–1600 is the most crucial period for the rise of the North European vernaculars to full-fledged (literary) means of communication. The linguistic processes described here constitute the basis on which new languages in Scandinavia and the eastern parts of the Baltic Sea Region evolved.

44 Cf. Puškin Theses 7 and 8 in URELAND: 2003, 26.

45 Cf. WANDRUSZKA: 1990 and ALLÉN: 1994.

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