Kamila Nakonieczna - Pyrczak

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Introduction

The objective of this thesis is to analyse the Scandinavian loanwords in the English language on the example of Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales.* In the discussions of other languages that affected the English vocabulary it is perhaps Latin and French words that are highlighted as the sources of most loanwords now used in English. Indeed, according *to The Oxford English Dictionary*, there are almost 25,000 English words of Latin origins and approximately 9,500 French borrowings. However, according to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Scandinavian languages are the source of approximately 1,530 English words. Given the fact that these are largely lexical items related to the most basic concepts of everyday life, the importance of this influence cannot be neglected. Its extent is particularly visible in *The Canterbury Tales*, which became the basis for the analysis in this thesis.

The thesis is divided into three chapters. The first one includes the characteristics of the Middle English period and discusses the role of the Vikings in the history of England. Three phases of the Viking raids are described and the nature of their settlements is analysed as well. In the second chapter, the focus is shifted to language, as the author explains the theory of semantic fields and then explores the concepts of language contact and hence also borrowings. The third chapter,

in turn, involves the practical analysis of Scandinavian loanwords found in *The Canterbury Tales.* The words are grouped into semantic fields, their etymology is described, and all changes in meanings and form are briefly presented, supported by appropriate examples from the Chaucer's text. Conclusions are included in the final part of the chapter.

The author has used a number of books and articles while writing the thesis, however, some of them were particularly helpful. These include *The Vikings in the History* (1997) by F. D. Logan and *The Vikings* (2006) by Chartrand et al., which provided an in-depth insight into the history of Scandinavian conquests and settlements. Among the sources on the topic of semantic fields as well as language contact and borrowings, the author greatly appreciated *Obsolete Scandinavian Loanwords in English* (2010) by M. Bator, "The Tradition of Field Theory and the Study of Lexical Semantic Change" (2007) by G. A. Kleparski and A. Rusinek. It is hoped that given the help of these invaluable sources, the author offers a reliable analysis of Scandinavian loanwords in English.

Chapter One

The historical background

1.1. The Middle English period

The objective of this chapter is to highlight the most important facts aboutf the Middle English period, that is the time in which Chaucer lived and wrote. First of all, the historical context of the period is presented, which provides an explanation for a number of lexical borrowings and linguistic changes that occurred within English at that time. The following subsection is devoted to the most significant of the changes that differentiated Old English from Middle English. Finally, the question of loanwords in Middle English is discussed, and considerable attention is paid to Scandinavian loanwords.

1.1.1. The historical overview

The Middle English period in the history of the English language is usually dated between 1150 and 1500. Baugh and Cable (2002: 146) call it "a period of great change", and indeed

a number of considerable changes were introduced into English. Many of them were a result of foreign influences.

The point of departure for the discussion of changes that occurred in the Middle English period is perhaps the Norman Conquest in 1066, led by William the Conqueror. As a result, the Old English aristocracy was eliminated and replaced by the new AngloNorman ruling class. One of the consequences of this invasion occurred also in the field of language, as Anglo-French became "established alongside the traditional Latin as the language of public state business and of the court" (Singh 2005: 107). However, the overlords may have spoken French, but the overwhelming majority of the society spoke English (Stockwell and Minkova 2001: 35-36).

As Kastovsky (2006: 246) claims, at the end of the 12th century, there were four groups of English speakers within England. The first group comprised of native speakers of English who could speak only one language, or rather its regional dialect.

Another group occupied the area of the Danelaw, in which Scandinavian influences were noticeable, and hence "partial English-Scandinavian bilingualism" (Kastovsky 2006: 246). The third group was composed of people, mostly the members of the nobility, who used only, or almost only, French; soon, however, many of them started to use English. What is interesting, at the same time an increasing number of members of the middle class started to use French, especially in trade. Finally, there were also speakers of Latin, most importantly in the Church and academic institutions.

All things considered, there were many bilingual people,

as well as monolingual speakers of English and French. Henry II, for instance, did not speak English, although he had some understanding of this language. Therefore, it may have seemed that the country would develop into bilingual; as Cobarrubias (1983: 8) suggests, "for at least a century and a half after the Conquest it was doubtful which of the two languages (…) would ultimately triumph". However, significant political changes which occurred at the end of the 12th century reinstated English as the official and dominant language in

England. One of these changes was the loss of Normandy to France in 1204, during the reign of King John. As a consequence, the members of nobility had to swear allegiance either to the English king, and in this case they would lose their properties in France, or to the French king, which would lead to the loss of their properties in England (Kastovsky 2006: 246-247). Eventually, the Normans living in England assimilated and accepted the Middle English language. As Stockwell and Minkova (2001: 36) put it, "although the interaction between the two languages following the Conquest resulted in quite dramatic vocabulary changes, the language of England remained *English*".

While the loss of Normandy is usually associated as the direct cause of the improvement of the status of English at the expense of French, Cobarrubias (1983: 8) also mentions another event, that is to say, the proclamation of Henry III, when English was used officially for the first time since 1066. It would be, however, a misleading overstatement to assume that the race between the two languages was brought to an end. In 1349, three years after the English triumph in the battle of Crecy, it was ordered that Latin should no longer be taught

in French, but in English. Moreover, in 1362 French lost its status as the official language of court proceedings. By the end of the Middle English period, the use of French had been largely reduced (Cobarrubias 1983: 8). However, within the three centuries of French influence, the English language absorber hundreds of French words, which will be illustrated later in the chapter.

Apart from the French influence, the Scandinavian languages also heavily influenced the English language. The history of this influence started long before the advent of Middle English, as the early raids of the Vikings began in the late 8th century and lasted for more than half a century. As a consequence of their invasions, they began to settle in England, especially in the area of the Danelaw, whose very name suggests that it remained under the Danish law. It can be thus safely assumed that the Scandinavian languages were most heavily influenced the Danelaw area. However, there is an insufficient body of evidence when it comes to the extent of Scandinavian settlements, but the number of Scandinavian place names found in England is surprising - approximately 1,400, mostly in the Danelaw area, that is, northern and eastern England, most frequently those with such endings as *-by* (Danish word for town or farm, e.g., Derby, Rugby), *-thorp* (village, e.g., Althorp, Linthorpe), *-thwaite* (an isolated piece of land, e.g., Applewaithe), or *–toft* (a piece of ground, e.g., Eastoft). The majority of the new settlers were of Danish and Norwegian origin; their influence was visible not only in the language, but also in other areas of life, including manorial organisation, procedures, and local govern-

ments. They largely assimilated with the English people and adopted their language, although in certain communities Scandinavian remained the primary language for everyday use (Trips 2002: 11).

1.1.2. MAJOR CHANGES IN THE LANGUAGE

Perhaps the most substantial change that occurred in the Middle English period was the loss of inflection; as a consequence, English turned from a highly inflected language to an analytic language. In Old English, the form of a verb marked a tense (past or present), a mood (indicative, subjunctive, or imperative), a person (three persons), and a number (singular or plural). In Middle English, many of them were lost.

The inflectional endings were largely reduced in nouns. Baugh and Cable (2002: 147) give the example of a verb, which in Old English had four forms in the singular: *mūð, mūðes, mūð, mūð*, and *mūðas, mūða/mūðum, mūð.* These forms were reduced to three: *mūð, mūðes*, and *mūð*. The ending *-e*, which was indicative of dative singular and genitive and dative plural was extended to nominative and accusative singular, the only indication of the plural was the ending *-s*, which was extended to all plural forms, resulting in the Modern English inflection of the noun. The plural ending *-s* soon became more popular than *-en* (as in *oxen*), especially in the north of England.

The personal pronoun was the only nominal that retained inflection. In Old English it was inflected for the numbers, case, and gender in the 3rd person singular. In Middle English, dative and accusative merged into one form; *she* replaced *hēo*; and

a new 3rd person plural gradually replaced old h-forms. The appearance of *they/their/them* can be attributed to Scandinavian influence, *þeir* (nominative)/*þeirra* (genitive)/*þeim* (dative), and it took approximately four centuries for this new system to be established within the English language (Lass 2006: 74-75). The following table presents the history of this personal pronoun:

Table 1. The history of personal pronoun *they* (Lass 2006: 75).

	c. 1380	c. 1440	c. 1480
nom	þei	þei	they
gen	her(e)	her(e)~ther	their
obl	hem	hem	hem~them

An Old English weak adjective had either an *-a* ending (masculine nominative) or an *–e* ending (neuter nominative-accusative and feminine nominative), which in Middle English became *-e*, thus losing an indication of gender. In Old English grammatical gender was often incongruent with semantic gender, for example, *woman* was masculine, while *child* and *wife* were neuter. It was the concord of the adjective and demonstratives that indicated the gender of the noun; however, when the inflection was lost and fixed demonstratives, such as *the, this, that, those, these,* were introduced, the need for grammatical gender disappeared (Baugh and Cable 2002: 154). Furthermore, the weak adjectival endings *-an* and *-um* merged into *-en*, and as the final /*n*/ was lost in Middle English, it ended up

as only *-e.* Moreover, as a result of the transformation, the weak adjective genitive plural endings *-ena* and *-ra* resulted in *-e* as well, which means that they lost an indication of number. To sum up, all of these inflectional endings were reduced to *-e* (Algeo and Butcher 2013: 139).

In the Middle English period, the distinction between strong and weak verbs was retained. However, a large part of Old English strong verbs had gone out of use in Middle English, and a number of those that survived died out within the Middle English period. Furthermore, a number of strong verbs became weak and "regularised" (e.g., *climb* [*clomb*], *help* [*halp*], *step* [*stope*]). Within the group of strong verbs, many of them underwent paradigmatic or analogical leveling, and one of the consequences was the merging of different past forms; for example, verbs such as *cling, sting,* or *spin* should have a past tense forms *clang, stang,* and *span,* but instead the forms are *clung, stung,* or *spun* (Lemmens 2010: 34). This process was the most intensive during the thirteenth century. It is, however, worth noting that during the transitional period often both forms were used, and many of the strong forms can still be encountered in the texts from the Modern English period; for instance, the already mentioned *clomb* form of the verb *climb* was still used by John Dryden in the 17th century. It is also interesting that some of the strong verbs had their weak forms, which did not survive in the general use, including *blow* [*blowed*] or *know* [*knowed*]. The loss of Old English strong verbs was massive, as only 68 of them remained during the Middle English period (Baugh and Cable 2002: 152).

While the system of inflections was reduced to a great extent, the system of tenses became more complicated as compared to Old English, in which there were only two simple tenses, that is present and past. In Middle English, the future tense was introduced by means of auxiliary verbs *shall* and *will.* Furthermore, the perfect tenses, already existing in Old English, started to be used more frequently. The auxiliary *have* was more popular than the auxiliary *be,* but the latter was still often used with verbs indicating motion and change of state. *Be* also replaced *weorþan* in the passive, as the end of Middle English had no longer used the former word. Moreover, the Middle English period was also the time when the continuous tenses emerged, but they had not been used commonly until Modern English. Most probably, continuous tenses derived from such Middle English sentences, as *he was areading*; the word *areading* developed from *on reading*, and soon lost its initial syllable. Therefore, by the end of the Middle English period, the verb form came to indicate the perfect, the continuous, and the passive; however, their use was not as extensive as it is today (Barber et al. 2009: 171173).

As the inflection was lost, the words could no longer signal their grammatical function, or syntactic and semantic relationships. Therefore, the language started to rely more on fixed word order patterns so as to avoid ambiguity. Apart from the SV order, now deemed standard, Old English also accepted VS order and S…V in subordinate clauses. All of these three patterns were still used during the Middle English period, but it also started to change, as the language showed increasing preference only for the SV order (Baugh and Cable 2002: 154-155).

Among the most significant changes in the field of phonology, Lass (2006: 6366) enumerates the following: Middle English Open Syllable Lengthening - open penultimate stressed syllables were lengthened; the change of [a:] into [ɔ:], loss of final weak *–e*, and the change of stress. Furthermore, the distinction between short and long vowels was solidified in this period, which involved not only longer pronunciation of a sound but also its different quality; Table 2 briefly presents Middle English vowels. Consonants, on the other hand, were similar to those in Modern English, thus there is no need to analyse them here (Shay 2008: 122).

Major changes occurred also in the field of vocabulary, largely due to external influences, and this will be discussed in the following subsection.

1.1.3. SCANDINAVIAN LOANWORDS

Björkman (1900: 3-4) argues that Scandinavian loanwords in Old English are very rare, supporting this statement with the fact that there are not many documented instances of such words. However, he also points out that the majority of literature from the Old English period was written in the West-Saxon dialect, which was not heavily affected by the Scandinavian influence. Before the 13th century, there is virtually no literaturę written in the parts of England, which were influenced by the Scandinavian languages. What is more, perhaps some Scandinavian words were used only in spoken language. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the amount of Scandinavian

loanwords in Old English was much smaller than in Middle English.

Table 2. Middle English vowels (Shay 2008: 122).

Spelling	Example	Pronunciation
a a	that name	short [a] as in *father* [a] in *father*
e ee (closed) ee (open)	bed sweete heeth	[e] as in *bed* [ay] as in *sway* [e] as in *bed* drawn out
i i	this shire	[i] as in *this* [ee] as in *sheer*
o oo (closed) oo (open)	oft good boot	[o] as in BrE *hot* [oa] as in *road* [ou] as in BrE *bought*
u u (rounded) ou	but nature flour	[u] as in *put* [u] as in French *tu,* or [ü] in German [oo] as in *floor*

Table 3. Scandinavian loanwords in Middle English texts (from Miller 2012: 115-117).

Scandinavian word	English meaning	Etymology
anngrenn	"to trouble, anger"	OIce *angr-a* "to distress"
bond	"bond"	OIce *band* "a binding; band; bond, confederacy"
bōn	"prayer, boon"	OIce *bón* "request, petition; prayer"
casten	"cast"	OIce *kast-a* "to cast, throw"
crōk	"hook, crook"	OIce *krók-r* "hook; barb; peg, curve"
gapen	"gaze, gape at"	OIce *gap-a* "to gape; open the mouth wide"
gesst	"guest"	OIce *gest-r*
ille	"evil, bad, ill"	OIce *ill-r* "ill, evil, bad; mean, stingy"
lān	"reward, loan"	OIce *lán* "loan"
ransaken	"to ransack"	OIce *rann-saka* "to search a house; ransack"
þrifenn	"thrive"	OIce *þrifask* "to thrive"
ugli	"fearful, ugly"	OIce *ugglig-r* "to be feared"

As Miller (2012: 114) writes, the first work in Middle English that reveals "heavy norsification" is the *Ormulum*, written by Orm around the 12th century. The text includes approximately 120 Scandinavian loanwords. Another text, which contains numerous Norse words, are three legends from the so called Katherine group, *Saint Katherine, Margaret,* and *Juliana.* Some of them had already been present in English since Old English. The following table presents several examples of Scandinavian loanwords occurring in those texts.

Another interesting Middle English work full of Scandinavian influences is the *Peterborough Chronicle*, a copy of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* made at Peterborough in the 12th century. Among 21,000 words within the text, 45 Scandinavian borrowings have been found; it is not many when compared to *Ormulum*, but this may be a result of differences in length; if one analyses the density of loanwords in *The Peterborough Chronicle,* it appears that they occur frequently. The most common loanwords are *eorl* (earl), *oc* (but), *gaersume* (treasure) (Durkin 2014: 183-185).

As Durkin (2014: 188-189) states, the number of Scandinavian borrowings in Middle English indicates that the speakers of both languages had a close relationship, also given the fact that a great part of the borrowed vocabulary is related to everyday activities. What is more, in many cases words derived from Scandinavian are cultural borrowings, which reflect various aspects of Scandinavian cultural influence on the English people.

Durkin (2014: 189) also remarks that borrowed words often appeared in one variety of English, and it may have taken

a lot of time for it to spread to other varieties. What is interesting some of them had never entered the general use and soon became obsolete. Indeed, Bator (2006: 286) states that a number of Scandinavian loanwords which were present in early Middle English had gone out of use by the 15th century; at the same time, however, new Scandinavian borrowings appeared. As she claims, it was largely caused by the growing popularity of either native or French equivalents used instead of these loanwords. As an example, Bator analyses the word *brinie,* meaning "armour for the body; a coat of mail" (*OED*), which entered English in the late 12th century. It was documented in a number of text, but the last recorded occurrence appeared in 1450. Most probably, this lexical item was replaced by the French word, *brigandine*, which first appeared in the English language in the 15th century, or another word of the same origin, *hauberk*, conveying the similar meaning as its Scandinavian counterpart. Another Scandinavian loanword – *agrote* ("to cloy, cram, surfeit") was even more short-lived, as its first documented occurrence is dated to 1385, while the last one only forty-five years later. Several synonyms, such as *to farce* or *to stuff,* both derived from Old French entered English in the 14th century. However, this does not mean that the Scandinavian influence cannot be observed today; on the contrary, it is still very evident, particularly in the northern dialects (Bator 2006: 292).

Figure 1. Scandinavia in the Viking Age (Logan 1992: 18).

1.2. THE VIKINGS IN THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the role of the Vikings in the history of England. In this part of the thesis, the author traces the Viking involvement in the English political affairs.

1.2.1. THE VIKINGS AND THE REASONS FOR THEIR RAIDS

Chartrand et al. (2006: 12) divide the inhabitants of Scandinavia into three nations: Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish. Figure 1 presents the geographical location of Scandinavia and its division.

As Logan (1992: 17) points out, "if we are to look for a key to geography of these places, it is in the mountains and fjords of Norway, the dense forestland of Sweden, and the size of Denmark". The Scandinavian people inhabiting these territories lived largely in scattered settlements, but three main centers can be identified: Kaupang in Norway, Hedeby in Denmark, and Birka in Sweden.

The origin of the word *Viking* is not known, although most scholars accept the explanation, according to which the word is derived from *vik,* which means 'an inlet, fjord, or bay', thus a Viking is a "pirate hidden in a fjord or inlet". However, other suggestions were also made, for instance, that the word derived from the region of Vik in Norway, from *vig* ('a battle'), *vikja* ('to move or turn aside'). In some written Scandinavian

sources, *viking* meant piracy or a pirate raid, and a *vikingr* was a man participating in such raids (Heath 1985: 4).

Nevertheless, as Sawyer (1997: 2) argues, Scandinavians were called by different names, as the word *Viking* was used only occasionally by people from outside Scandinavia. While English people normally called them Danes or heathens, for the Franks they were usually Northmen or Danes. The inhabitants of Eastern Europe used the word *rus*, meaning "rowers" or "crew of oarsmen", from which the name of Russia was eventually formed. In German chronicles, there is the name *Ascomanni* (Ashmen). In the early stages of the Viking raids, the Irish described them as pagans or gentiles, whereas later they often referred to them as foreigners, distinguishing between white foreigners (*Finngaill,* the Norwegians) or black foreigners (*Dubgaill*, the Danes). The chronicles of other nations rarely made a distinction between those three nations, using such terms as Danes, Norwegians, and Swedes interchangeably. This means, therefore, that if *the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* mentions the Danes, this does not necessarily have to mean the people from Denmark (Chartrand et al. 2006: 13).

Chartrand et al. (2006: 16-17) also outline the social hierarchy at the beginning of the Viking Age, as the society was highly stratified. The king obviously occupied the top position within this pyramid, and was followed by:

- the aristocracy, the *jarls,* military leaders, wealthy landowners,
- the freemen, or *bondis,* including merchants, farmers, shipwrights, craftsmen, warriors; this was the largest social group at

this time, and their wealth determined their status,

- the slaves, or *thralls,* deprived of any rights and privileges.

As Logan (1992: 24) puts it, "the eruption of the Vikings out of their homelands in the late eighth and early ninth centuries remains a puzzling historical phenomenon". According to Sawyer (1997: 3), one of the most common suggestions as to the reasons for the Viking raids was the increase in population in Scandinavia, whose consequence was the shortage of land. However, as Sawyer remarks, this statement may be true only for the western parts of Norway, where the land was insufficient, but in other regions such a problem did not occur at all. Therefore, he claims that it was wealth rather than land that was the main motivation for the early raids. Indeed, in the seventh century the northwestern Europe developed at a fast pace, and so did the trade between these regions and England. As a result, a number of large trading centers were established, including Dorestad on the Rhine and Quentovic near Bologne, as well as Hamwic, Fordwich, Ipswich, London, and York in England.

Scandinavia and the Baltic countries experienced such developments as well, as this region manufactured products, particularly furs, for which there was demand in Western Europe. Merchants also bought skins, amber, whetstones, and eiderdown, and thus new trading centers were established, for example Ribe on the west coast of Jutland, Hedeby in southeast Jutland, Birka in Lake Makaren, and Wolin by the Oder. Most of the goods sold in such places were gathered as tribute from the Finns and Balts.

As it was recorded by Ottar:

That tribute consists of the skins of beasts, the feather of birds, whale-bone, and shipropes made from walrus-hide and sealskin. Each pays according to his rank. The highest in rank has to pay fifteen marten skins, five reindeer skin, one bar-skin, and ten measures of feathers, and a jacket of bearskin or otterskin, and two ship-ropes. Each of these must be sixty ells long, one made of walrus hide, the other from seal.
(Sawyer 1997: 5-6)

Scandinavians also collected such tribute in Finland and northern Russia. As they were becoming more familiar with European sailing ships, they also improved their own sails. What is more, they found out about European wealth, and by contacting western merchants they could learn about the conflicts within European countries from which they could profit. Moreover, merchant ships in the Baltic created opportunities for pirates. Sawyer (1997: 7) also mentions political consequences, as those rulers who were most effective and successful in gathering tribute and those who controlled trading routes or centers became powerful and wealthy. The ruler who benefited the most was the Danish king, as he controlled Jutland, that is to say, the entrance to the Baltic, offering security to ships going to Hedeby. The other channel into the Baltic was far less attractive and safe as a result of strong currents and pirates.

1.2.2. THE EARLY RAIDS

The pre-Viking England is usually referred to as the Heptarchy, which means that there were seven kingdoms within it, including Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, Essex, Wessex, Sussex, and Kent. However, as Kirby (2002: 4) remarks, in the ninth century there remained only four independent kingdoms, Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia and Wessex, so that was rather a tetrarchy.

The first Viking raid was recorded in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in the following way:

789: In this year, King Beorhtric took to wife Eadburh, daughter of King Offa. And in his days there came for the first time three ships of Northmen, from Horthaland: and the reeve rode thither and tried to compel them to go to the royal manor – for he did not know what they were – and they slew him. These were the first ships of the Danes to come to England.
(*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*)

It is not known whether before 789 any raids took place, but Logan (1992: 38) assumes that the date may not be accurate, thus he suggests that the southern attack happened between 786 and 793. In 793 the monastery of Lindisfarne was attacked, which inspired great terror among people, and which was deemed divine punishment. In a letter written by Alcui, the English scholar, to Ethelred, the Northumbrian king, the raid was presented in the following way:

Lo, it is nearly 350 years that we and our fathers have inhabited this most lovely land, and never before has such terror appeared in Britain as we have now suffered from a pagan race, nor was it thought that such inroad from the sea could be made. Behold, the Church of St. Cuthbert spattered with the blood of the priests of God, despoiled of its ornaments; a place more venerable than all in Britain is given prey to pagan peoples. And where first, after the departure of Saint Paulinus from York, the Christian religion in our race took its rise, there misery and calamity have begun. Who does not fear this? Who does not lament as if the country were captured?
(Somerville and McDonald 2013: 93)

It could be thus assumed that the Viking raids looked similarly as in the description: an unexpected attack from the sea, directed at a church, involving killing clergy, devastation, and plundering the place. However, as Somerville and McDonald (2013: 93) claim, this report is not written by an eye-witness, so its accuracy perhaps needs to be revised.

Historians agree upon that the attackers were of Norwegian origin, although it is possible that these were actually the Danes; the other two early raids were however certainly by Norwegians. The raiders from Scandinavia targeted coastal sites, such as monasteries in Lindisfarne, Iona, and Noirmoutier, and trading centers on the coast, including Hamwic and Dorestad on the Rhine. Churches, however, were the objects of the Viking raids not because the raiders were anti-Christian, but because wealth was usually stored in such places. After all, the Vikings were looking for "portable wealth and captives who

could be ransomed or sold as slaves" (Somerville and McDonald 2013: 17).

It should be noted that their fleets were rather small in size, but what contributed to their success was their "small, shallow-draught ships, ideally suited for hit-and-run raids on coastal locations and along rivers" (Fields 2002: 929). As Somerville and McDonald (2013: 16) state, before 850 it was rare to see Viking fleets of more than a hundred ships, but later this number increased, and such numbers as 120, 150, 200, or even 250 appear in chronicles.

The Danes came to England in 835, after attacking Frisia and France. It is most likely that the motivation for the raids were dynastic struggles, population pressures, a colder climate, and limited crops. Until 865, these were surprise raids, "in-and-out raids of a seasonal nature" (Somerville and McDonald 2013: 17). The Vikings usually performed them in the summer months and then returned home for the winter, which would change in the later stages of their invasion.

Later, also larger armies started to attack, which was followed by settlements. The table below presents those early raids, and Figure 1 shows them on the map of England.

Year	Place
835	Sheppey
836	Carhampton
838	Cornwall
840	Southampton, Portland
841	Romney Marsh, Lindsey, East Anglia, Kent
842	London, Rochester
843	Carhampton
848	Somerset
850	Devon, Sandwich, Thanet
851	Canterbury, London, Surrey
853	Thanet
855	Sheppey
860, 865	Winchester

Table 4. The early Viking raids in England (Somerville and McDonald 2013).

It can be observed that the raids were directed towards the southern part of England and they largely went further than fifteen miles into the land. Most of them were raids against the kingdom of Wessex. Although the inhabitants of England most probably knew the Vikings when the raids started, it is likely that these raids were unexpected. In 850 the Vikings changed their strategy and for the first time they spent winter in England. They were based on the Isle of Thanet, separated from the coast of Kent by a broad channel, which gave them security from attacks and an opportunity to start raids in the area of Thames estuary. In the spring of 850 the Viking fleet surprised the inhabitants of the Kentish coast. When they conquered Kent, the attackers went nortwards into the territory of Mercia and turned south into Wessex. There, King Ethelwulf "made the greatest slaughter of a heathen host we have ever heard tell of" (Forte et al. 2005: 67). The citizens of Kent also retaliated in the battle of Sandwich, when they defeated the Viking fleet. Nevertheless, the English victories did not discourage the Vikings from continuing raids. Therefore, in 853 the Danes occupied Thanet again, and two years later the large army overwintered in Sheppey. From this date, according to Forte et al. (2005: 67), "the raiding parties were growing larger still and their targets more audacious, until c. 861 a major force succeeded in sacking Winchester, the political and religious heart of Wessex".

1.2.3. THE SECOND VIKING CONQUEST

The second phase of the Viking raids was characterised by the increase in their number, size, and intensity. First major attacks began in 865 and were continued until 954. This period in *the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is concerned almost exclusively with the Viking raids. In 865, it was recorded that the "great army" came to England, however, historians do not agree about its size; while some claim that the number of Vikings was 500, others believe that there were even 2,000 of them. Unlike their predecessors, this group of attackers had a clear goal of settling on the English territories; in order to achieve this goal, the army must have been cohesive and unified with a strong leadership (Logan 1992: 142-144).

In 1866 the Danes captured York, facing virtually no opposition. A year later they moved to Mercia, seizing Nottingham, and in 1867 the Danes left Mercia, heading back to East Anglia. Although the citizens opposed the Danes, they failed, and the attackers killed their king. It appeared that the disciplined and well-organized Viking army was unstoppable. The only remaining independent territory was Wessex.

In 870 the Danes captured Reading and made it their regional headquarters and a base for action. A year later the battle of Ashdown took place, in which king Ethelred and his brother Alfred managed to defeat the Vikings. They soon withdrew to Reading, but after a short time attacked again and defeated Ethelred and Alfred at Basingstoke. King Ethelred died in 871, and then, according to *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*:

His brother, Alfred, the son of Ethelwulf, succeeded to the kingdom of the West Saxons. And a month later King Alfred fought with a small force against the whole army at Wilton and (…) the Danes had possession of the battle-field. (…) And that year nine [Danish] earls were killed and one king. And the West Saxons made peace with the enemy that year.
(*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*)

Figure 2. Early Viking raids in England (Logan 1992).

Indeed, the peace was made, and the Vikings left Wessex for five years. In the meantime, they conquered Mercia. The Viking army split into two parts; the one was led by Halfdan and divided Yorkshire for permanent settlement, the other, led by Guthrum, turned south and attacked Wessex again in years 875-876. Soon they withdrew again and started to colonise Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Leicestershire (Morgan 2001: 93-94).

1.2.4. KING ALFRED'S DEFENCE

The third attack on Wessex took place in 878. Although the army, given the split described in the above paragraph, was reduced, it was a surprise attack that gave them advantage over King Alfred. However, he managed to gather troops and defeat the Danes.

Guthrum, the Danish leader, accepted baptism and the peace was made between the two rulers. King Alfred and Guthrum drew the line between their territories, which ran from London to Chester, or more specifically:

> *It followed the estuary of the Thames upstream to the confluence of the river Lea, just east of London, a town which remained in English hands, then up the Lea to its source near Dunstable, whence it led north to Bedford. From Bedford it followed the Ouse westwards to where it was crossed by Watling Street at Fenny Stratford. Northwards of this irregular line lay English Mercia and territories won by other Danish armies.*
> (Jones 1984: 421)

Guthrum was supposed to withdraw his army beyond this frontier, and within this line he was a king of his independent kingdom. In 880 the Vikings left Wessex and began settling in East Anglia (Morgan 2001: 94).

Figure 3. Boundary between the kingdoms of Alfred and Guthrum (Logan 1997: 145).

As a consequence, the region of the Danelaw was established, in which Danish rather than English law and custom prevailed. The Danelaw was a part of the threefold division of England, along with Wessex and English Mercia (Jones 1984: 422).

The peace after the treaty lasted for six years, until in 1892 the Danish army entered Wessex, however, this time Alfred was prepared for such attacks. The army and the navy were both considerably improved in order to make the defense of the country as effective as possible. Alfred's defense strategy included constructing defensive fortifications and shipbuilding. As *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says:

King Alfred ordered the ships to be built in order to oppose the Danish ships: twice as long as the Viking ships, some with sixty oars, some with even more. They were to be faster, safer, and with more deck space. They were not built according to Frisian or Danish design but as the king thought it best.
(*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*)

Later, however, it appeared that ships designed by King Alfred were difficult to navigate in certain tight places. As Logan (1997: 150) writes, the posthumous reputation of King Alfred as a great leader and military genius, who saved England from the Vikings is difficult to understand. He claims that at the beginning of Alfred's reign, the Danes only controlled Northumbria, while after twenty-eight years of the king's reign, they had a firm hold also in East Anglia and East Mercia, also posing a constant threat to Wessex. Therefore, it may be claimed that Alfred saved only Wessex and only for a short time. However,

when, for instance, the Vikings attacked Mercia, Alfred did not provide his help. Finally, by making peace with Guthrum he recognised the Danish right to settle in England.

As DeVries (1999: 16) points out, the Vikings as a matter of fact never left England. Once foreign raiders, at some point they began to settle in England. While the first settlements were made most probably in the eighth century, it was only in the days of Alfred's reign that the number of Scandinavian settlements increased considerably, especially in Northumbria, Mercia, and East Anglia. The settlers soon assimilated into the local culture, they became Christian, used a Latin script, but obviously they exerted an influence on the local people as well. This combination of forces influencing the two communities led to the emergence of Anglo-Scandinavian England.

The influence of Scandinavians was noticeable particularly in the names of places. There is a vast number of places names with elements such as *-by, -beck, -breck, -fell, -gill, -keld, -mel, -rigg, -scale, -sough, -skeith, -thwaite, -thorp,* and *-thoft,* with *-by* and *-thorp* being the most popular.

1.2.5. THE THIRD VIKING CONQUEST

From 878 to 980, that is for over a century, England remained in peace with the Scandinavian neighbours. Some raids were still taking place, but they were largely made by Viking chieftains in order to extend their control over their overseas territories, and most of them in fact failed. In the southern parts of England, where Scandinavian influences were not too strong, the royal dynasty of King Alfred's descendants prospered. Such rulers as Eadward the Elder (899-924), Edelstan (924-939) and

Eadgar (959-975) were powerful enough to regain large parts of the Anglo-Scandinavian lands in a peaceful way. The situation, however, changed after the death of Eadgar and his son Eadward (DeVries 1999: 17).

After years of peace, a new generation of Scandinavians who sought to expand their wealth, land, and influence posed a new threat to the English people. The army led by Svein Forkbeard, the Danish king, intended to accumulate large amounts of silver and seize the English throne. In the late tenth century, Svein started his campaign in England (Holman 2007: 42).

The first battle during this phase of the Viking conquest was fought at Maldon, on the River Blackwater, in 991. Ealdorman Byrhtnoth of Essex commanded the English army and it clashed with the Viking fleet led by Olaf Tryggvason. The English were defeated as a consequence of Byrhtnoth's decision to allow the Vikings to cross a narrow causeway. The record in *the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is not extensive: "in this year Ipswich was ravaged, and very soon afterwards Ealdorman Brihtnoth was killed at Maldon". However, there is also a poem that commemorates the heroic death of Byrhnoth and the whole battle.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle also refers to the payment of the tribute: "and in that year it was determined that tribute should first be paid to the Danish men because of the great terror they wrought". Indeed, England started to pay the Vikings large amounts of silver in exchange for a promise of peace. This tribute is generally known as the Danegeld, but the chronicle uses the word *gafol,* meaning "tribute" or "tax". Payments, according to Holman (2007: 43), were made in years 991, 994, 1002, 1007, 1008, and 1012, and their weight ranged from

10,000 to 48,000 pounds of silver. The English king, Ethelred the Unready, was very unpopular in his country for his failure to defend England and for paying the tribute.

Forkbeard, in turn, accumulated wealth and increased his power, and soon defeated Olaf Tryggvason, and as a result the Danes regained control over Norway. In 1002, the St Brice's Day massacre took place, in which all the Danish men who were among the English race were killed by the order of Ethelred II as a response to his suspicions of the plot to assassinate him. Forkbeard's campaign in 1003-1004 in East Anglia and Wessex may thus be seen as a form of retaliation, as his sister and brotherin-law were killed in this massacre as well. In 1009, the Danish army, led by Thorkell the Tall, attacked England; according to the chronicler, Thorkell raided East Anglia, Essex, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, half of Huntigdonshire, and a large part of Northamptonshire, Kent, Sussex, and many other regions. The following map presents the extent of Thorkell's raids, which ceased only after paying 48,000 pounds of silver.

Figure 4. Thorkell the Tall's attacks on England (Logan 1992: 177).

The year 1013 marked a victory for Svein Forkbeard, as he received submission of Northumbria, Lindsey, the Five Boroughs, Oxford, Wincheter, and finally London. Both Svein and Thorkell the Tall raided England "as often as they wanted" and demanded payments; as a result, King Ethelred II fled England, and Svein became the ruler of the country. However, Forkbeard died in Gainsborough in 1014, which allowed Ethelred to return to the country (Holman 2007: 42-44).

Ethelred II returned to the country, but Svein's son, Cnut, restored the Danish control of England in 1016. He reigned in England for twenty years, until 1035, but England did not become a part of the Scandinavian empire; thus, he was "king of all England, Denmark, and Norway, and part of Sweden"

(Holman 2007: 42-44). The end of the second wave of the Viking conquest of England, however, soon followed, as other Scandinavian rulers were ineffective in their attempts to conquer England (Logan 1992: 178).

1.2.6. THE POLITICAL CONQUEST

The year 1066 is estimated as the date that ends the Age of Vikings. Although its symbolic meaning, it puts some important events as the caesura of the age. The Vikings invaded different countries more and more efficiently, which paradoxically led to diminishing of their culture. After they successfully raided and settled in England they started accepting the Christianity, which was a turning point indeed, since it introduced the European culture to the Northmen and made them abide the European moral code. What is more, it allowed the introduction of monarchy in Scandinavia as the rule of a king over the people could be explained by the power God gave them (Nardo 2010: 97). Some Norse leaders, however, tried to preserve their original culture and identity. They did not agree to ongoing assimilation. One of them was a Viking, Harald Hardrada (which means "ruthless"). His more official name could be Harald Sigurdsson, however, his style of fighting in the battlefield earned him the former nickname. He was a half brother of the king of Norway, and after the internal turmoil in the country he had to escape and work as a mercenary in what we know as today's Russia and as a guard in Constantinople (Nardo 2010: 98).

When he came back in 1045, Harald grew his influence in the country and tried to reach the throne. Firstly he ruled with

King Magnus, and they divided the power, later when Magnus passed away, Harald became the only ruler. Faced with new opportunities, he tried to fight the king of Denmark for the rule of Scandinavia, however, the attempts occurred ineffective. Harald decided that the real opportunities were in England (Nardo 2010: 98).

He assembled over ten thousand of men to assault English shores and cities, which was called the Great Heathen Army. His men were travelling to the isles on between 240 and 300 ships. They embarked in Tynemouth and started raiding the coast pillaging and burning the towns that opposed. The Viking army won the Battle of Fulford on 20 September, which caused the city of York to surrender.

At the same time the English king, Harold Godwinson, prepared a surprise attack, going through York to Stamford Bridge. Since Harald Hardrada led only part of his army that was not fully armed he was successfully assaulted by the English king forces and subsequently killed by the arrow. That led to stopping the Vikings invasion from the Scandinavia. But the real danger was yet to come from the other part of the country.

In the late 800s the Vikings used the Northern France as a base for their raid on England. In 911 the Viking leader, Rollo pledged allegiance to the Frankish king Charles the Simple in reverse for converting to Christianity. After that, Rollo became Frankish noble with his people assimilated into European culture. After a few generations of Vikings' assimilation, they began considering themselves as Franks and played a role of a buffer that stopped further Viking attacks (Logan 1992: 135).

The Normand landed in England on September 28th, 1066 at Pevensey with approximately 7 thousand people. After seizing Pevensey he headed to Hastings in order to reorganize and prepare to battle. Harold Godwinson, headed south with his army after the victory at Stamford Bridge. A part of his army was militia consisting of farmers and due to the earlier harvests he let them go to their homes. Therefore, the English army depleted and tired from hasty march arrived at Hastings to engage in a battle (Gravett 1992: 65-68).

The Norman forces under the leadership of William of Normandy crushed the forces of Harold the Godwinson. William, with his army marched to London and the city submitted to him. On 25th of December 1066 William was crowned the King of England in Westminster Abbey. William, later called the Conqueror, started the process of reconciliation of the local nobles. He left the earls that remained in their positions and left many clerical positions unchanged, too.

Felling secure enough he left for Normandy, leaving his half-brother in charge of England and some earls with him. Later, when the earls Edwin and Morcar revolted he had to return and force them to submission. On the way he started building numerous castles as the way to protect his country. When the other earls revolted he answered with Harrying of the North, the campaign crushing the revolting parties and leaving a series of castles behind.

William wore his crown ceremonially on major Christian holidays and later was officially crowned by the papal legates. Although William did not replace all the officials and magnates,

he brought many aristocrats with him strengthen the aristocratic lordship.

The rules of William the Conqueror meant the beginning of the new epoch in the history of England. The Anglo-Saxon aristocracy has been almost completely replaced by the people from the continent. Lucrative places were given to Normans and people connected to William. Englishmen who supported Harold Godswinson were forced to pay more money for it. It soon occurred that the Norsemen of William did not plan assimilation they predecessors did.

After the Norman Conquest the fully developed feudal system appeared in England. The whole country was the king's land. The land could be distributed to his vassals by the king. The main king's land was about one seventh of the whole country territory and it was partially converted to hunting lands. William is known from many accomplishments, among which is the Doomsday Book which was created to register all the goods, buildings, lands and animals in the kingdom in order to establish the taxes that should be paid from them (Garnett 2009: 86).

The raid of Normans was one of the most important events in the English history. It changed not only the way of ruling the country, but also the language, which influenced by French became more complicated in spelling and more sophisticated in meaning. The role of aristocracy became more important and the tax system was improved. The numerous castles built by William the Conqueror established royal power and prevented any further raids and revolts to overthrow the kingdom.

The Vikings raiding England were pillagers and occupants at first, however the time showed that they were able to assimilate and appreciate the Anglo-Saxon culture and later introduce many own elements to it. The first Viking raids resulted in improving the English strategies of defense. The Island country was attacked so many times that the military forces improved so that the Vikings had an opponent to match. The later rules of William the Conqueror brought the fortifications that England has never seen before and strengthen the country that later, as the history proved, retained some of its Viking influences as the British Empire rose and played a major role in colonisation of the New World.

Chapter Two

The theoretical preliminaries

This chapter is devoted to the discussion of the theoretical background, necessary for further analysis of Scandinavian loanwords in Chaucer's writings. It is divided into two parts: while the first section presents the theory of semantic fields, including the discussion of the most influential developments in this area of research, the other one focuses specifically on language contact and borrowings, analysing the types, reasons, and adaptation of borrowing.

2.1. The theory of semantic fields

The theory of semantic fields is generally believed to have been founded by three linguists: Jost Trier, Walter Porzig, and Gunther Ipsen. Their contributions to this theory are discussed in detail in three subsequent subchapters, followed by the presentation of more recent approaches to the problem.

2.1.1 JOST TRIER

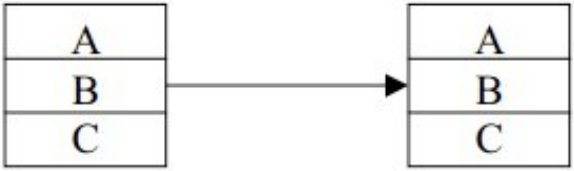
One of the first scholars to develop the foundations of the semantic field theory was Jost Trier. His theory was largely influenced by Gestalt psychology, which means that it assumed a holistic perception of reality. It was also based on Saussure's structural semantics, whose basic claim is that a word meaning is determined by the "horizontal" paradigmatic and the "vertical" syntagmatic relations between that word and others in the whole language. (…) The Semantic Fields Theory goes a step further in the structural approach to lexical semantics by introducing an additional aggregation level and by delimiting to what extent paradigmatic relations hold. (Gliozzo and Strapparava 2009: 14)

As a consequence, language was viewed by Trier as one organism constituted by conceptually interrelated elements. For him, semantic fields are "linguistic realities existing between single words and the total vocabulary; they are parts of a whole and resemble words in that they combine into some higher unit (…), and the vocabulary in that they resolve themselves into smaller units" (Ullman 1957: 157). Trier believed that language consists of conceptual fields, that is, Begriffsfelder, and lexical fields, i.e. Wortfelder; while the former could exist without relation to the latter, the latter always corresponded to the former. Furthermore, all lexical fields are made up of lexical items and its conceptual cognates, which entails the fact that words alone do not have meanings, but acquire them from their neighbours. This is done through contrast and inclusion, and the extension of one word's meaning automatically narrows the meanings of neighbouring words (Kronenfeld and Rundbland 2003: 68).

What is more, it was claimed that lexical fields never exist in isolation, but they can join other ones so as to constitute a larger field. Therefore, language can be compared to a mosaic (Wortdecke), a complete reality, given the fact that neither gaps nor overlapping between lexical fields occurs (Bator 2010: 34).

Lyons (1977: 255) elaborated on the question of changes in lexical fields and identified five different patterns of change. These included the following:

1. no change occurs within the lexemes in the field or their interrelations



2. one lexeme is replaced with a different one, while the structure of the field is maintained

3. the structure of the field is modified but the set of lexemes is maintaineda change occurs in the structure and one lexeme is replaced

4. at least one lexeme is added or lost, and there is a change of the field's structure

5. at least one lexeme is added or lost, and there is a change of the field's structure

Figure 1. Changes in the pattern of lexical field (after Lyons, 1977).

In his analysis, Trier focused particularly on changes occurring at different stages of medieval German. The figure below presents his investigation of the modification of the lexical field [KNOWLEDGE], which around 1200 consisted of three lexical items, that is to say, *Weisheit*, *Kunst*, and *List*. Their meanings differed slightly, for instance, *Kunst* stood for knowledge of courtly behaviours, while *List* meant knowledge from outside that area; *Weisheit*, in turn, was basically a synthesis of those two meanings. Interestingly, a century later this lexical field changed, and now it comprised of such three words as *Weisheit*, *Kunst*, and *Wissen.* The first item came to mean the knowledge of religious and mystical matters, *Kunst* was now associated with art, and *Wissen*, a new one, started to be used as a more general word signifying knowledge (Kleparski and Rusinek 2007: 196-197).

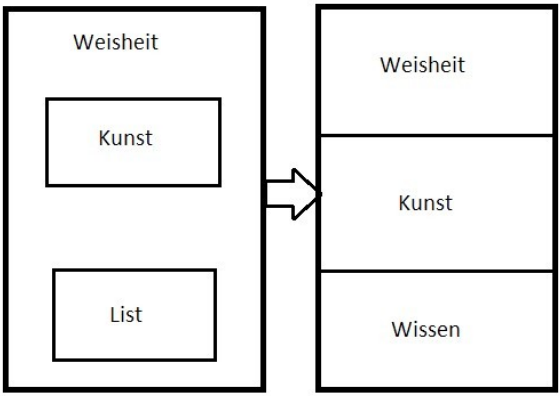


Figure 2. German field of *knowledge.*

As Gliozzo and Strapparava (2009: 15) claim, the above example proves that "word meaning is determined only by internal relations between the lexicon of the field, and that the conceptual area to which each word refers is delimitated in opposition with the meaning of other concepts in the lexicon".

Although Trier's theory has been very influential, it has also been criticised for several reasons. For Trier, lexical fields were easily definable sets, however, the critics of this theory argued that it is not necessarily a true assumption, as it happens frequently that the boundaries between lexical fields are far from clear-cut. As Lyons (1977: 257259) pointed out, the theory was more applicable to concrete conceptual fields rather than abstract ones, as the former have "identifiable denotata". However, what is interesting, other critics stated that Trier's assumption was applicable only to the latter. Kleparski and Rusinek (2007: 190) also point out that this theory did not permit homonymy and polysemy, and that the concepts of a lexical sign and a conceptual field should not be equaled.

The ideas of Trier, who later abandoned his work on the semantic field theory, were developed by Weisgerber, thus the theory is often referred to as Trier-Weisgerber theory. Weisgerber based his research on the assumption that language is a cultural product which shapes one's understanding of the reality and thus influences the evolution of concepts. Similarly to Trier, he did not view lexemes as independent units, but as structural component.

The word field [i.e. lexical field] exists as a whole. For this reason, in order to understand the meanings of its individual components, it is necessary to visualize the entire field and find the place of that component in the structure

of the field. (Weisgerber 1962, translation by Vassilyev 1974: 85)

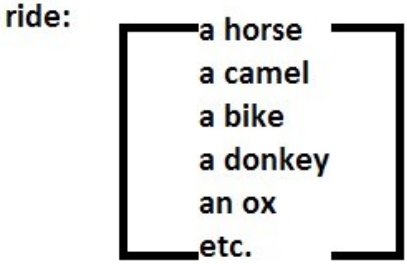
After analysing various lexical fields, Weisgerber came to a conclusion that linguistic field is "an extract from the linguistic inter-world which is composed of a whole group of linguistic signs which cooperate with each other in an organic structure" (translation by Kleparski and Rusinek 2007: 190).

2.1.2. WALTER PORZIG AND GUNTHER IPSEN

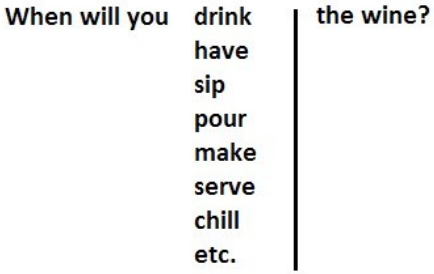
Walter Porzig and Gunther Ipsen were the scholars, who proposed a different approach to semantic fields. Ipsen in fact formulated the semantic fields theory in the 1920s, hence prior to Trier's theory. Ipsen's hypothesis assumed that within *Bedeutungssystem*, that is, the system of meaning, there occur certain groups in which the meaning is closer when compared to the system as a whole. He called those groups *Bedeutungsfelder* (Kuyt 1995: 14). Ipsen's theory was close to Trier's, as he also stated that words have joined meanings, and formal and functional assimilations form lexical fields (Bator 2010: 36). However, as Gordon (2001: 1656) claims, Trier never considered himself Ipsen's disciple, especially when Ipsen's views evolved in a direction that Trier could not accept, as his methodology could be applied only to those lexical items which exhibited semantic and formal similarity.

For Kleparski and Rusinek (2007: 191), however, it was Porzig's theory that was the most interesting. As Porzig (1928, 1934) stated, words form *elementare Bedeutungsfelder,* i.e., elementary semantic fields, which are bound by *wesenhafte Bedeutungsbeziehungen,* that is, essential semantic relationships. These

relationships, however, are not constant, but may be disintegrated, for instance, as a result of forming a metaphor (Bator 2010: 36). He focused on syntagmatic relations of words, in which the use of one lexical items entails the occurrence of another one. He believed that a verb or an adjective was typically the centre of such relationship, for example, *bark – a dog* or *ride – a camel,* although he remarked that the number of connections which can be formed differed for each verbs or adjectives. These word pairs, according to Porzig, form semantic fields, while paratactic fields are constituted by a group of words related to the core of the field:



Such paratactic fields, in turn, are composed of words which are also located in syntactic fields, as in the following example:



Porzig also assumed the "constant alternation and flexibility of fields", which was often criticised (Kleparski and Rusinek 2007: 191).

As Bator (2010: 36) remarks, Trier's and Porzig's theories supplement each other, although the former scholar objected to certain elements of the latter's theory, for instance, to his use of the word "field." While for Trier the whole vocabulary in a language could be divided into fields, in Porzig's view it stood for a small linguistic unit. Moreover, Porzig assumed that one word may appear in many relationships, while Trier's claim was that an individual word may occur only one time. Finally, Trier avoided using the term "semantic field", which was in turn used by both Porzig and Ipsen.

2.1.3. HENK AERTSEN

Aertsen (1987) presented a new approach to the theory of semantic fields. He made a distinction between conceptual field and lexical field. While Trier, for instance, did not always distinguish between those two concepts, Aertsen (1987: 6) stated a clear differences between them:

The lexical field is made up of those lexical items which in some senses correspond to the conceptual field; the conceptual field in other words provides the common factor characterizing lexical items belonging to one and the same lexical field; the lexical field is then the concrete realization of the abstract conceptual field.
(Henk Aertsen 1987)

Figure 3 below presents Aertsen's model of semantic field, while the structure of a conceptual field is illustrated in Figure 4.

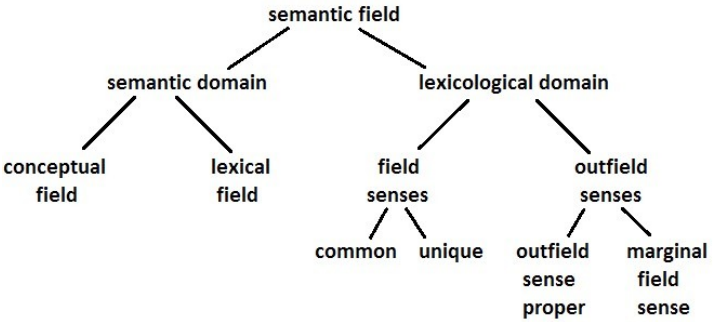
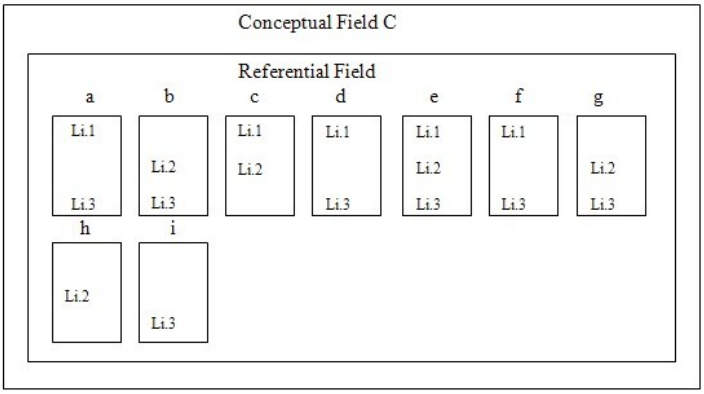


Figure 3. Aertsen's (1987) model of a semantic field

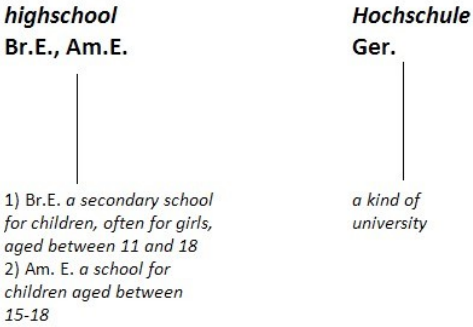


a-i – field senses (referential field) a, b, c, d, e, f, g – common field senses h, i – unique, field senses Li. – lexical item

Figure 4. The structure of a conceptual field imposed by the referential field (after Aertsen 1987).

Regarding the differences between the concepts of lexical and conceptual fields, Gliozzo and Strapparava (2009: 15) argue that "the lexical field is the set of words belonging to the semantic field, while the conceptual field is the set of concepts covered by terms of the field". The two notions are thus different, as they are made up of different components.

Another scholar who worked on semantic fields was Öhman. She stated that in order to understand the meanings of lexical components, the borders of all semantic fields need to be recognized. Öhman (1953: 127) remarked that in one's native language, these boundaries are known without being aware of it. However, if one wishes to explore the words from a foreign language or from earlier periods of a language, every single part of the word area must be discovered so as to realise the existence of various differences. Therefore, in her studies Öhman focused on the same semantic fields in different languages. Kleparski and Rusinek (2007: 193) offer the example illustrated below to show "the dependence of reality on peculiarities of a given language":



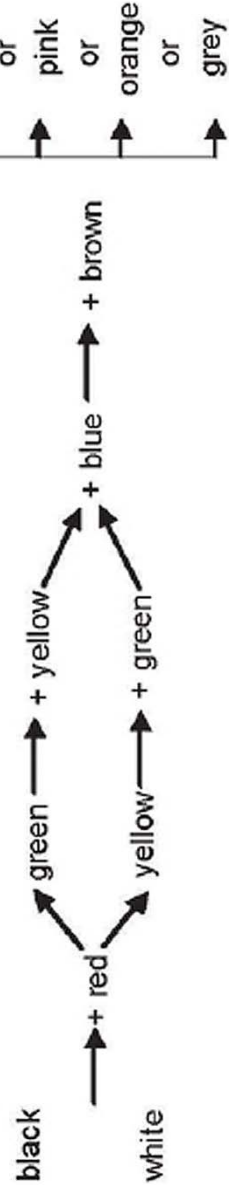
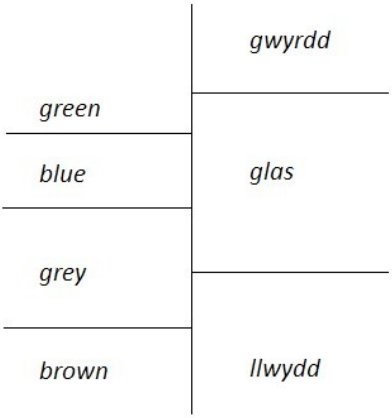


Figure 5. Stages of acquisition of color terms according to Berlin and Kay (1969).

In her research, Lehrer (1974: 18) discovered that there is disagreement as to the boundaries between the fields even within the speakers, who often cannot decide whether two lexical items are overlapping in meaning or contrast, or whether the meaning of one word is included in the meaning of another one. As Kleparski and Rusinek (2007: 193) state, Lehrer was largely influenced by the statements made by Berlin and Kay (1969), who studied the field [COLOR] and discovered that the boundaries between individual fields are far from clear-cut; they also stated that focal points of lexical fields are the most typical examples of the fields' elements. Berlin and Kay (1969) also proposed their hypothesis concerning the stages of acquisition of color terms in children, which is illustrated Figure 5.

On a side note, Gliozzo and Strapparava (2009: 16) remark that whereas the correspondence among semantic fields between different languages is relatively strong, it is much weaker in the case of terms. The lexical field [COLOR] has a different structure across languages, and translating color terms from one language into another may be a challenging task. However, the chromatic range of the field [COLOR] is basically the same in all languages. In other words, the field is constant in all languages, but the distinctions are different. Hjelmslev (1953: 33), for instance, compared the color system in English and in literary Welsh, and his findings are illustrated in the figure below:



In the sixties and seventies it was John Lyons that contributed substantially to the theory of semantic fields. Lyons (1963) rejected the view of language as an overall closed system; he rather defined semantic structure in terms of relationships which bound the items within a particular lexical system. These semantic relationships include:

1. incompatibility, e.g. to say that A is blue implies A is not green, X is not red, etc.
2. complementarity, e.g. a special case of incompability in which only two terms are involved, thus, for example, to say A is married implies A is not single,
3. antonymy, e.g. to say that A is colder than B implies that B is hotter than A,
4. converseness, e.g. to say A sold a house to B implies A bought a house from B,

5. hyponymy, e.g. class inclusion, e.g. to say A is a rose implies A is a flower, as the latter is a hyponym, that is, a superordinate term, for the former,
6. synonymy, e.g. if A and B are synonyms, A implies B and B implies A (in Lehrer 1972: 156).

Lyons (1977: 268) wrote about semantic and lexical fields in the following way:

Lexemes and other units that are semantically related, whether paradigmatically or syntagmatically, within a given language-system can be said to belong to, or to be members of, the same (semantic) field; and a field whose members are lexemes is a lexical field. A lexical field is therefore a paradigmatically and syntagmatically structured subset of the vocabulary (or lexicon).
(Lyons 1977)

Another significant figure in the development of the semantic fields theory was Coseriu (1967), who defined lexical field (*Wortfeld*) as a "paradigmatic structure of what he calls the primary vocabulary, i.e. syntagmatic relations and complex lexical items are not included in the denotation of the term" (Lipka 1980: 93-94). Some scholars, however, including Baumgartner (1967), rejected the term *Wortfeld,* as it was concerned with lexical relations rather than meaning relations. Indeed, it appears that the terminology within the semantic fields theory is controversial, as it differs, slightly or markedly, in various articles on the topic. Lipka (1980: 94-95) presents two types of

terminology, illustrated in Figure 6. The first one reflects the classification proposed by the already mentioned Lyons.

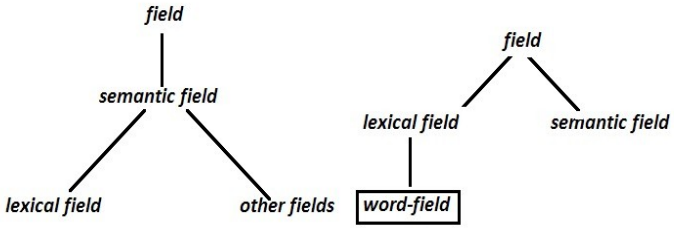


Figure 6. The terminology within
the semantic fields theory.

2.2. LANGUAGE CONTACT AND BORROWINGS

There can be no doubt that borrowings are a result of linguistic contact. However, they are not the only one of the possible outcomes of language contact. As languages do not exist in isolation, there is always some degree of contact with other languages or dialects. Lauttamus (1991: 49) proposed his classification of three types of transfer situations (capital letters indicate the dominant language):

1. source language →→ RECIPIENT LANGUAGE (borrowing),
2. SOURCE LANGUAGE →→ RECIPIENT LANGUAGE (neutralisation),
3. SOURCE LANGUAGE →→ recipient language (shift).

As illustrated above, one of the results of language contact may be language shift that is the process in which one language is replaced by another one. It is typically one-sided, as only one speech community abandons its mother tongue in favor of the new one. What is more, language shift is often imposed, as a consequence of colonisation or domination of the hegemonic language group. It does not happen very often though that the latter community learns the language of the former; more frequently, this process ends with the death of one languages. However, it should be noted that language shift is not the only possible consequence of language contact; many cases have been documented of languages who learnt the hegemonic language, but at the same time did not abandon their native tongue, even if the former language is still privileged (Rendon 2008: 20-25). It may also happen that language contact results in language mixing, which encompasses borrowing and code-switching. Both of these phenomena are included on a linguistic continuum, proposed by Lauttamus (1991: 48), and illustrated below:

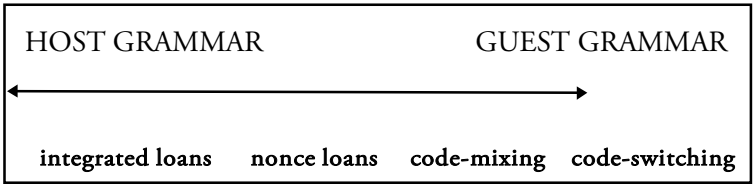


Figure 7. The continuum proposed by Lauttamus (1990).

At one end of the continuum, there are loans which are fully established in the host grammar. Nonce loans, in turn, are "characterised by smooth transitions" and "demonstrate a high

degree of morphological and syntactic integration into the host language discourse" (Lauttamus 1990: 43). They occur only one time in discourse and are not commonly used in the speech community. The transition is not as smooth in the case of code mixes, and the SL lexical item is not fully integrated into the RL grammar. Finally, the concept of code-switching stands for SL material in the RL language, lexically, syntactically, and morphologically.

Rendon (2008: 28-30) identified a number of methods of distinguishing codeswitching from borrowings. First of all, it has to be determined whether language mixing takes place within monolingual or bilingual speech; in the former case, it is borrowing, while in the latter – code-switching, as the speaker must be familiar with two languages, which is not required when the borrowing process is at work. What is more, borrowings, except for nonce borrowings, are usually established in the language, whereas code- switching is more idiosyncratic. Finally, there is also equivalence constraint, which "predicts that code-switches will tend to occur at points where the juxtaposition of elements from the two languages does not violate a syntactic rule of either language" (Romaine 1989: 115). However, as Rendon (2008: 30) argues, this criterion, as well as the other ones, are not always applicable, e.g. they do not work in the case of hybrids.

Finally, the processes of pidginization and creolization may happen as a result of language contact as well. Baker (1993: 6) defines a pidgin as:

a form of language created by members of two or more linguistic groups in contact as a means of intercommunication, the

most basic grammatical rules of which are common to all its habitual users regardless of their own primary language, while at least one and perhaps all of the participating groups recognise that this means of intercommunication is not the primary language of any other.
(Baker 1993: 6)

Creoles, in turn, develop from pidgins and are full-fledged languages, whereas pidgins are merely very reduced forms of a language. While pidgins often lack function words, have variable word order, and are based on simple sentences with reduced and simplified syntax, creoles have fully developed grammatical systems (Hoffer 2002: 8).

What is important, the outcomes of language contacts depend on a number of factors. One of them is the intensity of contact, which includes not only its duration but also the level of interaction between the speakers. An intense contact can thus be defined as "long-term contact with a high level of social interaction" (Mihalicek and Wilson 2011: 488). While such intense contact may be needed to result in, language shift, borrowing does not necessarily require it. Another significant factor that affects language contact is the prestige of the language. It may happen that speakers of both languages are viewed as equal, thus they are in adstratal relationship. However, if the relationship between languages is not equal, as it often happens, the language of the dominating group is labeled the superstratum language, whereas the inferior one is the substratum language. This classification is obviously based on cultural and not linguistic factors. To illustrate these relations, Mihalicek and

Wilson (2011: 488) recall the instance of English as the superstratum language in a relationship with Native American languages, which are in the substratum position. On the other hand, for instance, English and Norse were once adstratum languages. In the former situation, borrowing is rarely bidirectional, as the substratum language is typically a recipient, while in adstratal relationships borrowing may take place in both directions.

Furthermore, interference of the native tongue is also an important factor influencing the result of language contact. This is particularly significant for immigrants, who usually learn the language of their host community in natural settings rather than at school. The immigrant's second language learning is thus highly influenced by his mother tongue, which is also termed substrate influence, as immigrant languages are in many cases substratum languages. Such native language interferences may have a considerable impact on the outcome of L2 learning (Mihalicek and Wilson 2011: 488- 489).

Coming back to the focus of this section, it may be helpful to define borrowing before the concept is discussed in more detail. The influential definition by Haugen (1972: 163) describes it as "the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another". In simpler words, a loanword, or lexical borrowing, can be defined as "a word that at some point in the history of a language entered its lexicon as a result of borrowing" (Haspelmath 2011: 36). It should, however, be noted that this word has often been used with two different meanings: either as a general term, embracing all types of transfer or copying processes, or as a narrower term, that is, referring to "the

incorporation of foreign elements into the speakers' native language" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 21). The author of this thesis uses the first, more general sense of the word.

2.2.1. ADAPTATION OF BORROWINGS

To start with, borrowing involves two processes, importation and substitution. The first term describes a situation in which a word is borrowed from the source language in an unchanged way. Substitution, in turn, takes place when a word is introduced in a slightly changed form, thus being more similar to the native language. This process may be a consequence of either the speakers' wish to make it more similar to the recipient language, or their "inability to reproduce the word in an unchanged way" (Bator 2010: 40).

Perhaps one of the most quoted borrowing scales was proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1988). They classified borrowings according to social conditions in which these changes take place. The scale is based on the intensity of language contact and cultural pressure. It is presented in Table 1.

According to Winford (2003: 30-31), the most common type of borrowings is stage 1, in which the contact with another language is only marginal. This includes the borrowing of individual words, but the speakers of the recipient language are rarely fluent in the donor language. Usually content words and non-basic rather than basic vocabulary are borrowed (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 74). Winford (2003: 31) mentions the acquisition of native American words, including *teepee* or *skunk*, by American English during the days of colonisation.

Table 1. Thomason and Kaufman's borrowing scale (in Winford 2003: 30).

stage	settings	structural borrowing
1	casual contact	only lexical borrowings
2	slightly more intense contact	function words and slight structural borrowing
3	more intense contact	basic and non-basic vocabulary, moderate structural borrowing
4	strong cultural pressure	moderate structural borrowing
5	very strong cultural pressure	heavy structural borrowing

In the second stage, some degree of bilingualism can be observed among the recipient language speakers. As Winford (2003: 33) argues, this situation occurs frequently when the languages of ethnic minorities are absorbed into the language of the larger host community. As far as lexical borrowings are concerned, these are most often only function words, such as conjunctions and adverbial particles. When it comes to structural borrowings, they concern minor phonological, syntactic, and semantic features, and do not cause major typological disruption (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 74).

Stage 3 is characterised by more extensive lexical and structural borrowings, and, as a consequence, it entails a larger number of bilinguals. Within the former group, function words, including adpositions, that is to say, prepositions and postpositions, are borrowed. What is more, derivational or inflectional affixes, as well as personal and demonstrative pronouns or low numerals, may be transferred to the recipient language. As far as syntax is concerned, no major changes are observed at this stage, although certain aspects of, for example, change of the word order may occur. Furthermore, some phonological borrowings may appear, too, including prosodic or syllable-structure features (Thomason and Kaufman 1998: 74-75).

Major structural changes are likely to occur no earlier than at stage 4, although they still cause little typological disruption. In the area of phonology, Thomason and Kaufman (1998: 75) enumerate the following changes likely to take place: introduction of new distinctive features, loss of some contrasts in native vocabulary, new syllablestructure features, allophonic and automatic morphophonemic rules. The change in word order and other syntactic changes are likely to appear as well. As far as morphology is concerned, new inflectional categories and affixes may be introduced to the native language.

Finally, stage 5 indicates heavy structural borrowings, whose consequence is significant typological disruption. Morphophonemic rules are added, phonology changes, phonemic contrasts are lost, word structure rules are altered, and a number of other modifications are introduced as well (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 76).

Muysken (1981, quoted in Boas and Pierce 2010: 135-136) argues that there exist certain structural factors which constrain the degree of lexical borrowings. Basing on this assumption, he proposed a hierarchy of borrowability, presented below:

nouns > adjectives > verbs > prepositions > coordinating conjunctions > quantifiers > determiners > free pronouns > clitic pronouns > subordinating conjunctions

It can be noticed that nouns and verbs, that is open-class items, are borrowed more easily than closed-class items, such as for instance pronouns.

With reference to borrowability, Hoffer (2002: 61) distinguishes between the concepts of adaptability, which depends on features of the source language, and receptability, governed by properties of the recipient language. Accordingly, borrowing may be more difficult in languages with simple syllabic structures and few vowels and consonants. For instance Hawaiian, which has only five phonemic vowels, whereas English has as many as eleven. Also receptivity differs among languages, with very receptive English and Spanish, which have a relatively large percentage of borrowed words, at one end of the continuum, and Chinese at the other end, as it does not possess many borrowings.

If two languages, between which borrowing is to take place, somehow do not fit each other due to the reasons described above, the loanword must undergo certain changes in order to "fit better into the recipient language" (Haspelmath 2009:

42), that is, they undergo the process of adaptation. The alternative terms offered by Haspelmath are integration, assimilation, accommodation, and nativisation. Indeed, sometimes certain changes are inevitable for the word to be used in the target language. For instance, the French word *resume* is difficult to be integrated into Russian, because the latter language lacks a front rounded vowel. Therefore, French sound [*y*] becomes [*u*] in Russian and the preceding consonant is palatalised, hence French [*rezyme*] ends up as Russian [*rezjume*]. Another example is that of the word *weekend*, which, derived from

English in which it is genderless, in French acquires masculine gender, eventually becoming *le weekend.* If a given language borrows extensively from another language, the need for adaptation is weaker, and instead whole language patterns of the source language may be borrowed, which happened in the case of Japanese borrowing from Chinese (Haspelmath 2009: 42-44).

However, while for Haspelmath adaptation and accommodation are synonymous terms, Campbell (2004: 66) notes the difference between term. In his discussion of phonology, Campbell states that in the case of adaptation, is a phonetic interference where a foreign sound is substituted by the nearest phonetic equivalent available in the recipient language. Accommodation, in turn, occurs when borrowings which do not "fit" are changed to conform to permitted phonological combinations in the recipient language. This process may involve addition, deletion, or recombination of some sounds.

Whereas Campbell focused on phonology, the adaptation of a new lexical item into the recipient language takes place on

a number of other levels, including also morphology, semantics, or orthography. From the perspective of semantics, it can be assumed that there are three possible outcomes of transferring a new word into a language:

1. confusion between the old and new lexical items,
2. competition between the old and new words, as a consequence of which one of them becomes obsolete,
3. survival of both items, their meanings being limited (Bator 2010: 40).

Bator (2010: 40-41) also remarks that in the original language, a lexical item may have several different meanings, but it is borrowed into the recipient language in particular context. As a result, the sense of a borrowed word may differ, slightly or considerably, from its meaning in the source language. Therefore, there are three directions in which the adaptation can go:

1. narrowing, in which the word's meaning is specialised,
2. extension, i.e. generalisation of the word's sense,
3. transfer, when a word is used with the meaning of a different word.

Van Der Sijs (2005: 35-36) identified four stages of the adoption of borrowings. In the first stage, a borrowing is only used by a small group of specialists or scientists, typically in a very limited context and with a very narrow meaning. The second level involves the increasing awareness of the loanword and its growing usage, while it remains clear that the word is foreign and thus may be viewed unsuitable for the recipient

language and culture. The borrowing is accepted by the majority of speakers in the third phase, which involves its assimilation in the target language. The final stage of adoption means the full assimilation of the loanword, which ultimately loses its status as foreign.

According to Van Poucke (2011: 105), the assimilation of loanwords depends on a number of factors. It has been suggested that there are certain semantic fields which are more open to borrowing than others. Usually, small cultures borrow from the larger cultures rather than the other way round, and the semantic areas in which changes are likely to occur are dependent on the ways in which those cultures are interrelated. For example, Yang (2009: 104-105) states that the English language borrowed from Chinese most extensively in the area of food items as well as numerous concepts related to high culture, such as religion, philosophy, or art. Breiter (1997: 97), in turn, studied English borrowings in Russian, discovering that most borrowings could be found in such semantic fields as social and political life, economy, finance and trade, science and technology, travel and tourism, or meals and drinks.

Haspelmath (2009: 43) also draws a line between adapted loanwords and those which have not undergone this process. He relates this to a German distinction between *Lebnwoerter*, i.e. established loanwords, and *Fremdwoerter,* that is the so called foreignisms. Nevertheless, it should be noted that assigning a borrowing to one of these categories may be problematic and depends on several factors. For instance, if the word is a recent borrowing, it may be viewed as integrated by younger speakers, while for the older ones this may be still a foreignism.

2.2.2. TYPES OF BORROWINGS

One of the first typologies of borrowings was proposed by Bloomfield (1933), who distinguished between dialect borrowings, in which the borrowed elements are derived from the same speech community, and cultural borrowings, where another language is a source of the borrowed features. Regarding the former type, the changes are usually not considerable; speakers do not adopt entirely new words or structures, but rather they favor one way of expressing something over another. Cultural borrowing, in turn, frequently appears when there occur some cultural differences between the speakers of two languages, but in fact it does not always require an intensive contact between them. It may be, but does not have to be, a mutual process; what is more, it often takes place when words for cultural novelties are introduced (Treffers-Daller 2010: 22; Dutton 2006: 211).

There is also intimate borrowing, which goes beyond borrowing words for cultural novelties and implies the close contact of the two language communities. It occurs when the speakers of one language "attempts to learn the language of its contacts". The mother tongue is kept for identity purposes, yet the familiarity with the second language may entail some changes in the native language (Dutton 2006: 211). It is typically a one-sided process, in which borrowing "goes predominantly from the upper language to the lower language, that is from the culturally, politically or economically dominant language speakers to the speakers of the less prestigious language" (Treffers-Daller 2010: 21).

Moreover, loanwords have been traditionally divided into two groups, cultural and core borrowings. The former are used for newly introduced concepts, while the latter either duplicate or replace words which already exist in the native language. Cultural borrowing is not always motivated by necessity, and often different means may be used to create a name for a new concept. Kossmann (2013: 88-89), however, somewhat modifies this classification, using the terms "additive" and "substitutive" borrowing. The first one occurs if a concept is borrowed when there is no suitable term in the native language, creating a gap which needs to be filled. On the other hand, substitutive borrowing creates an alternative to an already existing term or simply substitutes it.

Eifring and Theil (2005: 3) distinguish between the transfer of phonetic and semantic content, with the latter being done more easily. In many cases, both forms are borrowed from the source language, and these are direct loans. However, it also happens frequently that the borrowing includes semantic content only, whereas the phonetic form is built on the recipient language material. There are several ways in which this can occur:

1. loanshifts, or semantic loans, which occur when a native form acquires a new meaning so as to translate a foreign concept,
2. loan translations, or calques, involving the translation of a foreign form element by element, loan creations, in which a new form based on native forms is created to translate a foreign concept

3. loanblends, or hybrids, that is, forms in which one element is rendered into the RL, while another one is retained in the SL.

Table 2 summarises the types of loans enumerated above, indicating whether form and content are transferred (Eifring and Theil 2005: 4).

Table 2. Types of loanwords.

	form	**content**	**example**
direct loan	yes	yes	*sushi* > Jap. *sushi*
loanshift	no	yes	*write* (orig. 'draw') < Lat. *scriber*
loan translation	no	yes	*paper tiger* < Ch. *zhi laohu*
loan creation	no	yes	Ch. *dian-nao,* lit. 'electric brain' < *computer*
loanblend	partly	yes	Hindi/Urdu *dabal karma* < *double room*

Haugen (1972: 167), in turn, proposes another classification, describing each type of borrowing in relation to the processes of substitution and importation, discussed in the previous subchapter:

1. loanshifts – morphemic substitution without importation;
2. loanwords – morphemic importation without substitution,
3. loanblends – morphemic substitution and importation.

Duckworth (1977) proposed even a more elaborate model of loanwords, basing not only on substitution and importation, but also introducing the concept of partial substitution. Figure 8. below illustrates his classification.

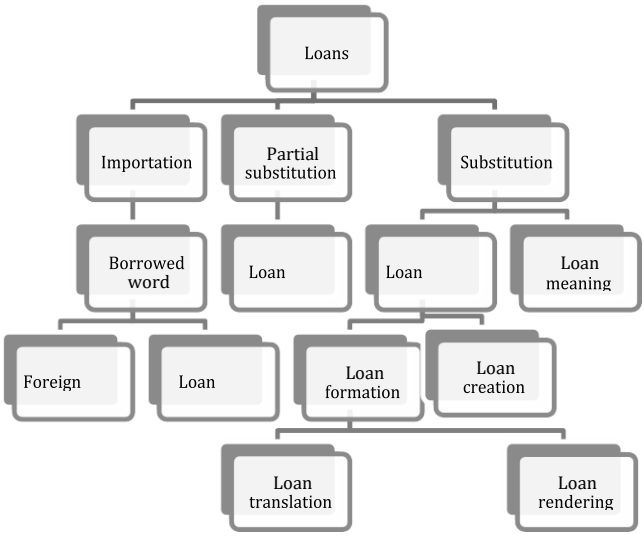


Figure 8. Types of borrowing according to Duckworth (1977).

The distinction between foreign word and loan word lies basically in the degree of assimilation. Therefore, the former concept refers to those words which are weakly integrated or not integrated in a foreign language, while the latter are fully or strongly integrated. Loan blends are those lexical items composed of one borrowed element and another one substituted. Furthermore, Duckworth distinguishes between loan translation and rendering, which are different as the latter only includes translation of a part of the elements of the foreign word. Finally, load meaning refers to an "indigenous word to which the meaning of the foreign word is passed on" (Grzega 2012: 285).

Grzega (2012: 286-287) also mentions pseudo-loans, which are a special case of borrowing, largely motivated by the prestige of a given foreign language, nowadays mostly English. He groups them into three types:

1. semantic pseudo-loans, i.e. a foreign word which has acquired a meaning it did not have in the source language,
2. lexical pseudo-loans, that is, a word which looks foreign but in fact does not exist in the foreign language,
3. morphological pseudo-loans, which combine lexical morphemes that are not the same as in the foreign language.

Capuz (1997), in turn, proposed another classification of borrowings, distinguishing as many as eight types: phonological, orthographic, morphological, semantic, lexical, phraseological, and pragmatic. Capuz calls the first two types formal borrowings, as they are concerned with form only but not the meaning. This type occurs rather seldom, and is mostly a result of

mistakes, either graphic or with pronunciation. Morphological borrowings, in turn, involves the transference of morphemes, e.g. mixing of affixes or interferences in forming singular and plural. Another type identified by Capuz is semantic borrowing, implying "the transference of a sememe or unity of meaning" (1997: 86). The distinction is further made by him into:

1. homologues – words which have analogous meaning, but differ as far as form is concerned; using another terminology, this corresponds to semantic calques,
2. analogues – words exhibiting analogy in both form and meaning, more common than the former,
3. homophones – only the form is shared, with no analogy in meanings.

Furthermore, there are lexical borrowings, which have been discussed extensively in this section. Capuz (1997: 88-89) also writes about syntactic borrowings, drawing the line between syntactic innovation, in which case the syntactic construction is absent in the recipient language, and syntactic borrowing of higher frequency, referring to a situation when the construction is known in the recipient language, but has not been used extensively. Finally, there are also phraseological borrowings and pragmatic borrowings.

2.2.3. REASONS FOR BORROWING

A number of various factors responsible for language borrowing have been identified so far. Rendon (2008: 49) discusses

language contact from the point of view of the functional theory of language. He assumes that:

> *the communicative motivation that leads speakers to take part in verbal interaction within a speech community is also operative when speakers of two or more languages are involved in social behavior, regardless of the relative position of the languages with respect to each other.*
> (Rendon 2008: 49)

Therefore, changes in language are natural outcomes of verbal interactions. Accordingly, borrowing often occurs in bilingual communities, as the frequent and strong contact between the two languages creates a favorable environment for adopting words. However, it also happens often in situations when there is no contact between communities.

A very common reason for the borrowing is the lack of suitable lexical item in a language to denote a certain novelty. This has always been one of the leading reasons for loanwords, and studying English vocabulary allows to discover numerous examples of borrowings motivated by the lack of suitable terms. As Baker and Jones (1998: 164) enumerate, the English language has borrowed terms for types of houses (such as *castle, bungalow, igloo, teepee, wigwam*), for cultural institutions (*ballet, opera*), or political concepts (*apartheid, perestroika*). As it has been mentioned earlier, borrowing may also take place even if the native equivalent does exist, and either the foreign word replaces the native one, or the two terms coexist, with the foreign item enriching the recipient language.

Moreover, the rapid pace of developments in numerous areas of life leads to the emergence of previously unknown devices, objects, institutions, and it happens more often than not that a language does not have a satisfactory term for them. Therefore, the extent of borrowings, particularly from English, has extremely increased since the beginning of the twentieth century. It appeared at some point that coining native neologisms for each new invention is nothing but impractical. As Baker and Jones (1998: 164) point out, three main reasons contributed to the large-scale borrowing:

1. some languages do not have word formation processes which would allow to form suitable equivalents,
2. forming new terms is time-consuming and must be well-thought-out, thus borrowing a foreign term which is already established is much easier and more convenient,
3. in many cases, especially in the fields of science and technology, accuracy is crucial and both generalization and narrowing of the meaning should not take place; borrowing a foreign word allows to make sure that the full meaning conveyed by it is retained.

As Jones (1976: 14) points out, social and stylistic factors play an enormous role in language borrowing. He notes:

Well known to language historians are situations in which a particular social group, whether occupational, educational, political or sectarian, develops within its sociolect an esoteric cult of a particular foreign language, as a convenient and effective

marker of its own individuality or superiority, and as a barrier to intervention from the uninitiated.
(Jones 1976: 14)

Jones also remarks that extreme cases of such trends may result in high level of bilingualism and the massive invasion of the native tongue by lexical borrowings. Perhaps the popularity of French is a good example of such situation, as it has been considered a sign of prestige and style, deemed fashionable and chic. English has borrowed a great number of French words, but lately the direction of influence has changed, as French now borrows heavily from English, as many other languages (Baker and Jones 1998: 167). As Gramley (2001: 25) claims, whereas it can be agreed that such borrowings enriches a language, it also makes certain registers inaccessible to "ordinary" people. In other words, certain borrowed lexical items are difficult to understand for the masses, thus their sense had to be learned. Such loanwords may also be deemed by average speaker as pretentious.

What is more, each speech community is associated by other communities with a certain set of cultural or emotional characteristics, and the language evokes similar reactions. Therefore, to add "local or national colour", a large number of foreign words may be used. This may also be motivated by political or social associations, or when a foreign language is considered to be prestigious. As Jones (1976: 15) points out, this "cultural conquest" is more powerful than the physical one. However, also negative attitude and antipathy may as well be a motivation for the transference of a certain lexical item.

Finally, Jones (1976: 18) also mentions "mere accident or oversight" as a possible reason for borrowing. Sometimes it may even happen that a translator retains the foreign word as he is unable or unwilling to find a native equivalent, and this word is later inherited by other translators or writers despite the fact that it has not achieved currency. An interesting remark was made by Wardhaugh (2010: 196), who points out that members of different speech communities exhibit various approaches to the process of borrowing. For instance, the speakers of English "borrow almost indiscriminately" from a number of other languages, whereas French or German speakers are more discriminating. This brings closer the issue of constraints, which limit the extent of borrowings. Hickey (2013: n.p.) writes about language loyalty and language ideology asone of such factors. In other words, loyalty to the mother tongue is associated with national or ethnic pride and resistance to foreign influences. Some nations have even introduced specific policies aimed at keeping their native language pure and free from foreign borrowings. Hickey recalls the example of the French, who made an attempt to protect their language from the increasing extent of anglicisation. *L'Académie française* even recommended the use of French terms for internationally established English words, such as *e-mail* or *software*, which also led to the criticism for excessive conservatism.

It is also important to note that this language loyalty is closely related to group identity. Hence, Alsatian-French bilingual speakers in Strasbourg exhibit more tolerance for borrowings, as this mixture of languages reflects their ethnic identity. On the other hand, the speakers of Dutch and French in Brussels do not mix their languages to that extent, as they view

themselves ethnically and linguistically distinct (Hickey 2013: n.p.).

There can be no doubt that English has been throughout the centuries affected by the influences of different languages, including Scandinavian. The occurrence of numerous Scandinavian loanwords in today's English proves it. It may be thus interesting to analyse the extent of Scandinavian influence on this language in the days of Middle English. The writings of Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of English literature, may serve as a suitable point of departure for such research. The next sections of this thesis will be devoted to the detailed analysis of Chaucer's texts from the perspective of linguistic borrowings.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SEMANTICS OF SCANDINAVIAN LOANWORDS IN THE CANTERBURY TALES

3.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

This chapter offers an analysis of Scandinavian loanwords occurring in Geoffrey Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*. It should be noted that in some cases the Scandinavian origins are uncertain, yet possible. The loanwords have been grouped into 8 semantic fields, within which the lexemes have been organised alphabetically. Each loanword is presented including its etymology, the evolution of their forms and meanings, and illustrated with appropriate examples. The analysis is based on three dictionaries: *The Oxford English Dictionary*, *Online Etymology Dictionary*, and *Middle English Dictionary.*

3.2. 'PEOPLE AND PARTS OF THE BODY'

The semantic field 'people and parts of the body' contains 12 Scandinavian loanwords. This section involves various denominations of people's occupations, positions in society and family, personal characteristics, as well as parts of the body and features of human physiology.

3.2.1. CALF

While the first meaning of *calf* 'the young of any bovine animal' derives from Germanic origin, its second sense, that of 'the fleshy hinder part of the shank of the leg', has Scandinavian roots. It was derived from Old Norse *kalfi,* whose origins are unknown. The word *calf* in this sense started to be used in the early 14th century. Its forms included *caalf, calfe, calue.* Apart from several uses of *calf* in *The Canterbury Tales* in its basic sense, there is only one instance of its use in the second meaning:

591 *Ful longe were his legges, and ful lene*
592 Y-lyk a staf, ther was no calf y-sene.

3.2.2. CARL

The word derived from Old Norse *karl* 'man, male, freeman, man of the people', from Proto-Germanic **karlon-,* which is also a source of Old English *ceorl* 'man of low degree'. In Middle English also spelt as *karl, kerl, karll, carril, cairle, carll.* The word first appeared in the English language in the 13th

century, when it meant 'a bondman, villain'. Later, it came to mean 'a fellow of low birth of rude manners; a base fellow'.

Chaucer in *The Canterbury Tales* used it in a sense 'a man of the common people; more particularly a countryman, a husbandman', which is now archaic.

3469 *His knave was a strong carl for the nones,*
3470 *And by the haspe he haf it up atones;*
3471 *In-to the floor the dore fil anon.*

3.2.3. FELLOW

The word derived from Old Norse *félage*, where *fé* meant 'property, money', and *lag* meant 'lay'. Hence its original, now obsolete, meaning of 'one who lays down money in a joint undertaking with others'. Its another meaning, 'one who shares with another in a possession, official dignity, or in the performance of any work; a partner, a colleague, co-worker' was documented as early as in 1016 in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* Its Old English form was *féolaga,* in Middle English evolved to *felaȝe, felau,* or *felaw*. It was often used in *The Canterbury Tales* to denote 'the mate', or 'an agreeable or pleasant companion', first documented around the early 14th century. In *The Canterbury Tales* it is used a number of times in various forms: *felaw, felawe,* and in plural *felawes:*

4175 *Oon of the gretteste auctours that men rede*
4176 *Seith thus, that whylom two felawes wente*
54177 *On pilgrimage, in a ful good entente.*

It is also used with a suffix *-ship*, resulting in *felaweship.* The word, first recorded circa 1200, in the Old English form *feolahshipe,* and in Middle English evolving to *felawship/felaweship* and finally *fellowship.*

1625 *Ful sooth is seyd, that love ne lordshipe*
1626 *Wol noght, his thankes, have no felaweshipe.*

3.2.4 FRECKLE

The word derived from Old Norse *freknur* 'freckles' (plural), from PIE root **(s)preg-* 'to jerk, scatter'. An alternative word was *frecken*, which is now obsolete, except in certain dialects. Its first documented use was in the late 14th century in its today's meaning 'a yellowish or light-brown spot in the skin', or more generally 'any small spot or discoloration'. Its other forms include *fracel, fracle, frakel, frakil, frakle, frekele, freckle, frecle, freclle.* Chaucer in *The Canterbury Tales* also used it:

2168 *His lippes rounde, his colour was sangwyn,*
2169 *A fewe fraknes in his face y-spreynd,*
2170 *Betwixen yelow and somdel blak y-meynd.*

In the 16th century the word was also used to denote 'a wrinkle', the meaning which is now obsolete.

3.2.5. HUSBAND

Old English form *husbonda* was derived most probably from Old Norse *husbondi* 'master of the house', from *hus* 'house' and *bondi* 'householder, dweller, freeholder, peasant'. In Old English it used to mean 'the master of a house, the male head of a household', yet this meaning ceased to be used after Middle English. In the 13th century, the word acquired its current meaning, that is to say, 'a man joined to a woman by marriage'. The word *husband* in the form *housbonde* is used a number of times in *The Canterbury Tales*, such as in the example below:

3080 *…ye shul, of your grace, up-on him rewe,*
3081 *And taken him for housbonde and for lord*

Other common Middle English forms of the word were *husbonde, husbunde, husebande, housebonde, hosebonde, hosbande, husbande,* and many more. Since the 13th century until the late 17th century, the word was also used as 'one who tills and cultivates the soil; a cultivator, tiller, farmer'. Moreover, in the 15th century a sense 'the manager of a household or establishment' emerged as well.

3.2.6. LEG

The word derived from Old Norse *legg-r* 'leg, bone of the arm or leg', from ProtoGermanic **lagjaz*, probably derived from a PIE root 'to bend'. Other Middle English forms include: *legges* (*leggis, leggys*), *lege, legge, liege, lige*. The first documented

use of this word in its basic meaning 'one of the organs of support and locomotion in an animal body; especially one of the two lower limbs of the human body' was most probably around 1300. Since the late 17th century, it started to be used in a sense 'support of a piece of furniture or the like'; the meaning 'a part of, or stage in, a journey, race, competition' appeared only in the 20th century. The latter has derived from 'a run made on a single tack', present since the latter half of the 19th century. In *The Canterbury Tales,* the word occurs twice:

1828 *Though I him wrye a-night and make him warm,*
1829 *And on hym leye my leg outher myn arm.*

3.2.7. OUTLAW

The word derived from OE *utlaga* 'one put outside the law', whose source was Old Norse *utlagi,* adapted from *utlagr* 'outlawed, banished', made of *ut* 'out' and **lagu* 'law'. Its original Old English meaning referred to 'a person declared to be outside the law and deprived of its benefits and protections', or 'a person who has been banished or proscribed', now used in historical sense. Around the 13th century, the word also acquired more general meaning of 'a person who lives without regard for the law; a miscreant, felon, criminal'. It can also be encountered in *The Canterbury Tales*:

223 *Right so, bitwixe a titelees tiraunt*
224 *And an outlawe, or a theef erraunt,*
225 *The same I seye*

3.2.8. SISTER

Middle English *sister* evolved from Old English *sweoster, swuster, swystor*, and it is possible that the word has Scandinavian origins – Old Norse and Icelandic *systir.* In both cases, the source is Proto-Germanic **swestr*, derived from PIE **swesor*, which is one of the most stable PIE root words, present in the majority of Indo-European languages. Its first documented uses can be found in *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (circa 900). The word appears several times in *The Canterbury Tales* in the form of *suster:*

764 *To the erl of Panik, which that hadde tho*
765 *Wedded his suster.*

3.2.9. SKIN

The word was borrowed from early Scandinavian, Old Icelandic *skinn* and Old Norwegian *skinn,* from Proto-Germanic **skintha*, formed on the basis of PIE root word **sken-* 'to cut off'. The most common forms of this word occurring in Old English were *schynn* or *scynn*, later evolving into *schin, schyn, scyn, skein, skene, scinne, skyne*. Its original meaning related to 'the natural external covering or integument of an animal removed from the body' can be dated back to Old English. The word's meaning was extended to 'the layer of tissue forming the external covering of the body in vertebrates' only in the 14th century, according to written sources. The word skin can be encountered several times in *The Canterbury Tales*:

732 *Lo, how I vanish, flesh, and blood, and skin!*
1825 *Lyk to the skin of houndfish, sharp as brere.*

3.2.10. SKULL

The origins of this word are unclear; the initial cluster *sk-* indicates foreign origins, thus it is possible that the word derived from Old Norse *skoltr* 'a bald head, skull'. However, the early examples of its use do not prove this hypothesis, therefore it is assumed that the word may have originated from Dutch *schol,* Middle Low German *schulle,* or Middle High German *scholle.* The earliest documented uses of the word were found to appear in the latter half of the 13th century; in Middle English the word was used in many different forms, such as *scolle, scol, skoll, schulle, sculle,* and *skulle.* The last form can be encountered in *The Canterbury Tales* twice:

3934 *Round was his face, and camuse was his nose.*
3935 *As piled as an ape was his skulle.*

3.2.11. SWAIN

Another Scandinavian borrowing that entered the English language, approximately in the 12th century. It was derived from Old Norse *sveinn* 'boy, servant, attendant', from Proto-Germanic **swainaz* 'attendant, servant', from PIE **swoi- no-,* from root **s(w)e-* 'oneself, alone, apart'. The forms of spelling in Middle English were among others *swein, sweyn, swayn, squayne, swane, swaine, suein, sueyn, suayn, suain,* and *suane.* Its original meaning was 'a young man attending on a knight; hence,

a man of low degree'. In the 13th century the meaning was extended to 'a male servant, serving-man'. Chaucer used *swain* in this meaning in *The Canterbury Tales*:

4026 *'Symond,' quod Iohn, 'by god, nede has na peer;*
4027 *Him boes serve him-selve that has na swayn,*
4028 *Or elles he is a fool, as clerkes sayn.*

In the late 14th century the meaning was generalised even further to mean 'a man; a youth; a boy'. All of these three senses became obsolete. Nowadays, the word is usually used in reference to 'a country gallant or lover', the meaning which emerged only in the late 16th century.

3.2.12. UGLY

The word first occurred in English in the form *uglike*, derived from a Scandinavian source, Old Norse *uggligr* 'dreadful, fearful', from *uggr* 'dread, fear', and a suffix –ligr 'like'. Hence its first meaning, dated on the early 14th century, is that of 'having an appearance or aspect which causes dread or horror'. Later, in the 14th century, another meaning evolved, 'offensive or repulsive to the eye; unpleasing in appearance'. Such was the use in *The Canterbury Tales:*

674 *This ugly sergeant, in the same wyse*
675 *That he hir doghter caught…*

Among other common Middle English forms of the word one can enumerate, among others, *vgli, ugli, igly, vgly, vgely,*

uggeli, vgelly, oglie, oggly, oughly, ouglye, ouglie, hogely, hugly, hougly, and many more variations of the spelling.

3.3. 'NATURE'

This broad section encompasses names of animals and plants, as well as their parts, but also terms related to natural phenomena and processes. The semantic field 'nature' contains 11 loanwords.

3.3.1. BARK

Middle English forms of the word are also *barc, barke, barcke, barque.* As a noun meaning 'the rind or outer sheath of the trunk and branches of trees', the word first occurred in the early 14th century. It derived from a Scandinavian source, Old Norse *borkr* 'bark', originated from Proto-Germanic **barkuz*, possibly related to *birch* and Low German *borke.* The native word for *bark* was *rind.* The word appears once in *The Canterbury Tales* in a sense 'bark (of certain trees and plants) as used in medicine':

544 *Of spicerye, of leef, and bark, and rote*
545 *Shal been his sauce y-maked by delyt.*

3.3.2. BULL

It first appeared in the early 13th century denoting 'the male of any bovine animal'. It may have derived either from Old English *bula* 'a bull, a steer', or Old Norse *boli* 'bull'. The source of both these words was Proto-Germanic **bullon-,* most

probably taken from a Germanic stem 'to roar', whose possible source was PIE **bhln-*, formed from root **bhel-* 'to blow, inflate, swell'. Its Middle English forms include *bule, bulle, bole, boole, bolle.* The word appears several times in *The Canterbury Tales:*

4123 *Right as the humour of malencolye*
4124 *Causeth ful many a man, in sleep, to crye,*
4125 *For fere of blake beres, or boles blake,*
4126 *Or elles, blake develes wole hem take.*

3.3.3. GAP

Most probably the word derived from Old Norse *gap* 'chasm', related to *gapa* 'to gape', whose source was PIE **ghai-* 'to yawn, gape'. In the 13th century it was used in the names of places, while its meaning as a noun 'hole in a wall or hedge' emerged in the early 14th century. It was also used in alternative forms, such as *gappe* or *gapp.* Chaucer used it in *The Canterbury Tales* in the following way:

1638 *Right as the hunter in the regne of Trace,*
1639 *That stondeth at the gappe with a spere.*

This may be an example of a more figurative sense of the word, which is now obsolete: 'an opening or breach by which entry may be effected or attack made', appearing also in phrases such as the one above, i.e. *to stand in the gap* 'to act as defender'. Both meanings were documented since the 16th century, having become obsolete by the end of the 18th century.

3.3.4. KID

The word derived from Old Norse *kið,* adopted from Germanic *kiðjo.* Its Middle English forms include *kide, kyde, kede, kyd*, and *kidde.* Its original meaning was that of 'the young of a goat', and it was first recorded around 1200 in *Ormulum.* In this meaning it appears also in *The Canterbury Tales:*

3259 *Ther-to she coude skippe and make game*
3260 *As any kide or calf fowlinge his dame.*

The word's meaning as 'a child' emerged only in the 17th century and it was originally treated as a low slang, but in the 19th century it was already included in familiar speech.

3.3.5. MIRE

The word was derived from early Scandinavian - Old Norse *myrr* 'bog, swamp', from Proto-Germanic **miuzja-*, from PIE **meus-* 'damp'. It first appeared in written sources in the 13th century, in a sense 'an area of swampy ground', and later, in the 14th century it came to mean 'wet or soft mud', as in the example from *The Canterbury Tales:*

419 *…forth-with the superfluitee in lengthe of the foreside gounes, trailinge in the dong and in the myre, on horse and eek on fote.*

Furthermore, in the 14th century the word acquired figurative meaning, 'an undesirable state or condition from which

it is difficult to extricate oneself'. Chaucer used the word in this meaning in *The Canterbury Tales* as well:

505 *Wel oghte a preest ensample for to yive,*
506 *By his clennesse, how that his sheep shold live.*
507 *He sette nat his benefice to hyre,*
508 *And leet his sheep encombred in the myre.*

As one can notice, the common Middle English form of the word was *myre*; other frequent forms included *mir, muir, mur, muyre, myere, moyre, myr, myire.*

3.3.6. ROOT

The word derived from early Scandinavian languages (Old Icelandic *rot*, Old Swedish *rot,* Old Danish *root*), from Proto-Germanic **wrot*, from PIE root **wrad-*. In Old English the words *wyrttruma* and *wyrtwala* were used for *root*. Its Middle English forms include *rotte*, *rote, roote, roite, rout, rote*. Its original meaning, that of 'the underground part of a plant', is dated back to Old English. This usage can be found in *The Canterbury Tales:*

153 *And every gras that growth up-on rote*
154 *She shal eek knowe…*

In the 14th century the meaning was extended to 'the lowest part or bottom of something', especially when referring to the foot of a mountain, such as in the example from *The Canterbury Tales:*

58 *Ther is, at the west side of Itaille,*
59 *Doun at the rote of Vesulus the colde*
60 *A lusty playne…*

The word's more figurative senses have been in use since the 12th century, as 'the source, origin, or cause', as in the excerpt from *The Canterbury Tales* quoted below:

1069 *…I wol it verifye,*
1070 *In this chanoun, rote of al trecherye.*

Furthermore, Chaucer used the word in another figurative meaning, that of 'the basic, fundamental, or innermost part of something; the essence; the core':

1459 *It is a water that is maad, I seye,*
1460 *Of elements foure,' quod Plato.*
1461 *Tel me the rote, good sir,' quod he tho,*
1462 *Of that water, if that it be your wille?*

3.3.7. ROTTEN

This word also has Scandinavian roots - Old Norse *rottin* 'decayed', which was the past participle of the verb *rotna* 'to decay'. These originated from Proto-Germanic root **rut*. Its original basic meaning referred to the 'state of decomposition' and it was first documented in the early 13th century. In more figurative context the word started to be used around the 15th century. There are several occurrences of the word in *The Can-*

terbury Tales; a passage from *The Reeve's Tale* involves both literal and figurative meanings of the word:

3871 *But if I fare as dooth an open-ers;*
3782 *That ilke fruit is ever leng the wers;*
3783 *Til it be roten in mullok or in stree.*
3784 *We olde men, I drede, so fare we;*
3785 *Til we be roten, can we nat be rype.*

3.3.8. SCAB

Another word of Scandinavian origin; it evolved from Old English *sceabb* 'scab, itch', developed from Old Norse *skabb* 'scab, itch', from Proto-Germanic **skab-* 'scratch, shave', from PIE root **(s)kep-* 'to cut, scrape, hack'. Other possible Middle English spellings are *scabbe, skab, skabbe, skabe, scappe, scabb*. Its first meaning, appearing in the 13th century, was 'disease of the skin in which pustules or scales are formed; a general term for skin diseases', which had become obsolete by the end of the 19th century. In the 14th century, the word's sense was broadened to mean 'a cutaneous disease in animals, especially sheep, resembling the itch and the mange'. Chaucer used this sense of the word in *The Canterbury Tales:*

358 *Of pokkes and of scabbe, and every sore*
359 *Shal every sheep be hool…*

The word's current usual meaning 'the crust which forms over a wound or sore during cicatrisation' first occurred in the

early 14th century. Approximately two centuries later, the word acquired more literal slang meaning and became a term of abuse.

3.3.9. SKY

The word derived from Old Norse *sky* 'cloud', from Proto-Germanic **skeujam* 'cloud', originated from PIE root **(s)keu-* 'to cover, conceal'. Its Middle English forms include *ski, skei, skey, skie, skye, schye*. Its first uses, dated back to the early 13th century, refer to 'a cloud', while the meaning 'the upper region of the air' started to be commonly used approximately a century later. In this meaning, the word *sky* replaced the native *heofon*. In Middle English, it meant both 'cloud' and 'heaven'. It appears only once in *The Canterbury Tales:*

503 *Til I coude flee ful hye under the sky.*

3.3.10. SNARE

The word appeared in Old English, as a borrowing from Old Norse *snara* 'noose, snare', which was related to soenri 'twisted rope', originated from Proto-Germanic *snarkho. Other Middle English spellings include *sneare, snayr, snair, snarr, and snar.* Its original meaning was limited to a literal one, that is, 'a device for capturing small wild animals or birds'. The figurative meaning has been in general use since the early 14th century. The word appears several times in *The Canterbury Tales*, in most cases in the metaphorical use, such as below:

1488 *Now wol I torne un-to Arcite ageyn,*
1489 *That litel wiste how ny that was his care,*
1490 *Til that fortune had broght him in the snare.*

3.3.11. WING

The word emerged in the late 12th century from Old Norse *vængr* 'wing of a bird, aisle', probably from Proto-Germanic **we-ingjaz*, that is, a PIE root **we-* 'blow' with a suffix. This word replaced Old English *feðra* 'wings'. Its Middle English forms include *wenge, weng, wynge, whynge, whing, winge.* The last form of this word can be encountered on several occasions in *The Canterbury Tales*, as in the example below:

1963 *Biforn hir stood hir sone Cupido*
1064 *Up-on his shuldres winges hadde he two.*

3.4. 'HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT'

This field includes various tools and devices used in agriculture and households, elements of buildings, rooms, and various commodities. The semantic field 'household equipment' consists of 10 loanwords.

3.4.1. BAG

The source of this word is most probably Old Norse *baggi* or another Scandinavian word, although sources are unknown, it is possible that these words may be of Celtic origin. In Middle

English it was used in such forms as *bagge* or *bagg*, and such forms can be encountered in *The Canterbury Tales:*

1273 *His bokes and his bagges may oon*
1274 *He leith biforn him on his counting-bord.*

Chaucer also used another word for bag, which is *male*.

694 *For in his male he hadde a pilwe-beer,*
695 *Which that, he seyde, was our lady veyl.*

3.4.2. CAKE

The word's first recorded use is dated back to the early 13th century. The word was derived from Old Norse *kaka*, from West Germanic **kokon-*; it replaced the Old English word *coecel*. In Middle English it was also used in three different forms other than *cake*, that is *kaak, kake*, or *caik*. Originally, the word only meant 'a flat, round loaf of a bread'. Only in the 15th century its meaning was extended to 'a composition having a basis of bread, but containing additional ingredients, as butter, sugar, spices, currants, raisins'. Hence, in *The Canterbury Tales* Chaucer used it most probably in the first sense:

321 *But first,' quod he, 'heer at this ale-stake*
322 *I wol both drinke, and eten of a cake.*

3.4.3. CART

The word first appeared in the English language, according to the sources, circa 1200, as a borrowing from Old Norse *kartr* or another Scandinavian word, which had a similar meaning to Old English *cræt* 'cart, chariot, wagon', which it replaced. Alternative Middle English forms were *carte, karte, charte,* and *cairt.* Its original meaning 'a carriage of any kind; a chariot, car' had become obsolete by the 17th century. In the late 13th century the first sources document the use of the word in a narrower sense, 'a strong vehicle with two wheels, and without springs, used in farming operations, and for carrying heavy goods of various kinds'. The use of *cart* in this sense can be found in *The Canterbury Tales*, as in the following example:

4207 *And at the west gate of the toun,' quod he,*
4208 *'A carte ful of donge ther shaltow see,*
4209 *In which my body is hid ful prively;*
4210 *Do thilke carte aresten boldely.*

In the 19th century, another sense was acquired, that of 'a two-wheeled vehicle of lighter or more elegant make, with springs, drawn by one horse at a rapid pace'.

3.4.4. CROOK

One of the earliest documented uses of this word comes from the 13th century. Apparently its source was Old Norse *krokr* 'hook, corner', whose sources are unclear. Possibly, it is

related to common Germanic kr- words indicating the quality of being 'bent, hooked'. In its earliest uses the word meant 'an instrument, weapon, or tool of hooked form', most important 'a hook or bent iron on which anything is hung'. Chaucer used the word in *The Canterbury Tales* in a narrower sense which emerged in the 14th century, 'the pastoral staff of a bishop, shaped like a shepherd's staff'.

1317 *For er the bisshop caught hem with his crook,*
1318 *They weren in the erchedeknes book.*

3.4.5. KNOT

The Scandinavian roots of this word are questionable, but it is possible that Old English *cnotta* derived from Old Norse *knutr* 'knot, knob', or *knottr* 'ball', from Proto-Germanic **knuttan.* The word appeared already in Old English in its literal sense 'an intertwining or complication of the parts of one or more ropes, cords, or strips of anything flexible enough'. The word's figurative meanings have been in use since the Old English period as well, either meaning 'something intricate, involved, or difficult to trace out or explain', or 'the central point of something intricate, involved, or difficult'. The word *knot* is used in *The Canterbury Tales* in this second sense:

401 *The knotte, why that every tale is told,*
402 *If it be tarried til that lust be cold*
403 *Of hem that han it after herkned yore,*
404 *The savour passeth ever lenger the more.*

As it can be observed, the word is used in the form *knotte*,

which was one of the most common forms used in Middle English, along with *cnot, cnotte,* and *knott.*

3.4.6. KNIFE

The Old English *cnif* most probably derived from Old Norse *knifr*, based on ProtoGermanic **knibaz,* further etymology is unknown. Its first uses, meaning 'a cutting instrument, consisting of a blade with a sharpened longitudinal edge fixed in a handle', date back to the early 12th century. The most commonly used forms in Middle English were *cnif, knif, knijf, knyue, knyf, knife.* In *The Canterbury Tales* it is used most frequently in the form *knyf,* plural *knyves,* as exemplified below:

366 *His knyves were y-chaped noght with bras,*
367 *But al with silver, wroght ful clene and weel.*

3959 *But-if he wolde be slayn of Simkin*
3960 *With panade, or with knyf, or boydekin.*

3.4.7. LATHE

The word derived from Old Norse *hlaða.* Other Middle English forms include *laythe, lath, leath, laith.* It first appeared around the 14th century meaning 'a barn', now the word is only used in dialects, in the "Viking areas", that is, those once belonging to the Danelaw. Chaucer used it once in *The Canterbury Tales:*

4087 *By goddes herte he sal nat scape us bathe.*
4088 *Why nadstow pit the capul in the lathe?*
4089 *Il-hayl, by god, Aleyn, thou is a fonne!*

The word was also frequently used in Scandinavian placenames.

3.4.8. LOFT

Late Old English *loft* derived from Old Norse *loft* 'air, sky, upper room', from Proto-Germanic **luftuz* 'air, sky.' Its original Old English meaning, having become obsolete by the end of the 16th century, was 'air, sky, upper region'. It was also used in phrases, such as *on/upon the loft* 'aloft', also obsolete nowadays. This use occurs several times in *The Canterbury Tales:*

276 *And ye, my moder, my soverayn pleasance*
277 *Over alle thing, out-taken Crist on-lofte.*

Moreover, since the 14th century the word has come to mean 'an upper chamber, an attic'. Among its Middle English forms the most frequent were *lofte, looft, loyft, loaft, loffte,* and even *laught.*

3.4.9. PLOW

The word *plow* is most probably from the Scandinavian source - Old Norse *plogr,* Swedish and Danish *plog,* derived in turn from Proto-Germanic **plogo*. The word replaced Old English *sulh.* In *The Canterbury Tales* it appears only in

a compound *plowman*, defined as 'a man who follows guides, or drives a plough'. *Plowman's* first recorded occurrences in the 13th century were in surnames (1223 - *Robert Pleueman,* 1260 - *Bartholomei le Plouman*), most frequently in the areas of the Danelaw. Oxford English Dictionary compares *plowman* to Old Danish *plowman* and Old Swedish *ploghman,* and Old Icelandic *plogkarl.* In *The Canterbury Tales* the word *plowman* occurs twice:

529 *With him ther was a plowman, was his brother*
530 *That hadde y-lad of dong ful many a fother.*

3.4.10. WINDOW

Its Middle English form was *windoȝe* and it derived from Old Norse *vindauga*, formed from *vindr* 'wind' and *auga* 'eye'. The Scandinavian word replaced Old English *éagþyre* and *ag duru,* literally 'eye-hole' and 'eye-door', respectively. Most Germanic languages used versions of Latin *fenestra* when referring to windows fitted with sheets of glass, and also in English *fenester* was used concurrently with *window*, although only until the 16th century, when the latter superseded the former. The word appears in *The Canterbury Tales:*

1128 *The northren light in at the dores shoon,*
1129 *For windowe on the wal ne was ther noon,*
1130 *Thurgh which men mighten any light discerne.*

It also occurs in a now obsolete compound *window-set* 'set or furnished with windows'.

2528 *Duk Theseus was at a window set,*
2529 *Arrayed right as he were a god in trone.*

3.5. 'NUMBERS AND MEASURES'

The semantic field 'numbers and measures' consists of only 2 loanwords.

3.5.1. MARK

The word was already present in Old English as a borrowing from early Scandinavian - Old Icelandic *mork* 'a weight of eight ounces'. Hence, it was used since the Old English days to denote 'a measure of weight, chiefly for gold and silver, usually representing 8 ounces'. It also meant 'a monetary unit used in accounts and for determining the value of gold and silver coins and bullion'. This meaning, now obsolete, was used by Chaucer in *The Canterbury Tales*:

391 *By this gaude have I wonne, yeer by yeer,*
392 *An hundred mark sith I was Pardoner.*

Since the 18th century, the word was used 'as the denomination of a coin', and in the 19th century *mark* became the German currency. In the period of Middle English, the word was alternatively spelled as *mearc, marc, marcke, marke, mairk, march, merke, merk, mercke.*

3.5.2. SCORE

The Old English *scoru* derived from Old Norse *skor* 'notch, tally, the number of twenty', from Proto-Germanic **skura-*, from PIE root **(s)ker-* 'to cut'. The original meaning of this word, as it emerged in the 12th century, was 'a group or set of twenty'. In this sense, the word appears in *The Canterbury Tales:*

628 *Seven score of yonge men he saugh wel a-dight;*
629 *Alle satte atte mete in compas aboute.*

The meaning 'a cut, notch, mark' appeared in the early 15th century, and the uses of the word in a sense 'a line drawn; a stroke, mark; a line drawn as a boundary' was first documented in the 16th century, although apparently it had already been in use for a longer time. Other forms of the word used in Middle English are, among others, *scor, schore, skor, skore, scoyr, skowre, scoure, scoore, scoare,* and *scoir*.

3.6. 'ABSTRACT CONCEPTS'

This category embraces abstract concepts, which cannot be classified in any other categories. They include emotions, states, situations, processes, and general terms describing immaterial concepts.

3.6.1. ANGER

The word *anger*, or *angyr, anger, angre*, or *angar*, has its roots in Old Norse *angr* 'trouble, affliction', derived from Proto-Germanic **angus*, from PIE root **angh-* 'tight, painfully constricted, painful'. The word's original meaning referred to 'that which pains or afflicts; trouble, affliction, vexation, sorrow', first used around the 13th century and obsolete by the 15th century. In the 14th century another sense was added, that of 'passion, rage, wrath'. It occurs several times in *The Canterbury Tales:*

1981 *Ye lye heer, ful of anger and of yre,*
1982 *With which the devel set your herte a-fyre.*

What is more, *The Canterbury Tales* also includes several occurrences of an adjective angry, which similarly as the noun originated from the meaning 'full of trouble, vexatious, annoying', to evolve later into 'enraged, wrathful, irate'.

1825 *He is as angry as a pissemyre,*
1826 *Though that he have al that he can desyre.*

3.6.2. BIRTH

The word first appeared around the early 13th century. Most probably it was derived from a Scandinavian source, such as Old Norse *byrðr*, from Proto-Germanic **gaburthis*, from PIE **bhrto*, which was past participle of the root word **bher-* 'to carry, to bear children'. The word appeared in Middle English

in different forms, e.g. *burðe, birðe, burþe, birþe, byrþe, burthe, birthe, byrthe*. It occurs a few times in *The Canterbury Tales*:

400 *For al swich wit is yeven us in our birthe,*
401 *Deceite, weping, spinning god hath yive*
402 *To women kindely, whyl they may live.*

3.6.3. HAP

Another word of Scandinavian origins, derived from Old Norse *happ* 'chance, good luck', from Proto-Germanic **hap-,* from PIE **kob-* 'to suit, fit, succeed'. According to the sources, its original meaning, having emerged in the early 13th century, referred to 'good fortune, good luck; success, prosperity'; this had become obsolete. Later, in the second half of the 13th century the word came to mean 'the chance or fortune that falls to a person' and 'a fortuitous event or occurrence'. The second meaning of the word is present in *The Canterbury Tales:*

1427 *For evermore we mote stonde in drede*
1428 *Of hap and fortune in our chapmanhede.*

There is also an instance of the use of its opposite noun, that is to say, *mishap,* in a sense 'bad luck, misfortune', which has now rarely used.

3434 *For what man that hath freendes thurgh fortune,*
3435 *Mishap make hem enemys, I gesse.*

In the 14th century, another meaning emerged, that of 'an unlucky accident, unfortunate event'.

3.6.4. LAW

The word first occurred in Old English as *lagu*, and was derived from prehistoric Old Norse *lagu,* taken from Proto-Germanic **lagan* 'put, lay'. In Old Icelandic *log* meant 'something laid or fixed,' while the plural form had the general sense of 'law'. However, it was adopted in singular, hence the collective sense 'the body of rules; a code or system of rules of this kind' was introduced earlier (first documented record circa 1000) than the sense 'one of the individual rules which constitute the 'law'. The Scandinavian word replaced Old English /*æ*/ and *gesetnes.* The word appears several times in *The Canterbury Tales*; one of the tales is told by the Man of the Lawe, that is 'a lawyer', which is also one of the first documented uses of this compound:

33 Sir man of lawe,' quod he, 'so have ye blis
34 Tel us a tale anon, as forward is;
309 *A Sergeant of the Lawe, war and wys,*

3.6.5. RANSACK

The word's roots can be found in early Scandinavian – Old Icelandic *rannsaka* 'to search a house', Old Swedish *ransaka,* Old Danish *randsage,* which were also derivedfrom the Old Icelandic base *rann* 'house' and Old Icelandic *–saka*, a form of *saekja* 'to seek'. The word's first occurrences in written sources

are to be found in the early 14th century. One of its original meanings was 'to search (a person) for something stolen or missing', later evolving to 'to search (a place, a collection of things) thoroughly for something'. Its various Middle English forms include *raunsake, rensack, ronsak, rensake, ransike, ransake*; it is the last variation that appears in *The Canterbury Tales:*

1005 *To ransake in the tas of bodyes dede,*
1006 *Hem for to strepe of harneys and of wede.*

3.6.6. SCATHE

The word derived from Old Norse *skaða* 'to hurt, harm, damage, injure', from Proto-Germanic **skath-,* from PIE root **sket-* 'to injure'. The word's original meaning, having first appeared in Old English, was 'hurt, harm, damage'. At that time the noun also meant 'one who works harm; a malefactor; a wretch, fiend, monster', but it ceased to be used in this sense in the 13th century. The word is also used in *The Canterbury Tales* in a sense 'a matter for regret, sorrow, or pity,' which developed in the 13th century, as exemplified below:

445 *A good wyf was ther of bisyde Bathe,*
446 *But she was som-del deef, and that was scathe.*

From the 15th until the late 17th century the word also meant 'an injury, damage, or loss for which legal compensation is claimed'.

3.6.7. SHRIEK

The word appears in *The Canterbury Tales* in its preterit form *shright*, as in the example below:

417 *And ever in oon she cryde alwey and shrighte*
418 *nd with hir beek hir-selven so she prighte*

The word *shriek* derived from Old Norse *skrækja* 'to screech', whose origins are most probably onomatopoeic. The word became widely used only in the 16th century.

3.6.8. SKILL

The word derived from Old Norse *skil*; its Middle English forms varied, e.g. *skele, sckele, skil, skyl, skylle*. It was also used in a number of different meanings in the Middle English period. The word first occurred in written sources circa 1200, when it was included in *Ormulum* meaning 'reason as a faculty of the mind', later also as 'a sense of what is right or fitting', 'a wise or sensible act'. The word occurs several times in *The Canterbury Tales*, also with a suffix *–ful*:

327 *And al that wroght is with a skilful thought*
708 *They goon to bedde, as it was skile and right*
1678 *So that ye use, as skile is and resoun*

3.6.9. SLAUGHTER

The source of this word is Scandinavian, early Old Norse *slatr* 'a butchering, butcher meat', and *slatra* 'to slaughter', from Proto-Germanic **slukhtis*. Therefore, its original meaning, in use since the early 14th century, was 'the killing of cattle, sheep, or other animals for food'. In the course of the 14th century the meaning of the word was extended to 'the killing or slaying of a person; murder, homicide' and 'the killing of large numbers of persons in war, battle; massacre, carnage'. This sense is present in *The Canterbury Tales:*

994 *And speke we of the Romain Emperour,*
995 *That out of Surrie hath by lettres knowe*
996 *The slaughtre of cristen folk…*

Chaucer also frequently used the word *manslaughtre,* as in the example below:

591 *Hasard is verray moder of lesinges,*
592 *And of deceite, and cursed forsweringes,*
593 *Blaspheme of Crist, manslaughtre…*

3.6.10. THRIFT

The word entered the English language in the early 14th century, as a borrowing from Old Norse *þrift* 'prosperity', derived from *þrifask* 'to thrive'. The word was also spelled*þrift, þryft, thryfte*, and *thrifte*. It originally meant 'the fact or condition of thriving or prospering; prosperity, success, good luck',

which is now an obsolete meaning. In such sense, however, it occurs in Chaucer:

4048 *They wene that no man may hem bigyle,*
4049 *But, by my thrift, yet shal I blere hir ye,*
4050 *For al the sleighte in his philosophye.*

The sense 'savings, earnings, gains, profit' emerged later in the 14th century, and 'economical management; sparing use or careful expenditure of means' appeared only in the latter half of the 16th century.

3.6.11. TIDING

The history of the word dates back to Old English *tidung*, derived from Old Norse *tíðendi* 'events, occurrences, the reports of these, news, tidings', from PIE **di- ti-*; the word only had a plural form, in Middle English it was singular or plural. Hence, the first meaning of the word was 'something that happens; an event, incident, occurrence', first appeared in the early 13th century, now obsolete. The instance of such use can be encountered in *The Canterbury Tales:*

725 *And wroot un-to his king, that cleped was Alle,*
726 *How that this blisful tyding is bifalle,*
728 *And othere tydings speedful for to seye;*
729 *He takth the lettre, and forth he gooth his weye.*

This was the original meaning of the word, yet it was another sense that was documented first, namely that of 'the announcement of an event or occurrence; a piece of news'. Other Middle English forms include *tidinge, tidding, tydinge, tydynge, tytynge*.

3.6.12. TRUST

The word originated from Old Norse *traust* 'help, confidence, protection, support', in turn derived from Proto-Germanic **traustam*. Its first documented use, dated back to the early 13th century, has a meaning 'confidence in or reliance on some quality or attribute of a person or thing, or the truth of a statement'. In the 15th century, the meaning was extended to 'the quality of being trustworthy; fidelity, reliability'. The word's forms include *truste, trost, troste*. In *The Canterbury Tales* the word appears frequently as a verb,

501 *For if a preest be foul, on whom we truste,*
502 *No wonder is a lewed man to ruste.*

also in a negative form (*mistrust*). Several instances of its use as a noun occur as well in the meaning 'confident expectation of something, hope', as below:

1179 *…I crye in open audience*
1180 *No wedded man so hardy be tassaille,*
1181 *His wyves pacience in trust to finde*
1182 *Grisildes, for in certein he shall faille!*

What is more, there are also two instances of words which are now obsolete, that is untrust and wantrust,

281 *O wantrust, ful of fals suspecioun*
282 *Where was thy wit and thy discrecioun?*

2205 *Ye han non other contenance, I leve,*
2206 *But speke to us of untrust and repreve.*

3.7. 'LOAN, GIFT, BOON'

The semantic field 'loan, gift, boon' is composed of three loanwords which are similar on the semantic level, as they are related to giving something to someone without any expectation of being rewarded for it.

3.7.1. BOON

The word derived from Old Norse *bon* 'a prayer, petition', from Proto-Germanic **boniz*. Other forms included *bone, bon, bune, boun, boyn, boone, bowne, bound*. The original meaning 'a prayer, petition, entreaty, request' was first used in the 12th century, while in the early 14th century the meaning was extended to 'a request made with authority; a command or order couched in the form of request'. Both meanings are now obsolete. In *The Canterbury Tales* the word is used in another archaic meaning 'the matter prayed for or asked', in a phrase to have one's boon:

2669 *Mars hath his wille, his knight hath al his bone,*
2670 *And, by myn heed, thou shalt ben esed sone.*

The usual sense in which the word is used nowadays, that is, 'a gift considered with reference to its value to the receiver; a benefit enjoyed, blessing, advantage', started to be widely used only in the latter half of the 18th century.

3.7.2. GIFT

The word's source is Old Norse *gift, gipt* 'gift, good luck', formed on the basis of Proto-Germanic **giftiz*, from PIE root **ghab-* 'to give or receive'. In the early 12th century, the word was used in surnames, while its use as a noun 'the thing given; a donation, a present', started to become common in the 13th century, and the sense 'the action of giving' became widespread at the beginning of the 14th century. Its figurative use as 'a faculty, power, or quality miraculously bestowed, e.g. upon the apostles' emerged in the 12th century, and its meaning was later extended to 'a natural endowment, faculty, ability, or talent'. In Middle English the word's most common forms were *ȝeft, ȝyft, yeft, yifte, yyft, yft*; the initial /g/ started to be common only in the 15th century. In *The Canterbury Tales* the word gift was frequently used, both as 'a present' and as 'a faculty miraculously bestowed':

147 *Glad was this Iuge and maked him greet chere,*
148 *And yaf hym yiftes preciouse and dere.*

102 *God clepeth folk to him in sondry wyse,*
103 *And everich hath of god a propre yifte,*
104 *Som this, som that – as him lyketh shifte.*

3.7.3. LOAN

The word first appeared approximately in the 13th century, from Old Norse *lan*, formed on the base of *lja* 'to lend', from Proto-Germanic **laikhwinz* 'to let have, to leave (someone)', originated from PIE root **leikw-* 'to leave'. It is also a cognate with Old English *læn* 'gift', which did not survive into Middle English. However, its derivative *lænan* is the source of *lend*, which replaced *loan* as a verb. In the Middle English period it appeared in different forms, such as *lane, layne, lone, loone, loane.* It also occurs in *The Canterbury Tales* in the now obsolete meaning 'a gift or grant from a superior',

1861 *…god be thanked of his lone*
1862 *Maken hir Iubilee and walke allone.*

as well as in the sense 'the action of lending; an instance of this', such as in the example:

1483 *Thise hundred frankes he fette forth anon*
1484 *And prively he took hem to daun Iohn*
1485 *No wight in al this world wiste of this lone*
1486 *Savinge this marchant and daun Iohn allone.*

3.8. 'MISCELLANEOUS'

The present section groups those loanwords that have not been classified into semantic fields discussed so far.

3.8.1. CAST

Middle English *cast-en* derived from Old Norse *kasta* 'to cast, throw', of unclear origins. It replaced Old English *weorpan.* The verb *cast* has been used since the early 13th century and a century later it started to be used as a noun, meaning 'the act of casting or throwing', in the 15th century it acquired a sense 'a throw or stroke of fortune', and later a number of meanings related to casting and throwing evolved. In *The Canterbury Tales* it is often used as a verb, but several instances of its usage as a noun can be identified as well. In one of them, *cast* is used in a sense 'a contrivance, device, artifice, trick', now obsolete:

2467 *And myne be the maladys colde,*
2468 *The derke treasons, and the castes olde.*

3.8.2. CLIP

The verb *clip* in a sense 'to clasp with the arms, embrace, hug' had already present in Old English, having derived from Old Germanic. It is present in this meaning in *The Canterbury Tales:*

2413 *He kisseth hir, and clippeth hir ful ofte,*
2414 *And on hir wombe he stroketh hir ful softe.*

However, the verb in a sense 'to cut or sever with a sharp instrument' most probably derived from Old Norse *klippa*, a word which is likely to have been echoic. It can be also encountered in this meaning in *The Canterbury Tales*, where its sense is even narrower, that is, 'to cut the hair off':

3326 *Wel coude he laten blood and clippe and shave,*

Other related, more specific meanings emerged in later centuries.

3.8.3. DAZE

The verb probably derived from Old Norse *dasa* 'to become weary and exhausted'. In Middle English it also had other forms, such as *dase, dayse,* or *daise.* It is most likely that the earliest meaning of this verb, whose first documented occurrences date back to the early 14th century, was 'to benumb with cold'. Later in the 14th century, another meaning evolved, 'to prostrate the mental faculties of (a person); to benumb or confuse the senses', and in the 16th century the verb acquired an additional meaning, 'to confound or bewilder with excess of light or brilliance; to dazzle'. Chaucer in *The Canterbury Tales* used *daze* in yet another sense, which is now archaic, namely the one referring to the eyes or vision, 'to be or become dazzled':

31 *Thyn eyen daswen eek, as that me thinketh,*
32 *And wel I woot, thy breeth ful soure stinketh.*

3.8.4. DIE

This verb was borrowed most probably from Old Danish *døja* or Old Norse *deyja* 'to die, pass away', both originated from Proto-Germanic **dawjan,* from PIE root **dheu-* 'to pass away, die'. The word replaced Old English *steorfan, sweltan,* or *weasan dead,* which is exceptional, as such basic words describing central life experiences are rarely borrowed from other languages. The most common forms used in Middle English were *dey, dighe, dye,* and *deye*. In *The Canterbury Tales* it appears on many occasions, for example:

1723 *…eek hir for to preye,*
1724 *To been our help and socour when we deye*

248 *She ryseth up, and to hir fader sayde,*
249 *'Blessed be god, that I shal dye a mayde.*

3.8.5. FLIT

The verb may have been borrowed from Old Norse *flytja* 'to remove, bring'. It first appeared in the early 13th century, in a sense 'to remove, transport, or take away to another place'. Other related senses developed, but soon became obsolete. In the 16th century, the meaning 'to remove from one habitation to another, change one's residence' developed. In *The Canterbury Tales* Chaucer used the word *flit* in yet another meaning

that is now archaic, namely 'to change from one state, condition, or direction to another; to alter, shift about, give way':

367 *'Deedly sinne,' as seith seint Augustin, 'is, whan a man turneth his herte fro god, which that is verray sovereyn bountee, that may nat chaunge, and yeveth his herte to thing that may chaunge and flitte.*

3.8.6. GET

The verb *get* derived from Old Norse *geta* 'to obtain, reach; to beget; to guess right', from Proto-Germanic **getan,* from PIE root **ghend-* 'seize, take'. The word probably appeared in English in the 12th century, meaning 'to obtain possession of property', later also 'to gain, win (a victory)', and more generally 'to earn, win, acquire'. This sense can be encountered in *The Canterbury Tales:*

209 *A wys womman wol sette hir ever in oon*
210 *To gete hir love, ther as she hath noon.*

A number of related senses evolved in the course of history. One of them, 'to obtain by means of pressure, insistence or entreaty', is also used by Chaucer:

1945 *…ye gete namore of me.*

Many a form were in use in the Middle English period, of which the most frequent were *gete,* as in Chaucer, *gate, gatt, gat, gett, gette,* and a variety of other present and past forms.

3.8.7. GLITTER

The verb first occurred in Middle English as a loanword from Old Norse *glitra* 'to glitter', derived from *glit* 'brightness', from Proto-Germanic **glit-* 'shining, bright', from PIE root **ghleid-,* based on **ghel-* 'to shine'. The earliest documented appearances of the word as a verb can be found in the early 14th century texts, in a meaning 'to emit bright fitful flashes of light; to gleam, sparkle'. The verb in this sense is used in *The Canterbury Tales:*

2165 *His crispe heer lyk ringes was y-ronne,*
2166 *And that was yelow, and glitered as the sonne.*

A figurative meaning 'to make a brilliant appearance or display', used in reference to people, developed in the 16th century. Approximately at the same time, the word started to be used as a noun.

3.8.8. HAVEN

The Old English *hæfen* was possibly derived from Old Norse *höfn* 'haven, harbor', or directly from Proto-Germanic **hafno-,* probably from PIE **kap-* 'to seize, contain'. The word was at first spelled in many different ways, including *hæfen, hauen, heven, hawin, hawyn, havin, havyn, havayn, heaven, heaven.* Its original meaning, starting from Old English, was 'a recess or inlet of the sea, or the mouth of a river'. Its more figurative sense, that of 'a place of shelter, safety, or retreat;

a refuge' started to be common around the 13th century. In this sense it is usually used in *The Canterbury Tales:*

75 *O haven of refut, o salvacioun*
76 *Of hem that been in sorwe and in distresse,*
77 *Now help, for to my werk I wol me dresse.*

3.8.9. HIT

Old English *hyttan, hittan* 'come upon, meet with, fall in with' derived from Old Norse *hitta* 'to light upon, meet with', but also 'to hit, strike', from Proto-Germanic **hitjan,* further etymology unknown. The original meaning of the verb was 'to come upon, light upon, meet with, get at, reach, find', but in the 12th century another sense evolved, namely 'to get at or reach with a blow, to strike', replacing Old English *slean.* This soon triggered the emergence of many related senses. The word appears several times in *The Canterbury Tales* in this second sense, as in the example quoted below:

808 *And yet eft-sones I hitte him on the cheeke.*

3.8.10. KINDLE

This verb is most likely also of Scandinavian origins, probably from Old Norse *kynda* 'to kindle, to light a fire', although further etymology is obscure. The word first occurred in written sources around the 12th century in such forms as *kundlen, kindlen, kindel, kyndle,* or *kendyl.* Its original sense was 'to set fire

to, set on fire, ignite, light'. Chaucer used the word in this sense in *The Canterbury Tales:*

2295 *Whan kindled was the fyr, with pitous chere*
2296 *Un-to Diane she spak, as ye may here.*

In the 14th century the verb acquired a broader, figurative meaning, 'to inflame, excite, rouse, inspire'.

3.8.11. LIFT

The verb derived from Old Norse *lypta* 'to raise', from Proto-Germanic **luftijan,* and in Middle English its forms included *lifte, lyfte,* and *lefte.* The earliest instances of the word were found in the documents from the early 13th century, where it was used to mean 'to raise into the air from the ground, or to a higher position'. In the 14th century, the verb started to be commonly used with such prepositions as *up, away, aloft, down, off,* and *out.* The phrasal verb *lift up* occurs in *The Canterbury Tales:*

53 *Ther was greet showving bothe to and fro,*
54 *To lifte him up, and muchel care and wo.*

The word was also used since its emergence in the English language in figurative meanings, 'to elevate, raise'.

3.8.12. LOOSE

The verb entered the English vocabulary approximately in the early 13th century, as a borrowing from Old Norse *lauss* 'loose, free, vacant', from Proto-Germanic **lausaz*, from PIE **leu-* 'to loosen, divide, cut apart'. In Middle English it was also spelled as *lousse, lowse, lause, loos, lose, lous, lawse, lewse, lowis, lowsse.* The original meaning was 'unbound, unattached', especially in reference to 'living beings or their limbs: free from bonds, fetters, or physical restraint'. This is the case with the use of this word in *The Canterbury Tales:*

4064 *And whan the hors was loos, he ginneth gon*
4065 *Toward the fen, their wilde mares renne,*

A related was also soon acquired, that is, 'not rigidly or securely attached or fixed in place; ready to move or come apart', and also a more figurative sense developed, meaning generally 'free, unattached':

605 *I rede that we to wode goon – ar that we be founde,*
606 *Better is us ther loos – than in town y-bounde.*

3.8.13. LOW

This adjective is also a Scandinavian loanword, derived from Old Norse *lagr* 'low', or other Scandinavian source, from Proto-Germanic **lega-* 'lying flat, low', from PIE root **legh-*'to lie.' Its form evolved from early Middle English *lach,* undergoing regular rounding to long /*o*/, resulting in *loh, lough, louh,*

lowgh, lowh, lowe, and finally *low.* Its original meaning was the same as it is now, that is 'the opposite of high', also in reference to people, and it has been in use since early Middle English. Chaucer used it in *The Canterbury Tales* in a related sense 'located at or near the bottom of something; situated not far above the ground':

3440 *An hole he fond, ful lowe up-on a bord,*
3441 *Ther as the cat was wont in for to crepe.*

What is more, another sense of the word is also used in *The Canterbury Tales*, the one referring to voices and sounds, describing them as 'not loud; soft, quiet':

2432 *And with that soun he herde a murmuring*
2433 *Ful lowe and dim…*

3.8.14. RISE

Another verb of Scandinavian origins, most probably derived from Old Norse *reisa* 'to raise', from Proto-Germanic **raizjan.* Its first occurrences can be found in *Ormulum,* from circa 1200, where it was used in a sense 'to cause (a person or animal) to raise or stand up' as well as 'restore (a dead person or animal) to life', and a number of related senses. In the 13th century the meanings 'to lift up one end or side of in order to bring into or towards a vertical position' and 'to lift (a person or animal) to a standing position' emerged. In Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* the verb is used in yet another meaning, also

present in *Ormulum,* that is to say, 'to build up, construct, create, and produce':

2100 *'Yif me thanne of thy gold, to make our cloistre,'*
2101 *Quod he, 'for many a muscle and many an oistre,*
2102 *Whan other men han ben ful wel at eyse,*
2103 *Hath been our fode, our cloistre for to reyse.*

According to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, Chaucer also used the verb *raise* in one more sense, 'to cause (a spirit, demon, ghost, etc.) to appear, especially by means of incantations; to conjure up':

860 *…I have yow told y-nowe*
861 *To reyse a feende, al loke he never so rowe.*

3.8.15. RUGGED

The adjective derived from, most probably, Old Norse *rogg* 'shaggy tuft'. Alternative forms of this word include *rogget, roggyd, rogged, ruggyd, ruggid, rouged.* The first occurrences were documented in the early 14th century, in a meaning 'hairy, shaggy'. It is precisely this sense that is present in *The Canterbury Tales*:

2882 *Tho cam this woful Theban Palamoun,*
2883 *With flotery berd, and rugged ashy heres.*

The current meaning 'rough, uneven', emerged only in the 16th century. At that time, the word also started to be used to describe people as 'austere, sever, not gentle', the meaning which is now rare, and also in reference to weather.

3.8.16. SEAT

The word derived from Old Norse *sæti* 'seat, position', from Proto-Germanic **sæt,* from PIE **sed-* 'to sit'. The original meaning of the word, now archaic, referred to 'the action of sitting' and can be dated back to the 12th century. Later, also another meaning was acquired, that of 'the place on which a person is sitting, or is accustomed to sit' and 'the right to use a seat'. In the 15th century, the meaning evolved to 'something adapted for or used for sitting upon' and figurative meaning 'the authority or dignity symbolised by sitting in a particular chair or throne'. The last sense is used in *The Canterbury Tales:*

3712 *'by god, I am to nyce*
3713 *To sette a man that is fulfild of vyce*
3714 *In heigh degree, and emperour him calle*
3715 *By god, out of his sete I wol him tryce;*
3716 *When he leest weneth, sonest shal he falle.*

Chaucer used the form *sete,* which was one of the most common spellings of the word, other were *sate, sette, seit, set, seate,* and *sait.*

3.8.17. SKIP

The verb's origins are most probably Scandinavian, such as Old Norse *skopa* 'to take a run', from Proto-Germanic **skupan*. The word, which first appeared in the written records from the early 13th century, was also spelled *skippe, skyppe, skype, skipe, skyp.* The original senses of the verb were 'to raise oneself off the ground by a light and graceful movement' and 'to spring or leap lightly in a certain direction or to a certain point'. Later, in the 14th century, the meaning was broadened to 'to pass from one point, matter, etc., to another with omission of what intervenes'. The verb was also used in reference to things and more abstract concepts, both in literal in figurative meanings, and it was also used several times by Chaucer:

360 *…and in this wise skippeth venial in-to deedly sinne.*
1672 *Than shal your soule up to hevene skippe*
1673 *Swifter than dooth an arwe out of the bowe!*

3.8.18. SLY

This adjective derived from Old Norse *sloegr* 'cunning, crafty, sly', from ProtoGermanic **slogis,* most likely from base **slak-* 'to strike, to hit'. Also used in the Middle English period as *sleh*, *sle3, slee3, sleyh, sleih, sleigh, sley, sle, slee, slyh, slygh, sligh, sli, slye*. The word first appeared in written records circa 1200 in a sense 'skilful, clever, dexterous, or expert in doing something', which had become obsolete, except in northern dialects. At the same time, the word had another, more pejorative

meaning, that of 'adept or skilful in artifice or craft; using cunning or insidious means or methods; deceitful, guileful, wily, underhand', which is used currently. Also Chaucer used the word in this sense in *The Canterbury Tales:*

1321 *He hadde a Somnour redy to his hond,*
1322 *A slyer boy was noon in Engelond.*

3.8.19. WEAK

The word was borrowed from Old Norse *veikr* 'weak', from Proto-Germanic **waikwa-* 'yield,' from PIE root **weik-* 'to bend, wind'. Other forms of this word encountered in Middle English texts include *waik, wayk, vayk, weik, weyk, wek, weck, weeke, weake.* The earliest documented occurrences of the word's usage dates back to the 14th century, when it was applied to material things, describing them as 'pliant, flexible, readily bending', the sense which is now archaic. In *The Canterbury Tales* the word is used in its current sense 'of a person, the body, limbs: deficient in bodily or muscular strength':

932 *How may this wayke womman han this strengthe*
933 *Hir to defend agayn this renegat?*

A century later the word acquired additional meaning, applied to people, 'wanting in moral strength for endurance or resistance; lacking fortitude or courage, strength of purpose or will'. Another extended meaning, 'inefficient, ill-qualified', was used by Chaucer in *The Canterbury Tales:*

1671 *My conning is so wayk, o blisful quene,*
1672 *For to declare thy grete worthinese…*

3.8.20. WIGHT

Another Scandinavian loanword, originating from Old Norse *vigt* 'of fighting age, skilled in arms'. Also spelled as *wiht, wyht, wyght, whight, whyght, wichte, wicht,* the word first appeared around the 13th century in a sense 'strong and courageous, esp. in warfare'. Chaucer in *The Canterbury Tales* used a related sense, 'physically powerful;
stout, stalwart'.

3455 *…she coude eke*
3456 *Wrastlen by verray force and verray might*
3457 *With any yong man, were he never so wight.*

Chaucer also employed *wight* in a meaning 'moving briskly or rapidly; active, agile, nimble, quick', which developed late in the 14th century:

4086 *It is ful of wight, god waat, as is a raa.*

3.8.21. WRONG

The adjective was already present in Old English in the form *wrang*, when it was borrowed from Old Norse **wrangr* 'crooked, wry, wrong', from Proto-Germanic **wrang-,* from PIE root **wrengh-* 'to turn.' In Old English it was predominantly used as a noun, only later as an adjective. Also spelled as

wrang, wrank, wronge, ronge, wrunge. The original meaning referred to 'that which is morally unjust, unfair, amiss, or improper', and 'unjust action or conduct'.

171 *The Iuge answerde, 'of this, in his absence,*
172 *I may nat yeve diffinitif sentence.*
173 *Lat do him calle, and I wol gladly here;*
174 *Thou shall have al right, and no wrong here.*

Furthermore, Chaucer used it in a meaning 'in a direction differing from the right or true one; by an erroneous course or way; astray':

4252 *'By god,' thoghte he, 'al wrang I have misgon.*

Conclusions

All things considered, it has become more than evident that the extent of Scandinavian influence on the English language is great, to say the least. A huge number of words that have entered English as a consequence of Scandinavian invasions and settlements. *The Canterbury Tales,* written in the 14th century, include many Scandinavian borrowings as well, perfectly illustrating this influence.

However, as the analysis shows, it is difficult to conclude which semantic fields are the most abundant in these loanwords, as there is no apparent prevalence of words related to any particular lexical category. The range of these loanwords is broad, affecting various areas of everyday life, such as nature, farming, household, family, money, measures, and many more. This means that the Scandinavian culture did not bring many concepts, which had been previously unknown to the English people, as they in fact were similar.

In most cases the loanwords replaced the already existing terms, while other borrowings coexisted with the native words. In other words, the mixture of cultures resulted in the mixture of languages.

The analysis was limited to nouns, adjectives, and verbs. However, a number of prepositions, pronouns, and adverbs, which are now used in English, are of Scandinavian origin. Perhaps the most important example are the pronouns *they, their,* and *them,* pronouns *both* and *same,* prepositions *till* and *fro.* Moreover, the present plural form of the verb *to be*, that is *are,* was adopted from Scandinavian as well. Therefore, as Baugh and Cable (2002: 92) wrote, "when we remember that in the expression *they are* both the pronoun and the verb are Scandinavian we realise once more how intimately the language of the invaders has entered into English". What is more, there are over 1,500 Scandinavian place names in England, largely in the areas of the Danelaw; such names have distinct endings, most importantly, *-by, -thorpe, -thwaite,* and *-toft.* These, however, were excluded from this analysis, although they may be an interesting topic for a separate analysis.

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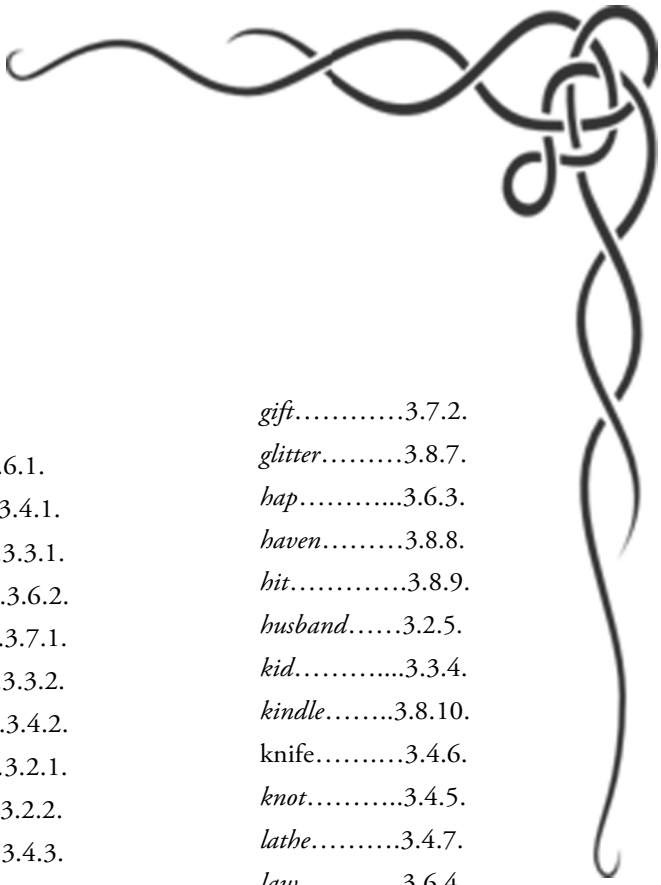

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The objective of this thesis is to analyse the Scandinavian loanwords in the English language on the example of Geoffrey Chaucer's The Canterbury Tales. In the discussions of other languages that affected the English vocabulary it is perhaps Latin and French words that are highlighted as the sources of most loanwords now used in English. Indeed, according to The Oxford English Dictionary, there are almost 25,000 English words of Latin origins and approximately 9,500 French borrowings. However, according to The Oxford English Dictionary, Scandinavian languages are the source of approximately 1,530 English words. Given the fact that these are largely lexical items related to the most basic concepts of everyday life, the importance of this influence cannot be neglected. Its extent is particularly visible in The Canterbury Tales, which became the basis for the analysis in this thesis.

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