

# 3

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## *Borrowing*

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When a foreign word falls by accident into the fountain of a language, it will get driven around in there until it takes on that language's colour.

(Jakob Grimm)

### **3.1 Introduction**

It is common for one language to take words from another language and make them part of its own vocabulary: these are called *loanwords* and the process is called linguistic *borrowing*. Borrowing, however, is not restricted to just lexical items taken from one language into another; any linguistic material – sounds, phonological rules, grammatical morphemes, syntactic patterns, semantic associations, discourse strategies or whatever – which has its origin in a foreign language can be borrowed, that is, can be taken over so that it becomes part of the borrowing language. Borrowing normally implies a certain degree of bilingualism for at least some people in both the language which borrows (sometimes called the *recipient* language) and the language which is borrowed from (often called the *donor* language). In this chapter, we are concerned with answering the questions: (1) what are loanwords?; (2) why are words borrowed?; (3) what aspects of language can be borrowed and how are they borrowed?; (4) what are the methods for determining that something is a loanword and for identifying the source languages from which words are borrowed?; and (5) what happens to borrowed forms when they are taken into another language? (Other aspects of linguistic borrowing are treated in Chapter 9 on syntactic change and in Chapter 12 on areal linguistics.)

### **3.2 What is a Loanword?**

A loanword is a lexical item (a word) which has been 'borrowed' from another language, a word which originally was not part of the vocabulary of the recipient language but was adopted from some other language and made part of the borrowing language's vocabulary. For example, Old English did not have the word *pork*; this became an English word only after it was adopted from French *porc* 'pig, pork', borrowed in the late Middle English period – so we say, as a consequence, that *pork* is a French loanword in English. French has also borrowed words from English, for example *bifteck* 'beefsteak', among many others. Loanwords are extremely common; some languages have many. There are extensive studies of the many Scandinavian and French loans in English; Germanic and Baltic loans in Finnish; Basque, German and Arabic loans in Spanish; Native American loanwords in Spanish and Spanish loans in various Native American languages (called *hispanisms*); Turkic in Hungarian; English in Japanese; Sanskrit in Malay and other languages of Indonesia; Arabic in various languages of Africa and Asia; and so on, to mention just a few cases which have been studied intensively.

A quick glance at the contents of our kitchen pantry will begin to give us an appreciation for the impact of loanwords on English vocabulary:

catsup, ketchup < apparently originally from the Amoy dialect of Chinese *kôe-chiap, kè-tsiap* 'brine of pickled fish or shellfish', borrowed into Malay as *kēchap*, taken by Dutch as *ketjap*, the probable source from which English acquired the term.

chocolate < Nahuatl (Mexico, the language of the Aztecs) *čokolatl* 'a drink made from the seeds of the cacao tree', borrowed as Spanish *chocolate* from which other languages of the world obtained the term.

coffee < Arabic *qahwah* 'infusion, beverage', originally said to have meant some kind of 'wine', borrowed through the Turkish pronunciation *kahveh* from which European languages get their term.

Coca-Cola < *coca* < Quechua *kuka* 'coca leaves, coca bush', borrowed via Spanish *coca* + *cola* < languages of west Africa *kola* 'cola nut'.

flour < Old French *flour* 'flower' (compare French *fleur de farine* 'flower of meal/flour', that is, the 'best or finest of the ground meal').

juice < French *jus* 'broth, sauce, juice of plant or animal'.

pantry < Old French *paneterie* 'bread-room, bread-closet', based on Latin *pānis* 'bread'.

pepper < ultimately of ancient oriental origin (compare Sanskrit

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- pippalī* 'long pepper'); it came early to Germanic peoples via Latin *piper*.  
potato < Taino (Cariban language of Haiti) *patata*, borrowed through Spanish *batata*, *patata* to many other languages.  
rice < ultimately from Dravidian *\*ari/\*ariki* 'rice, paddy' (compare Tamil *ari/ari-ci*), via Latin *oriza* and Greek *orúza*.  
spaghetti < Italian *spaghetti*, plural of *spaghetto* 'small thread', the diminutive of *spago* 'string, twine'.  
sugar < ultimately from Arabic *sukkar*, through Old French *çucré*.  
tea < ultimately from Chinese (compare Amoy dialect *te*), probably borrowed through Malay *te/teh* into Dutch and from Dutch to English.  
tomato < Nahuatl *tomatl*, through Spanish *tomate*.

These are but a few of the borrowed forms among English foodstuffs.

### **3.3 Why do Languages Borrow from One Another?**

Languages borrow words from other languages primarily because of *need* and *prestige*. When speakers of a language acquire some new item or concept from abroad, they *need* a new term to go along with the new acquisition; often a foreign name is borrowed along with the new concept. This explains, for example, why so many languages have similar words for 'automobile' (as in Russian *avtomobil'*, Finnish *auto*, Swedish *bil* – from the last syllable of *automobil*); 'coffee' (Russian *kofe*, Finnish *kahvi*, Japanese *kōhii*); 'tobacco' (Finnish *tupakka*, Indonesian *tembakau* [təmbakau], Japanese *tabako* 'cigarette, tobacco', ultimately from Arabic *tabāq* 'a herb which produced euphoria' via Spanish *tabaco*); and *Coca-Cola*, for example, since languages presumably needed new names for these new concepts when they were acquired.

The other main reason why words are taken over from another language is for *prestige*, because the foreign term for some reason is highly esteemed. Borrowings for prestige are sometimes called 'luxury' loans. For example, English could have done perfectly well with only native terms for 'pig flesh/pig meat' and 'cow flesh/cow meat', but for reasons of prestige, *pork* (from French *porc*) and *beef* (from French *bœuf*) were borrowed, as well as many other terms of 'cuisine' from French – *cuisine* itself is from French *cuisine* 'kitchen' – because French had more social status and was considered more prestigious than English during the period of Norman French dominance in England (1066–1300). For example, Votyak (a Finno-Ugric language) borrowed from Tatar (a Turkic language) words for such things as 'mother', 'father', 'grandmother',

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'grandfather', 'husband', 'older brother', 'older sister', 'uncle', 'human', among other things. Since Votyak had native terms for 'father' and 'mother' and these other kin before contact with Tatar, need was not the motivation for these borrowings, rather prestige. Similarly, Finnish borrowed words for 'mother' (*äiti*, from Germanic; compare Gothic *aipei* [ēθī], Old High German *eidi*, Proto-Germanic \**aiθī*); 'daughter' (*tytär*, from Baltic; compare Lithuanian *duktėr̃s* (genitive form)); 'sister' (*sisar*, from Baltic; compare Lithuanian *sesẽr̃s* (genitive form)); and 'bride', 'navel', 'neck', 'thigh' and 'tooth', among many others from Baltic and Germanic (compare Anttila 1989: 155). Clearly, Finnish had previously had terms for close female kin and for these body parts before borrowing these terms from neighbouring Indo-European languages, and thus it is prestige which accounts for these borrowings and not need.

Some loans involve a third, much rarer (and much less important) reason for borrowing, the opposite of prestige: borrowing due to negative evaluation, the adoption of the foreign word to be *derogatory*. Here are a few examples, all borrowed presumably for derogatory reasons. French *hâbler* 'to brag, to romance' is borrowed from Spanish *hablar* 'to speak'. Finnish *koni* 'nag' [old horse], with negative connotations, is borrowed from Russian *kon'*, a neutral term for 'horse', with no negative connotations in the donor language. English *assassin* and the similar words with the same meaning in a number of other European languages (see French *assassin*, Italian *assassino*, Spanish *asesino* 'assassin') may be another example; *assassin* is ultimately from Arabic *ḥaššāfīn* 'hashish-eater' (for the name of an eleventh-century Muslim sect who would intoxicate themselves with hashish or cannabis when preparing to kill someone of public standing; they had a reputation for butchering opponents, hence the later sense of 'murderer for hire or for fanatical reasons'). Korean *hōstis*, borrowed from English *hostess*, has a negative connotation, meaning the women who work at nightclubs and bars which serve mainly male customers. It is possible, of course, that some examples of this sort were not borrowed with derogatory purposes in mind at all, but rather merely involve things which have low status.

### **3.4 How do Words get Borrowed?**

Borrowed words are usually remodelled to fit the phonological and morphological structure of the borrowing language, at least in early stages of language contact. The traditional view of how words get borrowed and what happens to them as they are assimilated into the borrowing language holds that loanwords which are introduced to the

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borrowing language by bilinguals may contain sounds which are foreign to the receiving language, but due to *phonetic interference* the foreign sounds are changed to conform to native sounds and phonetic constraints. This is frequently called *adaptation* (or *phoneme substitution*). In adaptation, a foreign sound in borrowed words which does not exist in the receiving language will be replaced by the nearest phonetic equivalent to it in the borrowing language. For example, formerly Finnish had no voiced stops *b, d, g*; in loans borrowed into Finnish from Germanic languages which contained *b, d, g*, voiceless stops (*p, t, k*), the closest phonetic counterparts in Finnish, replaced these sounds, as seen in, for example, *parta* 'beard' (from Germanic *\*bardaz*) and *kaasu* 'gas' (from Germanic, compare English *gas*). Similarly, in Sayula Popoluca (a Mixe-Zoquean language of southern Mexico), which had no native *l* or *r*, the foreign *l* and *r* of borrowed words were replaced by native *n*, as in Sayula Popoluca *kúnu:f* 'cross', borrowed from Spanish *cruz* [krus], *mu:na* 'mule' from Spanish *mula*, and *puná:tu* 'plate, dish' from Spanish *plato*. Occasionally in borrowings, substitutions may spread the phonetic features of a single sound of the donor language across two segments in the borrowing language; for example, Finnish had no *f*, so intervocalic *f* in loanwords was replaced by the sequence *hv*, as in *kahvi* 'coffee' (from Swedish *kaffe*), *pahvi* 'cardboard' (from Swedish *paff*) and *pihvi* 'beef' (from English *beef*). In this instance, some of the features of foreign *f* are represented on the first segment – *h* conveys 'voiceless' – and other features on the second segment – *v* conveys 'labiodental' – and both *h* and *v* signal 'fricative'.

Non-native phonological patterns are also subject to *accommodation*, where loanwords which do not conform to native phonological patterns are modified to fit the phonological combinations which are permitted in the borrowing language. This is usually accomplished by deletion, addition or recombination of certain sounds to fit the structure of the borrowing language. For example, Mayan languages do not permit initial consonant clusters, and consequently Spanish *cruz* /krus/ 'cross' was borrowed as *rus* in Chol (Mayan), where the initial consonant of the donor form was simply left out, and as *kurus* in Tzotzil (another Mayan language), where the consonant cluster has been broken up by the insertion of a vowel between *k* and *r*. Similarly, in the Sayula Popoluca example above, since the language did not have initial consonant clusters, the *kr* and *pl* of Spanish were broken up by the insertion of *u* in, for example, *kunu:f* 'cross' (< Spanish *cruz*, just mentioned) and *puná:tu* 'plate' (< Spanish *plato*). Similarly, Finnish, with no initial consonant clusters in native words, eliminated all but the last consonant of initial

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consonant clusters in loanwords, for example *Ranska* 'French' (< Swedish *Franska* 'French'), *risti* 'cross' (< Old Russian *kristi*), *ruuvi* 'screw' (< Swedish *skruv* 'screw').

However, there are many different kinds of language-contact situations, and the outcome of borrowing can vary according to the length and intensity of the contact, the kind of interaction, and the degree of bilingualism in the populations. In situations of more extensive, long-term or intimate contact, new phonemes can be introduced into the borrowing language together with borrowed words which contain these new sounds, resulting in changes in the phonemic inventory of the borrowing language; this is sometimes called *direct phonological diffusion*. For example, before intensive contact with French, English had no phonemic /ʒ/. This sound became an English phoneme through the many French loans that contained it which came into English, such as *rouge* /ruʒ/ (< French *rouge* 'red') (and added to by the palatalisation in the eighteenth century of /zj/ > /ʒ/, as in *vision*, *Asia* and so on). In the case of *v*, formerly English had an allophonic [v] but no phonemic /v/. It became phonemic due in part to French loans containing *v* in environments not formerly permitted by English. The sound [v] occurred in native English words only as the intervocalic variant (allophone) of /f/; a remnant of this situation is still seen in alternations such as *leaf-leaves*, *wife-wives* and so on, where the suffix *-es* used to have a vowel in the spoken language. Words with initial *v* of French origin – such as *very* from French *vrai* 'true' – caused /v/ to become a separate phoneme in its own right, no longer just the allophonic variant of /f/ that occurred between vowels. The phonological patterns (phonotactics, syllable or morpheme structure) of a language can also be altered by the acceptance in more intimate language contact of loans which do not conform to native patterns. For example, while native Finnish words permit no initial consonant clusters, now through intimate contact and the introduction of many borrowings from other languages, especially from Swedish and later from English, Finnish phonology permits loans with initial clusters, as seen in, for example, *krokotiili* 'crocodile', *kruunu* 'crown' (compare Swedish *krona*), *presidentti* 'president' and *smaragdi* 'emerald' (from Swedish *smaragd*), and so on.

While there may be typical patterns of substitution for foreign sounds and phonological patterns, substitutions in borrowed words in a language are not always uniform. The same foreign sound or pattern can be borrowed in one loanword in one way and in another loanword in a different way. This happens for the following reasons. (1) Sometimes different words are borrowed at different times, so that older loans

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reflect sound substitutions before intimate contact brought new sounds and patterns into the borrowing language, while more recent borrowings may exhibit the newer segments or patterns acquired after more intensive contact. (The extent to which the source language is known by speakers of the borrowing language is relevant here.) An example is Sayula Popoluca *туру* 'bull' (recently from Spanish *toro*), with *r*, where earlier loans would have substituted *n* for this foreign sound (mentioned above). Another example is seen in the comparison of Tzotzil (Mayan) *pulatu* 'dishes' (from Spanish *plato* 'plate, dish'), borrowed earlier when Tzotzil permitted no initial consonant clusters, and Tzotzil *platu* 'plate', borrowed later from the same Spanish source, now containing the initial consonant cluster which was formerly prohibited. (2) In most cases, borrowings are based on pronunciation, as illustrated in the case of Finnish *meikkaa*- 'to make up (apply cosmetics)', based on English pronunciation of *make* /meik/. However, in some cases, loans can be based on orthography ('spelling pronunciations'), as seen in the case of Finnish *jeeppi* [jɛ:p:i] 'jeep', which can only be based on a spelling pronunciation of English 'jeep', not on the English pronunciation (/jip/) – borrowed nouns that end in a consonant add *i* in Finnish.

Loan words are not only remodelled to accommodate aspects of the phonology of the borrowing language, they are also usually adapted to fit the morphological patterns of the borrowing language. For example, Spanish and French borrowings into Arabic have been made to fit Arabic morphological paradigms, which involve alternations in the vowels of the root to signal different morphemes, such as 'singular' and 'plural' difference, as in:

*resibo* 'receipt' (singular), but *ruāseb* (plural) < Spanish *recibo*  
*bābor* 'a steamship, steamer', but plural *buāber* < Spanish *vapor*  
/bapor/ (see Vendryes 1968: 95).

Chiricahua Apache often has verbs where European languages have adjectives, and as a consequence the Spanish adjectives *loco* 'crazy' and *rico* 'rich' were borrowed but adapted to the verb paradigm, as in:

<i>lô:gò</i> 'he/she is crazy'	<i>ʒi:gò</i> 'he/she is rich'
<i>lô:ʒgò</i> 'I am crazy'	<i>ʒi:ʒgò</i> 'I am rich'
<i>lóǹgò</i> 'you are crazy'	<i>ʒíǹgò</i> 'you are rich'

Here, as might be expected, it is the third person verb form ('he is crazy/rich') which phonetically matches the form of the original Spanish adjectives most closely (where *ʒ* is the closest substitution for Spanish *r*, which Apache lacked; the diacritics on the vowels indicate

tones and are required by Chiricahua Apache for verbs such as these. (See Anttila 1989: 158.)

### **3.5 How do We Identify Loanwords and Determine the Direction of Borrowing?**

An important question is: how can we tell (beyond the truly obvious cases) if something is a loanword or not? In dealing with borrowings, we want to ascertain which language is the source (donor) and which the recipient (borrower). The following criteria (perhaps better called rough rules of thumb) address these questions (compare Haas 1969a: 79; Sapir 1949).

#### **3.5.1 Phonological clues**

The strongest evidence for loanword identification and the direction of borrowing comes from phonological criteria.

(1) Phonological patterns of the language. Words containing sounds which are not normally expected in native words are candidates for loans. For example, in the Chiricahua Apache example just mentioned, the fact that  $\mathfrak{z}i:gò$  'he is rich' has an initial  $\mathfrak{z}$  and that  $lô:gò$  'he is crazy' has an initial  $l$  makes these strong candidates for loans, since neither  $\mathfrak{z}$  nor  $l$  occurs word-initially in native words. In another example, native Nahuatl words are not expected to begin with  $p$ , since Proto-Uto-Aztec initial  $*p-$  was lost through regular sound change in Nahuatl ( $*p > h > \emptyset$ , for example Proto-Uto-Aztec  $*pa:$  > Nahuatl  $a:-$  'water'). For this reason, Nahuatl roots such as  $petla-$  'woven mat',  $poč:o-$  'silk-cotton tree (ceiba)' and  $pak-/pa?$  'to cure'/'medicine' violate expectations for sounds in native forms, making them candidates for possible loans. On further investigation, the sources of these borrowings are found in neighbouring languages:  $petla-$  comes from Mixe-Zoquean  $*pata$  'woven mat' (in other words of Nahuatl,  $a > e$  in this environment, and  $t > tl$  before  $a$ );  $poč:o-$  is from Totonac  $pu:ču:t$  'silk-cotton tree (ceiba)';  $pak-/pa?$  is from Totonac  $pa?k$  'to cure, get well'. It is the aberrant initial  $p-$  of these forms which suggests that they may be loans and which prods us to look for their sources in neighbouring languages.

Words which violate the typical phonological patterns (canonical forms, morpheme structure, syllable structure, phonotactics) of a language are likely to be loans. For example, Mayan languages typically have monosyllabic roots (of the form CVC); the polysyllabic morphemes



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found in Mayan languages, which violate the typical monosyllabic pattern, turn out mostly to be loanwords or compounds. For example, the polysyllabic monomorphemic *tinamit* 'town' of Kaqchikel (Mayan) is a loanword from Nahuatl (Uto-Aztecan). Since this polysyllabic form violates the typical monosyllabic structure of Mayan roots, the inference is that it is probably a loan, and indeed its source is found in Nahuatl *tena:mi-tl* 'fence or wall of a town/city', 'fortified town'.

(2) Phonological history. In some cases where the phonological history of the languages of a family is known, information concerning the sound changes that they have undergone can be helpful for determining loans, the direction of borrowing, and what the donor language was. For example, in the Mayan family, a number of languages have borrowed from Cholan (also Mayan), since Cholan speakers were the principal bearers of Classical Maya civilisation. Cholan, however, has undergone a number of sound changes which languages of the other branches of the family did not, and this makes it fairly easy to identify many of these Cholan loans. For example, Cholan underwent the sound change *\*o: > u*. Yucatec did not undergo this sound change, although some borrowings from Cholan into Yucatec show the results of this Cholan change; for example, Yucatec *kùts* 'turkey' < Cholan *kuts* (from *\*ko:ts*); Yucatec *tù:n* 'stone, year, stela (monument)' < Chol *tun* 'stone' (compare Proto-Mayan *\*to:ŋ* 'stone'). Since these words in Yucatec show the results of a sound change that took place in Cholan but which native Yucatec words did not undergo, it is clear in these cases that Yucatec borrowed the words and Cholan is the donor language (Justeson et al. 1985: 14).

### 3.5.2 Morphological complexity

The morphological make-up of words can help determine the direction of borrowing. In cases of borrowing, when the form in question in one language is morphologically complex (composed of two or more morphemes) or has an etymology which is morphologically complex, but the form in the other languages has no morphological analysis, then usually the donor language is the one with the morphologically complex form and the borrower is the one with the monomorphemic form. For example, English *alligator* is borrowed from Spanish *el lagarto* 'the alligator'; since it is monomorphemic in English, but based on two morphemes in Spanish, *el* 'the' + *lagarto* 'alligator', the direction of borrowing must be from Spanish to English. *Vinegar* in English is a loan from French *vinaigre*, which is from *vin* 'wine' + *aigre* 'sour'; since its etymology is polymorphemic in French but monomorphemic in English,

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the direction of borrowing is clearly from French to English. English *aardvark* turns out to be borrowed from Afrikaans *aardvark* (composed of *aard* 'earth + *vark* 'pig'), since the Afrikaans form has a morphologically complex etymology while the English form is monomorphemic. American English *hoosegow* 'jail' is borrowed from Spanish *juzg-ado* 'courtroom, panel of judges' (literally 'judged'), which is composed of two morphemes (*juzga-* 'judge' + *-(a)do* 'past participle', pronounced without *-d-* in many Spanish dialects, [xusgao]), whereas the English form is a single morpheme. French *vasistas* [vazistas] 'fan-light, ventilator' is a loan based on German *was ist das* 'what is that?'; given that the German source has three morphemes (words) but the French word only one, German is the donor.

Spanish borrowed many words from Arabic during the period that the Moors dominated Spain (901–1492). Many Arabic loans in Spanish include what was originally the Arabic definite article *al-* but are monomorphemic in Spanish. A few examples of this are: *albañil* 'mason' (Arabic *bannâ*), *albaricoque* 'apricot' (Arabic *barqûq*), *albóndiga* 'meat ball' (Arabic *bûnduqa* 'ball'), *alcalde* 'mayor' (compare Arabic *qâdî* 'judge'), *alcoba* 'bedroom, alcove' (Arabic *qobbah* 'vault, vaulted chamber'), *alcohol* 'alcohol' (Arabic *kohl* 'collyrium, fine powder used to stain the eyelids'), *alfalfa* 'alfalfa' (Arabic *fasfaša* 'the best sort of fodder', itself a loan from Persian *aspest*), *algodón* 'cotton' (Arabic *quṭn* 'cotton'; English *cotton* is also ultimately from Arabic), *alguacil* 'constable, bailiff, peace officer' (Arabic *wazr* 'minister, vizier', also the source of English *vizier*), *almacén* 'storehouse' (Arabic *maḥazîn* 'granary, storehouse [plural]', derived from *maḥazan* [singular]; English *magazine* is ultimately from the same source), *almohada* 'pillow' (Arabic *miḥadda*, derived from *ḥadda* 'cheek'). Since these are polymorphemic in Arabic, composed of the article *al-* + root, but each is monomorphemic in Spanish, the direction of borrowing is seen to be from Arabic to Spanish.

Frequently, the early loans from Spanish into Native American languages (called *hispanisms*) were based on the Spanish plural forms. A few examples are: Jakalteko *kaplaf* 'goat' (< Spanish *cabras* 'goats'); Huastec *pa:tuf*, Tzotzil *patof* (< *pato* 'ducks'), K'iche' *pataf* (< Spanish *patas* 'female ducks') 'duck'; Motocintlec *ko:lif* 'cabbage' (< *coles* 'cabbages', compare *col* 'cabbage'); Chol *wakaf* 'bull, cow', Tojolabal *wakaf* 'cattle, beef' (< *vacas* 'cows'). In sixteenth-century Spanish, the sound represented orthographically as *s* was phonetically [s], an apico-alveolar fricative; it was taken by speakers of these languages as being phonetically closer to their /ʃ/ than to their /s/, which accounts for

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the /ʃ/ seen in these (monomorphemic) borrowings which corresponds to the (polymorphemic) Spanish plural, *-(e)s*.

The Sanskrit word *\*kaṇa* 'one-eyed' appears to be borrowed from Proto-Dravidian *\*kaṇ* 'eye' + *\*-a* 'negative suffix' (Zvelebil 1990: 79), and it is the morphological complexity of the Dravidian form which shows the direction of the borrowing.

This is a very strong criterion, but not foolproof. It can be complicated by cases of folk etymology (see Chapter 4), where a monomorphemic loanword comes to be interpreted as containing more than one morpheme, though originally this was not the case. For example, Old French monomorphemic *crevice* 'crayfish' was borrowed into English and then later this was replaced by folk etymology with *crayfish*, on analogy with *fish*. Now it appears to have a complex morphological analysis, but this is not original.

### 3.5.3 Clues from cognates

When a word in two (or more) languages is suspected of being borrowed, if it has legitimate cognates (with regular sound correspondences) across sister languages of one family, but is found in only one language (or a few languages) of another family, then the donor language is usually one of the languages for which the form in question has cognates in the related languages. For example, Finnish *tytär* 'daughter' has no cognates in the other branches of the Finno-Ugric family, while cognates of Proto-Indo-European *\*dhug(h)ətər* 'daughter' are known from most Indo-European languages, including ones as geographically far apart as Sanskrit and English. Therefore, the direction of borrowing is from one of these Indo-European languages to Finnish. Spanish *ganso* 'goose' is borrowed from Germanic *\*gans*; Germanic has cognates, for example German *Gans*, English *goose*, and so on, but other Romance languages have no true cognate of Spanish *ganso*. Rather, they have such things as French *oie*, Italian *oca*, and others reflecting Latin *ānser* 'goose' (which is cognate with Germanic *\*gans* 'goose', but not the source of borrowed Spanish *ganso*). Thus, the direction of borrowing is from Germanic to Spanish. (Ultimately, Germanic *\*gans* and Latin *ānser* are cognates, but that does not affect the example of Spanish *ganso* as a loan from German.) In another example, the Proto-Mixe-Zoquean word *\*tsiku* 'coati-mundi' has cognates throughout the languages of the family; in the Mixe branch of the family, due to sound changes, the cognates reflect *\*čik*. On the other hand, in the Mayan family (of thirty-one languages in Mexico and Guatemala), essentially only

Yucatecan has the form *či?k* for 'coati-mundi'; the other Mayan languages have native words *\*ts'uts'*, *\*si:s* or *\*kohtom* for 'coati-mundi'. From the general distribution of cognate forms in Mixe-Zoquean, it is concluded that Yucatecan borrowed the word from Mixe-Zoquean, and from its phonological shape, it appears that Yucatecan took the word more directly from the Mixean branch of that family (Justeson et al. 1985: 24).

### 3.5.4 Geographical and ecological clues

The geographical and ecological associations of words suspected of being loans can often provide information helpful to determining whether they are borrowed and what the identity of the donor language is. For example, the geographical and ecological remoteness from earlier English-speaking territory of *zebra*, *gnu*, *impala* and *aardvark* – animals originally found only in Africa – makes these words likely candidates for loanwords in English. Indeed, they were borrowed from local languages in Africa with which speakers of European languages came into contact when they entered the habitats where these animals are found – *zebra* is from a Congo language (borrowed through French), *gnu* from a Khoe language, *impala* from Zulu, and *aardvark* from Afrikaans.

It is known that Nahuatl (the language of the Aztecs and Toltecs) started out in the region of north-western Mexico and the south-western USA and migrated from there into central Mexico and on to Central America. Since cacao (the source of chocolate, cocoa) did not grow in the original Nahuatl desert homeland, the Nahuatl word *kakawa-* 'cacao' is likely to be a loan. Indeed, it was borrowed from Mixe-Zoquean (Proto-Mixe-Zoquean *\*kakawa* 'cacao'). Several other loans in Nahuatl reflect the adoption of names for plants and animals not encountered before the migration into lower Mexico, where heretofore unknown items indigenous to the more tropical climate were encountered. In Nez Perce (a Sahaptian language of the north-western USA), *lapatá:t* 'potato' is borrowed from Canadian French *la patate*; it is clearly a loan and clearly from French, not only because it is morphologically analysable in French but not in Nez Perce, but also because we know that potatoes were introduced to this area after European contact (Callaghan and Gamble 1997: 111). Knowledge of this history suggests that the term for them could be a borrowing. Further investigation shows this to be the case, a borrowing from French into Nez Perce in this case.

Inferences from geography and ecology are not as strong as those from the phonological and morphological criteria mentioned above;

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however, when coupled with other information, the inferences which they provide can be useful.

### **3.5.5 Other semantic clues**

A still weaker kind of inference, related to the last criterion, can sometimes be obtained from the semantic domain of a suspected loan. For example, English words such as *squaw*, *papoose*, *powwow*, *tomahawk*, *wickiup* and so on have paraphrases involving 'Indian'/'Native American', that is, 'Indian woman', 'Indian baby', 'Indian house' and so on; this suggests possible borrowing from American Indian languages. Upon further investigation, this supposition proves true; these are borrowed from Algonquian languages into English. In another example, in Xincan (a small family of four languages in Guatemala) most terms for cultivated plants are known to be borrowed from Mayan; this being the case, any additional terms in this semantic domain that we encounter may be suspected of being possible borrowings. This criterion is only a rough indication of possibilities. Sources for the borrowing must still be sought, and it is necessary to try to determine the exact nature of the loans, if indeed borrowings are involved.

## **3.6 Loans as Clues to Linguistic Changes in the Past**

Evidence preserved in loanwords may help to document older stages of a language before later changes took place. An often-cited example is that of early Germanic loans in Finnish which document older stages in the development of Germanic. These loans bear evidence of things in Germanic which can be reconstructed only with difficulty from the evidence retained in the Germanic languages themselves – some of these reconstructed things are confirmed only through comparisons of Germanic with other branches of Indo-European. For example, Finnish *rengas* 'ring' (borrowed; see Proto-Germanic *\*hreng-az*) reveals two things about Germanic. First, it documents Germanic at the stage before the sound change of *e* to *i* before *n* (*e* > *i* / \_\_ *n*) – all attested Germanic languages show only the forms with *i*, the result after the change, as in English *ring*. A comparison of Finnish *rengas* and *kuningas* 'king' (also borrowed from Germanic, Proto-Germanic *\*kuning-az*) shows that Germanic originally contrasted *i* and *e* in the position before *n*, which is not seen in Germanic after the two sounds merged before *n*. Second, both these loans document the Proto-Germanic ending *\*-az*, suggested

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by comparative Germanic evidence (but lost in most Germanic languages, seen as *-s* in Gothic). It is only by confirming *\*-az* through comparisons from other branches of Indo-European (compare the cognates, Latin *-us* and Greek *-os* 'nominative singular') and from borrowings such as these from earlier Germanic into Finnish that we can be certain of the reconstruction. In another case, some loans in Finnish document Germanic before the umlaut change took place. For example, Finnish *patja* 'mattress' (borrowed from Germanic; see Proto-Germanic *\*badja* 'bed') documents Germanic before umlaut in which *a* > *e* when followed in the next syllable by *j* or *i* (as seen in English *bed*, German *Bett* – later the *\*-ja* was lost through a series of changes, *\*badja* > *bedja* > *bed*). The pre-umlaut stage can be reconstructed from other considerations, in particular in comparisons with cognate words from related languages outside of the Germanic branch of Indo-European. In the umlaut context, modern Germanic languages preserve only words which have undergone the change; Gothic is the only Germanic language which did not undergo umlaut. Another loanword in Finnish, *airo* 'oar', preserves evidence of another suffix which is difficult to reconstruct, the Proto-Germanic feminine ending *\*-ō* (compare Gothic *-a*, Proto-Scandinavian *\*-u*) (Krause 1968: 53). The loans which bear evidence of the earlier forms before the changes took place, such as these examples from Finnish, help to confirm the accuracy of the reconstructions.

In another example, Spanish used to contrast bilabial stop *b* and fricative *v*, although these are fully merged in modern Spanish (though still spelled differently, <*b*> and <*v*>, which are no longer distinct phonemes). The stop *b* came from Latin initial *b* and intervocalic *p*, whereas fricative *v* came from late Latin initial *v* and from intervocalic *v* and *b*; these two phonemes, /*b*/ and /*v*/, merged in Spanish to the single /*b*/ of modern Spanish. However, early loanwords from Spanish into American Indian languages (hispanisms) show clearly that the contrast persisted at least long enough to arrive in America, although soon afterwards the merger took place and later hispanisms reflect only the merged sound. In the early hispanisms, /*v*/ was borrowed typically as *w*, since most Native American languages lacked *v* (*w* being their sound which is nearest phonetically to *v*), whereas the /*b*/ of earlier Spanish was borrowed as /*b*/, /*β*/ or /*p*/, depending on the sounds available in the particular borrowing language which could be considered the closest phonetic equivalent to Spanish *b* in each recipient language. The following are a few early hispanisms in Mayan languages which show the earlier contrast in Spanish before these sounds later merged. Forms 1–3 show original intervocalic /*b*/ (borrowed as *p*, *b* or *f*):

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1. Spanish *jabón* 'soap' (phonetically [ʃabón] in the sixteenth century), borrowed as: Chol *ʃapum*, Huastec *ʃabu:n*, Q'anjobal *ʃapon*, Motocintlec *ʃa:puh*, K'iche' *ʃbon*, Tzeltal *ʃapon*.
2. Spanish *nabo* 'turnip': K'iche' *napuf*, Tzotzil *napuf* (< *nabos* 'turnips', borrowed from the Spanish plural form).
3. Spanish *sebo* 'tallow, grease': Q'anjobal *ʃepu?*, K'iche' *ʃepu*, Tzotzil *ʃepu*.

Forms 4–6 show original intervocalic /v/ (borrowed as *w* or *v*):

4. *navaja* 'knife, razor': Akateko *nawaʃ*, Chol *ñawafaf*, Q'anjobal *nawuʃ*, Tzotzil *navafaf* (< *navajas*, 'plural' form).
5. *clavo* 'nail': Akateko *lawuf*, Chol *lawuf*, K'iche' *klawuf*, Tzeltal *lawuf*, Tojolabal *lawuf* ('nail', 'spur'), Tzotzil *lavuf* (< *clavos*, borrowed from the plural form).
6. Old Spanish *cavallo* < Latin *cavallus* 'work horse': Akateko *kawayú* 'horse, beast of burden', Chol *kawayu*, Q'anjobal *kawayo*, Q'eqchi' *kawa:y*, Motocintlec *kwa:yuh* 'horse, mule', Tzeltal *kawu*, Tzotzil *kawayú* 'beast of burden'.

These loans demonstrate (1) the phonetic nature of original sounds, (2) the time when the sounds merged, and (3) the fact that this merger of /b/ and /v/ had not yet taken place in the mid-sixteenth century when these languages began to borrow from Spanish.

Evidence from loanwords can also sometimes contribute to understanding the *relative chronology* of changes in a language (introduced in Chapter 2, and discussed again in Chapters 5 and 8). For example, Motocintlec (Mayan, of the Q'anjobalan branch) *čo:ŋ* 'to sell' is borrowed from Cholan (a different branch of Mayan) *čon* (compare Proto-Mayan *\*ko:ŋ*). (Recall that Cholan was the principal language of Classical Maya civilisation, and as such contributed numerous loans to languages of the region.) We know that Cholan underwent two changes: *\*k* > *č* and *\*ŋ* > *n*, though both *\*k* and *\*ŋ* remain unchanged in Motocintlec (as seen, for example, in *koŋob* 'market', which retains the native form, from *\*koŋ* 'to sell' + *-ob* 'place of, instrumental suffix'). Therefore, loanwords of Cholan origin such as Motocintlec *čo:ŋ* reveal that in Cholan the change of *\*k* > *č* took place earlier than the change of *\*ŋ* > *n*, since from the form of the loan in Motocintlec we conclude that Motocintlec borrowed *čo:ŋ* at the stage when *\*k* > *č* had already taken place in Cholan, but before Cholan had undergone the change of *\*ŋ* > *n*. Thus loans such as this one reveal the relative chronology of Cholan changes, first *\*k* > *č*, followed later by *\*ŋ* > *n*.

### **3.7 What Can Be Borrowed?**

Not only can words be borrowed, but sounds, phonological features, morphology, syntactic constructions and in fact virtually any aspect of language can be borrowed, given enough time and the appropriate sorts of contact situations. Let's look at a few examples of non-lexical borrowings.

#### **3.7.1 Borrowed sounds or features used in native lexical items**

Foreign sounds can be borrowed – that is, speakers of one language can borrow sounds from another language with which they are familiar. There are two main ways in which non-native sounds can end up in native words: through areal diffusion (see Chapter 12) and through onomatopoeia and expressive symbolism.

Through intense long-term contact, foreign sounds can be borrowed and come to occur in native words. A few examples are: the clicks borrowed from so-called Khoisan languages (Khoe and San languages) of southern Africa into some neighbouring Bantu languages (for example, Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho; Proto-Bantu had no clicks); glottalised consonants borrowed into Ossetic and Eastern Armenian from neighbouring languages of the Caucasus linguistic area; and the retroflex consonants of Indo-Aryan languages, which owe their origin, at least in part, to contact with Dravidian languages in the South Asian (Indian) linguistic area (see Chapter 12; Campbell 1976).

Expressive symbolism is the use of certain phonetic traits to symbolise affectations, heightened expressive value, or the speaker's attitude. An example of a foreign sound which has been extended into native words through onomatopoeia and affective symbolism is the *r* of Chol and Tzotzil (two Mayan languages). Before contact with Spanish, these languages had no *r*; this sound was introduced through Spanish loanwords which contained it, for example Chol *arus* 'rice' < Spanish *arroz* /*aros*/, and Tzotzil *martoma* 'custodian' < Spanish *mayordomo*. After *r* was introduced in loanwords, this new sound – which apparently seemed exotic to the speakers of these Mayan languages – came to be employed in certain native words for onomatopoeic or expressive purposes, for example, Chol *buruk-ña* 'buzzing, humming', *burbur-ña* 'noisily', *porok-ña* 'breathing when there is an obstruction', *sorok-ña* 'bubbling'. Some of the expressive Tzotzil words which now have the *r*, which was first introduced through loanwords from Spanish, are native words which formerly had only *l*, for example, *ner-if* 'cross-eyed', where Colonial Tzotzil had only *nel-if* (compare *nel-* 'crooked, twisted, slanted'). The



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word *\*kelem* 'strong young man, male' has split into two in modern Tzotzil: *kerem* 'boy (affective)' and *kelem* 'rooster' – Colonial Tzotzil had only *kelem* 'boy, bachelor, servant' (Campbell 1996).

### **3.7.2 Elimination of sounds through language contact**

Not only can foreign sounds be acquired through diffusion, but language contact can also lead to the elimination of sounds (or features of sounds). For example, Proto-Nootkan had nasals, as Nootka still does, but closely related Nitinat and Makah lost nasality – former nasals became corresponding voiced oral stops (*\*m > b*, *\*n > d*, *\*m̃ > b'*, *\*ñ > d'*) – due to diffusion within the linguistic area. Nitinat and Makah are found in the Northwest Coast linguistic area of North America, where languages of several different families lack nasal consonants. The lack of nasals in Nitinat and Makah is due to the influence of other nasalless languages in the linguistic area (see Chapter 12). Some other examples of loss of this sort due to language contact are the merger of /l/ and /lʲ/ in Czech to /l/, attributed to German influence in the fashionable speech of the cities (Weinreich 1953: 25); and loss of the emphatic (pharyngealised) consonants and of vowel length in Cypriotic Arabic under the influence of Cypriotic Greek (Campbell 1976).

### **3.7.3 Retention of native sounds due to language contact**

In addition to the loss of sounds, language contact can also contribute to the retention of sounds, even if that sound is lost in other areas where the language is spoken which are not in contact with languages which influence the retention. For example, /lʲ/ [spelled <ll>] persists in the Spanish of the Andes region, even though in nearly all other areas of Latin America /lʲ/ has merged with /j/ [spelled <y>] (mentioned above). The area where Spanish has maintained this contrast coincides closely with the region where Quechua and Aymara, languages which have /lʲ/, are also widely spoken. Thus, it is due to contact with languages which have the /lʲ/ that the Spanish of this region preserves /lʲ/ in contrast with /j/, a contrast lost elsewhere in Latin American Spanish.

### **3.7.4 Shifts in native sounds**

Another kind of change that can take place in language contact situations is the shift in native sounds to approximate more closely to phonetic traits of sounds in the neighbouring languages. For example, Finnish *ö*

shifted to *d* under influence from Swedish, due in part to the Swedish reading model with *d* which was imposed in the Finnish schools. The Nattavaara Finnish dialect shifted native *jj* to *d<sup>j</sup>d<sup>j</sup>*, medial *h* to *ʔ*, and the geminate (long) stops *pp*, *tt*, *kk* to *hp*, *ht*, *hk* respectively, under influence from Lapp. Creek (a Muskogean language of the southern USA) shifted its *ϕ* (bilabial fricative) to *f* (labiodental) under English influence (Campbell 1976).

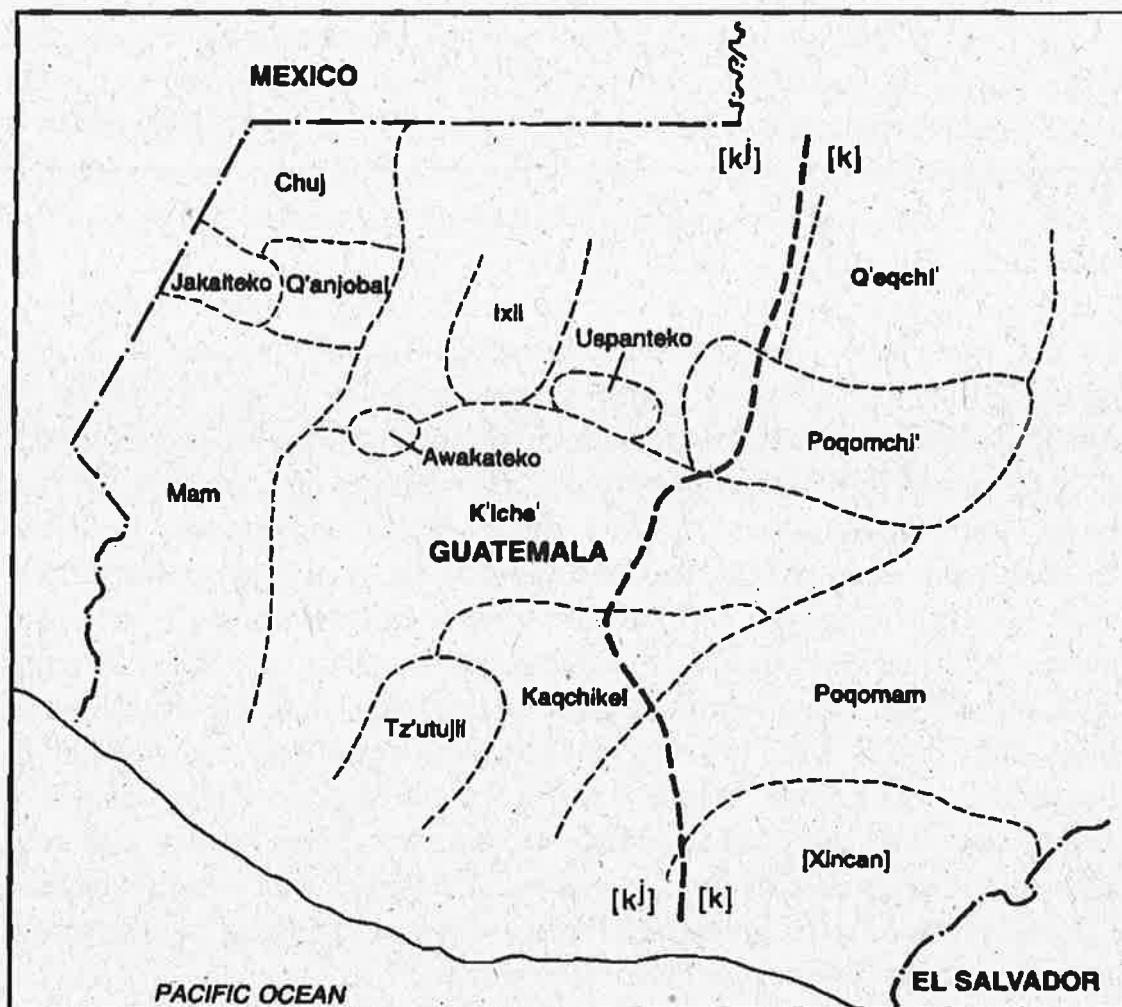
### 3.7.5 Borrowed rules

Not only can foreign sounds be borrowed, but foreign phonological rules may also be borrowed. For example, borrowed stress rules are not uncommon, such as first syllable stress of many of the languages in the Baltic linguistic area (see Chapter 12), or the rule which places stress on the vowel before the last consonant ( $V \rightarrow V/ \_ C(V)\#$ ), shared by several unrelated American Indian languages of southern Mexico and Guatemala. The rule which palatalises velar stops when followed by a uvular consonant in the same root (for example, *k'aq* → *k<sup>j</sup>'aq* 'flea'; *ke:χ* → *kje:χ* 'deer') was borrowed from Mamean languages into the adjacent dialects of several K'ichean languages (two distinct sub-branches of the Mayan family), as shown in Map 3.1. Several Greek dialects of Asia Minor have incorporated a vowel-harmony rule under influence from Turkish. The French spoken in Quimper borrowed a rule of final consonant devoicing from Breton, spoken in that region (see Campbell 1976, 1977). Borrowed phonological rules are not uncommon.

### 3.7.6 Diffused sound changes

Related to borrowed phonological rules is the borrowing of sound changes from one language to another. For example, the change of *k* to *č* has diffused throughout the languages of a continuous area of the Northwest Coast of North America from Vancouver Island to the Columbia River, affecting languages of different families. A similar change of *k* to *c* (a laminal palato-alveolar affricate) before front vowels diffused through Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam and some dialects of Tulu (Dravidian languages), and Marathi (Indo-Aryan) (in several of these languages, *c* before front vowels is in complementary distribution with *ts* before back vowels). The sound change of *ts* to *s* diffused after European contact among neighbouring Q'eqchi', Poqomchi' and Poqomam (Mayan languages) (Campbell 1977).

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MAP 3.1: Diffusion of palatalised velars in K'ichean languages  
(redrawn after Campbell 1977: Map 1)

### 3.7.7 Calques (loan translations, semantic loans)

In loanwords, something of both the phonetic form and meaning of the word in the donor language is transferred to the borrowing language, but it is also possible to borrow, in effect, just the meaning, and instances of this are called *calques* or *loan translations*, as illustrated by the often-repeated example of *black market*, which owes its origin in English to a loan translation of German *Schwarzmarkt*, composed of *schwarz* 'black' and *Markt* 'market'. Other examples follow.

(1) The word for 'railway' ('railroad') is a calque based on a translation of 'iron' + 'road/way' in a number of languages: Finnish *rautatie* (*rauta* 'iron' + *tie* 'road'); French *chemin de fer* (literally 'road of iron'); German *Eisenbahn* (*Eisen* 'iron' + *Bahn* 'path, road'); Spanish *ferrocarril* (*ferro-* 'iron' in compound words + *carril* 'lane, way'); and Swedish *järnväg* (*järn* 'iron' + *väg* 'road').

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(2) English has a number of early calques based on loan translations from Latin, for example: *almighty* < Old English *æلميhtig*, based on Latin *omnipotens* (*omni-* 'all' + *potēns* 'powerful, strong'), and *gospel* < *gōdspell* (*gōd* 'good' + *spel* 'news, tidings'), based on Latin *evangelium* which is from Greek *eu-aggelion* 'good-news/message' (<gg> is the normal transliteration of Greek [ŋg]).

(3) A number of languages have calques based on English *skyscraper*, as for example: German *Wolkenkratzer* (*Wolken* 'clouds' + *kratzer* 'scratcher, scraper'); French *gratte-ciel* (*gratte* 'grate, scrape' + *ciel* 'sky'); and Spanish *rascacielos* (*rasca* 'scratch, scrape' + *cielos* 'skies, heavens').

(4) Some Spanish examples include: (1) varieties of American Spanish have *manzana de Adán* 'Adam's apple', a loan translation from the English name (compare Peninsular Spanish *nuez* (*de la garganta*), literally 'nut (of the throat)'). (2) Spanish *plata* 'silver' comes from Latin *platta* 'flat' and is thought to have acquired its sense of 'silver' through loan translation from Arabic *luḡayn* or *waraqā*, both of which mean both 'thin plate' and 'silver'. (3) More modern loan translations in Spanish from English include *cadena* 'chain' and now also 'chain of stores', *estrella* 'star' and now also 'movie star', *canal* 'canal' and now also 'channel (for television)', *guerra fría* 'cold war', *tercer mundo* 'Third World', *aire acondicionado* 'air conditioning', *desempleo* 'unemployment', *supermercado* 'supermarket'.

(5) A number of calques are shared widely among the languages of the Mesoamerican linguistic area (see Chapter 12); these translate the semantic equations illustrated in the following: 'boa' = 'deer-snake', 'door' = 'mouth of house', 'egg' = 'bird-stone', 'knee' = 'leg-head', 'lime' = 'stone(-ash)', 'wrist' = 'hand-neck' (Campbell, Kaufman and Smith-Stark 1986).

### 3.7.8 Emphatic foreignisation

Sometimes, speakers go out of their way to make borrowed forms sound even more foreign by substituting sounds which seem to them more foreign than the sounds which the word in the donor language actually has. These examples of further 'foreignisation' are usually found in loans involving slang or high registers; it is somewhat akin to hypercorrection (see Chapter 4). The phenomenon is illustrated in examples such as the frequent news media pronunciations of *Azerbaijan* and *Beijing* with the somewhat more foreign-sounding ʒ, [azerbai'ʒan] and [bei'ʒiŋ], rather than the less exotic but more traditional pronunciation with j, [bei'jiŋ] and [azer'baiʒan] (with penultimate stress in the latter). The

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English borrowing from French *coup de grace* (literally, 'blow/hit of grace') is more often rendered without the final *s*, as /ku de gra/, than as /ku de gras/, where many English speakers expect French words spelled with *s* to lack *s* in the pronunciation and have extended this to eliminate also the /s/ of *grace*, though in French the *s* of *grace* is pronounced, [gʁas]. In borrowings in Finnish slang, sounds which match native Finnish sounds are often replaced with less native-sounding segments; for example, in *bonja-ta* 'to understand', from Russian *ponjat'*, and in *bunga-ta* 'to pay for, to come up with the money for', from Swedish *punga*, the *p* – a sound which native Finnish has – was further 'foreignised' by the substitution of more foreign-sounding *b*, a sound not found in native Finnish words. (Compare Hock and Joseph 1996: 261, 271.)

### 3.8 Cultural Inferences

It is not difficult to see how loanwords can have an important historical impact on a culture – just consider what the evening news in English might be like without *money* and *dollars*, or *sex*, or *religion*, *politicians* and *crime*. These words are all loans:

(1) *money*: borrowed in Middle English times from French (see Old French *moneie*; compare Modern French *monnaie* 'money, coin'), ultimately from Latin *monēta*, from the name of *Juno monēta* 'Juno the admonisher' in whose temple in Rome money was coined (ultimately *admonish* and *money* are related, both involving borrowed forms which hark back to Latin *monēre* 'to admonish') (Anttila 1989: 137).

(2) *dollar*: borrowed into English in the sixteenth century from Low German and Dutch *daler*, ultimately from High German *thaler*, in its full form *Joachimsthaler*, a place in Bohemia, literally 'of Joachim's valley', from where the German *thaler*, a large silver coin of the 1600s, came, from a silver mine opened there in 1516.

(3) *sex*: first attested in English in 1382, ultimately from Latin *sexus* 'either of the two divisions of organic beings distinguished as male and female respectively', derived from the verb *secāre* 'to cut, divide'. (English *sect*, *section*, *dissect* and *insect* are borrowings based on the same Latin root.)

(4) *religion*: borrowed from French *religion*, first attested in English in 1200 (ultimately from Latin *religiōn-em*, of contested etymology, said to be from either *relegere* 'to read over again' or *religāre* 'to bind, religate', reflecting the state of life bound by monastic vows).

(5) *politician*: borrowed from French *politicien*, first attested in

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English in 1588, 'a political person, chiefly in the sinister sense, a shrewd schemer, a crafty plotter or intriguer'.

(6) *crime*: borrowed from French *crime*, first attested in English in 1382; ultimately from Latin *crimen* 'judgement, accusation, offence'.

A simple example which illustrates the sort of cultural information that can be derived from loanwords comes from the 'Western American' or 'cowboy' vocabulary in English, a large portion of which is borrowed from Spanish: *adobe* 'sun-dried bricks, a structure made of adobe bricks' < *adobe*; *arroyo* 'a water-carved gully in a dry region' < *arroyo* 'brook, small stream'; *bronco* < *bronco* 'rough, rude'; *buckaroo* < *vaquero* 'cowhand'; *burro* < *burro* 'burro', 'donkey'; *calaboose* 'jail, prison' < *calabozo* 'prison cell, dungeon'; *canyon* < *cañón* 'ravine, gorge, canyon'; *cayuse* 'an Indian pony' < *caballo(s)* 'horse(s)' (perhaps first borrowed from Spanish into Chinook Jargon and from there into English); *chaps* [ʃæps] < *chaparreras* 'open leather garment worn by riders over their trousers to protect them'; *cinch* 'saddle-girth' < *cincha* 'belt, sash, cinch'; *corral* < *corral*; *coyote* < Spanish *coyote* (ultimately from Nahuatl *koyōtl* 'coyote'); *desperado* 'a man ready for deeds of lawlessness or violence' < Older Spanish *desperado* 'without hope, desperate' (compare Modern Spanish *desesperado* 'without hope'); *lariat* < Spanish *la reata* 'the rope, lasso'; *lasso* < *lazo* 'knot, bow, lasso'; *mesa* 'flat-topped hill with steep sides' < *mesa* 'table', 'plateau'; *mustang* < *mestenco* 'lacking an owner'; *palomino* 'horse with pale cream-coloured or golden coat and cream-coloured to white mane and tail' < *palomino* 'dove-like', see Mexican Spanish *palomo* 'pale cream-coloured horse'; *pinto* 'a paint (horse), a mottled horse' < *pinto* 'painted, mottled'; *ranch* < *rancho* 'hut or house in the country', *rancher* < *ranchero* 'farmer, rancher'; *rodeo* < *rodeo* 'a round-up' (from *rodear* 'to go round'); *stampede* < Mexican Spanish *estampida* 'crash, uproar'; *vigilante* < *vigilante* '(one who is) vigilant' (from *vigilar* 'to watch, keep an eye on'). Given the large number of loanwords in this semantic domain, we infer that culture and economy of the American West were highly influenced by contact with Spanish speakers there.

More extensive examples of this sort are found in Chapter 15, which deals with the information that loanwords can provide for the interpretation of prehistory.

### 3.9 Exercises

#### Exercise 3.1

Find ten examples of loanwords (not already mentioned in this chapter) into any language you like, including English. You can consult

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dictionaries which give historical sources of lexical items or books on the history of particular languages, if you wish. Try to identify the form and meaning of the word in the donor language.

### Exercise 3.2 Twentieth-century loans into English

In the history of English, relatively few words were borrowed during the twentieth century when seen in comparison with the large number of loans from earlier times. Still, many did come into the language; here are a few of them. Look up twenty of these (or more if you like) either in a good dictionary of English which indicates the sources from which words come or in a dictionary of the language from which they were borrowed. Try to determine the original meaning and form in the borrowing language and note any changes (in meaning or form) that the word has undergone as it was borrowed into English. The original meanings of many of these may surprise you.

Afrikaans:	apartheid
Chinese:	chow mein, kung fu
Czech:	robot
French:	avant-garde, boutique, camouflage, chassis, cinema, discotheque, fuselage, garage, limousine, sabotage
German:	angst, blitz, ersatz, flak, Nazi, snorkel, strafe, wienerschnitzel
Hawai'ian:	aloha, lei, ukulele
Hebrew:	kibbutz
Italian:	fascism, partisan, pasta, pizza
Japanese:	bonsai, kamikaze, karaoke, karate, origami
Russian:	bolshevik, cosmonaut, glasnost, intelligentsia, perestroika, sputnik
Spanish:	aficionado, macho, marijuana, paella, tango
Swedish	(or Scandinavian generally): moped, ombudsman, slalom, smorgasbord
Yiddish:	schmaltz, schlock, klutz

### Exercise 3.3 Māori and English loanwords

(1) Based on the criteria for establishing loanwords and the direction of borrowing, determine from the following lists of words which are borrowed into Māori from English and which are borrowed into English from Māori. Note that Māori has the following inventory of sounds: /p, t, k, ŋ, h, r, m, n, ŋ, r, i, e, a, o, u/. In the traditional orthography, /ŋ/ is spelled *wh*; /ŋ/ is spelled *ng*. Also, native Māori words permit no

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consonant clusters, rather only syllables of the shape CV (a single consonant followed by a single vowel). (2) Can you say anything about the pronunciation of the variety of English from which Māori took its English loans? (3) What can you say about the social or cultural nature of the contact between speakers of Māori and English? Can you identify semantic domains (areas of meaning) most susceptible to borrowing in either of the languages? (4) How were words from one language modified to fit the structure of the other?

<b>hāhi</b>	church
<b>haina</b>	China; sign
<b>haka</b>	haka, Māori dance
<b>haki</b>	flag (< <i>Union Jack</i> )
<b>hāma</b>	hammer
<b>hānara</b>	sandal
<b>hāngi</b>	hangi, oven (hole in the ground with wrapped food placed on heated stones in the pit with fire)
<b>hānihi</b>	harness
<b>hāpa</b>	harp
<b>hāte</b>	shirt
<b>hēmana</b>	chairman
<b>hereni</b>	shilling
<b>heti</b>	shed
<b>hipi</b>	sheep
<b>hiraka</b>	silk
<b>hiriwa</b>	silver
<b>hoeha</b>	saucer
<b>hohipere</b>	hospital
<b>hopa</b>	job
<b>hōro</b>	hall
<b>hū</b>	shoe
<b>hui</b>	meeting for discussion
<b>huka</b>	sugar
<b>hūka</b>	hook
<b>hupa</b>	soup
<b>hūri</b>	jury
<b>iāri</b>	yard
<b>ihipa</b>	Egypt
<b>ingarangi</b>	England
<b>ingarihi</b>	English
<b>inihi</b>	inch
<b>iota</b>	yacht



## *Borrowing*

iwi	iwi, Māori tribe
kāka	cork
kānara	colonel
kapa	copper, penny
kāpara	corporal
kāpata	cupboard
kara	collar
karaehe	grass; glassware, tumbler; class
karāhi	glass
karahipi	scholarship
karaka	clock; clerk
karauna	crown
kāreti	college; carrot; carriage
kāta	cart
kātaroera	castor oil
kātipa	constable
kaumatua	kaumatua, Māori elder
kauri	kauri tree
kāwana	governor
kea	kea (mountain parrot)
kihi	kiss
kirihimete	Christmas
kiwi	kiwi bird
kōmihana	commission
kōti	court (of law); goat
kuihipere	gooseberry
kūmara	kumara, sweet potato
kura	school
māhi	mast
mana	mana, influence, prestige
māori	Māori, native people (in Māori <i>māori</i> means 'clear, ordinary, native New Zealander')
marae	marae, enclosed meeting area
marahihi	molasses
moa	moa (very large extinct flightless bird)
mokopuna	mokopuna, grandchild
motokā	car, automobile (< motor car)
nēhi	nurse
ngaio	ngaio, coastal shrub
ōkiha	ox
ōriwa	olive

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otimira	oatmeal
pā	pa, stockaded village
pahi	bus
paihikara	bicycle
paitini	poison
pāka	box
pākehā	pakeha, European, non-Māori
pāmu	farm
pāoka	fork
parakuihi	breakfast
parama	plumber
pāua	paua, abalone shell
pāuna	pound
perakēhi	pillowcase
pereti	plate
pī	bee
pirihi	priest
pirihimana	police(man)
piriniha	prince
piriti	bridge
pōkiha	fox
pōro	ball
pukapuka	book
pūkeko	pukeko, swamp hen
pune	spoon
purū	blue
pūru	bull
rare	lolly, sweets
rata	doctor
reme	lamb
rērewē	railroad, railway
rēwera	devil
rīhi	dish; lease
rimu	rimu, red pine
rōre	lord (title)
rori	road
takahē	takahe, bird species ( <i>Notoris mantelli</i> )
tana	ton
tangi	tangi, Māori mourning or lamentation (associated with funerals)
tāone	town

### Borrowing

taonga	taonga, heritage, Māori treasure, possessions
tāra	dollar
taraiki	strike
tauwi	tauwi, non-Māori
tēpu	table
tiā	jar
tiaka	jug
tiamana	chairman; German
tiāti	judge
tīhi	cheese
tōtara	totara (tree species, <i>Podocarpus totara</i> )
tui	tui, parson bird
waka	waka, canoe
wātene	warden
weka	weka, woodhen
wētā	weta, large insect species ( <i>Hemideina megalacephala</i> )
whakapapa	whakapapa, genealogy
whānau	whanau, extended family (community of close fellows)
whatura	vulture
whira	violin, fiddle
whīra	field
whurū	'flu'
whurutu	fruit
whutupaoro	football (rugby)
wihara	whistle
wīra	wheel
wōro	wall
wuruhi	wolf

#### Exercise 3.4 Spanish loanwords

The following is a list of borrowings in Spanish from different languages. What historical and cultural inferences might you suggest about the nature of the contact between speakers of Spanish and each of these other languages based on these? Concentrate on the Germanic and Arabic contacts. Which of the non-Germanic words do you think were further borrowed later from Spanish to English (or from Spanish to French and then on to English)?

*Basque*: *boina* 'beret (cap)', *cachorro* 'cub, pup', *chaparro* 'short, chubby, squatty, a scrub', *izquierdo* 'left', *pizarra* 'slate, blackboard', *urraca* 'magpie', *zurdo* 'left-handed'.

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*Celtic* loans, already in Latin (from Gaul), inherited in Spanish: *abedul* 'birch tree', *bragas* 'breeches, trousers', *camisa* 'shirt', *carro* 'cart', *cerveza* 'beer'.

*Germanic* (Swabians in Galicia; Vandals, Alans; Franks – Visigoths entered Spain in AD 412). Loans: *eslabón* 'link', *ganar* 'to gain, win, earn', *ganso* 'goose'; *bandera* 'flag', *botín* 'booty', *dardo* 'dart', *espíar* 'to spy', *espuela* 'spur', *guardar* 'guard', *guerra* 'war', *guía* 'guide', *hacha* 'axe', *robar* 'to rob', *yelmo* 'helmet'; *arpa* 'harp', *banco* 'bench', *barón* 'baron', *blanco* 'white', *brasa* 'live coal', *estaca* 'stake', *falda* 'skirt', *gris* 'grey', *guante* 'glove', *rico* 'rich', *ropa* 'clothing', *sopa* 'soup', *tacaño* 'stingy', *toalla* 'towel'; *norte* 'north', *sur* 'south', *este* 'east', *oeste* 'west'; personal names: *Anfonso*, *Elvira*, *Federico*, *Fernando*, *Francisco*, *Gonzalo*, *Matilde*, *Ricardo*, *Rodrigo*; and so on.

*Arabic* (Moors landed in Spain in AD 711; by 718 they had spread over most of the Peninsula, where they remained until the recapture of Granadá in 1492). Loans: *Guad-* 'river' (in place names, for example, *Guadalajara* 'river of stones', *Guadarrama* 'river of sand'); *alcázar* 'castle' (corruption of Latin *castrum* with Arabic article *al-*); *alférez* 'ensign', *alcalde* 'mayor', *atalaya* 'watchtower', *aldea* 'village', *almacén* 'storehouse', *barrio* 'district of city', *adobe* (sun-dried brick), *albañil* 'mason', *alcoba* 'bedroom' (alcove), *alfarero* 'potter', *bazar* 'bazaar', *alfiler* 'pin', *alfombra* 'rug', *almohada* 'pillow', *ataúd* 'coffin', *aceite* 'oil', *aceituna* 'olive', *albaricoque* 'apricot', *alcachofa* 'artichoke', *alfalfa* 'alfalfa', *algodón* 'cotton', *arroz* 'rice', *azúcar* 'sugar', *limón* 'lemon', *naranja* 'orange', *jasmín* 'jasmine', *alcohol* 'alcohol', *cero* 'zero', *cifra* 'cipher', *cenit* 'zenith', *albóndiga* 'meat ball', *azul* 'blue', *matar* 'to kill' (Arabic *mat* 'dead, checkmate'), *mono* 'monkey', *ojalá* 'if Allah will (oh I wish)', *res* 'cattle'.

*Arawak-Taino*: *canoa* 'canoe', *iguana* 'iguana', *nigua* 'nit', *maíz* 'maize, corn', *ají* 'chili pepper', *yuca* 'sweet manioc', *tuna* 'fruit of prickly pear cactus', *barbacoa* 'barbecue', *batata* 'sweet potato', *enagua* 'petticoat, skirt, native skirt', *huracán* 'hurricane', *sabana* 'savanna', *macana* 'club', *cacique* 'chief'; *bejuco* 'vine', *maní* 'peanut'.

*Carib*: *canibal* 'cannibal', *manatí* 'manatee (sea cow)', *loro* 'parrot', *colibrí* 'hummingbird', *caimán* 'cayman, alligator species', *caribe* 'Carib', 'Caribbean'.

*Nahuatl*: *hule* 'rubber', *tiza* 'chalk', *petaca* 'covered hamper, trunk, suitcase', *coyote* 'coyote', *ocelote* 'ocelot', *sinsonte* 'mocking bird', *guajolote* 'turkey', *chocolate* 'chocolate', *cacao* 'cacao, cocoa', *chicle* 'gum, chicle', *tomate* 'tomato', *aguacate* 'avocado', *cacahuete* 'peanut', *tamal* 'tamale', *jícara* 'gourd cup, small gourd bowl', *metate* 'quern,

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grinding-stone', *mecate* 'string, twine', *pulque* 'pulque (drink from century plant juice)', *achiote* 'bixa (food dye)', *camote* 'sweet potato', *ayote* 'pumpkin', *chayote* 'chayote (a vegetable)', *elote* 'ear of corn', *nopal* 'prickly pear cactus', *guacamole* 'guacamole', *cuate* 'buddy, twin', *caite* 'sandal'.

*Quechua*: *pampa* 'pampa', *papa* 'potato', *coca* 'coca', *quino* 'quinine', *mate* 'mate (a strong tea)', *guano* 'guano (bird fertiliser)', *llama* 'llama', *vicuña* 'vicuña' (llama species), *alpaca* 'alpaca' (llama species), *cóndor* 'condor', *inca* 'Inca', *gaucho* 'gaucho' (cowboy/horseman).

*Tupi-Guarani*: *jaguar* 'jaguar', *piraña* 'piranha' (violent fish), *tapioca* 'tapioca', *ananás* 'pineapple'.

*English*: *bistec* 'beefsteak', *ron* 'rum', *huisqui/whisky* 'whisky', *orange crush* 'Orange Crush (a soft drink)', *sandwich/sanduche/sanguich* 'sandwich', *panqueque* 'pancake', *lonche* 'lunch', *boicot/boicotear* 'boycott', *clip* 'paperclip', *piqueteo* 'picketing'/*piquetear* 'to picket', *yate* 'yacht', *parquear* 'to park', *parqueo* 'parking place', *bumper/bómpen* 'car bumper', *jet* 'jet', *stop* 'stop', *jeep* 'jeep'; *clóset* 'water closet, toilet', *plywood/plaiwud* 'plywood', *álbum* 'album', *bar* 'bar', *film(e)/filmar* 'film'/'to film', *show* 'show', *ticket/tiquete* 'ticket', *sex appeal/sexapil* 'sex appeal', *stress/estrés* 'stress', *spray/espréi* 'spray', *chequear/chechar* 'to check'.

(For some of these and for further examples, see Campbell 1997a; Corominas 1974; Lapesa 1981; Resnik 1981; Spaulding 1965.)

#### **Exercise 3.5 Hispanisms in Mayan languages**

The following is a list of some of the 'hispanisms' (loanwords from Spanish) found in some of the Mayan languages (of Mexico and Guatemala). The Spanish forms are presented both in current pronunciation and in that of the sixteenth century. Based on these, what evidence can you derive from these loans in the Mayan languages relevant to changes which have taken place in Spanish since these forms were borrowed? By way of illustration, consider the following example involving Sayula Popoluca (a Mixe-Zoquean language):

Spanish *caja* 'box' (modern [kaxa], colonial [kaʃa]: Sayula Popoluca *kafa* 'coffin' ('box for the dead')).

From this, you would tentatively conclude that Spanish has undergone the change of  $f > x$  after this word was borrowed. Of course, it is necessary to keep in mind that the borrowing language will make substitutions, replacing the Spanish sounds with the closest phonetic counterpart available in the recipient language, so that not all differences in the

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borrowing language will be due to changes which Spanish has subsequently undergone; to determine this, it will be necessary to compare the sixteenth-century and the modern Spanish forms. In regard to this particular example, it is interesting that Sayula Popoluca later borrowed the Spanish word for 'box' again, after the change, as *kaha* 'cardboard box' (note that Sayula Popoluca has no [x], so that [h] is the language's closest approximation to Modern Spanish [x]).

Note the following phonetic symbols found in these examples:

- [ɟ] dental (fronted) s
- [ʃ] apical alveolar s
- [ʂ] laminal retroflex f

Focus on /l<sup>j</sup>/ and /j/:

1. *llave* 'key' (modern [jaβe], colonial [l<sup>j</sup>aβe, l<sup>j</sup>ave]): Akateko *laweh*, Q'anjobal *lawe*, K'iche' *lawe*.
2. *cebolla* 'onion' (modern [seβoja], colonial [ʃebol<sup>j</sup>a]): Akateko *sewolya*, Q'anjobal *sewolia*, Tzeltal *sebolia* (none of the Mayan languages has /l<sup>j</sup>/, but they do have /l/ and /j/).
3. *cuchillo* 'knife' (modern [kučijo], colonial [kučil<sup>j</sup>o]): Chol *kučilu*, Huastec *kuči:l*, Q'anjobal *kučiilu* 'knife, razor', K'iche' *kuči?l*.
4. *silla* 'chair' (modern [sija], colonial [sil<sup>j</sup>a]): Akateko *filah*, Huastec *fi:la?* 'saddle, chair', Q'anjobal *fila*, K'iche' *fila*, Tzotzil *fila*.
5. *castellano* 'Castilian, Spanish' (modern [kastejano], colonial [kaʂtel<sup>j</sup>ano]): Choltí *kaʂtilan čab* 'sugar' (literally 'Castilian honey'), *kaʂtilan wa* 'bread' (literally 'Castilian tortilla'); K'iche' *kaʂtilan*, *kaʂlan* 'Castilian, Spanish, pure, correct'.

Focus on /ʃ/, /s/, and /ʂ/:

6. *sartén* 'frying pan' (modern [sartén], colonial [ʃartén]): Q'anjobal *ſalten*, *ſaltin*, Motocintlec *ſalten*, Tzotzil *ſalten*.
7. *sebo* 'tallow, fat' (modern [seβo], colonial [ʃebo]): Q'anjobal *ſepu?*, K'iche' *ſepu*, *ſepo*, Tzotzil *ſepu*.
8. *seda* 'silk' (modern [seða], colonial [ʃeða]): Chol *ſelah-* 'ribbon', Tzotzil *ſela* 'silk, ribbon'. (Mayan languages have no [ð].)
9. *semana* 'week' (modern [semana], colonial [ʃemana]): Q'eqchi' *ſama:n*, *ſema:n*, K'iche' *ſemano*, Tzotzil *ſemana*.
10. *señora* 'lady, madam, Mrs' (modern [sen<sup>j</sup>ora], colonial [ʃen<sup>j</sup>ora]): Chol *ſinolah* 'non-Indian woman', Mam *ſnu:l* 'non-Indian woman', Motocintlec *ſnu:la:n* 'non-Indian woman', Tzeltal *ſinola* 'non-Indian woman'.
11. *mesa* 'table' (modern [mesa], colonial [meʂa]): Akateko *meſah*, Huastec *me:fa*, Q'eqchi' *me:fa*, Motocintlec *me:ſah*, K'iche' *meſa*.

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12. *patos* 'ducks' (modern [patos], colonial [patos̃]): Huastec *pa:tuʃ*, Q'eqchi' *patuʃ*, K'iche' *pataf*, Tzotzil *patof*, all 'duck'. (Note that several plant and animal terms, though singular, were borrowed from the Spanish plural form, as in this example and the next.)
13. *vacas* 'cows' (modern [bakas], colonial [βakas, vakas̃]): Akateko *wakaš* 'cattle', Chol *wakaf* 'bull, cow', Itzá *wakaf* 'cattle', Q'anjobal *wakaš* 'cow, cattle', Q'eqchi' *kwakaf* 'cow, cattle', Mopan *wakaf* 'cow, bull, cattle', Tzeltal *wakaf* 'beef'. (See also 4 and 5 above.)
14. *cidra* 'a grapefruit-like fruit' (modern [siðra], colonial [siðra]): Chol *silah*, Tzotzil *silá*. (Note that these languages have no *d*, *ð* or *r*).
15. *cocina* 'kitchen' (modern [kosina], colonial [košina]): Motocintlec *kusi:nah*, Tzotzil *kusina*.
16. *cruz* 'cross' (modern [krus], colonial [kruš]): Chol *rus*, Q'anjobal *kurus*, Q'eqchi' *kurus*, Mam *lu:s*, Motocintlec *kuru:s*, Tzotzil *kurus*.
17. *lazo* 'lasso, rope' (modern [laso], colonial [lašo]): Akateko *lasuh*, Chol *lasoh*, Tzeltal *laso*, Tzotzil *lasu*.
18. *taza* 'cup' (modern [tasa], colonial [taša]): Chol *tasa* 'piece of glass', Huastec *ta:sa*, Q'eqchi' *ta:s*.
19. *jabón* 'soap' (modern [xaβón], colonial [ʃabón]): Chol *šapum*, *šapom*, Huastec *šabu:n*, Jakalteko *šapun*, Q'anjobal *šapun*, Motocintlec *ša:puh*, K'iche' *šbon*, Tzeltal *šapon*.
20. *jarro* 'jug, jar' (modern [xaro], colonial [ʃaro]): Jakalteko *šalu*, Q'anjobal *šalu*, Mam *šar*, Motocintlec *ša:ruh*, K'iche' *šaru?*, Tzeltal *šalu*, Tzotzil *šalu*.
21. *aguja* 'needle' (modern [aguxa], colonial [agufa]): Akateko *akufah*, Chol *akufan*, Q'anjobal *akufa*, Q'eqchi' *aku:f*, *ku:f*, Motocintlec *aku:šah*, Tzeltal *akufa*, Tzotzil *akufa*.
22. *caja* 'box' (modern [kaxa], colonial [kafa]): Chol *kafa-te?* 'chest' (*te?* = 'wood'), Q'anjobal *kafa* 'box, chest', Q'eqchi' *ka:f* 'chest', Mam *ka:š* 'box', Motocintlec *ka:šah* 'box, chest', K'iche' *kafa* 'box, chest, trunk', Tzeltal *kafa*.

Focus on /v/ and /b/:

23. *ventana* 'window' (modern [bentana], colonial [βentana, ventana]): Chol *wentana*, Q'anjobal *wentena*, Motocintlec *wanta:nah*.
24. (= 13 above) *vacas* 'cows' (modern [bakas], colonial [βakas, vakas̃]): Akateko *wakaš* 'cattle', Chol *wakaf* 'bull, cow', Itzá *wakaf* 'cattle', Q'anjobal *wakaš* 'cow, cattle', Q'eqchi' *kwakaf* 'cow, cattle', Mopan *wakaf* 'cow, bull, cattle', Tzeltal *wakaf* 'beef'.

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25. *calvario* 'Calvary' (modern [kalβario], colonial [kalβario, kalvario]): Q'anjobal *karwal* 'cemetery, graveyard', K'iche' *kalwar*.
26. *clavos* 'nails' (modern [klaβos], colonial [klaβos, klavos]): Akateko *lawuf*, Chol *lawuf*, Tzeltal *lawuf*, Tojolabal *lawuf*. (Note that these forms mean 'nail', but are borrowed from the Spanish plural form.)
27. *rábanos* 'radishes' (modern [ráβanos], colonial [ráβanos, rávanoš]): Tojolabal *lawunif*, Motocintlec *luwaʔnfa* 'rábano', Tzotzil *alavanuf*. (Note that these all mean 'radish', though borrowed from the Spanish plural form. Tzotzil has a phonemic contrast between /v/ and /b/, but has no /w/; the other languages have no /v/, but do have /w/.) (See also 1 above.)
28. *botón(es)* 'button(s)' (modern [botón], colonial [botón]): Q'eqchi' *foto:nf*, K'iche' *botona*, *botonif*, Tojolabal *boton* 'button, knot in wood', Tzotzil *boton*.
29. *bolsa* 'bag, pocket' (modern [bolsa], colonial [bolša, borsa]): Chol *borsa*, Q'eqchi' *bo:f* 'pocket', K'iche' *borsa*, Tzeltal *bolsa*.
30. *nabos* 'turnips' (modern [naβos], colonial [naboš]): K'iche' *napuf*, Tzotzil *napuf*, Motocintlec *kolinaʔwa*. (See also 2 and 7 above.)