VARIATION AND CHANGE
IN GREEK AND LATIN

Edited by
Martti Leiwo, Hilla Halla-aho & Marja Vierros

Contents

Latin Loanwords in Greek:
A Preliminary Analysis

Eleanor Dickey

The study of Latin influence on Greek has a curious double existence.[1] To the vast majority of non-specialists it is an absurd concept, a contradiction in terms, or simply a slip of the pen for "Greek influence on Latin". But within the field of classical linguistics it is heavily trodden ground. In terms of book-length studies from the last half century alone, we have two dictionaries of Latin loanwords in the papyri, two books on Latinisms in inscriptions, at least three on Latinisms in literary authors, and at least three on other related topics.[2] Yet despite all this work, or perhaps even because of it, there is very little agreement on how much influence Latin really had on Greek.

Part of the problem is that there are several different kinds of influence under discussion. One is loanwords, that is, words borrowed outright from one language into another. In English, for example, the word "quorum" is a Latin loanword, as one can tell from its appearance. The loanword carries within it information that allows someone with little or no historical information on the interaction of two languages to state with confidence which language is the borrower and which the donor.

There are, however, also many other types of linguistic influence, and these are normally much more difficult to trace than loanwords.[3] A language can undergo morphological or syntactic influence, and even within the general category of lexical influence there are possibilities other than loanwords, such as calques or changes in the frequency of usage of particular expressions.[4] But because influences of such types do not have etymologies that make their origins obvious, it is often difficult to be certain which language is the source of a particular feature and which is the borrower. As a result, some people claim that many features of Roman-period and later Greek were caused by Latin influence, while others maintain that few or no features were so caused.[5]

Both sides in this debate tend to turn to loanwords to strengthen their points, because different types of influence often go together. That is, if there are many Latin loanwords in Greek, there are likely to be more examples of other types of influence than if there are very few such loanwords.[6]

The question of loanwords, therefore, is central to the entire question of Latin influence on Greek. How many Latin loanwords were there in ancient Greek? Various

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[2] Papyri: Daris 1991; Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser 1996–; Inscriptions: García Domingo 1979; Kearsley and Evans 2001 (n.b. also Biville et al. 2008); Literature: Dubuisson 1985 (Polybius); Freyburger-Galland 1997 (Dio Cassius); Famerie 1998 (Appian) (n.b. also the appendices of Avotins 1989; Avotins 1992 on Justinian; Vaahtera 2001, 48–67 on historiography; Ward 2007 on Josephus); Other: Mason 1974; Hofmann 1989; Filos 2009.

[3] Cf. Thomason 2001, 91

[4] For the occurrence of these in antiquity see e.g. Nicolas 1996; Dubuisson 1985, 121–123.

[5] For an overview of the most prominent features sometimes claimed as Latinisms see Horrocks 2010, 128–132.

[6] The relationship between loanwords and other types of influence is of course more complex than this simplification suggests; see e.g. Thomason 2001, 59–98, esp. 70; Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 35–64.

answers to this question have been proposed. The largest number so far suggested is Viscidi's claim that he had found circa 2,900 Latin loanwords in Greek,[7] but there are two problems that make it difficult to accept Viscidi's figures. He never published a list of the words involved, so one must simply take his word for it that they are Latinate, and yet blind credulity is unwise in this subject. Moreover, he included words first attested in Greek as late as the 11th century,[8] and that chronological framework causes complications if what one is really interested in is ancient rather than Byzantine Greek.

The largest figure to be backed by a published corpus is that of Hofmann (1989), who produced a list of 1,730 words, all first attested in Greek before 600 AD. There are certain difficulties with Hofmann's corpus, including the omission of hundreds of words and the inclusion of some that are probably or certainly not from Latin, but nevertheless the figure of 1,730 can reasonably be taken as an approximate minimum.

At first glance this information seems to be the answer to the question of how many Latin loanwords there were in Greek, but in fact it is not, because there is a difficulty about the meaning of "loanword". In English, we normally use the term "loanword" to refer to a foreign word that has become part of the English language, such as "quorum"; we do not normally use it for foreign words that happen to be quoted in English. For example, this volume of essays constitutes an English text, but it contains many words with Latin and Greek rather than Germanic etymologies. If someone were to count the number of words of Latin or Greek origin that appear in this volume, irrespective of whether they were English words or Latin or Greek quoted in passing, and if he then were to attempt to use that figure as a basis for calculating the number of Latin and Greek loanwords in English, he would no doubt be criticized on the basis that many of the words in question are not actually loanwords. If I write, "The Latin for 'to sell' is *vendere*", does that make *vendere* a loanword in English?

Put that way, the question seems absurd. And yet the comprehensive collections of Latin "loanwords" in Greek are formed by a process precisely equivalent to this one: any Latin-derived word that appears in a Greek text is considered a Latin loanword and included.[9] Since a significant number of Greek authors wrote long works about Roman history and culture, they had occasion to mention a large number of Latin words, just as we do when we discuss Roman history and culture. Often these words appear in contexts where it is clear that the writer did not expect his audience to know them.[10]

It is in many ways unfortunate that the term "loanword" is traditionally used for talking about this group of words, because it gives a false impression of what these words are. Nevertheless, it is by now well established in the scholarly literature that in the context of ancient Greek, "Latin loanword" means "word of Latin etymology attested at least

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[7] Viscidi 1944, 2.

[8] Viscidi 1944, 1.

[9] "Latin-derived" traditionally includes not only words of originally Latin etymology, but also words originating in any other language that entered Greek via Latin. This group includes a significant number of Greek words that were borrowed into Latin and then borrowed back into Greek in a slightly different form or with a slightly different meaning; see e.g. Kramer 1992.

[10] E.g. Plut., *Romulus* 5.5 "τὴν δὲ πορθμείαν βηλατούραν καλοῦσιν"; *Lucullus* 37.6 "τὰς περιοικίδας κώμας, ἃς οὐίκους καλοῦσι"; *Antony* 59.8 "ὁ δὲ Σάρμεντος ἦν τῶν Καίσαρος παιγνίων παιδάριον, ἃ δηλίκια Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν".

once in a Greek text".[11] This usage has two results. On the one hand it leads some people to think that Latin had a tremendous influence on the Greek vocabulary, because there were so many Latin loanwords.[12] On the other it leads a different group of people to think that Latin had little or no real influence on Greek, because from even a cursory glance at any one of the lists of "loanwords" it is obvious both that most of them never gained any widespread currency in the language and that most of them are confined to certain restricted semantic fields, such as discussions of Roman government and culture.[13]

One solution to this difficulty is to ignore literature completely and concentrate on Latin words in documentary Greek texts. One can for example find lots of Latin words in inscriptions, but the difficulty is that the inscriptions concerned are often official documents translated from Latin, so it is hard to be sure whether the words concerned were ever used by actual Greek speakers.[14] As a result, over the last few decades there has been an increased tendency to concentrate on Latin words found in Greek papyri. The use of papyri is attractive for several reasons. Evidence is abundant, since Latin words are very common in the papyri: the largest dictionary of Latin words in the papyri (Daris 1991) lists over 1,600 different words, and it is far from complete. Additionally, papyri are less likely than inscriptions to be translated from Latin and less likely than literary texts to contain lengthy descriptions of Roman history and culture. But papyri pose other problems. In the first place the contexts, or even the Latinate words themselves, are often fragmentary and/or abbreviated, so that it can be difficult to be certain how or even whether a given word is used. In the second place some papyri were not written by native speakers of Greek; in fact some were clearly written by Romans whose competence in Greek was limited. Latin words in such documents are like English words inserted in a French sentence by an English speaker vacationing in France: such usage does not make them part of the French language. And because so many papyri are incomplete, often it is difficult to establish that the document in which a given Latin word occurs was written by and for Greek speakers. Worse, even documents written by and for Greek speakers may involve speakers who were bilingual in Greek and Latin and engaged in code-switching; that is, switching between two different languages in the same utterance. Code-switching can result in the use of a single Latin word in an otherwise Greek sentence, and thus the result can be indistinguishable from a genuine loanword if one has no other information on the status of the word in question.[15]

Nevertheless, collections of Latin loanwords in the papyri take the same inclusive approach to the meaning of "loanword" as the collections that include literary material. If a word has a Latin etymology and occurs in a Greek papyrus, it is considered a Latin loanword, regardless of how, why, or how many times it is used. The result is that the vast majority of the words in such dictionaries are very rarely attested and were probably not "loanwords" in the sense that that term is normally used in English. Certainly this

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[11] See e.g. the use of *Lehnwörter* in the title of Cervenka-Ehrenstrasser 1996–. Hofmann (1989, i) states clearly that the words in his corpus are not all "loanwords" in the normal usage of the term.

[12] Cf. e.g. Browning 1983, 40; Kahane and Kahane 1982, 129; Hillhorst 1976, 45.

[13] Cf. e.g. Coleman 2007, 799; Daris 1991, 17–18.

[14] See e.g. Sherk 1969.

[15] On code-switching and its relationship to borrowing see e.g. Adams 2003, 18–29; Clyne 2003, esp. 70–76; Nivens 2002, esp. 5–9; Thomason 2001, 131–136; Milroy and Muysken 1995, esp. 190–191; Romaine 1995, 120–180. Code-switching between Greek and Latin is well attested in antiquity; See e.g. Adams 2003, 297–416; Swain 2002.

comprehensive approach has advantages, but it also has the same disadvantages that the comprehensive approach has when applied to literary material. That is, the results can be taken either as evidence that Latin loanwords were very common in Roman-period Greek, or as evidence that most of the "loanwords" were peripheral items and never gained any widespread currency.

So legitimate questions persist about the extent to which there really were Latin loanwords in Greek, in the normal sense of "loanword". What is needed to resolve them is a different kind of study, one that instead of looking at all the Latin words attested in Greek considers only the ones that really did become loanwords in ancient Greek.

But what does it mean to say that a word really did become a loanword? It is easy to say that *vendere* is not an English word, but it is a good deal trickier to identify what criteria can establish that a word of non-English origin has become an integrated loanword and is now really part of the English language. A variety of possibilities exist. For example, most of us mark foreign words in our written English by putting them in italics or, in the case of Greek or another language with a different alphabet, by switching alphabets. This criterion is, however, unusable for identifying foreign words in Greek texts, as the ancients had not yet invented italics, and except in very rare circumstances the Greeks always transliterated foreign text into their own alphabet, even when the text concerned was a passage rather than a single word.[16] Another possibility for identifying integrated loanwords is that normally used by Scrabble players, who take the presence of a word in an English dictionary to be proof that it is an English word. Unfortunately, as any Scrabble player knows, different dictionaries produce considerably different results, and moreover the dictionary criterion simply moves the problem onto someone else: how is the dictionary editor to decide which words are English and which are foreign? In any case, as we have observed, many Greek dictionaries take a comprehensive approach and simply include all words attested in Greek texts.

The criteria most often used by linguists to identify loanwords are frequency and integration.[17] Both these criteria are relative rather than absolute – any cutoff point in terms of number of uses or degree of integration is bound to be arbitrary – and therefore many linguists believe that there can be no absolute distinction between foreign words and loanwords.[18] It is nevertheless generally agreed that the two phenomena are different even if it is impossible to draw a completely non-arbitrary line between them.

Frequency is a simple concept, but its application is complex: one needs to decide not only what absolute number of occurrences counts as "frequent", but also which occurrences count as distinct for the purpose of calculating that figure. Should one lump together all occurrences in a particular text, a particular writer, or a particular archive of papyrus letters? Integration, on the other hand, is complex even as a concept. A word can be integrated in many different ways, such as phonologically, morphologically, and

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[16] Cf. Rochette 1997, 290–291.

[17] On loanwords and their identification and classification see e.g. Clyne 2003, 73, 142–152; Myers-Scotton 2002, esp. 234–245; Poplack and Sankoff 1984; Deroy 1980 (in addition to the works cited in n. 15 above).

[18] Clyne 2003, 73. In fact what linguists are discussing when they make such statements is whether there is a firm distinction between code-switches and loanwords, and insufficient attention is often given to the type of foreign word that is not a code-switch but a clearly labelled foreign term that is the subject of discussion, such as *vendere* in my example above. Thus Clyne (2003, 246 n. 15) even equates the distinction between "borrowing" and "code-switching" to an "earlier distinction" between "loanwords" and "foreign words".

semantically.[19] To complicate matters further, it is not always possible to know exactly how a Latin word has been altered in the process of borrowing into Greek, since it is not always clear what its original form was. Many Latin words were borrowed into Greek not from the literary language, but from the type of Latin conveniently but imprecisely labelled "vulgar", and often we have less evidence for the vulgar Latin form of a word than for its literary form.

Furthermore, some types of integration are standard in Greek even for Latin words clearly marked as foreign rather than loanwords.[20] For example, Latin nouns and adjectives almost always appear in Greek not with Latin endings, but with the endings appropriate to the equivalent declension in Greek: -*us* becomes -ος, -*um* becomes -ον, -*am* becomes -αν, etc.[21]

In fact, before one uses criteria such as integration and frequency it is necessary to look at the contexts in which the term under consideration is used. As observed above, some contexts make it clear that a word is *not* part of the writer's language, by labelling it as a Latin word and/or by explaining what it means and thereby indicating that readers are assumed not to know the word's meaning. Even if we have dozens of attestations of a Latin word in Greek, and even if in all those occurrences it has a Greek ending and is nicely integrated into the syntax of a Greek sentence, the word was not part of the Greek language if in all those occurrences it is defined and/or labelled as a Latin word. At the same time, some contexts make it equally clear that a word *is* really part of the Greek language. Consider example 1:

1) <u>κοχλιάριον</u>· τοῦτο λίστρον Ἀριστοφάνης ὁ κωμῳδοποιὸς λέγει· καὶ σὺ δὲ οὕτως λέγε. (Phrynichus, *Eclogae* 292)

Κοχλιάριον: Aristophanes the comic poet calls this λίστρον; and you should too!
(spoon; Latin *cochleare*)

This comment comes from Phrynichus, who was concerned to help readers eliminate post-classical words from their vocabulary and replace them with words attested in authors of the fifth century BC. Here he advises readers who need a word for "spoon" to avoid the Latinism κοχλιάριον and to use instead the classical Attic λίστρον. This advice tells us that for most speakers in the second century AD, κοχλιάριον had replaced

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[19] Clyne (2003, 142–145) divides integration into three aspects, each with multiple further subdivisions: type of integration (e.g. semantic, phonological, morphological, prosodic, tonemic, graphemic), degree of integration (e.g. high, medium, low), and stability of integration (e.g. a fully stable word is the one regularly used for that concept in the borrowing language, completely replacing any earlier terms that may have existed).

[20] Different languages tolerate unintegrated foreign words to different extents, and Greek seems in general to have had a very low tolerance for such forms, perhaps in part because it is easier to use a word in a Greek sentence when the word has a recognizable case-ending. Additionally, the obvious similarities between Latin and Greek made Latin words much easier to adapt to Greek than for example Hebrew words, which are less likely to be given Greek endings.

[21] See n. 10 above for some examples. On the different adaptations of Latin loanwords made in the process of integration into Greek, see e.g. Viscidi 1944, 5–10; Cavenaile 1952; Sallés Verdaguer 1977; and now the excellent study by Filos 2009. The issue of integration is additionally complex because as contact between two languages becomes more intense, speakers of the borrowing language become more familiar with the phonological and other features of the donor language, and therefore less adaptation occurs in such borrowing than in borrowing between two languages with little contact; lack of adaptation can therefore be a sign of intense contact as well as a sign of an unintegrated foreign word; see e.g. Thomason 2001, 73.

λίστρον as the normal word for 'spoon': if it had not been in common use Phrynichus would not have bothered to censure it. Something very similar happens in example 2:

> 2) τὰς δὲ καλουμένας <u>πατέλλας</u> λεκανίδας ὀνομαστέον, εἰ καὶ ἐξ ἀργύρου εἶεν·Θεόπομπος μὲν γὰρ ὁ κωμικὸς εἴρηκεν ὀρνιθίων λεκάνην ... (Pollux, *Onomasticon* 6.85–6.86)
>
> One ought to use the word λεκανίς for what is generally called πατέλλα, even if it's made of silver; for Theopompus the comic poet said "dish of birds"...
> (dish; Latin *patella*)

Here again the censured word is clearly the one that was in normal use in the second century AD, and once more this provides us with good evidence that the word was a real integrated loanword, no longer a foreign term, at this period. Even if these two passages were the only surviving occurrences of these words in Greek (which is not by any means the case), it would still be clear that the words discussed were integrated loanwords in Greek, not foreign words that just happen to be quoted in a Greek text.

Both these passages come from scholarly literature, a genre that has so far been seriously under-exploited in discussions of Latin influence on Greek. Even when scholarly writers do not condemn the use of a Latin loanword, they may reveal its currency in other ways, as for example when they use it to define a classical term. Such use of Latin loanwords in definitions occurs in passages 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7, and in every case the implication is that the classical word was obsolete and no longer familiar to readers, while the Latin loanword had taken its place in common speech.

> 3) ἀργυροθήκη, τὸ νῦν <u>ἀργεντάριον</u> καλούμενον·παρὰ Διοκλεῖ·ἔστι δὲ οὗτος τῆς ἀρχαίας κωμῳδίας ποιητής. ([Herodian], *Philetaerus* 194)
>
> Ἀργυροθήκη is the thing now called ἀργεντάριον; the word is found in Diocles, and he is a poet of Old Comedy.
> (bank; Latin *argentaria*)

> 4) πολυσχιδὲς τὸ νῦν <u>στρικτόν</u>. ἐμβάδες δὲ τὰ ὑφ' ἡμῶν <u>καλίγια</u> ... (Scholion to Lucian, *Rhetorum praeceptor* 15)
>
> Πολυσχιδές is what is now called στρικτόν. And ἐμβάδες are what we call καλίγια.
> (types of footwear; Latin *strictus* and *caliga*)

> 5) ἐσχάραν·τὴν νῦν καλουμένην <u>ἄρουλαν</u>. (Scholion on Aristophanes, *Acharnians* 888a)
>
> Ἐσχάρα is the thing now called ἄρουλα.
> (brazier; Latin *arula*)

> 6) οἰνοχόος·ὁ <u>πιγκέρνης</u>. (Hesychius ο 346 Latte)
>
> Οἰνοχόος means πιγκέρνης.
> (bar-keeper; Latin *pincerna*)

7) ἐπιπορπὶς δὲ ἡ περόνη, ἡ λεγομένη <u>φίβλα</u>. (Scholion on Callimachus, *Hymn* 2.32)

And ἐπιπορπίς is a pin, the thing called φίβλα.
(safety pin; Latin *fibula*)

In example 8 something slightly different happens. This is a discussion of spelling, in which it is necessary to distinguish two words that would have sounded identical in Roman-period Greek pronunciation but that were spelled differently. The distinction is made by glossing the meanings of each word, and in one case the gloss thus provided is a Latin loanword. In this case the passage does not show that the classical word was obsolete and had been replaced by the loanword. Nevertheless it does show that the Latin word had become sufficiently common in Greek to be usable as a gloss: the author assumed that it would be widely understood.

8) ἰστέον καὶ τοῦτο· κατοικία, μετοικία, ἀποικία, συνοικία, ἀγροικία, παροιμία, καὶ οἰκία,
τὸ <u>ὀσπίτιον</u>, δίφθογγον, καὶ ἰῶτα· οἰκεία δέ, ἡ πατρίς, καὶ οἰκεία, ἡ ἰδία, δίφθογγα τὰ δύο.
([Herodian], *Partitiones* p. 223 Boissonade)

And one needs to know this too: κατοικία, μετοικία, ἀποικία, συνοικία, ἀγροικία, παροιμία, and οἰκία, the one that means ὀσπίτιον, are written with a diphthong [in the antepenultimate syllable] and an iota [in the penultimate syllable]. But the οἰκεία that means "fatherland" and the οἰκεία that means "personal" have diphthongs in both syllables.
(house; Latin *hospitium*)

The term at issue here is one of the best-known Latin loanwords in Greek, because eventually it replaced the classical words for "house": the modern Greek word for 'house' is σπίτι, descendant of Latin *hospitium*. The question of usage in modern Greek is of course a very important one for determining the status of "loanwords" in ancient Greek. Survival into modern languages is often considered the gold standard of a word's vitality in an ancient language, because only words that were genuinely in common use survived.[22] Thus on the rare occasions when scholars have asked themselves which of the "loanwords" claimed for ancient Greek were really part of the language, they have normally turned to modern Greek for the answer.[23]

There are, however, two difficulties with simply using attestation in modern Greek to demonstrate integration in ancient Greek. The first is that modern Greek contains a significant number of Latin-derived words that entered the language after the end of antiquity. Medieval Latin words were sometimes borrowed into Byzantine Greek, because Latin was widely used as an international diplomatic and scholarly language in Western Europe.[24] Thus the fact that a Latin word is found in modern Greek does not by itself guarantee that that word was ever part of ancient Greek.

The other difficulty works in the opposite direction. As languages evolve there is a constant, if slow, process of vocabulary change; some old words are always disappearing and some new ones emerging. Many words that were part of English in the time of

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[22] Cf. Shipp 1979.

[23] Cf. e.g. Meyer 1895; Viscidi 1944, 58; Coleman 2007, 795–796.

[24] Cf. Kahane and Kahane 1982, 151.

Shakespeare have since dropped out of ordinary usage, not because they were not fully integrated into the language four hundred years ago, but in spite of the fact that they were so integrated. Some of the words concerned are of Germanic origin, but others are non-Germanic and therefore loanwords in English. There is no evidence that etymology affects survival rates or that a word of foreign origin is more likely to be retained than a native word; hence there is no reason to assume that every loanword that became fully assimilated into ancient Greek has survived into modern Greek.[25]

The first systematic attempts to record the modern Greek descendants of ancient Latin loanwords were undertaken in the 19th century,[26] and the time span that separates the nineteenth century from the end of antiquity is more than three times the distance that separates us from Shakespeare. Many ancient Greek words of impeccably Greek etymology flourished in the Roman period but have since gone out of use, and thus it would be very surprising if every loanword that was common in the Roman period had survived into modern Greek. So one cannot assume that lack of attestation in modern Greek necessarily means lack of integration into ancient Greek.

These two problems do not, of course, mean that modern Greek is no help at all. If a loanword is attested in both ancient and modern Greek, the chances are excellent that it was genuinely a part of the language in antiquity. But even this type of situation does not provide a certain guarantee of integration. For example, if a word is attested in antiquity, but only in contexts that make it clear that readers are not expected to know what it means, then even if it is attested in modern Greek it was probably not an integrated loanword in antiquity; most likely it became an integrated loanword at a later stage. Thus modern Greek usage alone cannot separate the real ancient loanwords from the non-integrated foreign terms; it is essential to pay attention to modern Greek, but equally essential to look closely at ancient usage.

Another way of examining ancient usage that is sometimes overlooked in this context is observing how Latin words are used in texts known to have been written by and for Greek speakers who did not know Latin. Some examples of the sort of words one finds in such texts are given in examples 9 through 12, where Latin-derived words appear in texts definitely written by Greek speakers, in contexts that make it clear that the author expected readers to know what they meant.

9) δυνάμεις τε οὐ τὰς τυχούσας ὁ θεὸς ἐποίει διὰ τῶν χειρῶν Παύλου, ὥστε καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἀποφέρεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ χρωτὸς αὐτοῦ <u>σουδάρια</u> ἢ <u>σιμικίνθια</u> καὶ ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι ἀπ᾽ αὐτῶν τὰς νόσους, τά τε πνεύματα τὰ πονηρὰ ἐκπορεύεσθαι. (New Testament, Acts 19: 11–12)

God performed extraordinary miracles through the hands of Paul, so that even when the handkerchiefs or aprons that had touched his flesh were brought to the sick, their diseases left them and the evil spirits departed.
(Latin *sudarium, semicinctum*)

10) τότε ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῖς τὸν Βαραββᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν <u>φραγελλώσας</u> παρέδωκεν ἵνα σταυρωθῇ.
(New Testament, Matthew 27: 26)

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[25] Kahane and Kahane (1982) trace the disappearance of various types of Latin loanwords between antiquity and modern times; they assume the presence of too many real loanwords at the beginning of this process, but nevertheless their analysis of the process itself is useful.

[26] E.g. Meyer 1895.

Then he released Barabbas to them, and having whipped Jesus he handed him over to be crucified.

(Latin *flagellare*, cf. modern Greek φραγγελλώνω; note the borrowing of a verb here)

11) σχολαστικὸς <u>βράκας</u> ἀγοράσας, ἐπ‹ε›ὶ δὲ στενὰς οὔσας μόγις ὑπεδύσατο, ἐδρωπακίσατο.
(*Philogelos* 64)

A learned simpleton, having bought a pair of trousers, when he could scarcely get them on because they were too tight, applied a depilatory.

(Latin *bracae*;[27] cf. modern Greek βράκα)

12) σχολαστικὸς βιβλίον αὐτοῦ ἐπιζητῶν ἐπὶ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ μὴ εὑρίσκων, ὡς κατὰ τύχην <u>μαρούλια</u> ἤσθιεν, ἐπιστραφεὶς ἐπί τινος γωνίας εἶδε κείμενον τὸ βιβλίον. ὕστερον δὲ φίλῳ ἀπαντήσας ὀδυρομένῳ, ὡς τὴν στολὴν τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ ἀπολέσαντι· Μὴ δυσφόρει, ἔφη, ἀλλὰ <u>μαρούλια</u> ἀγοράσας καὶ ἐσθίων αὐτὰ πρὸς τὴν γωνίαν ἐπιστραφεὶς πρόσσχες, καὶ εὑρήσεις αὐτά.
(*Philogelos* 16)

A learned simpleton had looked for a book of his for several days without finding it, when by chance he was eating lettuce, and going around some corner he saw the book lying there. Afterwards when he met a friend who was upset because he had lost his garment, he said, "Don't worry, but buy some lettuce and keep going around corners while eating it, and you'll find it".

(Latin *amarus*, cf. modern Greek μαρούλι)

By using evidence of this sort it is possible to distinguish actual loanwords from foreign words mentioned in passing. Assembling a collection of all the Latin "loanwords" listed in the various comprehensive collections and eliminating those whose claim to be considered is dubious,[28] I am using evidence from the contexts in which the words are used (along with evidence from modern Greek and from phonological and morphological adaptations) to determine which were genuine loanwords. Although this process is not yet complete, a preliminary analysis suggests that approximately one-third of the words in this collection were integrated loanwords. Of the other two-thirds, many are clearly foreign words, while some may have been actual loanwords for whose status adequate evidence is now lacking.

This result yields a corpus of more than 600 integrated loanwords, which can be used to conduct tentative investigations of the characteristics that such loanwords share. Of course such investigations cannot be regarded as definitive until the corpus on which they are based is complete, but the results so far are sufficiently striking to warrant disclosure: many generalizations that have repeatedly been made about Latin "loanwords" in Greek are accurate observations about the larger collections but do not seem to apply to the corpus of integrated loanwords.

One such oft-repeated generalization concerns the restriction of "loanwords" to a few semantic fields of peripheral importance ("nonbasic vocabulary" in the terminology

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[27] Kramer (1996) has disputed the generally accepted view that this word (originally Germanic, but borrowed by the Gauls and from them again by the Romans) is a Latin loan in Greek.

[28] I.e. words first attested after 600 AD, proper names, words whose source language is probably not Latin, and words that are not really separate entities but rather variant spellings of other words in the corpus. The initial collection of alleged Latin loans contains 2,407 words and is reduced by these restrictions to 1,856 words.

of language-contact studies).[29] Thus Dubuisson[30] has observed, "*Les emprunts que le grec a faits au latin ... n'ont pas atteint également les différents domaines du lexique ni les divers niveaux de langue: ils concernent avant tout les secteurs militaire et administratif.*" Similarly Brixhe[31] remarks, "*Naturellement les sphères touchées sont essentiellement celles qui concernent la politique, la justice et l'armée.*" These generalizations are backed by a good deal of evidence: in a comprehensive collection of Latin "loanwords" in Greek the overwhelming majority of words do indeed fall into such semantic fields.

In the corpus of integrated loanwords, however, the distribution of semantic fields is very different. Words related to the military, politics, administration, and law are not infrequent in that corpus, but they are by no means the overwhelming majority. For example, none of the words in the passages quoted above come from such semantic fields; instead we have words meaning "spoon", "dish", "bank", "shoe", "brazier", "bar-keeper", "safety pin", "house", "handkerchief", "apron", 'whip", "trousers", and "lettuce". These illustrate some of the semantic fields notable in the corpus of integrated loanwords: words for clothing, household implements, eating utensils, food, and various types of shops and shopkeepers. Others are words for animals, colors, and units of measurement. These are not restricted semantic fields: these are common, everyday concepts, in some cases what linguists refer to as "basic vocabulary".[32] And in the typology of language contact, the difference between borrowing of basic and nonbasic vocabulary holds important implications for what other types of linguistic influence are likely to have occurred.[33]

Furthermore, it is hard to find semantic fields in which Latin loanwords do *not* make their presence felt. Even in that sacred preserve of Greek culture, literature, Latin loans intrude in the form of words such as κῶδιξ 'book' (from Latin *codex* and first attested in the fourth century AD), τίτλος 'title' (from Latin *titulus* and first attested in the first century AD), μεμβράνα 'parchment' (from Latin *membrana* and first attested in the first century AD), and ταβέλλα 'writing tablet, note' (from Latin *tabella* and first attested in the first century AD).

Another common observation about Latin loanwords is that most of them entered Greek at a late date, usually from the fourth to the sixth centuries.[34] Again this generalization is an accurate description of the words found in a comprehensive collection, but it does not apply to the corpus of integrated loanwords. If one takes one of the traditional comprehensive collections and counts the number of words that first appear in each century, it is indeed the case that well over half first appear in the late antique period (defined as the fourth century and later); for example in Daris's dictionary of Latin words in the papyri 64 % of the words listed first appear in or after the fourth

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[29] E.g. Thomason 2001, 70.

[30] Dubuisson 1992, 234.

[31] Brixhe 1987, 107.

[32] The presence of words of this type among the Latin loanwords has been observed before, of course (e.g. Cavenaile 1951, 403–404; Adams and Swain 2002, 17), but their numbers are usually taken to be insignificant in comparison to the mass of terminology in the peripheral fields.

[33] Cf. Thomason 2001, 70.

[34] See Mason 1974, 3, 11–12; Dubuisson 1985, 140; Dickey 2003.

century.[35] Nearly all the remainder (30 % of the total in Daris's corpus) first appear in the second or third centuries, with only a tiny number first appearing before the second century AD.

In my corpus of integrated loanwords, however, the chronological distribution is notably different. There is a significantly higher percentage of words first appearing in the earlier centuries and a significantly lower percentage first appearing later, as illustrated in Fig. 1.[36] The crossover point is the third century AD, when the percentages in the two corpora are roughly even. In my corpus, the centuries before the third all have a higher percentage of new Latin words appearing: a total of 46 % of all the words in my corpus first appear in those centuries, as opposed to only 21 % of all the words in Daris's corpus. But the centuries after the third century all have a lower percentage of new Latin words appearing in my corpus: only 41 % of all the words in my corpus first appear in those centuries, as opposed to 64 % of the words in Daris's corpus.
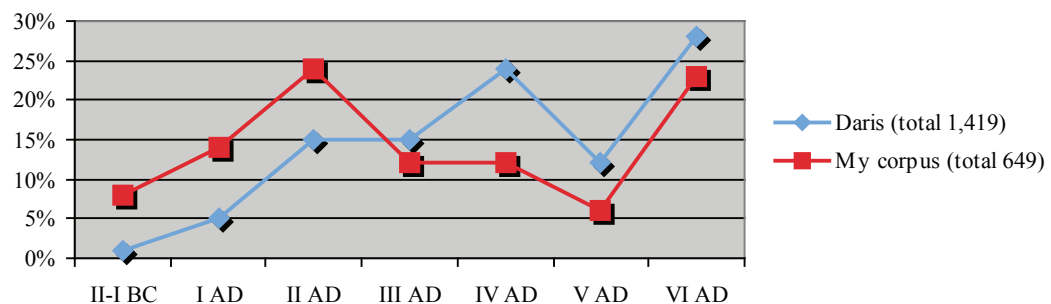

Fig. 1. Dates of first attestations of Latin loanwords in different corpora, as indicated by the percentage of words in each corpus that are first attested in each century.

Suggestions about the reasons for these differences can at this stage only be speculative: that level of analysis needs to be conducted not on the basis of preliminary figures, but rather on the basis of a finalized and fully investigated corpus.[37] In particular one would want to know more about the words that account for the differences, both those that appear in my corpus and those that do not: it may be that the reason for these differences lies more in the characteristics of the foreign words than in the characteristics of the integrated loanwords. For example, it could be that the third-century crossover point in Fig. 1 is connected to the tendency (observed by Rochette 1997, 13) for ordinary

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[35] In making this calculation I omit words first attested in the seventh and eighth centuries, in order to make Daris's collection comparable with my corpus of integrated loanwords, which includes only words attested before 600 AD. If those words were not omitted the figure would be 69 %. The raw numbers are II–I BC: 12, I AD: 65, II AD: 210, III AD: 218, IV AD: 343, V AD: 174, VI AD: 397 (VII AD: 144, VIII AD: 88). First attestations are defined as the first attestation listed by Daris, though some words in his collection are now known to have earlier attestations.

[36] Raw numbers for figure 1 are for my corpus: II–I BC: 52, I AD: 92, II AD: 157, III AD: 76, IV AD: 80, V AD: 41, VI AD: 151. All these figures are very provisional, as the corpus is not yet finalized. For raw figures for Daris's corpus see the preceding note (seventh and eighth centuries were again omitted).

[37] Among the ways that my corpus is not finalized is that it does not yet include all the loanwords in Filos (2009) and that I have not necessarily managed to find the first attestations of all the words in it, particularly when those are in inscriptions or papyri. The graph in figure 1 may well show a greater difference between the two corpora once I have identified all first attestations in those areas.

Greeks to take an interest in Latin only from the third century onwards. Perhaps there was an increase in code-switching in these later centuries.

The preliminary corpus is, however, sufficient to make clear the general characteristics of the real Latin loanwords in Greek; that is, the ones that became integrated into the language. And it is enough to show that the generalizations that have been made about Latin loanwords based on collections that consisted mostly of words never integrated into the language are systematically misleading in a number of ways. In the first place, Latin loanwords were not all rare words that did not become part of the language: in addition to the many Latin words quoted in passing by Greek authors, there is a solid group of real loanwords that became integrated into the language. In the second place, Latin loanwords were not confined to or even largely concentrated in a few peripheral areas of vocabulary; instead they were found in virtually all semantic areas including basic vocabulary. In the third place, Latin loanwords were not particularly a phenomenon of the late antique period; in fact more than half of all the Latin words that ever became integrated into ancient Greek first entered the language before the fourth century AD. What all this goes to show is that Latin influence was a more important factor in developing the lexicon of ancient Greek, and was important earlier, than has previously been acknowledged.

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