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The German Heritage in Balkan Languages

This constitutes only a short look at the German elements in Balkan languages, a topic which was discussed by numerous philologists at the end of 18th century and at the beginning of 20th century, but after World War II the discussion about this question virtually ceased. In a letter from Josef Dobrovský (1753–1829) to Bartholomäus (Jernej) Kopitar (1780–1844) we find the sentence "Wlach haben die Slawen den Gothen oder anderen deutschen abgeborgt". Answering Dobrovský, Kopitar wrote: "Wlach vides ipse (ex Walach) esse Germanicam, non Slavicam…" (Младенов, 1909, p. 18). It was the Austrian Slavist Franz Miklosich (1813–1891), founder of comparative Slavic linguistics, who wrote in a paper in 1867, published in the series of the Austrian Academy of Sciences in Vienna in 1867:

> Die Scheidung jener Bestandteile einer Sprache, welche deren ursprüngliches Eigenthum bildeten, von denjenigen, welche sie später durch Entlehnung von anderen erworben hat, ist eine den Sprach- und Alterthumsforscher in gleichem Grade interessierende Aufgabe… Auch die fremden Sprachen nachgebildeten Ausdrücke sind nicht vernachlässigt worden… serb. *dopasti se*, bulg. *dopada se*, 'placere', dem das deutsche gefallen als Vorbild zu Grunde liegt; das sveta noc der ungrischen Slovenen

beruht auf dem deutschen Weihnachten, aus dem die Böhmen *wánoc* gemacht haben, dessen erster Theil vá für weih mit einer Modifikation des Lautes beibehalten, der zweite Teil noc für Nacht übersetzt wird (Miklosich, 1867, p. 68).

It was the Dutch philologist Christian Cornelius Uhlenbeck who wrote a paper *Die germanischen Wörter im Altslavischen* in 1893 (Uhlenbeck, 1893), where he collected a considerable number of German loanwords in Old Bulgarian, however a lot of them are doubtful[1]. In 1904 the German philologist Richard Loewe treated Old German elements in Balkan languages, introducing his paper with the following remarks:

> Altgermanische Elemente in den Balkansprachen hat die Sprachwissenschaft bisher weniger beschäftigt, als dies verdientermaßen erforderlich gewesen wäre. Griechisch und Rumänisch haben germanische Elemente aus dem Lateinischen übernommen, ebenso aber auch Wörter germanischen Ursprungs direkt entlehnt. Slavische Sprachen der Balkanhalbinsel haben altgermanische Lehnwörter mit den übrigen slavischen Sprachen gemeinsam, andere germanische Elemente haben auf der Balkanhalbinsel selbst in das Slavische Eingang gefunden (Loewe, 1904, p. 265)[2].

In a critical paper on Old German elements in Slavic languages, published in 1909, the Bulgarian philologist Stefan Mladenov (*Младенов*, 1909) cited about 200 German loanwords, but only 22 seemed to him to be real German loanwords. In 1902 the German philologist Albert Thumb published a paper on the German elements in Modern Greek, in 1911 the Viennese Albanologist Norbert Jokl published another paper entitled *Studien zur albanischen Etymologie und Wortbildung*, where we find evidence for some German elements in Albanian. In his famous book *Linguistique Balkanique. Problèmes et resultats*, published 1930 in Paris, the Danish philologist and leading Balkanologist Kristian Sandfeld gave an overview of all these papers. He mentioned the fact that German loanwords entered the Greek language via Italian. The question of German loanwords in Slavic languages was also treated by the Slavists Max Vasmer (1927, 1934, 1936) and Valentin Kiparsky (1934). Old German traces in

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[1] Uhlenbeck published his dissertation on the kinship of German and Baltoslavic in 1888 at the University of Leiden, followed by his etymological dictionaries of Gothic 1896 and Sanskrit in 1898.

[2] Richard Loewe was promoted with the dissertation at the University of Leipzig *Die Dialektmischung im Magdeburgischen Gebiete*, published in 1899 in Norden. In 1899 Loewe published in Halle *Die ethnische und sprachliche Gliederung der Germanen*, followed by another book on German plant names and 1913 by a book on the free accent in Indoeuropean. See also Gamillscheg (1932, 1935).

Balkan languages were treated by the Croatian Slavist Henrik Barić in 1956. It was the Serbian linguist Ivan Pudić who published two papers in 1964 on the question of old German elements in Balkan languages and the question of a so-called "Balkangermanisch". In a second paper Pudić (1964b) identified old East German toponyms in Balkan languages. It was the Romanian philologist Adrian Poruciuc who published important papers on the lexical influence of German in the Balkan languages.

It is customary to divide the history of the German language after the history of East German Gothic into three periods. The first period, Old High German, dates from the beginning of literary tradition from the 8th century to about 1100. The oldest stratum of Old High German words reveals that the first contact of the Germans with the Romans was of a fundamental cultural significance. The second period, Middle High German, extends from about 1050 to 1350. Early New High German, the third period, extends from about 1350 to 1650, then followed by New High German lasting to the present day. The Gothic language as a language in use in Eastern Germany disappeared in the 6th century, but we know that about the year 238 there were remnants of these Eastern Germans living around the lower reaches of the Danube, ten years later they invaded Dobrudsha and, by 267 they had invaded Asia Minor and Macedonia, and in 268 they are to be found in Sparta, 271 in Dacia, and in 376 Gothic settlements were found in Moesia. In 474 the Goths migrated through Dardania, Moesia, and Macedonia, but in 488 they withdrew to Italy. The Greek language received German elements via Latin and the Romance languages, as well as via Slavic languages, while some words were borrowed directly.

Since the beginning of Modern Balkan Linguistics we speak of Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance and Balkan Greek. Yet for "Balkan German" the number of parallels seems to be too small to adopt this term. The term Balkan Sprachbund has been established due to the fact that it comprises Balkan South Slavic, as well as Bulgarian, Macedonian and Serbian, Albanian, Romanian and Modern Greek. Only a small number of German elements, Germanisms, are to be found in all these parts of the Balkan Peninsula, which had remained in contact with German tribes, e.g. the Goths in Serbia, Bulgaria, Romania and Greece. As was to be expected there was early German influence due to the contacts with the Habsburg Empire and its "military frontier" and also the technical evolution in the 19th century, which led to many contacts in certain fields of culture and technology. During this time not only Serbian, but also the Romanian and Bulgarian languages received a considerable number of German loanwords.

At the present moment, there is no "battle" against Germanisms, as there was against Turkisms, which diminished considerably in those parts of the Balkans where the standard languages had more time to establish themselves. Loanwords generally are to be found in different lexical fields, e.g. color terms, body, parts of kinship terms. In Bulgarian the German borrowings are mostly military and technical terms and they date from the nineteenth and twentieth century. Macedonia´s first western contact language was Italian, particularly Venetian. French and German words did not enter the Macedonian language before the nineteenth century. German terms are especially evident in vocabulary relating to technology introduced before 1944.

With respect to Old Church Slavonic/Old Bulgarian, as the oldest written tradition besides Greek in the Balkan languages, patterns of borrowings from German accounts for the largest group of borrowings, about forty in number, for instance *kenędzъ* with the meaning 'ruler, prince', *chlěbъ* with the meaning of 'bread', with an adjective *chlěbъnъ*. Borrowed verbs are usually conjugated in both aspects, for example perfective *kupiti*, imperfective *kupovati*, with the meaning 'to buy', from Gothic.

The history, sometimes also the prehistory of a linguistic form is revealed by tracing its phonetic, graphic and semantic development from the earliest available records, observing its course of transmission from one language to another, analysis of its component parts, identification of its cognates in other languages, and tracing it and its cognates back to a common ancestral form in the recorded or assumed parent language (cf. Gove, 1966, pp. 7–8). Etymology as a branch of linguistics deals with the origin and history of words, tracing them back to their earliest ascertainable base in a given language group, e.g. words of human kinship like Old Bulgarian *bratrъ*, *mati* have their parallels in other Indo-European languages, so they cannot be loanwords from German. Thus the etymon is the original form which supplies the etymology of a given word, e.g. Latin *caballus* is the etymon of French *cheval*, Italian *cavallo* and Spanish *caballo*. Thus we can speak about reflexes, e.g. the descendant of an older form, e.g. Italian *uomo* is the reflex of Latin *homo*. We find similar examples in Old Bulgarian, alongside Greek, which has the oldest written tradition as a Balkan language. It seems to be the case that more than one Indo-European parallel guarantees that we have the original etymology, but if there is only one parallel, especially a German one, we can suppose that those elements are of German origin, that these words are German loanwords in Old Bulgarian. The question remains whether

there are loan-shifts or translations or German loanwords, words borrowed or adapted from another language, German, Old German or Gothic. In any case loanwords are new forms in the borrower´s speech adapted from the donor along with the relevant object or practice it represents. It must be always a free form. The acquisition of a loanword in a Balkan language sometimes constitutes a lexical change. It often constitutes or entails a semantic change, it may even entail a change of form, or other types of changes, including grammatical changes, alternations, phonetic and phonemic changes. So we find Balkan Slavic words, which are also to be found in East and West Slavic languages. Thus they must have been borrowed during the period of Common Slavic, or they could be etymological correspondences, e. g. *mati* and *bratrъ*, belonging as kinship terms to the oldest sphere of the word-stock, but words like *chlěbъ*, *kъnęzъ*, *penęzъ*, *vitęzъ*, *buky* and *bljudo* seem to be German borrowings, not to be found in other Indo-European languages other than German. It also seems to be evident, that the name for the river Danube was borrowed from the Gothic population, because *Dunaj* cannot be derived from Latin *Danubius*, nor from the Thracian name, but perhaps from a Germanic, probably Gothic form[3]. In Serbia we find, for example, the name *Fruška Gora*, derived from the name for Franconians, the name of Charles the Great became a lexeme with the meaning of 'king', Serbian *kralj*, in Croatia only in the 10th century (Schneeweis, 1960). The word is found in all Slavic languages, but in Old Bulgarian we find the translation *cěsarъ*, which corresponds to Greek *βασιλένς*. Borrowings are found in Serbia and Croatia since the 13th century, brought in by German-speaking miners. After 1526 there was narrow contact with Austria-Hungary, bringing elements of material culture together with its terminology, especially in the fields of handicraft, house-building and agriculture.

It was Christian Cornelius Uhlenbeck, who followed Franz Miklosich in describing the German words in Old Bulgarian in 1893 comparing them with Lithuanian:

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[3] See: „In letzter Zeit ist verschiedentlich behauptet worden …, der rumänische Name Dunare(a) für die Donau sei auf ein thrakisches *Donaris oder *Dunaris zurückzuführen, für welches man leider keine Belege aus den thrakischen Sprachresten beibringen kann" (Vasmer, 1947, p. 316).

See also: „*Dunavъ*, wegen abg. -*u*- kann der Name nicht auf lat. *Danubia* zurückgehen, sondern weist wie *buky*, *plugъ* u.a. auf germ. Ursprung" (Loewe, 1904, p. 326).

"Die Zahl der germanischen Wörter im Altslavischen dagegen ist sehr bedeutend und liefert uns ein lebendiges Zeugnis der höheren Cultur des germanischen Stammes… Schon mehrmals hat man viele dieser germanischen Wörter im Altslavischen gesammelt, und dem unsterblichen Franz von Miklosich gebührt das Verdienst, auch auf diesem Gebiete der slavischen Sprachforschung den richtigen Weg eingeschlagen zu haben… Und doch scheint es mir, dass eine Uebersicht der germanischen Lehnwörter im Altslavischen, welche einigermaßen Vollständigkeit beanspruchen kann, noch nicht existiert, was wohl darin seinen Grund hat, dass es so oft kaum zu entscheiden ist, ob die Germanen oder die Slaven Entlehner waren" (Uhlenbeck, 1893, p. 481).

Let us have now a look on examples, given by August Leskien in his *Handbuch der altbulgarischen (altkirchenslavischen) Sprache*, first published in 1872, edited in a 10th edition in 1990[4]:

synъ = 'son', Lithuanian *súnus*, Sanskrit *sunus*;

mati = 'mother', Lithuanian *motė*, Latin *mater*, Greek *μήτηρ*, Sanskrit *mata*;

bratrъ = 'brother', Lithuanian *broter-elis* (dem.), Latin *frater*, Greek *φρατήρ*, Sanskrit *bhratar*;

sněgъ = 'snow', Lithuanian *snegas*, Old Prussian *snaigis*, Gothic *snaiws*;

cělъ = 'sound', Old Prussian *kail-istiskan* = 'health', Gothic *hails*;

ljud′je = 'people', Latvian *laudis*, Old German *luit* = 'folk', ide.*leudh*;

ljubъ = 'beloved', Gothic *liufs*, ide.*leubho*;

Serbian *rudъ* = 'reddish', to be compared with *ruda* = 'ore', Lithuanian *raũdas*, *raũda* = 'red color', Gothic *rauþs*;

cьrky =*cirky*, Bulgarian *cârkva*, Serbian *crkva*, perhaps from Gothic **kiriko*, Old German *chiriccha*. The source of German words must be Greek *κυριακόν*, perhaps from German *kircha*, Greek *εκκλεσία*, *ίερον*.[5]

kъnęzъ = 'prince', Old German *kuning* ('king'), *kъnęgyni* = 'princess';

penęzi = 'coin, money', Bulgarian *penez* = 'coins as finery', Serbian *penezi* pl. 'money', from German *penning* (Pfennig), Greek *δενάριον*; the word must be borrowed not before 700, perhaps during the time of Charles the Great, a Franconian coin was produced about 650.

cěsarь = *καίσαρ* = 'king', *βασιλένς*, emperor, *kesar*, *καίσαρ* as a Roman emperor, different to *cěsarь* with the meaning *βασιλένς*.[6]

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[4] See also „Die dem slavischen von fremdher zugekommenen wörter wird man beachtet finden, ebenso jene slavischen wörter, welche in fremde sprachen eingedrungen sind. Welche sprache als die entlehnende, welche als die gebende anzusehen sei, lehrt der zusammenhang…" (Miklosich, 1886, p. VIII).

[5] See Loewe (1904, p. 326).

[6] See also: „*cěsarь*, Bezeichnung ursprünglich nur für den byzantinischen Kaiser, Konstantinopel – *cěsarьgradъ*. Symeon (888–937) eroberte von den Byzantinern den größten Teil der

buky = 'letter', Old Bulgarian *bukvi*, Bulgarian *bukva*, Serbian *buk*. There must be a connection with the name of the tree "beech", German origin is certain (Loewe, 1904, p. 326).

chlěbъ = 'bred', Old Bulgarian *chlěbъ* = ἄρτος, Serbian *hleb*, *hljeb*, Germanic borrowing more likely than Gothic *hlais* = 'bred'.

Concerning German loanwords in Old Greek, Paul Kretschmer mentions in 1934 the Greek word πύρΥος, borrowed from German *Burg*, or Gothic *baurgs*, or Old German *burg*. In his paper on Nordic borrowings in Old Greek he writes:

"Wir kommen also zu dem Ergebnis, dass ein nordbalkanischer Stamm diesen Terminus der Befestigungskunst aus dem Altgermanischen entlehnt hatte und an die Griechen weitergab. In Betracht kommen hier als Vermittler die Illyrier, deren Urheimat in der Nachbarschaft der Germanen lag und die weit nach Süden vorgestoßen zu Nachbarn der Griechen wurden" (Kretschmer, 1934, p. 100).

In his paper on Balkan German and German in Albanian Norbert Jokl in 1929 mentions *shpatis* = 'to laugh at, to deride, to scoff at', tracing it back to Old or Middle German *spot*, German *Spott*, by mediation of Serbo-Croatian. The word *minc* = 'coin', is not only found in Albanian, but also in other Balkan languages, e.g. Bulgarian *minc*, Serbo-Croatian *minca* has the same meaning. This word spread easily along trade routes on the Balkan Peninsula (Jokl, 1929, p. 100, see also Jokl, 1911).

In addition to all these lexical borrowings, mention must also be made of some toponyms with a German background, parallels to names with the root *Goti* in France, Spain and Italy, so in Transylvania the Munte Gotului und Pirâul Gotului. The name of a castle in Thrace is Bastarnas, probably the name of a German tribe Bastarnae, which invaded the Balkan peninsula in the second century before Christ. Near Nikšić in Crna Gora we find the toponym Onogošt, perhaps the Gothic personal name Anagasts, the toponym Gacko, the name of the river Gacka can be derived from *Goti*, Slavic *gata* and *gat-iski* (Pudić, 1964a, pp. 863–869).

The result of all these observations is the fact, that there is no Germanic substrat or adstrat like the Romanian or Greek adstrat. The German influence

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Balkanhalbinsel, legte sich selbst den Titel „cěsarъ" bei, indem er sich als „Kaiser der Bulgaren und Römer (d. h. Griechen), bezeichnete, spätere Übernahme des Titels durch die Herrscher Russlands und Serbiens, Byzantiner bezeichneten ihrer Herrscher als βασιλέυς, wo haben die Balkanslaven das Wort cěsarъ entlehnt? Lautliche Gründe sprechen für germanischen Ursprung" (Loewe, 1904, p. 326).

is restricted to the lexicon and some toponyms spread over the Balkan peninsula. Regarding the paper of Ivan Pudić given during the Ninth International Congress of Linguists in The Hague in 1964 with the title "Die altgermanischen Elemente in den Balkansprachen", the following critical remarks were made by Henrik Birnbaum:

"Den Hauptfehler des Beitrages von Herrn Prof.Pudić sehe ich darin, dass er glaubt, das Balkangermanische, d.h. das Bibelgotische sowie germanisches Namengut auf dem Balkan, mehr oder weniger als einen Bestrandteil des balkanischen Sprachbundes behandeln zu dürfen, obgleich dieser Sprachbund, wenn es ihn je als solchen gegeben hat, erst viel später zustande kam" (Birnbaum, 1964, p. 869).

Concluding these short remarks I would like to agree with Henrik Birnbaum that there are no factors or elements of Germanic origin constituting the Balkan Sprachbund. The Balkan Sprachbund is the result of Romance, Greek and Slavic adstrats, perhaps also some substrats and developed after the time of the Germanic influence. Three periods of borrowing Germanic elements in the Balkans can be distinguished: the first period, which is connected with the Gothic language since the 6th century, remnants of the Gothic language are found in the toponymy of Balkan regions during an "onomastic period", followed by a "period of lexical borrowings". It must have been from Old High German that some words were borrowed, especially nouns, which we find in Old Bulgarian texts. The third period is connected with High German, from which a lot of nouns have been borrowed into Serbian (Schneeweis, 1960), Bulgarian, and also some into Romanian and Modern Greek (Thumb, 1902).

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Dziedzictwo germańskie w językach bałkańskich

W słownictwie każdego z języków bałkańskich występują pewne germańskie elementy, poczynając od starobułgarskich tekstów biblijnych, a kończąc na współczesnych językach bałkańskich, jakimi są: bułgarski, macedoński, serbski, albański, rumuński i nowogrecki. W badaniach nad etymologią należy wyraźnie rozgraniczać dwa nurty rozwojowe: germański i bałkański. Katalog zapożyczeń ograniczamy do wyrazów obecnych w językach bałkańskich, których etymologię możemy prześledzić wstecz do gockiego, staro- i środkowo-wysoko-niemieckiego oraz współczesnego niemieckiego. Nie tylko słownictwo, lecz także onomastyka wykazują okazjonalnie wpływy niemieckie, jednak w żadnym razie nie ma podstaw, by mówić o germańskim substracie czy adstracie w takim sensie, w jakim mówimy o substracie trackim czy iliryjskim, bądź adstracie romańskim lub greckim.

Słowa kluczowe: języki germańskie; języki bałkańskie; „bałkański germański"

The German Heritage in Balkan Languages

All Balkan languages show some German elements in their vocabulary, beginning with Old Bulgarian Bible texts up to modern Balkan languages, including Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbian, Albanian, Romanian and Modern Greek. Etymologies of Balkan words and German words must be distinguished. Loanwords in Balkan languages are confined to words which

are traceable back to Germanic languages, e. g. Gothic, Old and Middle High German and contemporary German. Not only the word store but also onomastics were occasionally influenced by German languages, but it is not possible to speak of a German substrat or adstrat in the way we can speak of a Thracian or Illyrian substrat, or Greek or Romance adstrat.

Keywords: German languages; Balkan languages; "Balkan German"

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