

ARCHIVVM
LATINITATIS MEDII AEVI

COMITÉ DE RÉDACTION

A.-M. TURCAN-VERKERK, B. POTTIER, présidents
F. DOLBEAU, A. DUFOUR, A. GUERREAU-JALABERT, J. HAMESSE, D.R. HOWLETT,
B. MUNK OLSEN, M. RZEPIELA, Z. SILAGIOVÁ, P. SMIRAGLIA, P. STOTZ,
J.-Y. TILLIETTE, P. TOMBEUR, O. WEIJERS, A. WELLHAUSEN

COMITÉ DE LECTURE

- (Allemagne-Autriche-Suisse) M. P. Orth, Universität zu Köln, Institut für Altertumskunde, Mittellateinische Abteilung, Albertus-Magnus-Platz, D-50923 Köln
- (France) M^{me} P. Bourgain, École des Chartes, 19, rue de la Sorbonne, F-75005 Paris
- (Grande-Bretagne) Dr C. White, Dictionary of Medieval Latin, 302 Clarendon Building, Bodleian Library, Broad Street, Oxford, OX1 3BG, United Kingdom
- (Irlande) M. A. Harvey, Dictionary of Medieval Latin from Celtic Sources, Royal Irish Academy, 19 Dawson Street, Dublin 2, Ireland
- (Italie) M. A. Bartola, Università degli Studi di Roma 'La Sapienza', Facoltà di Lettere, Filosofia, Scienze Umanistiche e Studi orientali, Dipartimento di Storia, Culture, Religioni, Viale Regina Elena 295, I-00161 Roma
- M. A. De Prisco, Università degli Studi di Verona, Dipartimento di Linguistica, Letteratura e Scienze della Comunicazione, Viale dell'Università, I-37129 Verona
- (Pays-Bas) M^{me} M.J. Teeuwen, Constantijn Huygens Instituut, Prins Willem-Alexanderhof 5, Postbus 90754, NL-2509 LT 's-Gravenhage
- (Pays scandinaves) M^{me} E. Odelman, Romanska och klassiska institutionen, Stockholms universitet, S-106 91 Stockholm
- (Péninsule ibérique) M. M. Pérez González, Universidad de León, Filosofía y letras, Estudios clásicos, Campus de Vegazana, E-24071 León
- M^{me} E. Pérez Rodríguez, Universidad de Valladolid, Dpto. Filología Clásica (Latín), Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, Universidad de Valladolid, Pl. del Campus s/n, E-47011 Valladolid
- M. Pere J. Quetglas, Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis Cataloniae, Consell Superior d'Investigacions Científiques, Carrer Egipcíaques 15, E-08001 Barcelona

La Revue publie des notes et des articles relatifs à la langue latine médiévale et aux instruments de la vie intellectuelle depuis le VI^e siècle jusqu'à la Renaissance. Les manuscrits, accompagnés d'un fichier numérique, doivent être envoyés au Comité Du Cange, Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 23, quai de Conti, F-75270 Paris Cedex 06. Il est possible aussi de les adresser à un membre du comité de rédaction ou du comité de lecture.

Les normes de rédaction de la Revue sont téléchargeables à cette adresse :

<http://www.aibl.fr/publications/autres-collections/archivum-latinitatis-medii-aevi/>.

On y trouvera également les sommaires des dernières livraisons et, à compter de 2011, les résumés des articles et des notes.

Il est interdit de reproduire tout ou partie du fascicule sans l'accord de l'éditeur.

Pour les demandes d'abonnement ou l'achat de volumes isolés, écrire à :
Librairie Droz, 11 rue Massot Case Postale 389, 1211 Genève 12 - Suisse

UNION ACADÉMIQUE INTERNATIONALE

Bulletin du Cange

ARCHIVVM

LATINITATIS MEDII AEVI

CONSOCIATARVM ACADEMIARVM AVSPICIIS CONDITVM

TOME 73



2015

Librairie Droz – Genève

Publié avec le concours de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes (Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique) et de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris.

ISSN 1376-74-53

ISBN 978-2-87043-014-9

Language Change in the Dictionary of Polish Medieval Latin*

Although concerned with only one period, the *Dictionary of the Polish Medieval Latin*¹ is centred on changes in language. From its first fascicle, published over 60 years ago in the 1953, until the very last, which stops at the entry STO, the dictionary has attempted to give a comprehensive account of how Latin developed in Poland between the 11th and the mid-16th century². In the 2014 also an electronic version of the first volumes of the dictionary was launched³. The web application will eventually be a place for testing new ways of representing the diachronic dimension of Polish Latin vocabulary, addressing at both expert and novice users.

The present paper demonstrates how information about language change is reflected in the macro- and microstructure of the dictionary. First, the linguistic context of the evolution of Latin in Poland is briefly sketched. In the second and main part of the paper, the lexicographic treatment of word formation and semantic change in the *LMILP* is described in more detail. In the conclusions, some perspectives for improving access to data on language change are suggested.

* The research in this paper was partially supported by a research grant of the National Humanities Development Programme (*Fontes Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum. The electronic corpus of the Polish Medieval Latin*, 0045/FNiTP/H11/80/2011). Its first version was presented during the 7th International Conference on Historical Lexicography and Lexicology held in July 2014 at the University of Las Palmas.

¹ Marian PLEZIA, Krystyna WEYSSENHOFF-BROŻKOWA, Michał RZEPIELA (ed.), *Lexicon mediae et infimae Latinitatis Polonorum*. Kraków, 1953-2015. Hereafter referred to as *LMILP*.

² On the history of the enterprise, see Marian PLEZIA, *Lexicon mediae et infimae latinitatis Polonorum*, in Marian PLEZIA, *Scripta minora. Łacina średniowieczna i Wincenty Kadłubek*, Kraków, 2001, p. 47-60. The history of the European network of Medieval Latin dictionaries is recounted for by Bruno Bon (in the present volume).

³ It may be found at <http://scriptores.pl/lexicon>.

Medieval Latin in Poland : stability and change

The reason why language change is given prominence in the *LMILP* lies to some extent in its design : the chronological and geographical scope of the dictionary has been defined so broadly that the diachronic approach is inherently promoted. On the one hand, the territory subsumed under the name of Poland includes regions that were only loosely or temporarily connected with the Polish reign during the Middle Ages, or which, due to their geographical location, were at the crossroads of different vernacular cultures. On the other hand, not only is the length of the period that the dictionary covers significantly large (ca. 550 years), but it also overlaps with the early Renaissance era.⁴ Apart from that, however, it is the character and the conditions under which Latin developed in Poland that have determined the role that language change must play in the lexicographic description.

Certainly, there were many factors that hindered Medieval Latin from undergoing changes typical of vernacular languages and which eventually decided its relative conservatism. First of all, the Latin language was transmitted during the Middle Ages mainly in learned circles, in cathedral schools, universities etc. Secondly, it was being employed in a great part for formal and «high language» communication, for literary compositions, scientific writings, theological discussions etc. Thirdly, Medieval Latin is claimed to have inherited lexical and grammatical features from its classical rather than from late or «vulgar» counterpart⁵. Finally, preserving «purity» of the language might have been greatly facilitated by the clear distinction which existed between its written and oral form⁶.

Even so, however, the Medieval Latin language underwent an evolution as medieval institutions changed over the centuries and as medieval Europe came into contact with external cultures⁷. Furthermore, apart from the changes which affected the core of the language, each of its regional variants was subject to modifications typical of the specific sociolinguistic context it was used in.⁸

⁴ As Marian PLEZIA, the first editor of the dictionary, claimed in his *Praemonenda* to the dictionary's first fascicle, the chronological boundaries were expanded to provide a reference work that would meet the needs of Polish readers studying Copernicus' *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* (ed. princeps 1543) or early Renaissance poetry.

⁵ Arthur G. RIGG, «Medieval Latin Philology. Introduction», in Frank Anthony Carl MANTELLO, Arthur G. RIGG (ed.), *Medieval Latin : an introduction and bibliographical guide*, Washington, 1996, p. 71-74.

⁶ Peter STOTZ, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters*. V. 1. *Einleitung, Lexikologische Praxis, Wörter und Sachen, Lehnwortgut*. München, 2002, p. 10-11.

⁷ Arthur G. RIGG, «Medieval Latin Philology...», p. 75.

⁸ As a matter of fact, it is precisely because of the regional and chronological diversification of Medieval Latin that (apart from such organizational issues concerning the texts available, amount of work needed, etc.) the original idea of preparing a pan-European dictionary of Medieval Latin was abandoned soon after the work on collecting citations had begun in the early 1920s. Even

Polish Medieval Latin was not different in this respect. It is true that since the links between Latin and Polish were looser than those between Latin and Romance languages⁹, Latin was also more immune to innovations. However, the status Latin enjoyed in Poland was similar to that in other countries: it was an «acquired second language»¹⁰. Although Medieval Latin was a vehicle for Christianization and, as such, became the language of secular and ecclesiastical institutions, throughout the Western world, it was gradually adjusted in order to express peculiarities of the Polish culture and, eventually, had a significant impact on the emerging structures of the Polish language¹¹. Conversely, despite the fact it was a superior language in terms of its developmental stage, Latin did not escape the influence of Polish speakers, especially those whose proficiency in this foreign language was far from excellent¹².

Already from this brief account it may become clear what the main areas and possible sources of language contact and change in Polish Medieval Latin are, and, more generally, what information a regional Medieval Latin dictionary is

today, this old idea seems at best doubtful to many (Peter STOTZ, *Handbuch...*, p. 206; Richard SHARPE, «Vocabulary, word formation, and lexicography», in Frank Anthony Carl MANTELLO, Arthur G. RIGG, *Medieval Latin; an introduction and bibliographical guide*, Washington, 1996, p. 93-95), however, it is still worth rethinking (Bruno BON, Krzysztof NOWAK, «Wiki Lexicographica. Linking Medieval Latin Dictionaries with Semantic MediaWiki», in Iztok KOSEM, Jelena KALLAS, Polona GANTAR, Simon KREK, Margit LANGEMENTS, Maria TUULIK (ed.), *Electronic lexicography in the 21st century: thinking outside the paper. Proceedings of the eLex 2013 conference, 17-19 October 2013, Tallinn, Estonia*, Tallinn, Ljubljana, p. 407-420). Whatever we think of the idea today, it does not change the fact that the original plea of the Union Académique Internationale, addressed to the European research community and expressing demand for a Pan-European medieval Latin dictionary, gave a powerful stimulus for emerging national Latin dictionaries such as the *LMILP*. For more on the process, see Bruno BON (in the present volume).

⁹ This is how Marian PLEZIA («La structure du latin médiéval d'après les données fournies par le Ier volume du dictionnaire polonais», *ALMA*, 28, 1958, p. 271-284) explains why in Medieval Latin only a relatively small number of borrowings from Polish can be found. The same rule seems to apply to the British, Irish (Peter STOTZ, *Handbuch...*, p. 11) and Slavic languages (Krystyna WEYSSENHOFF-BROŻKOWA, *Wpływ polszczyzny na łacinę średniowieczną w Polsce*, Kraków, 1991, p. 9): Latin there experienced significantly fewer innovations because of the distance that separated its phonological and morpho-syntactic system from that of the vernacular. At the same time, such phenomena as borrowings, calques etc. which we observe in Medieval Latin texts often seem to be *ad hoc* creations of a very limited geographical and chronological distribution (Krystyna WEYSSENHOFF-BROŻKOWA, *Wpływ...*, p. 16). Such «anomalous» uses only seldom become a stable feature of the language system and, to make things even worse, due to very scanty evidence, we are rarely capable of deciding whether they are «typical of linguistic community or a matter of idiosyncratic or erroneous use» (Donald A. RINGE, Joseph F. ESKA, *Historical linguistics: toward a twenty-first century reintegration*, Cambridge, New York, 2013, p. 60).

¹⁰ Michael W. HERREN, «Latin and the vernacular languages», in Frank Anthony Carl MANTELLO, Arthur G. RIGG (ed.) *Medieval Latin*, p. 124.

¹¹ Latin has deeply influenced Polish phonology, grammar, syntax and vocabulary (Jan SAFAREWICZ, *Wpływ łaciński na system gramatyczny polszczyzny*, Kraków, Wrocław, Warszawa, 1972).

¹² According to Krystyna WEYSSENHOFF-BROŻKOWA (*Wpływ*, p. 6) such uses do not change the language in a permanent way, but are only ephemeral, yet observable reflections of the Polish language in the Latin *superstratum*.

expected to provide, so that its user considers it a convenient research tool. In the ideal situation, it should, then, account for :

- evolution of Medieval Latin from Classical and post-Classical Latin ;
- synchronic development of Medieval Latin as a consequence of changing social conditions, coming in contact with non-European cultures, etc. ;
- «dialectal» specificities of the regional variations of Latin ;
- consequences of language contact and in particular the influence of the vernacular languages on Latin as a second acquired language.

In the *LMILP* special emphasis has been placed on the first and the last of the features listed above, whereas no or significantly less attention has been paid to the second and the third issue, respectively. In the next section, I will demonstrate how both Classical Latin heritage and vernacular influence are expressed in the *LMILP*. The chapter is organised according to two major components in the process of language change, namely word formation and semantic change.

Word formation in the *LMILP*

CLASSICAL HERITAGE AND LEXICAL LOANS

Whether or not a specific word has already been attested in Classical or Late Latin can be ascertained from a list of the dictionaries in which it can be found, this list is an obligatory component of each entry. For example, in the entry *SOCIETAS* 'society', «*SOCIETAS*, -atis *f.* F. Th. Bl. S. Dc. B. L. A. H. Ha. N. K. O. W. (...)», the character string «F. Th. Bl. S.» means indirectly that the word in question was already known in the Classical and post-Classical era and that its use continued in Patristic literature, as shown by the references (F., T., Bl. S.) to, respectively, FORCELLINI's *Lexicon*¹³, the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*¹⁴, *Dictionnaire des auteurs chrétiens*¹⁵ and SLEUMER's *Kirchenlateinisches Wörterbuch*¹⁶. The same list also serves the purpose of encoding synchronic information, since it includes references to regional Medieval Latin dictionaries. Equipped with the abbreviation list, an interested reader may then learn that the word *societas* was in fact in general use in Medieval Latin, since in Poland it was known in a territory covered by modern Hungary, United Kingdom, Italy,

¹³ Egidio FORCELLINI, Giuseppe FURLANETTO, Vincenzo DE VIT, *Totius latinitatis lexicon*, Patavii, 1858.

¹⁴ *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*, Stuttgart, München, Berlin, 1900-.

¹⁵ Albert BLAISE, *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi : praesertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens*, Turnhout, 1975.

¹⁶ Albert SLEUMER, Joseph SCHMID, *Kirchenlateinisches Wörterbuch*, Limburg a. d. Lahn, 1926.

Finland, and former Yugoslavia, and so on¹⁷. The lack of any of the sigla F., Th., S. or Bl. in the entry suggests that the word was coined during the Middle Ages.

If this is the case and the word is of medieval origin, the entry is necessarily provided with an etymological account. In the *LMILP* this takes a simplified form, usually with only *etymon* and language label being recorded on a regular basis. No language label is given, however, when a Latin loanword is at issue. Generally, there is no attempt to distinguish between those non-Latin words which have been imported directly from vernacular languages and those which were imported into Polish Latin indirectly, via some regional variation of Medieval Latin. At the level of the etymological note, the description of a Polish borrowing is not any different from a French or Italian one, as the following examples of Polish, French and Italian loans demonstrate : «SLEDZIWKA, -ae f. (Pol. śledziówka)» [‘a fish barrel’, from Polish *śledź* ‘herring’] ; «SATINUM, -i n. (Fr. satin)» [‘satin’, from French *satin*] ; «SCATULA (...), -ae f. (It. scatola)» [‘a casket’, from Italian *scatula*].

More extensive reference to the Polish linguistic context is included if the word of foreign origin is believed to be imported with Polish term acting as an intermediary. This is the case, for example, of such borrowings from German, as *schala* ‘a bowl’ which are reconstructed by enumerating both, e.g. Polish and German, etyma, e.g. «SCHALA (...), -ae f. (Germ. Schale, Pol. szala)».

WORD FORMATION PROCESS AND ETYMOLOGY

The details of the process of word formation are presented in a more or less explicit way. If the lemma is a product of suffix derivation, only its root is specified, as in the entry for the adj. *spasmaticus* ‘suffering from spasm’, one will find only laconic etymological note «*spasma*» which should be interpreted as a reference to the Classical Latin noun *spasma* : «SPASMATICUS, -a, -um (*spasma*)».

It should be mentioned, however, that there is no direct way in which one could tell from the etymology only whether the word was borrowed from a medieval or classical root, as the example of coinages stemming from medieval terms shows, e.g. *scotisans* ‘a follower of Duns Scotus, Scotist’ : «SCOTISANS, -ntis m. (Scotus Duns)».

Prefixed forms are accounted for in even more succinct way, that is, by printing the headword with a hyphen separating the root from the prefix. This

¹⁷ The sigla B., L., A. H., K. point to *resp.* Antal BARTAL, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis regni Hungariae*, Lipsiae, 1901 ; Ronald Edward LATHAM, *Revised medieval latin wordlist from British and Irish sources*, London, 1980 ; Pasquale SMIRAGLIA, Francesco ARNALDI, *Latinitatis Italicae medii aevi lexicon (saec. V ex. - saec. XI in.)*, Firenze, 2001 ; Reino HAKAMIES, *Glossarium Latinitatis Medii Aevi Finlandicae*, Helsinki, 1958 ; Marko KOSTRENČIĆ, *Lexicon latinitatis medii aevi Iugoslaviae*, Zagreb, 1969.

subtle convention allows for distinguishing a medieval compound *satisbonus* 'innocent' (written as «SATIS-BONUS») from a *satisfactio* 'satisfaction', the latter being coined already in Antiquity and, as such, deprived of any etymological hints (written simply as «SATISFACTIO»).

If their constituents do not correspond exactly to a dictionary headword¹⁸, compounds are reconstructed by means of a phrase of «X et Y» 'X and Y' type, as can be concluded from the examples of *simplifico* 'to simplify', *saxiphagia* 'rockfoils' and - in more verbose way – *sołfiszatio* 'solmisation' : «SIMPLIFICO (...) (simplex et facio)», «SAXIPHAGIA (...) (saxum et φάγειν)», «SOLFISATIO (...) (a syllabis musicalibus sol, mi, fa)».

Changes which affected the inflectional type of a word are marked by specifying historical endings. In the following example, one is to infer that *socrus* 'son-in-law' is attested in the Middle Ages as a 2nd declension (terminating in -i), while in the Antiquity it was mainly known as a 4th declension noun (terminating in -us) : «SOCRUS, -i (socrus, -us)».

Until now, only those examples of etymology which did not pose any serious problem to the lexicographers have been cited. As one may suppose, this is not always the case and the lexicographers do not hesitate to express their doubts by marking the etymological account with a question mark, as in the example of *socrea* 'probably : mother-in-law' : «SOCREA, -ae f. (socera?)» ; or by providing more than one alternative reconstruction of the derivational basis. Words of unknown origin, such as *sobriga* 'bittersweet, *Solanum dulcamara* Linn.', are marked as such with a label *orig. inc.*, an abbreviation which stands for (*vox*) *originis incertae* '(word) of uncertain origin' : «SOBRIGA, -ae f. (*orig. inc.*)».

For words of oriental origin, often only a general language label is provided, as is the case of *scacus* 'chess', with entries such a *saphea* 'a kind of astrolabium' being an exception : «SCACUS (...) (*vox Arab. vel. Pers.*)» ['word of Arabian or Persian origin'] ; «SAPHEA (...) (*Arab. al-Safihat*)». Such a simplified note, which specifies language of provenance only, is also employed when the word is believed to be borrowed from vernacular language without any orthographic change. This is easily seen when comparing such entries as *scarsella* 'leather bag' and *scatula* 'case, chest', of which the first is attested in Latin with the same spelling as in Italian, while the latter was subject to a slight phonetic assimilation : «SCARSELLA, -ae f. (*vox It.*) ['word of Italian origin']» and «SCATULA (...), -ae f. (*It. scatola*)».

¹⁸ As is the case of the aforementioned lexemes : *satisbonus* is derived from the adv. *satis* and the adj. *bonus*, *satisfactio*, in its turn, may be reconstructed as a compound of adv. *satis* and n. *factio*.

ANOMALIES AND GHOST WORDS

Finally, in historical dictionaries such as the *LMILP* one usually comes across numerous words which, although they appear in editions or manuscripts, seem nevertheless (at least to the lexicographers trained in reading standardized texts) to be coined by mistake. When this is the case, the word is promoted to a regular entry, but at the same time the lexicographer expresses his or her doubts about the word's status. In the following example, *sanguiviolentus* 'bloody' is suggested to be a «corrupt» form of the Classical Latin *sanguinolentus*: «SANGUIVIOLENTUS (...) (*e sanguinolentus depravatam*)».

The same standardizing approach, this time imbued with a strong contrastive orientation, is found in the dictionary section which directly precedes sense definitions; its main role is to account for those peculiarities of the word inflection which, according to the classical norm, would be anomalous. Leaving aside the prescriptive bias of such a description, this particular section allows lexicographers to gather in one place information about the uses which, in light of the evidence, do not merit promotion to regular linguistic features, but, instead, are considered errors, writer's idiosyncrasies or deviations from the regular use. In the example of the word *scribo* 'to write', the «anomaly» section contains two forms, *scribisti* and *scriberi*, which, as the corpus search shows, were not attested either in Classical Latin or in the writings of Ecclesiastical Fathers: «SCRIBO (...) *perf. a stirpe praes. scribisti* (...) *inf. scriberi*». *Scribisti*, instead of *scripsisti* 'you wrote' is a perfective form incorrectly derived from the present root (*perf. a stirpe praes.*); *scriberi* instead of *scribi* 'to be written' is a non-standard present passive infinitive of the 3rd conjugation verb, coined most probably by analogy to verbs of different conjugations.

In the next section our focus will shift to various phenomena of semantic change, in which describing the Classical Latin background and the vernacular component is just as important as it is for explaining word formation.

Semantic change

CONSEQUENCES OF CONTRASTIVENESS

As one can conclude from the previous section, apart from abbreviations, typographic hints etc. a good deal of information in the *LMILP* is conveyed by means of contrastive description, which either assumes prior knowledge on the part of the dictionary user or more or less explicitly refers to other resources, in particular to the dictionaries. This device is employed regularly when the relation between Classical or Patristic Latin and its Medieval heir is concerned. As a result, even if not explicitly expressed, the ancient Latin background underpins the lexicographic description. This is even more the case regarding the dictionary definitions.

Sense-defining policy in the *LMILP* is deeply affected and strongly determined by a methodological choice which was made by the dictionary founders, but which nowadays seems at best questionable. The practice in question is one of omitting source evidence for those lexical units which have already been attested in Classical Latin. It results in such entries as adj. *sanctus* which is defined among others as 1. 'saint' ; 2. 'pure' ; 3. 'holy' ; 4. 'venerable' : «SANCTUS (...) 1. (...) *sacer, beatus* (...). 2. (...) *castus, perfectus* (...). 3. (...) *sacer, sollemnis* (...). 4. (...) *venerabilis*». Ubiquitous in medieval texts, the first three lexical units had been also already known in Antiquity, and therefore there are not illustrated with appropriate source evidence. In contrast, the fourth one, i.e. *sanctus* employed as a honorific title of secular and religious leaders, is a medieval innovation and, thus, is provided with a selection of quotations. It should be mentioned that, in this regard, the practice adopted in the *LMILP* is still far from that of the Catalan, Finnish and Yugoslavian dictionaries, all of which do not register lexical units attested in Antiquity. Although it results in admirable brevity of notation, one must admit that, even in this limited form, this lexicographic strategy makes retrieving some of crucial information simply impossible. For example, although we can learn from the *LMILP* that this or another specific meaning of *sanctus* had been already in use in the Classical or Late Antiquity¹⁹, there is no way we could reconstruct the text genres in which it was employed during the Middle Ages or determine the date of its first or last occurrence. Even if one would like to resort to automatic methods, supplying the lost data is all but a trivial task. What may be even more serious is that the data loss affects words of often very high frequency and of great importance for the medieval culture, as in the case of the lemma *sanctus*.

This contrastive approach to lexicographic description has undoubtedly far less grave consequences as far as morpho-syntactic dimension is concerned. Let us look at an example of the entry *salvus* 'safe, sound' : «SALVUS ... *Constr.* a. *abs.* b. *sq. abl.* c. *sq. in*». In the *LMILP* syntactic properties of a lexical unit are detailed in a section introduced with a label *constr.* which stands for Lat. *constructiones* '[syntactic] constructions'. In the example cited above, the very fact that subsequent items²⁰ are not provided with a source quotation is meaningful and shows the ancient use. Such a notation, although similar to that adopted in sense definitions, hides far less data, because the grammatical system of the Latin was relatively stable between the Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Moreover, it is also realistic to expect that compensation for the lost information could be made, at least to some extent, with relatively simple corpus query.

¹⁹ A lexical unit is believed to be «ancient» if it is attested in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Different dictionaries resort to different reference works as their contrastive base (Peter STOTZ, *Handbuch...*, p. 206-242).

²⁰ Respectively, «*abs.*» for *absolute* 'absolute [use]', «*sq. abl.*» for *sequente ablativo casu* 'with following ablative' and «*sq. in*» 'followed by preposition *in*'.

MEDIEVAL LATIN AND THE VERNACULAR LANGUAGE

As for language contact, the interference between the vernacular and the Latin *superstratum* also gains some importance in the sense definition section. As a general rule, the dictionary includes all Polish glosses which can be found in the source documents that respectively accompany a Latin term. The glosses play a complex role not only in the dictionary structure, but also in the very process of writing an entry. From the point of view of a lexicographer, they document language reception and use and are thus often crucial for determining the word meaning, in particular if it cannot be inferred from the context. A good example is provided by the word *socer* which in the Classical Latin means 'son-in-law' : «SOCER (...) I. *teśc* (...) PP III p. 144 (a. 1447) : post obitum ipsorum socri, vulgariter test (...). II. *zięć* (...) *Ib.* p. 436 (a. 1391) : Stephanus (...) s-r, zancz». As can be seen, in the Polish medieval sources, the word was employed as an apposition to the appellative and frequently found in succinct court records. Since the family relationships of the ordinary people who were participants in the legal procedures, often remain unclear to us and cannot be fully determined from other sources, the lexicographer usually can do no better than to follow the meaning to which the Polish gloss refers. This is why the definition Pol. *teśc* 'father-in-law' follows the synonymous Old Pol. *test*, while Pol. *zięć* 'son-in-law' is based on the Old Pol. gloss *zancz*.

Yet, glosses may also shed more light on the complicated sense relations between Latin and vernacular. This is especially true when they are employed in order to demarcate the «denotational field» of the word under examination. An example of such a strategy may be found in the entry *silva* 'forest' : «SILVA ... *Glossae Pol.* (...) vulgariter 'lomcza' (...) vulgariter 'zapust et ostrow' (...) que 'olsini' nuncupatur (...) 'Smyg' (...) dicta 'puscza' (...) alias 'pod langem'. Carefully enumerated, the Old Polish equivalents inform the reader that the word *silva* used to be employed in various contexts and had as its designates, e.g. 'broken down trees' (Old Pol. *lomcza*), 'a copse' (Old Pol. *zapust*), 'an alder copse' (Old Pol. *olsini*), 'a grove or meadow in a valley' (Old Pol. *smug*), 'a dense forest' (Old Pol. *puscza*), 'a riparian forest' (Old Pol. *lang*) etc.

OTHER LANGUAGE CHANGE MARKERS

Naturally, the list of specific markers and methodological issues concerning their use could be further expanded. Language change and contact information encoded in the *LMILP* may be inferred, for instance :

- from definitions of semantic loans, as in «SEPTIMUS (...) septimusdimidius *e Pol.* półsiodma»²¹ ;

²¹ Lat. *septimusdimidius*, a compound of *septimus* 'seventh' and *dimidius* 'half', is believed by a lexicographer to be a calque of the Old Pol. *półsiodma* 'six and a half', itself also a compound (*pół* 'half', *siodma* 'seven').

- from chronological markers which implicitly or explicitly accompany source citations²² ;
- from sense ordering and nesting²³ ;
- from sense and usage labels, e.g. *met.* standing for *metaphorice* ‘metaphorically’ or *meton.* for *metonymice* ‘metonymically’ etc., which specify direction of the semantic change process.

CHALLENGES AND PERSPECTIVES

In conclusion, the reconstruction of diachronic information at the word level is often far from trivial and requires from a user rather good orientation in lexicographic convention and the consultation other reference works. At the same time, it should be admitted that the academic historical dictionaries in general are not expected to make many concessions for a non-expert user. This fact should not, however, prohibit us from thinking about more effective ways to present and access data, all the more so since we are now free from space limitations and have at our disposal sophisticated data manipulation and visualisation techniques. In the Electronic Dictionary of Polish Medieval Latin²⁴ which was launched in the mid-2014, language change can be tracked in a same way as in a paper dictionary, that is entry by entry. The user friendliness and rapidity of content access have been significantly improved by means of typographic and graphical hints. Yet, improving entry-level access to lexicographic content is and can be only a first step.

It becomes more and more clear that the most essential service that electronic lexicography may offer to the researcher of language change will be at least a partial integration and unified access to previously scarred data. But even once optimised, the electronic version of the *LMILP* will need further refinement in order to become a fully-fledged tool of historical linguistic investigation. The most challenging and, in the same time, the most desirable enhancements would include :

- supplementing Classical Latin information in the *LMILP* from existing dictionaries ;
- integrating corpus data, which should at least partially compensate for the lacking source evidence ;

²² In the *LMILP* dates are given either explicitly, that is by specifying year (e.g., *a.[nno] 1440* ‘in the year 1400’) or century (e.g. *s.[aeculo] XIV* ‘in the 14th century’), or implicitly, when they can be learnt only by consulting list of dictionary sources.

²³ With meaning considered as «foundational» or «original» usually placed before a derived one.

²⁴ Krzysztof NOWAK, «The eLexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum. The Electronic Dictionary of Polish Medieval Latin», in Andrea ABEL, Chiara VETTORI, Natascia RALLI (ed.), *The user in focus. Proceedings of the XVI EURALEX International Congress : 15 - 19 July 2014*, Bolzano, 2014, p. 201. The dictionary interface can be consulted at <http://scriptores.pl/lexicon>.

- implementing visualisation tools which might shed some light on the geographical and temporal variety of the medieval lexicon in Europe.

A first step towards such integrated approach is the *WikiLexicographica*, a semantic wiki for European Medieval Latin lexicography, and the *medialatinitas.eu* Project which attempts at giving unified access to lexical, textual and encyclopaedic resources for Latin²⁵.

Krzysztof NOWAK

Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum
Institute of Polish Language (Polish Academy of Sciences)
krzysztof.nowak@ijp-pan.krakow.pl

ABSTRACT. — The paper presents an analysis of lexicographic features which have been employed in the *Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum* (*Dictionary of Polish Medieval Latin*) to account for linguistic change. It starts with an outline of the history of Medieval Latin in Poland. Next, the author focuses on word formation and semantic change as reflected in the dictionary's macro- and microstructure. Finally, some possible improvements in diachronic data presentation are suggested.

RÉSUMÉ. — Le présent article propose une analyse des techniques lexicographiques employées dans le *Lexicon Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis Polonorum* (*Dictionnaire du latin médiéval polonais*) pour signaler le changement linguistique. Après un bref rappel de l'histoire du latin sur le territoire polonais, l'auteur s'intéresse à la formation des mots et au changement sémantique, tels qu'ils sont présentés dans la structure du *Dictionnaire*, avant de proposer certaines améliorations possibles dans la manière de présenter les données diachroniques.

²⁵ Bruno BON, Krzysztof NOWAK, «Wiki Lexicographica». Available at <http://scriptores.pl/wiki>. Krzysztof NOWAK, Bruno BON, «medialatinitas.eu. Towards Shallow Integration of Lexical, Textual and Encyclopaedic Resources for Latin», in Iztok KOSEM, Miloš JAKUBIČEK, Jelena KALLAS, Simon KREK, *Electronic lexicography in the 21st century : linking lexical data in the digital age. Proceedings of the eLex 2015 conference*, Ljubljana, Brighton, 2015, p. 152-169.

TABLE DES MATIÈRES

I. ARTICLES

SMIRAGLIA P., POLARA I., DE PRISCO A.	Latinitatis italicae medii aevi lexicon. Addenda-Series altera. Fasc. 13 : <i>missus – natabilis</i>	5-22
MARTÍN-IGLESIAS J. C.....	El latín de los <i>Antikeimena</i> (CPL 1261) de Julián de Toledo	23-54
CONDUCHÉ C.	La terminologie grammaticale du haut Moyen Âge : apports du traité <i>De verbo</i> du manuscrit Paris, BnF, lat. 7491, fol. 89ra-207va	55-77
DUPLESSIS F.	De Laon à Brescia : le <i>Glossarium Monacense</i> (München, BSB, lat. 14420, fol. 144v)	79-147
DELMULLE J.	Le repas de Jean Baptiste au désert : sauterelles, crevettes ou écrevisses ? Un petit texte exégétique inédit du x ^e siècle	149-177
TURCAN-VERKERK A.-M.	La théorisation progressive du <i>cursus</i> et sa terminologie entre le xi ^e siècle et la fin du xiv ^e siècle.....	179-259
JECKER M.	La notion de <i>prudencia</i> et ses métamor- phoses chez un noble castillan du xv ^e siècle, le marquis de Santillane : la signification philosophique et poli- tique du manuscrit BNE 10269	261-295

II. NOTES

BON B.	Histoire et perspectives du <i>Novum Glossarium Mediae Latinitatis</i> . Un « Nouveau Du Cange »	297-308
NOWAK K.	Language Change in the Dictionary of Polish Medieval Latin	309-319
PAJÓN LEIRA I., ZUCKER A., FARON ZUCKER C.	Thezoo : un thésaurus de zoologie ancienne et médiévale pour l'annotation de sources de données hétérogènes	321-342

III. CHRONIQUES ET COMPTES RENDUS

BARTOLA A.	Cronaca degli avvenimenti italiani: 2015	343-370
DELMULLE J.	Marie-Pierre BUSSIÈRES (éd.), <i>La littérature des questions et réponses dans l'Antiquité profane et chrétienne: de l'enseignement à l'exégèse. Actes du séminaire sur le genre des questions et réponses tenu à Ottawa les 27 et 28 septembre 2009</i>	371-373
ALEXANDRE R.	Jose Carlos MARTÍN-IGLESIAS, Valeriano YARZA URQUIOLA (éd.), <i>Iuliani Tole-tani episcopi Opera</i>	374-377
STOTZ P.	<i>Navigatio sancti Brendani. Alla scoperta dei segreti meravigliosi del mondo. Edizione critica a cura di Giovanni ORLANDI e Rossana E. GUGLIEL-METTI</i>	377-383
DELMULLE J.	Erika KIHLMAN and Denis SEARBY (ed.), <i>Ars edendi. Lecture Series, vol. I.</i>	383-385
DELMULLE J.	cura et studio Paul TOMBEUR, <i>Rodulfi Trudonensis Gesta abbatum Trudo-nensium I-VII. Epistulae et Gisleberti Trudonensis Gesta abbatum Trudo-nensium VIII-XIII (Liber IX opus intextum Rodulfi Trudonensis)</i>	385-388
BOURGAIN P.	Benoît GRÉVIN et Anne-Marie TURCAN-VERKERK (éd.), <i>Le dictamen dans tous ses états. Perspectives de recherche sur la théorie et la pratique de l'ars dictaminis (XI^e-XV^e siècles)</i>	388-391
TURCAN-VERKERK A.-M.	Emil J. POLAK, <i>Medieval and Renais-sance Letter Treatises and Form Let-ters. A Census of Manuscripts Found in Part of Europe. The Works on Letter Writing from the Eleventh through the Seventeenth Century Found in Alba-nia, Austria, Bulgaria, France, Ger-many and Italy</i>	392-394
GRÉVIN B.	Benjamin WEBER, <i>Lutter contre les Turcs. Les formes nouvelles de la croisade pontificale au XV^e siècle</i>	394-397

Les tomes 1-70 de la revue *ALMA* (1924-2012) peuvent être consultés sur le site de l'Institut de l'Information Scientifique et Technique (Nancy) à l'adresse suivante : <http://irevues.inist.fr>.

NOVUM GLOSSARIUM MEDIAE LATINITATIS

Dictionnaire du latin médiéval (800-1200)

Éditeur : Union Académique Internationale

Diffuseur : Librairie Droz, 11, rue Firmin-Massot, C.P. 389, CH-1211 Genève 12

FASCICULES DISPONIBLES (PRIX T.T.C.)

3. *Ma*. Édité par F. Blatt. 1981 (1959), col. 1-278
ISBN: 87-16-03481-3 CHF 100,40
4. *Meabilis-Miles*. Éd. par F. Blatt. 1961, col. 281-488
ISBN: 87-16-03485-6 CHF 100,40
5. *Miles-Mozytia*. Éd. par F. Blatt. 1963, col. 485-882
ISBN: 87-16-03487-2 CHF 100,40
8. *Norma-Nysus*. Éd. par F. Blatt. 1969, col. 1369-1584
ISBN: 87-16-03493-7 CHF 100,40
9. *Index Scriptorum novus mediae latinitatis*. Éd. par F. Blatt. 1973, p. XVII-246
ISBN: 87-16-01390-5 CHF 100,40
10. *O-Ocyter*. Éd. par F. Blatt. 1975, col. 1-324
ISBN: 87-16-02080-4 CHF 100,40
11. *Od-Opertorium*. Éd. par F. Blatt. 1978, col. 325-540
ISBN: 87-16-08355-5 CHF 100,40
12. *Opertura-Ordino*. Éd. par Y. Lefèvre. 1980, col. 541-730
ISBN: 87-16-08904-9 CHF 100,40
13. *Ordior-Oz*. Éd. par Y. Lefèvre. 1983, col. 729-940
ISBN: 87-16-09663-0 CHF 100,40
14. *P-Panis*. Éd. par Y. Lefèvre. 1985, col. 1-204
ISBN: 87-16-06543-3 CHF 100,40
15. *Paniscardus-Parulla*. Éd. par J. Monfrin, A.-M. Bautier, M. Duchet-Suchaux.
1987, col. 203-418
ISBN: 87-16-06900-5 CHF 100,40
16. *Pars-Passerulus*. Éd. par J. Monfrin, A.-M. Bautier, M. Duchet-Suchaux.
1989, col. 419-562
ISBN: 87-16-10734-9 CHF 122,90
17. *Passibilis-Pazzu*. Éd. par J. Monfrin, A.-M. Bautier, M. Duchet-Suchaux.
1993, col. 563-850
ISBN: 87-16-11432-9 CHF 76,80
18. *Pea-Pepticus*. Éd. par F. Dolbeau, A. Grondeux, A. Guerreau-Jalabert et
M. Lemoine. 1995, col. 1-270
ISBN: 87-16-11830-8 CHF 76,80
19. *Per-Perlysus*. Éd. par F. Dolbeau, A. Grondeux, A. Guerreau-Jalabert et
M. Lemoine. 1998, col. 271-572
ISBN: 87-16-12161-9 CHF 122,90
20. *Permachino-Pezzola*. Éd. par F. Dolbeau, A. Grondeux
et A. Guerreau-Jalabert. 2000, col. 573-948
ISBN: 92-990007-0-0 CHF 122,90
21. *Phacoides-Pingo*. Éd. par F. Dolbeau, B. Bon, A. Grondeux
et A. Guerreau-Jalabert. 2003, col. 1-234
ISBN: 92-990007-8-6 CHF 122,90
22. *Index Scriptorum novus mediae latinitatis. Supplementum (1973-2005)*.
Éd. par B. Bon et al. 2005, p. XI-291
ISBN: 92-990020-4-5 CHF 100,00
23. *Pingualis-Plaka*. Éd. par F. Dolbeau, B. Bon, A. Guerreau-Jalabert,
C. Heid. 2007, p. VII, 1*-12*, col. 235-450
ISBN: 978-2-87043-000-2 CHF 120,00
24. *Plana-Plego*. Éd. par A. Guerreau-Jalabert, B. Bon, R. Alexandre.
2011, p. VII, 1*-19*, col. 451-596
ISBN: 978-2-87043-009-5 CHF 100,00

ALD

Aristoteles Latinus Database

The complete corpus of medieval translations of the works of Aristotle. The Latin versions of these texts constituted the main tools for the study of science and philosophy in the Middle Ages.

Key features:

- The database is **updated** regularly with new material
- The interface is the same as Brepols full-text databases (*Library of Latin Texts – Series A*, *Library of Latin Texts – Series B*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and *Archive of Celtic-Latin Literature*)
- By using the **Cross Database Searchtool**, ALD can be searched on-line together with the *Library of Latin Texts – Series A*, the *Library of Latin Texts – Series B*, the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* and the *Archive of Celtic-Latin Literature*
- Interface in English, French, German and Italian
- The powerful search-software enables the users to undertake **enhanced search possibilities**
- A detailed leaflet is available upon request

In collaboration with the following partners:

- Union Académique Internationale / International Union of Academies
- *Aristoteles Latinus* Centre (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven)
- Centre 'Traditio Litterarum Occidentalium' (CTLO)



BREPOLIS

Brepols Publishers Online

brepolis@brepols.net

www.brepols.net

Achevé d'imprimer en Belgique le 26 mai 2016

Impression:
Communications, Limal.