Jan German

Borrowing channels of Greek and Latin loanwords into the Old Polish language: vocabulary concerning the spiritual life

Supervisors: dr hab. Hubert Wolanin, prof. UJ, dr Dariusz Piwowarczyk

25.05.23

This dissertation addresses the topic of direct and indirect Greek and Latin loans into Old Polish concerning the spiritual life. In the thesis I have attempted to answer the following questions:

1) How many of these loans are attested in Old Polish texts?

2) Which words are direct loans from Latin or Greek and which were borrowed through other languages (Czech, German dialects, Old Russian etc.)?

3) What are the characteristics of each group (e.g. the direct Latinisms, the group borrowed via Czech etc.)?

4) What is the chronology of the borrowing process? Is it possible to divide the analyzed vocabulary into groups depending on the borrowing time (Proto-Slavic loans, pre-literate loans, Old Polish loans)?

5) How were the loanwords accommodated? Can the borrowing routes be determined on the basis of how they were accommodated?

6) How did the meaning of the borrowed vocabulary change in the process of borrowing?

7) What parts of speech (apart from nouns) were borrowed?

Structure

The thesis consists of the following parts:

- Introduction provides a presentation of the aim of the dissertation, the research questions, the principles for selecting the material and the methods;

- Chapter 1 gives an introduction to the concepts of language contact, bilingualism, borrowing, presents selected methodological aspects and briefly describes the state of research;

- Chapter 2 includes an etymological analysis of the material in alphabetical order;

- Chapter 3 brings forward the conclusions about the analyzed vocabulary and its borrowing routes;

- Bibliography;

- Appendix 1 contains the conclusions of the etymological analysis concerning particular lexemes in the form of a simplified table;

- Appendix 2 contains a list of the words excerpted from the *Old Polish Dictionary* (*Słownik staropolski*), for which the (direct or indirect) Greek or Latin origin is at least possible.

Methodology

The vocabulary analyzed in the thesis was extracted from the *Old Polish Dictionary*; first, all the words of possible Greek or Latin origin were extracted (Appendix 2), then the lexemes concerning the spiritual life were chosen for further analysis. The selected material was analyzed in Chapter 2 in alphabetical order. The following aspects were particularly emphasized: the Old Polish attestations (chronology, geography of attestations, context, orthography), formal traits, semantics, accommodation. The possible borrowing route was determined. The conclusions concerning particular words are presented in the table (Appendix 1), on the basis of which the general conclusions were drawn in Chapter 3.

Chapter 1

This chapter introduces the basic concepts, such as language contact, which can be defined as e.g. „the use of more than one language in the same place at the same time" (Thomason 2001: 1) or as the use of two or more languages alternately by the same persons (Weinreich 1968: 1). The alternate use of different languages is what Weinreich calls *bilingualism*. Another key concept is *borrowing*: a result of the language contact. Thomason & Kaufman (1988: 37) refer to it as „the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language". The borrowing process is discussed in details in the article by Haugen (1950), where he introduces the concepts od *importation* and *substitution*.

Further in the chapter some methodological issues of researching loanwords are presented, mainly on the basis of a paper by Cieńkowski (1964: 421-428); according to the Polish linguist, while researching the loanwords, one should pay attention to the following aspects: the probability of the phonetic changes, the connection of the lexeme to its designation and the historical reality, the borrowing chronology, the probability of semantic development, the probability of language contact, the necessity of using extra-linguistic data.

In the thesis, both direct and indirect loans from Greek and Latin are analyzed; this is because of the following reasons:

1) It is often not possible to determine if a certain word is a direct or indirect borrowing;

2) Other works concerning this topic usually treat both types of loans and call them all Latinisms or Grecisms, sometimes borrowed directly, sometimes via mediation of other languages (see Klemensiewicz 1961: 140-141);

3) Many of the analyzed loans were perceived by the speakers of Old Polish as having Latin or Greek origin, even if they are in fact Bohemisms or Germanisms; they were, in effect, the subject of the relatinisation process.

While analysing the loanwords, I always seek to determine the direct source of borrowing, on the basis of which the vocabulary should be classified as *sensu stricto* Latinisms, Bohemisms, Germanisms etc.

At the end of this chapter, the state of research is briefly presented in chronological order. The main thesis of the classical works by Nehring (1876-1882), Brückner (1915, 1930) and Klich (1927) is as follows: The Old Polish Christian terminology (mostly of Greek and Latin origin) was borrowed almost exclusively via Czech mediation, which can be confirmed by the fact that the Polish state was baptized by Czech missionaries in 966. This historical argument is used repeatedly by Klich, even if the linguistic arguments are not conclusive. The same feature can be found in later works, especially by Basaj, Siatkowski (2006) concerning bohemisms and *Dictionary of Old Polish Christian Terminology* by Karpluk (2001), with the notable excecption of Reczek 1968. The baptism by the Czech missionaries, treated by Polish linguists as an indisputable historical fact, is disputed by the historians themselves (e.g. doubted by Sikorski 2013: 276-306, but supported by Matla 2017: 17). One of the most important arguments in favour of the Czech baptism is the Czech origin of Old Polish Christian vocabulary, so the argumentation used by Klich is in fact a vicious circle. For this reason, I do not use this argument in my thesis.

Chapter 2

In this chapter, 185 words related to spiritual life extracted from the *Old Polish Dictionary* are the subject of the etymological analysis. Lexemes being analysed are as follows: *Adwent, (Anioł), (Antychryst), Antyfona, Apostoł, (Archanioł), (Archidiakon), (Archimandryta), Arcybiskup, (Arka), Bazyliszek, (Betfania) (Bierzmowanie), Biskup, Brewiarz, (Bulla), Cerkiew, Cherubin, Chór, Chrzcić, Chrześcijanin, (Cmentarz), (Cylicjum), Dedominy, Diabeł, (Diakon), Doktor, Dziekan, (Epifania), Epistoła, (Ewangelia), (Ewangelista), Ezeita, Faryzeusz, (Filatria), Filozof, (Filozofia), Fraternalny, Format, (Glosa), Gryf, (Historia), (Homilia), Hymn, Hymna, (Ihumen), Infuła, Interdykt, Jałmużna, Kacerz, Kalendy, Kanonik, Kanownik, *Kantor, Kantyk, Kapelan, Kapitulum, Kapituła, Kapła, Kapłan, Kardynał, Karta, Kartuz, Kielich, Klasztor, *Kleryk, Kmotr, Kmotra, Kolęda, Komendator, Komendor, Kompleta, Komża, Konwent, (Konwers), Korona, Koruna, Krona, Koronować, Kościół, Kruchta, Kryłos, Krzyż, Krzyżmo, Kum, Kurwatura, Kustosz, Laik, (Lekcja), Lucyfer, Lucyper, Magnifikat, Manna, (Materia), (Mesjasz), Metropolit, Minister, Mira, Mnich, Monaster, Msza, Natura, Nieszpór, Nona, Oblata, Ofertorzyja, Ofiara, Oktawa, Olej, Ołtarz, Opat,*

*Opiora, Opłatek, Oratarz, Organista, Organy, Ornat, Pacierz, Papież, Paradyż, (Parochia), *Pascha, (Pasja), (Patriarcha), Patron, Pelikan, Pełła, Persona, Pielgrzym, Pleban, Poganin, Pop, (Popadia), Potestat, Pozytyw, (Prałat), Prebendarz, Proboszcz, (Procesja), (Profecja), Profes, (Profesja), Profeta, Proskura, Pryma, Przeor, *Przeorysza, Psalm, Psałterz, Refektarz, Reguła, Relikwie, Rubryka, Saduceusz, (Scholastyk), Seksta, Sekta, Serafin, Sobota, (Stuła), Stypa, Sufragan, Synagoga, Synod, Szatan, Szkaplerz, Taca, Tekst, (Teofania), (Tercja), Testament, Tron, Tum, Ufundować, Wiersz, (Wigilia), (Wikary), Wino, Wizytator, Wytrykusz, Żak, Żalm, Żołtarz, Żegnać, Żyd.*

Chapter 3

In this chapter, the conclusions concerning all of the examined vocabulary are presented. According to the direct source of borrowing, the loans can be classified as:

- Latinisms: 102 words, i.e. 55% of the discussed lexemes;
- Bohemisms: 35 words, i.e. 19%;
- Words, for which Latin and Czech direct source is equally possible: 16, i.e. 9%;
- Germanisms (borrowed directly from one of the German dialects or from Gothic language): 17, i.e. 9%;
- Loanwords from East Slavic source: 8, i.e. 4%;
- Other cases: 7, i.e. 4%.

Vocabulary studied in the thesis can also be divided according to their borrowing routes (including the Greek or Latin source and all the mediating languages); among the possible routes, the following are the most common:

- (Greek →) Latin → Old Polish
- (Greek →) Latin → Old Czech → Old Polish
- (Greek →) Latin → Germanic dialects → Old Polish
- (Greek →) Latin → Germanic dialects → Old Czech → Old Polish
- Greek → East Slavic languages → Old Polish.

Words classified as Latinisms could have been borrowed in the Proto-Slavic period, in the pre-literate era or in the Old Polish period; it is not always possible to determine the exact borrowing time. In this group, there are words that belong to both written and spoken or only written language; the use of many of them was probably restricted to the language of elites and clergy, but at least some could gradually penetrate the language of the lower classes. The semantics of these group is also diversified; among others, the following groups can be named: prayers

(*antyfona*, *brewiarz* etc.), liturgical accessories (*cylicyjum*, *infuła* etc.), holy days (*betfanija*, *epifanija* etc.), Jewish sects (*ezeita*, *faryzeusz* etc.), church positions (*arcybiskup*, *dyjakon* etc.).

As Latinism so do Bohemisms constitute a highly differentiated group. The linguistic contact between Polish and Czech is likely to have begun as soon as both languages emerged after disintegration of Proto-Slavic and continued until the end of the Old Polish period. Both written and spoken (diplomacy, trade, missionary actions) language could have been the source of borrowing. Some of Czech etymons of the discussed loans were direct Latinisms in Czech and some of them were borrowed via mediation of German dialects. It is noteworthy that the group of Old Polish Bohemisms is significantly narrower compared to the Latinisms. As for 16 words, it was not possible to determine whether they had been borrowed from Czech or Latin.

Many of the Germanisms (8 out of 17) were borrowed into Polish relatively early, probably in Proto-Christian period, mostly form Gothic or Old High German. In later periods the direct German influence became considerably diminished. For many of the Germanisms, it is not possible to indicate the exact etymon in a specific German dialect.

The East Slavic loans were borrowed from Old Russian or Old Ukrainian in the relatively late period. The borrowing route for most of them started from Greek and did not include Latin. Semantically, these loans belong to the vocabulary of East Christianity.

While it was far less problematic for most of the loans discussed in the thesis to identify the Latin or Greek etymon than to determine whether the mediation of an additional language took place, the next section of the chapter provides an overview of possible argument types in favour of or against the possible mediation, e.g. phonetic, morphological, semantic, graphical or extra-linguistic.

Further in the chapter, the chronology of the analysed borrowings is briefly addressed. For many loans, not much more than „rather early" or „rather late" can be said. The substantial part of the Old Polish sources dates back to the 15th century so in order to determine the borrowing time one must use other resources, above all phonetic argumentation, which is in many cases inconclusive because of the possible relatinization process. Nevertheless, the discussed vocabulary can be divided into three groups: (1) Proto-Christian loans (*cerkiew*, *chrzcić* etc.), (2) loans connected to the Christianization period (*adwent*, *anjoł* etc.), (3) later loans.

The final part of the chapter provides the selected examples of phonetic adaptation of the direct Latinisms.