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RESEARCHING THE BEGINNINGS OF BILINGUAL POLISH-ENGLISH / ENGLISH-POLISH LEXICOGRAPHY: POLYGLOT DICTIONARIES (PART 2)*

Keywords: Polish, English, polyglot dictionary, wordlist, gloss, equivalent

Abstract

The present paper is the second of two papers investigating polyglot dictionaries which comprised Polish and English wordlists. It rests on the assumption that, by providing the earliest documentation material for Polish and English respectively, the polyglots can be regarded as historical antecedents of bilingual dictionaries. While the first paper focused on three Renaissance works of reference, including Calepino's eleven-language edition, this one concentrates on two relatively little known endeavours of the Enlightenment: Christoph Warmer's *Gazophylacium decem linguarum Europaearum* … (1691) and Peter Simon Pallas' *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa* … (1787–1789). The bilingual material they embrace has been analysed and illustrated with examples in order to shed new light on the two polyglots, which are additionally traced back to their sources.

1. Introduction

This is the second of two papers devoted to the early polyglot dictionaries, which have reflected on the development of bilingual Polish-English / English-Polish lexicography. The first paper (Podhajecka 2014) offered an outline of Polish-English

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language contact between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and three Renaissance polyglots were looked at against that background: Calepino's *Dictionarium undecim linguarum …* (1590), Megiser's *Thesaurus polyglottus: vel, dictionarium multilingue …* (1603), and Henisch's *Teütsche Sprach und Weissheit. Thesaurus linguae and sapientiae Germanicae …* (1616). Apart from examining the Polish-English language data the dictionaries covered, the so-called "user perspective", as advocated by Hartmann (2001: 80–95), was also paid attention to.

This paper aims to further penetrate the research field. Therefore, subject to scrutiny are two polyglot works which belong, at least formally, to the era of the Enlightenment: Christoph Warmer's *Gazophylacium decem linguarum Europaearum …* (1691) and Peter Simon Pallas' *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa …* (1787–1789).[1] In order to bring the two multilingual endeavours into broad daylight, I discuss their underlying conceptions, the bilingual Polish and English material, as well as the goals and target audiences they envisaged. Taken together, the two papers provide evidence, however limited in quantity and quality, that helps reconstruct the early history of Polish-English / English-Polish lexicography.

2. Polyglots with Polish and English wordlists

The polyglot dictionaries in Europe were compiled for two major purposes: education/scholarship and trade (Hüllen 1999: 308). It means that, over the centuries, learning classical languages (Latin, Greek, and Hebrew), mainly for educational purposes, went hand in hand with pursuing competence in foreign vernaculars for practical, mainly commercial, reasons. Consequently, and unsurprisingly, a huge number of dictionaries were published that catered to the users' needs in both categories. The impressive range of multilingual enterprises notwithstanding, only six polyglots paired Polish with English, the last two of which were published at the end of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries respectively:

1. Warmer, Christophorus [Christoph] 1691. *Gazophylacium decem linguarum Europaearum …* Cassoviae [Košice]: J. Klein.
2. Pallas, Peter Simon 1786/7–1789.[2] *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa … / Sravnitel'nye slovari vsex" jazykov" i narečij …* [vols. 1–2]. Petropoli [St. Petersburg]: J.C. Schnoor. (the second enlarged edition of 1790–1791 by Jankiewitsch de Miriewo; the first edition reissued in 1977–1978, Hamburg).

In what follows, I describe the two polyglots in some detail, trying to provide insight, on the one hand, into their bilingual material and, on the other one, into the

[1] Another polyglot dictionary which should have been subject to analysis, Kunstmann's *Kurzes Wörterbuch in deutscher, französischer, italienischer, englischer und polnischer Sprache, zum gebrauche für die Jugend* (1794), was found after this paper had been submitted for publication.

[2] The first volume of Pallas' dictionary was published in 1787, but controversies stem from the fact that the dictionary's two title pages were variously dated, i.e. the Latin title page was dated to 1786, whereas the Russian one to 1787.

historical and cultural context in which they were produced. The examination of each section closes with a summary of whether or not the dictionaries might have been used by British immigrants arriving in Poland throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (for an overview of the historical context of Anglo-Polish language contact, see Podhajecka 2014).

3. Examination of the polyglot dictionaries

3.1. Christoph Warmer's *Gazophylacium: decem linguarum Europaearum* … (1691)

Christoph Warmer's polyglot bears the following title, the first part of which is in Latin, whereas the remaining one in German: *Gazophylacium: decem lingvarum Europaearum apertum, in qvo non solùm pronunciationes, declinationes et conjugationes; sed etiam diversi dialogi in sermone Germanico, Polonico, Bohemico, Belgico, Anglico, Latino, Gallico, Hispanico, Italico et Vngarico reperiuntur. Das ist: Neü-eröffneter Schatz-Kasten Der fürnehmsten Zehen Sprachen in Europa, Darinnen nicht allein die Pronuntiationes, Declinationes und Conjugationes in Deutscher, Polnischer, Böhmischer, Niederländischer, Engeländischer, Lateinischer, Französischer, Spanischer, Italienischer und Vngrischer Sprache; Sondern auch unterschiedliche nützliche Gespräche in gedachten Zehen Sprachen zu finden, von allerhand gemeinen Sachen und Geschäften, welche täglich in der Hauszhaltung, in der Kaufmannschaft und andern Verichtungen zu Hause und auf der Reise fürfallen, sowol für die studierende Jugend, als auch allen Liebhabern dieser Sprachen zu Nutz mit sonderem Fleisze geschrieben und zusammengebracht von Christophoro Warmern* (1691).[3] This volume, embracing ten languages arranged in parallel columns, is yet quite different from the previously analysed dictionaries. More exactly, by recording the text of dialogues cut into pieces to fit the column width, it has been classified as a colloquy rather than a dictionary proper. Nevertheless, as colloquies, phrasebooks, and other hybrid genres paved the way for the onomasiological dictionary (see, e.g. Stein 1985, Hüllen 1999), I decided to treat Warmer's work as legitimate for the study (cf. Zwoliński 1981: 53–54; Jones 2000: 693; Prędota 2004: 281; Gruszczyński 2011: 66).

The author's biography is incomplete, but a few basic facts have already been established. Warmer [1644 – c. 1693] was born at the town of Bolków in Silesia (Prędota, Woronczak 2002: 12–13). Having studied at the universities of Wrocław and Lepizig, he became a Protestant minister, first at Klátov, and later at Košice (in the area of today's Slovakia), where he was advanced to the rank of archdeacon (Zwoliński 1981: 55). This indicates that he lived and worked in a region whereby one could stumble across German, Czech, Hungarian, Slovak, Ruthenian, or Polish, not to mention a handful of dialects. Perhaps it was the awareness of communication problems in such an ethnic and linguistic mosaic that gave Warmer an impetus to compile *Gazophylacium*.

[3] As can be seen, the German title, which enumerates the different types of target reader addressed and areas of use envisaged, has been far more informative than the Latin one.

The quarto volume covers 315 pages printed in a format which is not particularly handy (28 cm × 18 cm). The first 16 pages are taken by the preface translated into all the ten languages, which is followed by notes on the spelling and pronunciation of Polish, French, Hungarian, Spanish, Italian, and German; remarks on the other languages are missing. Then come selected declensional and conjugation patterns. Eight chapters which are the key components of the volume start on page 90 and continue to page 315. As in other colloquies (see Hüllen 1999: 78–139), they describe language use in various communicative situations (e.g. "For to buye and sell", "Be commen talke being in the inne" or "Proposes of Marchandise"), the participants of which are listed at the beginning of each chapter. Chapter 8 is exceptional in this respect, because it has been composed of models of letter-writing (e.g. "A letter to Write to any frindes", "To paye a debt with Excusation" or "A Contract of hyring a house").

As mentioned before, the ten languages are arranged in parallel columns: German, Polish, Czech, Flemish ("Belgice"), and English are placed on the left-hand side, whereas Latin, French, Spanish, Italian, and Hungarian have been displayed on the right-hand side. This type of arrangement made it possible for any of the tongues to have served, by column hopping, both as the source and target language if such a need had arisen. The prominence of German is apparent at first sight: the second part of the title page is in German, the introductory notes on spelling and pronunciation are provided in German, and German is the leftmost vernacular.[4] The political situation might have had a bearing on the choice of that language; the book was printed at Košice which, at the close of the seventeenth century, was under Habsburg rule.

The colloquy starts with an advertisement to the reader, which is rendered into all the ten languages. The English part starts as follows:[5] "This booke beloued Reader, is very profitable for to learne to reade write, and speake High dutch, polnisch, Behamish, Flemmish, English, Latinsh, Frentsch?, Spannish, Italian and Ungrish …". As is clear from this quotation alone, *Gazophylacium* was not aimed at Latin-educated elite, and the rest of the advertisement shows explicitly that it was addressed to people of different professions and walks of life – courtiers, merchants, soldiers, travellers, and the like – wanting to learn foreign languages for purely practical purposes. In the author's view, the value of the handbook, which should be studied "with understanding and diligence", cannot be overestimated:

> … this booke Beloued Reader is so needful and profitable, that his goodness is not fulli to be praised for ther is noman nor in Dutschland, nor in Pohle, nor in Bocheme, nor in Netherland, nor in England … handling, wich hat not neede of these Ten speaches that herein are written and declared: for wether that any-man

[4] The order of vernaculars admitted into the early polyglots was indicative of their significance. More exactly, the most prominent language usually came first or was arranged leftmost, whereas the least significant vernacular came last or was arranged rightmost (Hüllen 1999: 109).

[5] Since *Gazophylacium* includes dialogues instead of lists of words and glosses, it is more suitable to speak here of parts of text rather than wordlists.

do Marchandise, or that hee do handle in the Court, or that hee followe the warres, or that hee be a trauaillinh man, hee should neede to have an Interpretour for som of these Speaches the wich I considering have at my great coste Bot to your great profite brought thesame speaches here …

Keeping this vast readership in mind, let us look at two samples of the bilingual dialogues in their original orthography (the columns having been resized):

Polish part	English part
M. Pietrze, ukroyćie tey szołdry, przynieście sám Rzodkwie / Pasternáku y Káppárow, przedłożćie Dawidowi nieco od tego Zájącá y od tego Króliká, rozkroyćie Kuropátwy wy nam nic nie násługujećie / bądźćie wszyscy weseli proszę was.	M. Peter carue up the shoulder: bringt hithi er Radishes, carrets, and capers: geeue David of thathare, and of the connyes / carue up the Partriches, you serue ut not: make all good cheerie, I pray you.
R. Tu jest záprawdę dostátek w czym się rádować y rozweselić.	R. Here is well to make merye with.
P. Janie, náleyćie nam pić.	P. Iohn fill us salvere to drinke.
J. Niemász Tu Winá.	J. Ther is heere no more Wine.
C. Wszák jeszcze nie pozno, bo jeszcze Kramarze nie otworzyli Sklepow swoich áni towarych swojich nie wyłożyli / obłoczcie się wskok /	C. It is not late, the marchauntes haue not yet opend the ir shoppes, nether thier ware vnfolde, make your self readie at ease.
A. Poydźiemy do Kościołá, nágotuy zatym nieco náśniádanie.	A. wee go to the church prepare in the meane While the breake fast.
C. Cóż wam nágotować mam? Dziś jest Rybny Dźień. Jest postny Dzień … Nágotuj nam tedy Tuzin świeżych Jajec w popiele pieczonych cieply Kołaczy a świeżego Másłá. Podźmyż Panowie, á jużeśćie gotowi?	C. what shall I prepare for you? It is to day a fish day it is fastyn day … prepare vs then, a dosen of new layde egges rosted in the imbers, new hot cakes, and sweet butter: let vsgo sirs, are you redy?

Table 1. Samples of Warmer's Polish and English parts

One will find some spelling mistakes in both language versions. It is clearly a disadvantage, but the dialogues were to teach, in the first place, a spoken rather than written language. How exactly that aim was to be achieved for vernaculars like English, given that the colloquy contains no introductory section on English pronunciation, remains a mystery. On top of that, the author suggests that the users who do not want to learn the whole book by heart can select and memorise a suitable part of it: "And if so be that you may not learn the whole without booke, then take out thesame that you haud most need of this dooing …". To contemporary learners, this would be a most awkward way of pursuing fluency in a foreign language.

According to Zwoliński (1981: 55), the Polish part of *Gazophylacium* was infiltrated by dialectal words to such an extent that it could be treated as a fully-fledged handbook of the Silesian dialect, which Warmer had apparently acquired in his youth.

Prędota, Woronczak (2002: 23) emphasise that the Polish text is characterised by colloquialisms (e.g. *ktorzeście wy*), lexical archaisms (e.g. *kmotrá, okrom*), and archaic collocations and phraseologisms (e.g. *ledwie chleb suchy zyskáć, Ja wam ślubuję za to*).[6] Taking into account the multicultural and multiethnic composition of Warmer's background communities, it comes as little surprise that he employs frequent Bohemisms and Germanisms, which must have been part and parcel of his own idiolect. At the same time, Warmer's use of Polish diacritics is more adequate than was the case with the other dictionaries, even though light [á] and [é] have been indicated inconsistently, some marks are missing (e.g. *pozno* instead of *późno*), and diacritics over letters representing consonants softened by the vowel /i/ (e.g. *przedłożćie, dźień, rozkroyćie, jużeśćie*) are actually superfluous.[7]

Speaking of the English part, it is by no means original. A comparative analysis shows that it has been derived, practically in its entirety, from one of an array of popular colloquies of the so-called "Berlaimont type" attributed to Noël de Berlaimont's *Colloquia et dictionariolum*.[8] Hüllen (1999: 107) claims that, between 1530 (the date of the first known edition) and 1703, more than a hundred editions of the original bilingual volume appeared throughout Europe, embracing up to eight languages. It is noteworthy that, by including as many as ten vernaculars arranged side by side, Warmer's *Gazophylacium* in fact broke the existing record (Prędota, Woronczak 2002: 11). To my knowledge, *Gazophylacium* is the only known version of Berlaimont's colloquy which paired Polish with English.[9]

A sample of the left-hand side of Warmer's volume, with the Polish and English parts arranged in parallel columns, is shown in Fig. 1.

Zwoliński (1981: 55) argues that the multilingual text of *Gazophylacium* could be prepared long before the publication; the main argument for this hypothesis is that the date "1682" appears in it several times. However, in the light of what has been discovered, this does not seem to have been the case. We do not know when Warmer came across Berlaimont's colloquy; it might have been in his student days, but also much later than that.[10] Leipzig, however, is important in this context, because only two editions of Leipzig (1602 and 1611) had included the Czech part which Warmer admitted into *Gazophylacium*. All in all, it can be assumed with

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[6] It should be noted that the Dutch and Polish parts of *Gazophylacium* edited by Prędota, Woronczak (2002) have been modernised.

[7] Speaking of the last case, it is likely that the author wanted to indicate the right way to pronounce the words (cf. Rospond 2005: 71). On the other hand, this type of spelling is occasionally found in Old Polish texts.

[8] I juxtaposed Warmer's handbook with *Colloqvia, et dictionariolvm octo lingvarum…* published in 1677 in Venice, and the portions of the English text that I compared are identical. In addition to that, the first letter in chapter 8 is addressed "To my beloued father Peter of Berlamoint", which is a transparent proof of Warmer's plagiarism.

[9] The English part in Berlaimont's colloquy appeared for the first time in 1576, and English soon became prominent as the leftmost language. This should be seen as recognition of England's growing power as a "politically and culturally leading European nation" (Stein 1989: 48, 51).

[10] Prędota (2004: 286) points to the "local colour" of *Gazophylacium*, which includes occasional references to *Wrocław* (Eng. *Breszla*), *Brzeg* (Eng. *Brieghe*) and a tenant's house in Wrocław's old town, *przy zlotey Koronie* (Eng. *the golden Crowne*).

208 GERMANICE.	POLONICE.	BOHEMICE.	BELGICE	ANGLICE.
wiederkommen.	przyde.	sſem přigdu.	weder comen sal.	I will com againe.
A. Höret doch/	A. Słyſźćie wy	A. Geſtliſſi/ ſlyſſte	A. Hoort hier:	A. Harke:
Morgen frühe	Jutro rano	na zeytřj rano	morgen vroech/	to morrow morning,
ehe ihr mein Pferd	pierwey niżeli mojego	prew nezli mého	eer ghy mijn Peert	before you
trencket/ ſo führets	koniá napoiźćie záprowadźćie go do kowalá/	Koně napogiſſ	t'n drinck leydt/ ſoo	water my horſe,
zum Huf-Schmiede:	á niech da dobry pozor	wěd gey do Kowaře	léyet torren hoef-smit	bryng him to the ſmith,
und daß er wol zu ſehe	áby mu gwoždzi	a nech dá dobry pozor	ende dat hy rechte/	and let him take heede,
daß ers nicht	do nogi ne whił.	aby hřebum	dat hijs niet en	for prlacking
vernagele.	D. wy Pánowie	ſle ne whił.	vernegelt.	him.
D. Ihr Herren/	nie zápominayćie	D. wy Páni	D. Mijn Heeren/	D. Sirs,
vergeſſets nicht	do mnie pić	ne zapomenegte	en verghetet my	do not forget
mir eins zu bringen	Ja wam wżyſtkim	mi gednu pripiti	niente brenghen: ende	to drinke to mee:
und ich wil euch allen	ſpełnię.	wa ſe wam wſſem	ick ſal u allegheliick	and I will
Beſcheid thun/	A. Zá prawdę	pohohne oddám.	beſcheet doen.	pledge you all.
A. Fürwahr ihr thut	źle cżynićie	A. Wſem	A. Seker u ghy hebt	A. Trulie, you are
gar unbillich daran/	iż ták dobre Towa-	ſle wy činite	groot onghelijck/	to blame,
daß ihr eine ſo gutte	ryſtwo rozprawiacie.	ſe tak dobre	ſo goeden gheſelſchap	to breake
Geſellſchaffe zerſtöret/	D. Nicmáż żadnego	Towaryſtwo luěite.	te'breken.	ſuch a good companie.
D. Es iſt kein	inſzego środku	D. Nemit žadneho	D. Daer en is	D. There is
ander Mittel/	Jutro wam	ginebo proſtředku	gheenen raet toe/	no remedie,
ich wil euch Morgen	cáły dzień	Zeytra wám	ick ſal u morghen	I will to morrow
den gantzen Tag	Towarzyſtwem bede.	cely Den	al den dach	all the day loug
Geſellſchaffe leiſten/	A. Cotám jeſt	Towaryſſem budem.	ghheſelſchap houden/	keepe you companie.
A. Was für volck	zá Lud?	A. Co tam za Lid	A. Wat volck	A. What folke
iſt darinnen?	B. Są Goście.	w pokogi?	is daer binnen?	be there within?
B. Es ſind Gäſte.	A. Z kąd ſu?	B. Sau Hoſté.	B. T ſijn gaſten.	B: They begeſſe.
A. Von wannen ſind ſie?	B. Z tego Miáſtá,	A. Od kudy ſu?	A. Van waer ſijnſe?	A. Of what countrye?
B. Aus dieſer Stadt/	lubi ſie wam	B. Stoheto Měſta	B. Van deſer ſtadt:	B. Of this towne,
beliebet euch mit	z nimi jáść?	libili ſe wam	beliefuet u	will it pleaſe you
ihnen zu ſpeiſen?		ſnimi ſtoliti?	met hun t'eten?	to ſup with them?
				eſſe redi-

Figure 1. A sample page from Warmer's colloquy

some confidence that the author owned a copy of Berlaimont's handbook, which was treated as a model for his own publication. One major difference between the two colloquies is that the earlier one additionally included multilingual glossaries (cf. Stein 1989: 50–58).

Establishing which edition of Berlaimont's handbook Warmer copied, having modified it slightly, is fraught with difficulty. Prędota (2004: 286) finds affinity between *Gazophylacium* and the 1616 edition of *Colloquia et dictionariolum septem linguarum* … published at Antwerp, but the Flemish part was recorded in numerous editions published throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Hüllen 1999: 106–118). On the other hand, Warmer must have translated the Polish part himself. This is all the more interesting that, in 1646, another edition of the colloquy with Polish, *Hexaglosson dictionarium cum multis colloquijs* …, left the Warsaw printing office of Piotr Elert. One may risk a hypothesis that Warmer did not know Elert's edition; it is possible that he would not have undertaken the Polish translation if he had had that book at hand.

Nevertheless, it can be regarded as a fortunate accident, because Warmer's language is more natural and idiomatic than Elert's, whose dialogues are somewhat stilted and artificial. Perhaps Warmer hoped to kill two birds with one stone, providing the Polish user with a functional (sense for sense) rather than formal (word for word) translation. As the author was a fluent (native?) speaker of German, the German

part apparently became the source text for the Polish translation. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that many nouns in the Polish part, likewise in the German one, start with an upper-case letter, which looks like a perfect case of interference.[11] Capitalised content words were obviously typical of Early Modern English texts, too, yet the Polish part cannot be regarded as a translation of the English one. Firstly, Warmer supposedly did not have any knowledge of English and, secondly, there are lexical and semantic changes between the two language versions (e.g. Pol. *pasternak* 'parsnip' / Eng. *carrot*; Pol. *świeże masło* 'fresh butter' / Eng. *sweet butter*; Pol. *kościoł* 'church' / Eng. *temple*; Pol. *obywatela we Gdansku* 'the citizen of Danzig' / Eng. *dwelling in te Danzig*).

Let us now compare a sample of the Polish parts included in Warmer's *Gazophylacium* (1691) and *Hexaglosson dictionarium cum multis colloquijs* (1646). The corresponding texts are provided in their original orthography (the columns having been resized):

***Gazophylacium* (1691)**	***Hexaglosson* (1646)**
H. á jáko śię macie?	H. Jak się masz?
J. mam się dobrze / (chwałá Bogu.) Sługá Wászeci! A á wam Hermes / jáko śię powodźi? dobrze?	I. Dobrze sie mam z łaski Bożey ná usługe twoię. Coż ty Hermes / iakoć sie w rzeczach powodzi / dobrze?
H. tákże, mam śię tez dobrze / jákoż śię má wász Oćiec y wászá Mátká?	H. Ja też dobrze sie mam. iako sie máią Oćiec y Matká twoia?
J. mają się dobrze/ chwałá Bogu.	I Dobrze sie maiąz łaski Bożey
M. Toć Ja uczynię y Prawdy się dowiem / Idz á przijkryj Stoł a pospieszay śię.	M. Ták uczynię / za prawdę będę wiedziałá / Idź nakryi stoł / a kwap się
J. Dobrze / miła Mátko Toć Ja ućzynię Kędyż jest obrus?	I. Chętnie moia Mátko: Gdzież iest obrus?
M. obrus leży w Izbie ná szenkowni Postaw Sol napierwej / nie możesz tego pamiętać? Jużemci powiedzála więcej niżeli dwádźie-śćia rázow niczego śię nieuczysz / toć wielka Hańba: idź przynieś tálerze, Kubki y Serwety.	M. Obrus leży wewnątrz ná służbie Postaw naprzod sol / nie możesz o tym pomnieć: Jużemci mowił więcej nád dwá dzieściá rázy / nic nieumiesz / barzo szpetna rzecz iest: Poday talerze / kieliszki / y ręcznik.

Table 2. A sample of the Polish parts in *Gazophylacium* (1691) and *Hexaglosson* (1646)

[11] Defined as "the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary (kinship, color, weather, etc.)" (Weinreich 1970: 1), interference has traditionally been related to linguistic transfer. By involving mediation between two languages, however, translation is in fact a classic instance of language contact situations with the same mechanism of linguistic transfer. What deserves attention is that transfer in translation is always asymmetrical, because it is the source language that influences the target language (Toury 1995: 275).

To recapitulate, Warmer's dialogues built around a selection of everyday vocabulary made use of fixed expressions for welcoming, inviting for a meal, toasting, reproaching, apologising, saying goodbye, etc. to present the language(s) used in natural settings, at least as closely as good manners permitted. In this way, the colloquy was not aimed at boosting the users' bookish competence; instead, it provided ways to improve the command of the foreign languages for purely practical purposes, be it negotiations in trade or a meeting at an inn.[12] These are sufficient arguments to suggest that, regardless of its methodological shortcomings, *Gazophylacium* could do good service to British speakers. Since no other colloquies of the "Berlamoint type" recorded Polish and English parts, it was actually the only handbook at that time to facilitate direct communication between speakers of English and Polish.

3.2. Peter Simon Pallas' *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa … / Sravnitel'nye slovari vsex" jazykov" i narečij …* (1787–1789)

The two-volume dictionary entitled *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa, Augustissimae cura collecta. Sectionis primae, linguas Europae et Asiae complexae / Sravnitel'nye slovari vsex" jazykov" i narečij, sobrannye desniceju vsevysočajšej osoby. Otdelenie pier'voe, soderžaščee v" sebe evropejskie i aziatskie jazyki* (1787–1789) was compiled by Peter Simon Pallas [1741–1811], a German naturalist.[13] In 1767, in appreciation of his scientific achievements, the Russian Tsarina Catherine the Great invited Pallas to St. Petersburg, offering him membership at the Imperial Academy of Sciences and Arts. Pallas accepted the invitation which allowed for his research to be conducted under the protectorate and with ample financial support of the empress. When in Russia, he undertook two major expeditions to the remote provinces which he then described in detailed reports (in German),[14] and which – one might assume – made him acquainted not only with the fauna and flora of the tsarist empire, but also with the vernaculars spoken by the peoples inhabiting its territories. This, however, is only part of the story.

The conception of the dictionary goes back to the early eighteenth century. In 1713, the German polymath Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz instigated Tsar Peter the Great to have specimens collected of the vernaculars of the Russian empire, preferably the Ten Commandments and the Lord's Prayer, in order to throw light on "ancient history and the origin of nations" (Grahame, Johnstone 1865: 415).[15] Five years later, Leibniz

[12] Hüllen (1999: 113) adds that an issue like friendship might have been one of the reasons for learning foreign languages.

[13] The author's detailed biography can be found in Wendland (1992).

[14] According to Kolchinsky (2004: 111–112), of the many expeditions undertaken in Russia throughout the eighteenth century, Pallas' scientific travels turned out to be most productive. It should be emphasised that Pallas "described regions of Russia that had not yet been modified by human influence and were inhabited by species that became extinct just a few decades ago (for example, the wild horse in the European part of Russia); this contribution has imperishable value for contemporary science".

[15] It was not a fully innovative idea, as translations of the Lord's Prayer had been collected and examined for resemblances long before. For instance, Poster, Ambrogio, and Bibliander

wrote a letter of inquiry, "Appeal concerning languages of peoples", which was an instruction for travellers of how to collect samples of languages, asking for examples of words expressing "common things". In Leibniz's view, the core vocabulary items should include names, numbers, relatives, ages, parts of the body, necessities, *naturalia*, and actions (cited in Trautmann 2006: 31–32).

To the Tsar, however, the idea does not seem to have had much appeal. It was only Catherine the Great, with her lively interest in foreign languages, who initiated a project in comparative philology.[16] The fruit of her interest was a set of two dictionaries embracing equivalents in 200 European and Asian languages for 273 headwords, of which 130 went into volume 1 and 143 into volume 2.[17] Originally, the dictionary was to include the languages of the whole world, but finding equivalents representing tongues spoken in far-flung corners of the globe would have taken time. George Washington, for instance, promised to provide the empress with a list of words from American Indian languages, but it obviously had to be collected first. Since Catherine was impatient to have the volumes printed as soon as possible, she "forged ahead regardless" (Dixon 2010: 275).

Despite the preface's laudatory claims of the empress' direct involvement, how she contributed to the polyglot dictionary is hard to tell. Different authors have spoken, somewhat euphemistically, of "personal application and patronage" (Wiseman 1842: 21), "passion" for collecting materials (Grahame, Johnstone 1865: 415), and "evidence of the far-sighted policy" (Schele de Vere 1853: 59), even though her genuine contribution was apparently confined to the conceptual design only. Be that as it may, the Tsarina must have put into the project enthusiasm rather than expertise; her determination to detect Slavonic influences in many of the world's languages proved anything but sound linguistic knowledge. Despite this, Catherine boasted to Baron Melchior Grimm that the comparative etymological dictionary "is perhaps the most useful thing that has ever been done for all languages and every dictionary" (cited in Dixon 2010: 275).

The empress needed a scholar to breathe life into her grand project, and Peter Simon Pallas, a respected German academician and prolific author settled in St. Petersburg, was commissioned with the task of compiling the dictionary and subsequently preparing it for publication. Yet Catherine's request was "noways suited to his taste or previous pursuits; it was imposed on him against his will; and consequently came forth very imperfect" (Wiseman 1842: 22). After all, Pallas was a naturalist, far more interested in and competent at collecting specimens of

provided European scholars with the translations in most of the Near Eastern languages; in his *Mithiridates* (1555), Conrad Gesner included the Lord's Prayer in 22 different languages; and in 1591, Angelo Rocca, the director of the Vatican printing press, published the prayer in a (Romanised) Chinese version (Lach 1977: 515).

[16] Empirical interest in the spatial dimension of languages is claimed to have appeared first in countries with a marked linguistic heterogeneity (Lameli 2010: 569–570), of which tsarist Russia can be taken as a case in point.

[17] The 273 words were additionally followed by twelve names for numbers, which is why some authors speak of 285 headwords.

nature than samples of languages, but it was self-evident that Catherine's request could not be refused.[18]

It is not only Pallas who got involved in the project. In order to accomplish the empress' ambitious aims, the tsarist bureaucracy was employed, and high Russian officials were urged to search for words from the missing languages (of which Breton is a good example). Moreover, Hartwich Bacmeister, Pallas' friend and collaborator, addressed a 34-page pamphlet to the "scholars and language lovers of Europe", sending out 600 printed copies translated into four parallel languages: Russian, French, Latin, and German (Plank 2003: 8–9). In this way, *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa* was one of few dictionaries of the day – perhaps even the only one – based on a questionnaire.[19]

It is hard to believe that the rich multilingual material of Pallas' dictionary came from informants only. One might anticipate instead that a proportion of the equivalents were excerpted from the questionnaires received, whereas the remaining ones were copied from existing resources. Indeed, in his review of 1787, Kraus (cited in Kaltz 1985: 239–240) mentions a handful of manuscripts drawn from "a multitude of manuscript dictionaries which the Czarina had collected in her spacious empire, and which had been laboriously compared to one another", and Strahlenberg's *Das nord- und ostliche Theil von Europa und Asia …* (1730), with its Kalmuck glossary, is among several other sources listed by Adelung (1815: xi). More contemporaneously, evidence has been found for Pallas' use of Ortega's *Vocabulario en lengua castellana y cora …* (1732), Rüdiger's *Grundriß einer Geschichte der menschlichen Sprache …* (1782), and Hervás' *Aritmetica delle nazioni e divisione …* (1786) (Osterkamp 2010).

Let us finally look at the dictionary itself. It starts with a title page and preface in Latin, followed by a mirror title page and preface in Russian. Interestingly, while the Latin title makes it clear that the vocabulary was collected by the empress (*Augustissimae cura collecta*), the Russian one alludes to it having been compiled "with the hand of a most noble person" (*sobrannye desniceju vsevysočajšej osoby*). The Latin preface written by Pallas, or so we are told, includes a short list of dictionaries consulted for Celtic dialects, Gothic, and Anglo-Saxon; this is the only information concerning the sources used in the compilation of the comparative dictionary. The last component of the front matter is explanations on the letters of the Cyrillic alphabet.

The dictionary is peculiar in several respects. Firstly, it provides foreign equivalents, in as many as 200 languages, for only 273 Russian headwords, which are arranged in a roughly topical manner (ГОЛОВА 'head', ЛИЦО 'face', НОС 'nose',

[18] In a letter to Friedrich Adelung dated 8 December 1809, Pallas explains his motives as follows: "… wie ich denn überhaupt gar nicht der Mann war, auf den die Ausführung eines solchen Werkes hätte fallen sollen, welches ich nur aus Ergebenheit gegen eine so huldreiche Kayserin gern übernahm, und herauszugeben eilen muste, um die Ungedult, womit mann die Bogen aus der presse erwartete, nicht zu spannen" (cited in Wendland 1992: 494–495).

[19] The questionnaires received from informants, listed by Adelung, are available at the Adelung Archive of the Manuscript Department of the Saltykov-Sčedrin Library in Sankt-Petersburg (Plank 2003: 8–9).

НОЗДРИ ‘nostrils’, ГЛАСЪ ‘eye’, БРОВИ ‘brows’, etc.).[20] On closer inspection, the order turns out to be far from accidental: the Russian wordlist of *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa* is patterned closely on Leibniz’s list of key vocabulary. Secondly, both the lemmas and the vernaculars are numbered – Polish comes tenth, whereas English is thirty second[21] – which has never been a common lexicographic practice. Thirdly, and most importantly, all the foreign equivalents are recorded in the Cyrillic alphabet, which has resulted in inevitable changes to the shape of the words. Paradoxically, in spite of its conspicuously multilingual material, to a Western eye the dictionary resembles a monolingual work.

Needless to say, there are a number of mismatches in both wordlists. For example, neither Eng. ВвелЪ (*vvel″* < ‘well’), with a double consonant at the front, nor Коу (*kou* < ‘cow’), ending with a vowel, can be taken as accurately recreated items. Similarly, transcribing Eng. ФїйлдЪ (*fijld″* < ‘field’) into the Latin alphabet, the lexicographer came up with an ingenious but not fully adequate method of expressing the long English vowel /i:/ as a combination of a vowel and glide (cf. Mańczak-Wohlfeld 2001: 182–183). Mistakes in the Polish wordlist are also apparent. For instance, the spelling of Pol. Моржа (*morža* < ‘morze’) suggests that the word should be pronounced both with the rolling /r/ and the retroflex fricative /ž/, and the same has been observed in the case of Дóбрже (*dobrže* < ‘dobrze’) and Варжиць (*waržic′* < ‘warzyć’). This demonstrates, beyond any doubt, that the lexicographer resorted to written sources only, because the Polish digraph *rz* corresponds to only one sound. The examples of Лайфе (*lajfe* < ‘life’) and ШоулдерЪ (*šoulder′* < ‘shoulder’) are additional clues which help us figure out that one should speak of transliterated rather than transcribed items.[22] As might be expected, the use of the soft sign (*′* < ь) and the hard sign (*″* < ъ) is not, as it seems, guided by any clear-cut principle.

Headword	Polish equivalent	English equivalent
6. ДОЧЬ.	Польски – Цурка.	Аглински – ДáтерЪ.
23. УХО.	Польски – Ухо.	Аглински – ИрЪ.
33. ПЛЕЧО.	Польски – Лопатка, Рамѣ.	Аглински – ШоулдерЪ.
42. КОЖА.	Польски – Скóра.	Аглински – СкинЪ.
68. ЖИЗНЬ.	Польски – ЖицѢ, ЖивотЪ.	Аглински – Лайфе.
92. ВЕСНА.	Польски – Вїосма.	Аглински – СпрингЪ.
99. МОРЕ.	Польски – Моржа.	Аглински – Си.

[20] For reasons of consistency, the Russian, Polish and English words cited in this section have been kept in the original typography.

[21] The list of languages includes also Anglo-Saxon (Old English), which comes thirty first.

[22] However, there are also occasional cases which prove to the contrary, e.g. ФифЪ (fif″ < ‘thief’ /θi:f/).

Headword	Polish equivalent	English equivalent
138. ПОЛЕ.	Польски – Поля.	Аглински – ФїйлдЪ.
141. РОЖЬ.	Польски – Жито.	Аглински – Рей.
149. КОРОВА.	Польски – Крова.	Аглински – Коу.
182. ТАТЬ, ВОРЪ.	Польски – Зло́дзѣй, ВорЪ.	Аглински – ФифЪ.
216. ДОБРО.	Польски – До́брже.	Аглински – ВвелЪ, ГудЪ.
242. ВАРИТЬ.	Польски – Варжиць.	Аглински – Бойль, Кукь.
264. НАДЪ.	Польски – НадЪ.	Аглински – ОверЪ, УпЪ, УпонЪ.

Table 3. A sample of Pallas' headwords with Polish and English equivalents

As can be seen above, in most cases the vernaculars are represented by single words, but occasionally two or more near-synonyms are recorded side by side, e.g. Бойль, Кукь (*bojl'* < 'boil', *kuk'* < 'cook') or ЖицѢ, ЖивотЪ[23] (*žice* < 'życie', *život''* < 'żywot'). Surprisingly, while Pol. Зло́дзѣй (*zlodzej* < 'złodziej') can be regarded as an adequate equivalent of Russ. ТАТЬ / ВОРЪ, the use of ВорЪ (*vor''* < 'wor') in Polish is rather dubious; to my knowledge, it might at best have been a dialectal word. As for English, ОверЪ, УпЪ, УпонЪ (*over''* < 'over', *up''* < 'up', *upon''* < 'upon') are treated as English translation equivalents of НАДЪ, but 'above' has arguably been more prototypical, so to say, than 'up' or 'upon'.

A sample entry (or, more precisely, the initial part of it) can be seen in Figure 2 below.

In the most extensive and insightful review of the dictionary attempted thus far, Kraus (cited in Kaltz 1985) raised a number of both theoretical and practical issues, including methods of data collection, the quality of sources, problems of designation, differences in language structure, linguistic boundaries, and peculiarities of articulation. Having investigated Pallas' endeavour in relation to these facets, he found serious inadequacies in it. It is worth quoting a relevant passage from the English translation of the review (Kaltz 1985: 242–243):

> The lack of accuracy these examples make apparent … is indeed both surprising and unpleasant; it must raise doubts regarding the usefulness of such linguistic data and stress the necessity of critical correction. And if this is the case with data from the European languages which are written and easy to investigate, then it is to be feared that similar and even more serious imperfection will occur to a far greater extent in the account of words from unwritten languages of uncivilized nations, drawn from travel descriptions and manuscripts … Moreover, the pronunciation of identical words will somewhat vary with almost every speaker (just like, to a certain extent, their meaning in every instance), and will often be realized in such an unusual manner that one does not know which speaker to follow, or how to tame the alien sounds with the chosen normal spelling.

[23] The character ѣ called "jat" represents the Old Cyrillic alphabet. Since it is a historical antecedent of Modern Russian *e*, it has been transliterated here as *e*.

154. Собака.

7	По Сорабски - -	ПисЪ.
8	—Полабски -	ПїасЪ.
9	—Кашубски -	. . . .
10	—Польски - -	ПѣсЪ.
11	—Малороссїйски	ПисЪ.
12	—Суздальски -	Сунега.
13	—Кельтски -	Догь.
14	—Бретански -	Ки.
15	—Басконски -	. . . .
16	—Ирландски -	ГадарЪ.
17	—Эрзо-Шотланд-ски	МэддэдЪ.
18	—Валски - -	Ки.
19	—Корнвалски -	Кей.
20	—Еллински -	КыонЪ.
21	—Ново-Гречески	СкилосЪ.
22	—Латински -	КанисЪ.
23	—Италїански -	Кане.
24	—Неаполитански	Кане.
25	—Испански -	Перро.
26	—Португальски	Ко́нЪ.
27	—Романски и древне-французски	КанЪ, ЖинЪ.
28	—Ново-французски	ШїэнгЪ.
29	—Валлезански -	. . . .
30	—Готїйски -	҂ундсЪ.
31	—Англо-Саксонски	҂ундЪ.
32	—Аглински -	ДогЪ, ҂оундь.
33	—Тевтонски -	҂ундЪ.
34	—Нижне-Германски	Рээ, Тэвс.
45	По Албански -	КенЪ.
46	—Волошски -	Кыине, КыцелЪ.
47	—Венгерски -	Кутя.
48	—Аварски - -	. . . .
49	—Кубачински -	Вой.
50	—Лезгински, рода Анцугъ	Рогь.
51	— —р. ДжарЪ -	҂е, Дважи.
52	— —р. ХунзагЪ	҂уе.
53	— —р. Дидо -	Гвай.
54	—Чюхонски -	Коира.
55	—Эстландски -	Коэрь.
56	—Корельски -	Коира.
57	—Олонецки -	Коиру.
58	—Лопарски -	ПїэднакЪ, Кэйре
59	—Зырянски -	Понь.
60	—Пермякски -	Понь.
61	—Мордовски -	Пиня.
62	—Мокшански -	Пиня.
63	—Черемиски -	Пїи, Пїѣ, Пигане.
64	—Чювашски -	Еда, Ги́да.
65	—Вотяцки -	Пуны.
66	—Вогульски, по р. Чюссовой	Емба, Амба.
67	— —въ Верхотурской округѣ	Ампь.
68	— —околоЧердыма	Ампа.
69	— —около Березова	Ампь.
70	—Остяцки около	

Figure 2. A sample entry from Pallas' dictionary

There is every indication that the harsh criticism is fully deserved. An arbitrary and uncritical selection of Polish and English equivalents, as well as problems with recreating them in the Cyrillic alphabet are vivid evidence of the dictionary's methodological defects. However, just as Kraus predicted, the treatment of the remote languages, of which a comparative analysis of Pallas' Korean equivalents is a case in point (Osterkamp 2010), is even more erroneous. It can therefore be taken for granted that, should the dictionary be ever examined in its entirety, even more baffling oddities will come to the fore.

Summing up, Pallas' work was clearly intended as a framework for large-scale research in comparative linguistics, but its potential turned out to be far less impressive than had been originally envisaged. Interestingly, despite all its imperfections, the dictionary did exert some influence on other researchers such as Benjamin Smith Barton, the author of a comparative wordlist of American Indian languages (Andresen 1990: 24).

As already mentioned, the dictionary was followed shortly by the second, four-volume edition under the (slightly altered) Russian title *Sravnitel'nyj slovar" vsex" jazykov" i narečij …* (1790–1791). It was prepared, upon the order of Catherine the Great, by Theodor Jankiewitsch de Miriewo, a Serbian teacher and scholar.[24] The compiler copied the material of the first edition, adding words from more than 70 African and American languages and dialects omitted by Pallas.[25] However, by making an alphabetical list of the vernacular words which he explained in Russian, de Miriewo did not conform to the system employed by his predecessor. His fanciful method, in turn, did not win the approbation of the empress, who ordered that the whole edition be suppressed.[26] Consequently, any copies of the second edition are extremely rare today.[27] For reason of comparison, part of a sample entry drawn from the second edition is shown below:

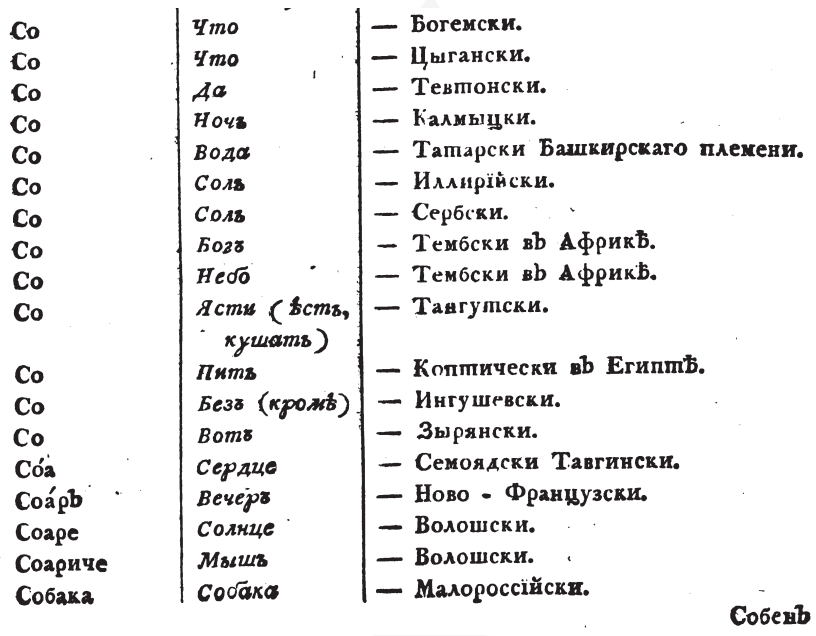
Со Что — Богемски.
Со Что — Цыгански.
Со Да — Тевтонски.
Со Ночь — Калмыцки.
Со Вода — Татарски Башкирскаго племени.
Со Соль — Иллирїйски.
Со Соль — Сербски.
Со Бозъ — Тембски въ Африкѣ.
Со Небо — Тембски въ Африкѣ.
Со Ясти (Ѣсть, кушать) — Тавгутски.
Со Пить — Коптически въ Египтѣ.
Со Безъ (кромѣ) — Ингушевски.
Со Вотъ — Зырянски.
Со́а Сердце — Семоядски Тавгински.
Соа́рь Вечеръ — Ново - Французски.
Соаре Солнце — Волошски.
Соариче Мышь — Волошски.
Собака Собака — Малороссійски.
Собень

Figure 3. A sample entry from Jankiewitsch de Miriewo's edition

[24] In the literature, one can encounter the name spelled in a variety of ways: Yankievich de Mirievo, Jankovič de Mirjevo, Janković de Mirievo, Yankovich de Mirievo, Jean Kiewitch, Jan Kiewitch, Jankovitz or Iankovich.

[25] The second edition is known to have included 272, 279, or 280 languages (Müller 1861: 136–137). Whatever the actual number, it is clear that neither the first nor the second edition embraced "all languages and dialects" both titles so boldly heralded.

[26] Much criticism has been levelled at the second edition. For instance, Stankiewicz (1984: 133) has this to say about de Miriewo's endeavour: "The work is a cumbersome reference tool, since the entries are listed alphabetically, and no aid is provided for the location of words in a particular language".

[27] A fuller account has been provided by Du Ponceau (1827:3–4), a French linguist settled in the United States, who analysed the native languages of North and South America.

It goes without saying that, for the British immigrants in Poland, *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa* had one inherent "flaw:" it was printed in the Cyrillic alphabet, which was not widely known to Western scholars, let alone people lacking in education (for England, see Stone 2005).[28] Moreover, both the dictionary's inadequate coverage, confined to barely 273 lemmas, as well as the alleged empirical purposes for which it had been compiled suggest that it was not suitable for practical, everyday use.

Conclusions

As this study has shown, the very beginnings of Polish-English / English-Polish lexicography can be successfully traced back to multilingual dictionaries, of which the first three were published in the Renaissance, whereas the other two came out in the Enlightenment.[29] Speaking of the latter, they embrace extremely heterogeneous lexical material; in fact, the two works subsumed under the umbrella term "polyglot dictionary" could not have been more different. That they cover a considerable time span – nearly a hundred years – is only one of the reasons, because the differences in design reflect, first and foremost, dissimilar purposes that the works were meant to serve.

It has been established that the Polish and English wordlists of Calepino's, Megiser's, and Henisch's lexicographic works were neither aimed at the British immigrants in Poland nor intended to enable direct communication. Would Warmer's and Pallas' enterprises have been more useful in that respect? As results from my research, Pallas' dictionary was published in the Cyrillic alphabet, unknown to the Westerners, so its usability must have been significantly limited. By contrast, Warmer's colloquy seems to have matched, quite skillfully, the manifold contexts of Polish-English daily interaction, yet there is no evidence that the British settlers ever got hold of it.

To conclude, of all the polyglot dictionaries under analysis, Calepino remains the most successful lexicographic undertaking of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. While the Polish wordlist of Calepino has been subject to analysis, it is astonishing that, despite the dictionary's unique status in the history of European lexicography, its English wordlist has not attracted any scholarly

[28] It should be noted, however, that as early as the sixteenth century, attempts were undertaken to compile bilingual Russian-German and Russian-English dictionaries. An anonymous wordbook entitled *Ein Rusch Boeck* … illustrates the former (see Fałowski 1994, 1996), whereas Mark Ridley's *A Dictionarie of the Vulgar Russe Tongue* (1599) is an example of the latter (see Stone 1996).

[29] Considering the dates of publication, Warmer's and Pallas' works came into existence in the era of the Enlightenment, but only *Linguarum totius orbis vocabularia comparativa*, with its focus on comparative linguistic material, stands out as its true representative. The shape of the colloquy, rooted in the sixteenth century, suggests that, conceptually, Warmer's handbook belongs to the Renaissance. As Hüllen (1999: 107) states aptly, the long life of the colloquy of the "Berlaimont type" mirrored the development of vernacular language teaching.

attention thus far.[30] The implication of this state of research is that Calepino's rich cross-linguistic material remains to be dealt with. No wonder finding out what methodologies of compilation were adopted, what treatment the corresponding Polish and English glosses received, and how the two wordlists are related to each other in terms of equivalence relations remains a desideratum. Based on a research sample checked against the documentation material of Middle Polish and Early Modern English respectively, I hope to provide an assessment of the two wordlists in another paper.

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