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A Comparative Analysis of Piotr Borkowski's (1963) and Roman Gajda's (1970) English–Polish Phraseological Dictionaries: Practice vs. Theory

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Abstract: This paper offers an insight into the short and largely unexplored history of English–Polish and Polish–English phraseological lexicography. It aims to analyse two post-war English–Polish phraseological dictionaries, *An English–Polish Dictionary of Idioms and Phrases* (1963) by Piotr Borkowski and *Wybór idiomów angielskich* [*A Selection of English Idioms*] (1970) by Roman Gajda, from a qualitative and quantitative perspective. At first sight, they seem to share several features, insofar as both are monoscopal English–Polish volumes of a similar size; both were addressed to Polish learners of English; and both drew on *The Kosciuszko Foundation Dictionary*: *English–Polish* (1959), an exhaustive reference work available at that time. Closer scrutiny, however, reveals marked differences not only in the contents of the dictionaries, but also in their authors' ideas of phraseology. This case study is preceded by theoretical considerations concerning the nature of comparative analyses in (meta)lexicographical discourse. The conclusions draw partly on the practical and partly on the theoretical findings.

Keywords: DICTIONARY, POLISH, ENGLISH, PHRASEOLOGY, MULTI-WORD EXPRESSION, IDIOM, EQUIVALENT, COMPARATIVE (META)LEXICOGRAPHY, SOCIOCULTURAL (META)-LEXICOGRAPHY

Opsomming: 'n Vergelykende analise van die Engels—Poolse fraseologiese woordeboeke van Piotr Borkowski (1963) en Roman Gajda (1970): Praktyk vs. teorie. Hierdie artikel bied 'n perspektief op die kort en grootliks onbekende geskiedenis van die Engels–Poolse en Pools–Engelse fraseologiese leksikografie. Daar word gestreef om vanuit 'n kwalitatiewe en kwantitatiewe beskouing twee ná-oorlogse Engels–Poolse fraseologiese woordeboeke, *An English–Polish Dictionary of Idioms and Phrases* (1963) deur Piotr Borkowski en *Wybór idiomów angielskich* [*A Selection of English Idioms*] (1970) deur Roman Gajda, te analiseer. By die eerste aanblik kom dit voor asof hulle, as beide eenrigting- Engels–Poolse woordeboeke van soortgelyke grootte, sekere kenmerke deel; albei is gerig op Poolse leerders van Engels; en albei maak (sterk) gebruik van *The Kosciuszko Foundation Dictionary*: *English–Polish* (1959), 'n uitgebreide naslaanwerk wat ten tyde van die samestelling van hierdie woordeboeke beskikbaar was. By nadere ondersoek blyk dit egter duidelik dat daar merkbare verskille tussen die twee bestaan, nie net in die inhoud van die woordeboeke nie, maar ook in die outeurs se sienings van die fraseologie.

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Hierdie gevallestudie word voorafgegaan deur teoretiese oorwegings rakende die aard van vergelykende analises in die (meta)leksikografiese diskoers. Die gevolgtrekkings waartoe gekom word, word deels op die praktiese en deels op die teoretiese bevindings gebaseer.

Sleutelwoorde: WOORDEBOEK, POOLS, ENGELS, FRASEOLOGIE, MEERWOORDIGE UITDRUKKING, IDIOOM, EKWIVALENT, VERGELYKENDE (META)LEKSIKOGRAFIE, SOSIOKULTURELE (META)LEKSIKOGRAFIE

1. Introduction

Given the European dictionary-making traditions, the history of English–Polish and Polish–English lexicography is not extensive, inasmuch as its beginnings may be traced back to the end of the eighteenth century (Antonowicz 1788), the first major work of reference being published in the mid-nineteenth century (Rykaczewski 1849–1851). Nor has it been particularly rich. Although a number of bilingual dictionaries appeared during that period, most were pocket-size books produced by amateurs rather than specialists. The history of English–Polish phraseological dictionaries, which has attracted very little attention, is even humbler. The first booklet that may be considered a phraseological dictionary, Adam Richter's *Polish Dictionary of English Idioms, Proverbs and Slangs*, came out in Tel-Aviv in 1945 and never found its way into the hands of Polish learners of English, at least in Poland.

Until the early 1950s, only one high-quality dictionary, Mieczysław Kobylański's *Wybór idiomów angielskich* [*A Selection of English Idioms*] (1951), had been launched onto the domestic market. This was by no means a quantum leap, but the volume was compiled by an expert. A graduate in English from the Jagiellonian University in Kraków, Kobylański knew several foreign languages, had both interest in and practical experience of foreign-language teaching, and was well aware of the complexity and fuzzy boundaries of English phraseology. Regrettably, for ideological reasons, the dictionary never went into a second edition (Podhajecka 2020: 134).

The situation improved with the publication of two further phraseological dictionaries: Piotr Borkowski's *An English–Polish Dictionary of Idioms and Phrases* (1963) and Roman Gajda's *Wybór idiomów angielskich* [*A Selection of English Idioms*] (1970). The former was originally issued in London but came to be widely republished on the Polish market. The latter, too, enjoyed unflagging popularity, which required Warsaw's state-owned publisher Wiedza Powszechna continuously to issue subsequent editions well into the 1990s. Needless to say, the demand for English handbooks and bilingual dictionaries in Poland stemmed from the growing significance of English as a foreign language.

This article looks at the two competing English–Polish phraseological dictionaries from a comparative perspective. By exploring the ways in which reference works are contrasted, the case study is also expected to contribute to what may be termed comparative (meta)lexicography and, by researching the

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sociocultural contexts of dictionary production, to what may be termed sociocultural (meta)lexicography.

2. Theoretical considerations

A study of this kind begins with a number of research questions. Some concern the purely comparative perspective: What techniques should be applied in evaluating dictionaries? How different are the techniques used for contrasting general and specialised dictionaries? What are the peculiarities of comparative analyses of phraseological dictionaries? Others pertain to the sociocultural context: What is the relationship between dictionary compilers and their environments? Do dictionaries communicate with existing lexicographical traditions? What motivates compilers to undertake their projects? Let us try to address the theoretical framework first.

Hartmann and James (2001: 24) tell us that *comparison of dictionaries* denotes 'the contrastive evaluation of two or more dictionaries […] for the purpose of dictionary criticism or the study of dictionary history'. The definition of *evaluation* is equally concise: 'the process of assessing a dictionary or other reference work, often in comparison with others. A systematic framework for formulating criteria with respect to coverage, format, scope, size, title etc. has yet to be developed' (Hartmann and James 2001: 53). A review of the literature indicates that this issue has indeed been neglected. Studies dedicated to a variety of dictionaries in both lines of inquiry, ranging from general to fine-grained, abound, however (e.g. Starnes 1963; Kerling 1979; Atkins 1985; Kister 1992; Masuda et al. 1999; Cormier 2003; Miyoshi 2007; Chen 2010; Considine 2014; Lew and Szarowska 2017; McConchie 2019).

Yong and Peng (2021: 222) adumbrate the comparative approach as follows:

> Comparison can be made of different versions and editions of the same dictionary,[1] of different dictionaries of identical and similar types, of different types of dictionaries and of dictionaries across cultures, languages and nations. In doing so, lexicographers can discover attributes dictionaries share; reveal similarities, associations and differences that exist in dictionaries of the same language and culture or different languages and cultures and eventually develop and establish more scientific notions, principles and methodology of lexicography through reference, exemplification and inspiration.

This offers a useful bird's-eye view, but the approach to the task is left unexplained. Faced with methodological obstacles, I decided to treat this issue by rule of thumb, focusing mainly on studies of dictionary history. This results from two factors. Firstly, evaluation criteria proposed in user-oriented studies (e.g. Nakamoto 1995; Nielsen 2009; Swanepoel 2013) clearly favour the synchronic perspective. Secondly, such studies aim "to contribute towards improving the quality of a dictionary […] to help to further progress [in] lexicography per se" (Akasu 2022: 48), whereas historical research tends to have little or no relevance to future lexicography.[2]

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The extent of the subtlety in the differences between the synchronic and diachronic approaches may well be exemplified. Jackson (2002: 176-177) has it that two types of criteria have been distinguished in dictionary criticism: internal and external. The former derives "from what a dictionary says about itself, or what the editors claim", helping to test whether the claims are supported by the working practice. The latter should cover two sets: one relating to "the reference function and the user's perspective" (i.e. presentation and accessibility) and the second "to the recording function of dictionaries" (i.e. content). Irrespective of the universality of this framework, referring to the user's perspective is often futile in the historical context, as it may be hard to establish who the users of, say, a sixteenth-century dictionary were and whether the lexicographical material addressed their needs. Considine (2022: 1) argues that "every educated adult in England, and in much of Wales and Scotland […] had been a careful dictionary user in her or his formative years, because dictionaries and wordlists were the keys to even the most modest knowledge of Latin", but he wisely stops short of conjecture, which would inevitably be speculative.

Comparative analyses take into account the content and structure of two or more dictionaries, especially the megastructure, e.g. the front and middle matter (e.g. Nkomo 2016; Vişan 2018); the macrostructure, including the coverage and types of headwords (e.g. Stein 1985; Ogilvie 2013); and the microstructure with its wide repertoire of information categories (e.g. Cowie 1999; Farina and Durman 2009). For bilingual dictionaries, as Tomaszczyk (1988: 289) notes, the choice of equivalents is an additional parameter (e.g. Frączek 1999; Bately 2009). Analyses are usually done dictionary by dictionary (e.g. Steiner 1970) or feature by feature (e.g. Bogaards 1996), but other configurations also come into play (e.g. Reddick 2009). As might be expected, selected elements are depicted visually, while others are described. To arrive at sound conclusions, scholars are encouraged to combine quantitative and qualitative methods (cf. Coleman and Ogilvie 2009).[3]

Contrary to popular belief, dictionaries are far from impartial repositories of information (e.g. Benson 2002: 4-5; Chen 2015: 312). They are rather socially and culturally rooted in an environment that changes in time and space, which is why they need to be compared in the relevant context (e.g. Fishman 1995: 34). Ever since the first Sumerian word-lists, dictionaries have evolved and the evolution has been prompted by innovation, inspiration, and imitation (e.g. Landau 2001: 46-47; Stein 2014: 397-398). As they are in various degrees influenced by, or indebted to, others' works, tracing them to their sources is essential (e.g. Cormier and Fernández 2004; Podhajecka 2013). Dictionary production has also experienced complex interactive relationships with sociocultural advances, driven by compilers' aspirations and vision. These are also worthy of investigation. All in all, integrating the textual data with biographical and sociocultural information helps discover the stories lying behind "the neatly printed pages of the finished text" (Mugglestone 2011: xii). The more insightful the analysis, the more discoveries will come to light.

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3. Idioms and lexicography

Idioms constitute a central category of phraseology, an interdisciplinary domain which has become "pervasive in all language fields" (Granger and Meunier 2008: xix), but which is in itself a challenge to define consistently (see, e.g., Cowie 2001: 210; Mel'čuk 2012: 31; Miller 2013: 275; Espinal and Mateu 2019). One rudimentary problem in idiom research is that "they are found at one extreme of a continuum ranging from totally free combinations of words to completely frozen, fixed multiword units", exhibiting degrees of fixedness (Fontenelle 2001: 191). Another, as Grant and Bauer (2004: 42) point out, is the use of different sets of criteria and classifications, which has resulted in "mismatches" between the terminologies of a variety of theoretical approaches (Moon 2015: 319), including those of generative linguistics, cognitive linguistics, psycholinguistics, and corpus and computational linguistics.

These complexities lead to practical problems of how one might present idioms in dictionaries for foreign language learners. Several factors are responsible for this state of affairs. Firstly, idioms are characterised by different degrees of opacity and this influences their lemmatization and position within the entry (Harras and Proost 2005: 280-285). It also influences the choice of the form of citation, such as the conventional canonical form (e.g. *to kill two birds with one stone*), a genuine citation (e.g. *fortune favours the brave*), or a contextual use (e.g. *how right you are*). Even if we assume that "dictionary users do seem to expect all multi-word units to have one element that is more important than the others" (Béjoint qtd. in Szczepaniak 2012: 49), finding idioms is fraught with difficulty. Secondly, idioms are "inherently complicated: they have their own internal grammars, their own connotations and pragmatic functions, and they very often have fluid, contextually-dependent meaning" (Moon 1999: 265), all of which may be confusing for the dictionary user. Around 40% of English idioms, moreover, have no fixed forms (Moon 2001: 92); many accept lexical and grammatical variation (Pinnavaia 2002: 57); and some are manipulated creatively despite being no "open-slot idioms" (cf. Solano 2013: 153). For example, of eleven instances of *a bird in the hand* in the BNC, only four end with *is worth two in the bush*; among the innovative creations we find *a bird in the hand is worth two votes for Bush* and *I wanted a bird in the hand, but this one was practically in Shepherd's Bush!* Lastly, idioms represent a distinct linguo-cultural heritage, so seeking equivalence between them and foreign language counterparts may be a daunting task (cf. Piirainen 2008: 248, 252).

From the point of view of language learners, the equivalent is a key element of a bilingual dictionary. Dobrovol'skij (2013) distinguishes four classes, treating the image component as an important criterion:

(1) "full equivalents" ("absolute equivalents"), i.e. idioms of L1 and L2 that are identical with regard to meaning, syntactic and lexical structure, and imagery basis;

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(2) "partial equivalents", i.e. idioms of L1 and L2 that have identical or near-identical meanings, but correspond imperfectly in syntactic and lexical structure, or imagery basis;
(3) "phraseological parallels", i.e. different idioms of L1 and L2 that correspond to each other in the core meaning, but not with regard to the image component;
(4) "non-equivalents", i.e. a given L1 idiom that has no idiomatic correspondences in L2.

Classes (1)–(3) may be safely considered functional equivalents, i.e. lexical items of both L1 and L2 that may be used "in the same situations" (Dobrovol'skij 2000: 169). As idiomatic expressions, they have the same status in both languages, even though the image evoked may be strikingly different.[4] It should be noted that closeness of imagery alone "does not guarantee identity with respect to all parameters of comparison (especially pragmatics)", as Szczepaniak and Adamska-Sałaciak (2010: 91) suggest in their comparative analysis.

4. The lexicographical context

As has been mentioned, until the mid-20th century, most of the English–Polish and Polish–English dictionaries were small and unsophisticated. It was only in the late 1950s and early 1960s that two comprehensive dictionaries appeared. *The Kościuszko Foundation Dictionary: English–Polish* (1959) (henceforth, KFD), compiled by Kazimierz Bulas and Francis Whitfield, was published in the Hague mainly to serve the Western market. In 1961, in collaboration with Lawrence L. Thomas, they produced the Polish–English volume. The first volume had 1029 pages and the second, with 758 pages, was considerably smaller. Bulas, a Polish archaeologist, emigrated to the United States, where he worked as a librarian at Rice University in Houston, whilst Whitfield and Thomas were American Slavists affiliated with the University of California in Berkeley (Adamska-Sałaciak 2016: 84-85).

The second comprehensive dictionary was undertaken by Jan Stanisławski, a Pole born in Siberia and educated in Britain and France, who had already made his name in Poland as a bilingual lexicographer. His monumental work, *The Great English–Polish Dictionary* (1964), was issued by Wiedza Powszechna, a major Polish publisher. The English–Polish volume consisted of 1103 pages and the Polish–English version, published in 1969, as many as 1502 (Piotrowski 2001: 203). Both were furnished with supplements compiled by Stanisławski and his daughter Małgorzata Szercha. Although the KFD was later republished in Poland, Stanisławski's endeavour and its abridgments practically monopolised the Polish dictionary market until the end of the twentieth century.

5. Borkowski's and Gajda's biographies

It is customary for a study of an important dictionary to begin with essential

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biographical facts about its author that may "help to explain some of his lexicographic policies" (Landau 2009: 182-184; cf. Considine 2008; Cormier 2009; Rennie 2012). Neither Borkowski nor Gajda was an accomplished lexicographer, but sketching their biographical backgrounds may nonetheless be of some value.

Piotr Borkowski (1907–1985) was born in Pokrów (in what today is Russia). In 1918, after Poland regained independence, his family moved to Poland. In 1933, he graduated from the Szkoła Główna Handlowa [Principal School of Commerce] in Warsaw and later worked as editor of one of Warsaw's weeklies. He left for France and, when the war broke out, headed to Coëtquidan, in Brittany, where the formation of the Polish Armed Forces in the West began in November 1939 (cf. Grodziska 2001: 346). When France fell, he made his way, through Spain, to Britain (*Pamiętnik literacki* 1986: 78). After the war, he remained in London as a journalist with the Polish-language newspaper *Wiadomości.*

Borkowski had a keen interest in phraseology, which became his hobby-horse. His first publication, *Praktyczny poradnik podatkowy* [*A Practical Tax Guidebook*] (1953), was followed by *An English–Polish Dictionary of Idioms and Phrases* (1963), *The Great Russian–English Dictionary of Idioms and Set Expressions* (1973), and an entertaining book on less serious aspects of dictionary-making, *O językach i słownikach na wesoło* [*A Humourous Look at Languages and Dictionaries*] (1974) (cf. Laks 1978: 14).

The English–Polish dictionary was republished in Britain (London: Odnova 1970, 1972 (2nd ed.), Orbis Books 1982) and the United States (New York: Hippocrene Books 1982, 1983) for the benefit of the 'hyphenated' Polish–British and Polish–American immigrants. It also appeared in Poland (Poznań: Adam Mickiewicz University 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1994). The Polish editions were possible thanks to Jerzy Kulczycki (1931–2013), a Polish publisher and bookseller in England, to whom Borkowski transferred copyright to the dictionary (Fisiak 1989: 3).

The biography of Roman Gajda (1908–?) has received less attention. He was born in Pabianice, in the Łódź province, where his parents worked in the textile industry. Financial difficulties in the family meant that he was unable to pursue a secondary education. Being self-taught, he did odd jobs before settling down as a newspaper editor. Around 1926, the local press first printed samples of his poetry and prose. During the war, he worked for *Głos Ludu* [*The People's Voice*] and afterwards for the Polska Agencja Wydawnicza [Polish Press Agency]. He wrote two novels: *Miasto mojej młodości* [*The Town of My Youth*], an unpublished autobiography, and *Ludzie ery atomowej* [*People of the Atomic Era*] (1957), the first Polish science-fiction novel. He also produced the radio play *Tahiti* and wrote memoirs, which remained in manuscript form (*Fantastyka* 1983: 80).[5] His English–Polish dictionary of idioms, first published in 1970, met with wide acclaim and went through several editions (1972, 1975, 1985, 1988, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993, 1995). It is unknown when and where Gajda learnt English to the level that enabled him to compile the dictionary and why it was a

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phraseological dictionary.

As is clear from the two sketches above, both compilers were language enthusiasts rather than fully-fledged Anglicists. Borkowski had an advantage over Gajda insofar as he lived in an English-speaking country, although his working for a Polish newspaper suggests that he belonged to a close-knit ethnic community in London and may not have been fully bilingual. Gajda's biography is patchy, but there is every indication that he never received a formal education in English, so his linguistic knowledge seems to have been a product of his own efforts. This should not be treated as a curiosity, however, because some of the best English–Polish and Polish–English dictionaries were made by amateurs with a flair for languages.[6] Erazm Rykaczewski (1803–1873), a graduate in law and philosophy from Wilno University; Władysław Kierst (1868–1945), a would-be medical doctor expelled from Warsaw University; and Kazimierz Bulas (1903–1970), an archeologist affiliated with the Jagiellonian University before the Second World War, are among the most conspicuous examples of this.

Borkowski's and Gajda's dictionaries are still mentioned in specialist literature (e.g. Zakrzewski 2002; Szerszunowicz 2006, 2016), which shows that they filled an important niche on the dictionary market in the second half of the twentieth century.

6. The dictionaries

6.1 Megastructure

At first sight, the two dictionaries look very much alike: both are monoscopal English–Polish volumes of a similar size and length; both were compiled by journalists; and both authors drew on the KFD. Upon closer scrutiny, however, one discovers marked differences not only in the contents of the dictionaries, but also in their authors' ideas of phraseology. This subsection looks at the front and back matters.

Borkowski is articulate regarding the motivations that prompted him to undertake the task, one of which was "to refresh the speech of Polish immigrants" [M.P.]. His agenda is complex. On eleven pages of the Polish preface and three pages of the English foreword, he tackles various issues: MWEs typical of British and American English, the Bible and national literatures as sources of idioms, and different types of phraseological units. He pays special attention to explaining his arrangement of idioms, albeit, as my research indicates, he failed to treat them with absolute consistency. This is what he writes about his envisaged readership:

> it has been written primarily for Poles who settled in English-speaking countries during and after the last war … I fervently hope that the dictionary may prove to be of considerable help to all students of Polish, both Polish children born in English-speaking countries, and Polish pre-war emigrants who are trying to

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> brush up and enrich their idiomatic Polish, and, last but not least, all other students of Polish.

Much of the front matter is, however, purple prose. This explains why, in the Polish editions, both components were replaced by a brief preface penned by Jacek Fisiak.[7] The back matter in Borkowski's dictionary is composed of a single blank page for the user's handwritten notes and a list of abbreviations, including *hist* 'historyczne' [historical], *pol* 'polityczne' [political], *pot* 'potoczne' [colloquial], and *sl* 'slang' [slang]. We know that financial restrictions in the production of the dictionary made it impossible to incorporate an index. This apparent shortcoming was compensated for in later editions.

Gajda's three-page introduction is better suited for foreign language learners, the dictionary's target users. He explains what word combinations he regards as idioms and how they are arranged, acknowledging openly, or so it seems, the sources used in his compilation. These include four monolingual dictionaries: A.S. Hornby's *The Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English* (1948?), B.L.K. Henderson's *A Dictionary of English Idioms* (1937?), Thomas L. Cromwell's *A Glossary of Phrases with Prepositions* (1960?), and A.J. Worrall's *English Idioms for Foreign Students* (1932?), even though their actual impact is hard to ascertain with any degree of credibility.[8] The KFD is the only bilingual English–Polish reference work mentioned.

On the whole, Gajda's introduction is more coherent than Borkowski's, but his discussion of *mieć węża w kieszeni* and *his money comes from him like drops of blood*, a Polish idiom and an English proverb respectively,[9] appears somewhat out of place. He claims to have obtained the authors' permission for the use of illustrative material taken from the above-mentioned dictionaries, demonstrating a sensitivity to ethical issues.[10] With a key to exercises and an index of all the headwords the idioms contain, the back matter is more extensive than Borkowski's.

6.2 Macrostructure

The two dictionaries are dissimilar in terms of their macrostructures. Borkowski's dictionary includes 4,341 word combinations: idioms (e.g. *make the dust fly*), proverbs (e.g. *no garden without its weeds*), colloquial or humorous sayings (e.g. *pigs might fly*), binomials (e.g. *by and large*), collocations (e.g. *top secret*), and formulaic expressions (e.g. *at first sight*), but also a host of single words (e.g. *bobby*, *dare-devil*, *irons*, *labour*, *nobody*, *snow-man*, *Yankee*) and clauses (e.g. *I have not seen him for years*, *he is young for his age*).[11] He selected them on the basis of monolingual dictionaries, dozens of which he perused during the preparatory phase (Borkowski 1963: iv).

By contrast, Gajda registers merely 662 idioms, i.e. less than one sixth of Borkowski's coverage. At the same time, however, he treats them more consistently, so the number of MWEs whose phraseological status is unclear is negli-

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gible. It should be emphasised that he records as many as 263 phrasal verbs (e.g. *to knock off*, *to point out*, and *to tell on*), which are few and far between in Borkowski's dictionary. The lexicographical material is complemented by different types of exercises.

Both dictionaries are arranged alphabetically. Borkowski listed his MWEs by content words according to a system devised by himself, which he neglected to explain in his long preface. His working principle, i.e. "each idiom is based on a content word which we call a lemma. How the idiom is arranged alphabetically depends on the lemma" [M.P.], is rather uninformative. Consequently, the ordering of the MWEs is haphazard: *meet half way* is entered under *meet*, *set tongues wagging* under *tongues*, and *to drive a coach and six through the law* under *law*, which is the last of the four content words.[12] This kind of arrangement clearly forced the user, as it did me, to search for the idioms by trial and error. To make things worse, the headwords remain undetermined typographically. This is a far cry from what we would consider user-friendliness today.[13]

Gajda's headwords in bold capital letters are followed by headphrases (i.e. MWEs) in bold. He explains that, in arranging the idioms, he paid attention both to the first word and the words it went with (e.g. *grasp* in *beyond one's grasp*). This is also uninformative. One might wonder why *a bone of contention* is entered under *bone*, but *to pay in kind* under *kind*. Fortunately, the index in the back matter is transparent and helps identify the idioms instantaneously, the more so because each idiom is entered under all the content words it includes (e.g. *to make one's flesh creep* is entered under *make*, *flesh*, and *creep*).

6.3 Microstructure

6.3.1 Borkowski's dictionary

Borkowski's entry covers only the English MWE, sometimes labelled, and its Polish counterpart. The use of small capitals for the headword,[14] contrasted with unmarked typeface for the equivalent, is the only typographical device. The use of small capitals is unsatisfactory, because the target user is given no information as to which words are spelled in upper-case and which in lower-case (e.g. *April Fool-Day*, *Jolly Roger*, *keep up with the Joneses*, *to catch a Tartar*, or *Tom Thumb*). The small capitals were wisely replaced by bold in the Polish editions.

Whenever possible, Borkowski proposes variant forms of the MWEs or their elements, usually introduced after a comma or in round brackets:

blind drunk, drunk as a fiddler, as a lord, as an owl
a long dozen, devil's dozen, baker's dozen, printer's dozen
dressed up to the nines (dressed to kill)
go and have your head (brains) examined

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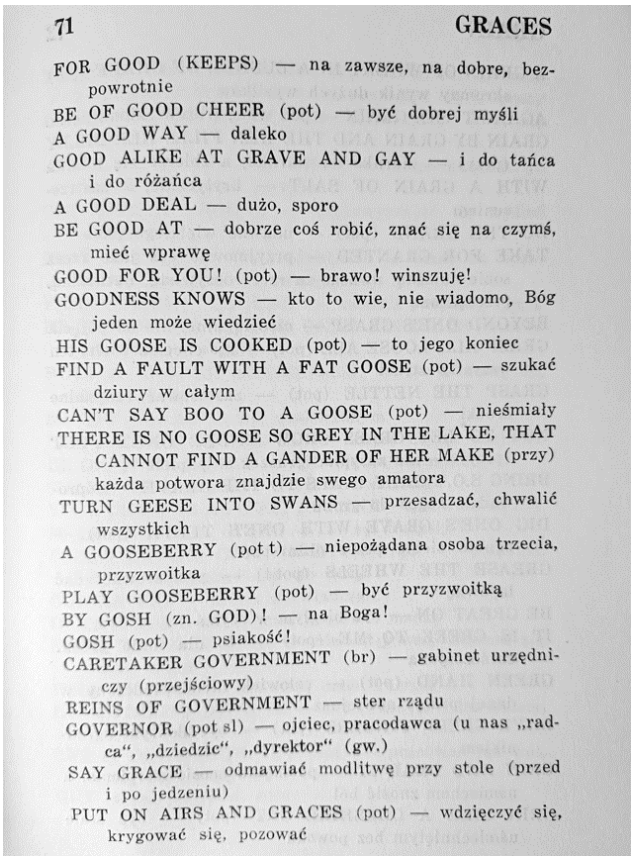

71 GRACES

FOR GOOD (KEEPS) — na zawsze, na dobre, bezpowrotnie
BE OF GOOD CHEER (pot) — być dobrej myśli
A GOOD WAY — daleko
GOOD ALIKE AT GRAVE AND GAY — i do tańca i do różańca
A GOOD DEAL — dużo, sporo
BE GOOD AT — dobrze coś robić, znać się na czymś, mieć wprawę
GOOD FOR YOU! (pot) — brawo! winszuję!
GOODNESS KNOWS — kto to wie, nie wiadomo, Bóg jeden może wiedzieć
HIS GOOSE IS COOKED (pot) — to jego koniec
FIND A FAULT WITH A FAT GOOSE (pot) — szukać dziury w całym
CAN'T SAY BOO TO A GOOSE (pot) — nieśmiały
THERE IS NO GOOSE SO GREY IN THE LAKE, THAT CANNOT FIND A GANDER OF HER MAKE (przy) każda potwora znajdzie swego amatora
TURN GEESE INTO SWANS — przesadzać, chwalić wszystkich
A GOOSEBERRY (pot t) — niepożądana osoba trzecia, przyzwoitka
PLAY GOOSEBERRY (pot) — być przyzwoitką
BY GOSH (zn. GOD)! — na Boga!
GOSH (pot) — psiakość!
CARETAKER GOVERNMENT (br) — gabinet urzędniczy (przejściowy)
REINS OF GOVERNMENT — ster rządu
GOVERNOR (pot sl) — ojciec, pracodawca (u nas „radca", „dziedzic", „dyrektor" (gw.)
SAY GRACE — odmawiać modlitwę przy stole (przed i po jedzeniu)
PUT ON AIRS AND GRACES (pot) — wdzięczyć się, krygować się, pozować

Figure 1: A sample page from Borkowski's dictionary

The value of phraseological dictionaries consists in a prudent selection of L1 or L2 word combinations and appropriate equivalents.[15] Despite speaking different idiolects, lexicographers need to make sure that both are correct from the linguistic and stylistic points of view. Let us look at a few entries exhibiting the weaknesses of Borkowski's translations:

beat s.o. black and blue 'zrobić komuś siniec' > 'zbić kogoś na kwaśne jabłko'
clock-wise 'w kierunku jak zegar chodzi' > 'zgodnie z ruchem wskazówek zegara'
pigs might fly 'dzieją się cuda' > 'prędzej mi kaktus na dłoni wyrośnie'
think poor of s.o. 'być ujemnego zdania o kimś' > 'mieć o kimś złe zdanie'

On closer examination, the range of quirks turns out to be far wider. For example, some equivalents are ambiguous (e.g. *gammon the hind leg of a donkey* '(pot)

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wziąć na kawał');[16] calqued and, hence, culturally inadequate (e.g. *handle-bar moustache* 'wąsy w kształcie kierownicy roweru'); unidiomatic even though Polish idioms were readily available (*the darkest place is under the candlestick* 'osoba zainteresowana w czymś nic o tym nie wie' > 'najciemniej jest pod latarnią'); or simply wrong (e.g. *can-opener* 'tani samochód'). Apart from that, numerous spelling mistakes are also in evidence throughout (e.g. *come of the grass* > *come off the grass*; *Mondaish* > *Mondayish*; *mine concern* > *my concern*). The mistakes were corrected in the Polish editions.

There are also cases when the English headphrases are syntactically incongruent with their Polish counterparts. This may lead to misunderstandings and misuse, particularly by a less competent user. A few examples are given below.

born out of wedlock 'nieślubne dziecko' > *a child born out of wedlock*
s.o. is unable to see a hole in a ladder 'zalany w pestkę' > *unable to see a hole in a ladder*
you must take the pot luck 'czym chata bogata, tym rada' > *to take pot luck* 'zadowolić się tym, co jest'
sell like hot cakes 'szybko sprzedawać towar, cieszący się dużym popytem' > *to sell like hot cakes* 'sprzedawać się jak świeże bułeczki'

It is worth looking at the dictionary material through the prism of Dobrovol'skij's classification. Analysis suggests that full equivalents in Borkowski's dictionary are relatively rare. Here are a few examples of category (1):

like a red rag to the bull 'jak czerwona płachta na byka'
over my dead body 'po moim trupie'
a wolf in likeness of a lamb 'wilk w owczej skórze'
back a wrong horse 'stawiać na złego konia'

Most idiomatic equivalents fall into the two subsequent categories, (2) partial equivalents and (3) phraseological parallels. The former are characterised by semantic affinity and differences in structure or mental imagery.

burn one's boats 'spalić za sobą mosty'
cry for the moon 'chcieć gwiazdki z nieba'
the pot calling the kettle black 'przyganiał kocioł garnkowi'
work one's fingers to the bone 'zapracować się po łokcie'

The basic feature of the latter is a significantly different image component. This category may be exemplified by the following:

as hungry as a hawk 'głodny jak wilk'
half a loaf is better than no bread 'lepszy rydz niż nic'
that is where the shoe pinches 'w tym sęk'
talk of the devil and he will appear 'o wilku mowa, a wilk tuż'

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Category (4) of Dobrovol'skij's classification, which may for the sake of convenience be referred to as paraphrases, covers examples of non-equivalents:

milk the bull 'zajmować się sprawą z góry skazaną na niepowodzenie'
dressed up to the nines 'elegancko ubrany'
a penny for your thoughts 'ciekaw jestem, nad czym się zamyśliłeś'
a stitch in time saves nine 'zeszyj dziurkę póki mała'

Some of Borkowski's entries contain more than one idiomatic equivalent (e.g. *not to mince matter* (*without mincing matters*) 'nie owijać w bawełnę, wykładać kawę na ławę'), an idiomatic equivalent and an unidiomatic paraphrase (e.g. *wallflower* 'panna siejąca pietruszkę (gdy inni tańczą, ona siedzi pod ścianą)'), or just a paraphrase (e.g. *sugar daddy* 'starszy pan, wydający sporo pieniędzy na młodą kobietę').

6.3.2 Gajda's dictionary

Gajda's coverage is much better than Borkowski's. He includes MWEs from the peripheries of phraseology, such as *close to sb/sth* 'blisko kogoś, czegoś', *made by hand* 'wykonany ręcznie', and *to wait for* 'czekać na kogoś, na coś', but these are infrequent. Idioms and phrasal verbs make up the majority of the headphrases, but every now and then we also come across proverbs:

Ill weeds grow apace 'Złe ziele najlepiej się krzewi'
There's no place like home 'Wszędzie dobrze, ale w domu najlepiej'
Make hay while the sun shines 'Kuj żelazo, póki gorące'
Any stick to beat a dog 'Kto chce psa uderzyć, zawsze kij znajdzie'

The typical entry structure in Gajda's dictionary includes the headword, which is not only a content word, but also a function word (e.g. *across, off, through*), and one or more headphrases (for *back*, these will be *to back out (of sth)* and *with one's back to the wall*). Headphrases are paired with one or more Polish equivalents and are followed by one or more contextual uses with Polish translations. Each headword section is then followed by elements of the middle matter, i.e. translation exercises from or into English, gap-fill exercises, or sentence-formation exercises. As well as unmarked type, Gajda employs bold and italics to distinguish specific types of lexicographical information.

Whenever possible, the entry includes optional elements or words with which the headword collocates:

in [due, good] time
have [keep] sth in view
to be [beyond, out of] sb's reach [within easy reach]
to be [in the] right [wrong]; *to lose [put on] weight*

It is hardly surprising that the quality of Gajda's bilingual material is almost

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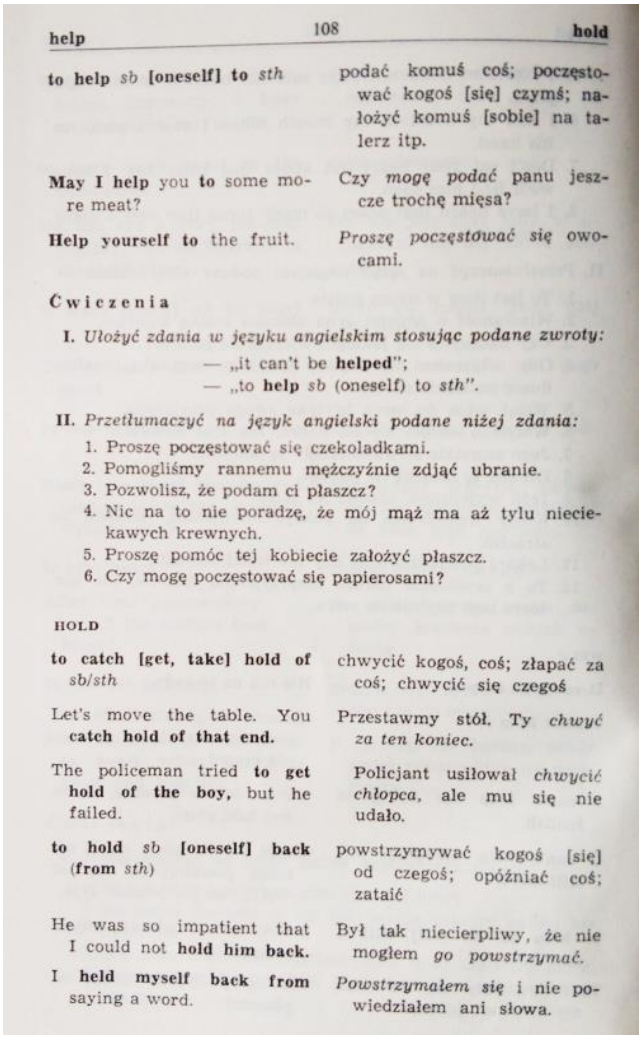
perfect. Not only was it based on a handful of monolingual dictionaries and the KFD, but it was also reviewed by competent Anglicists.[17] Tiny inconsistencies might be found in, among other things, the illustration of the literal rather than the transferred sense (e.g. *to turn the corner* 'skręcić na rogu ulicy; minąć punkt krytyczny (w chorobie itp.)') or no fully suitable equivalents (e.g. 'ujść płazem; ujść na sucho' for *to get away with*). In a few cases, Gajda clarifies the meanings of the Polish equivalents (e.g. *to mind one's own business* 'pilnować swego własnego nosa (swoich własnych spraw)'), albeit native speakers of Polish were unlikely to need such explanations.



help 108 hold

to help *sb* **[oneself] to** *sth* — podać komuś coś; poczęstować kogoś [się] czymś; nałożyć komuś [sobie] na talerz itp.

May I help you **to** some more meat? — Czy *mogę podać* panu jeszcze trochę mięsa?

Help yourself to the fruit. — *Proszę poczęstować się* owocami.

Ćwiczenia

I. *Ułożyć zdania w języku angielskim stosując podane zwroty:*
— „it can't be **helped**";
— „to **help** *sb* (oneself) to *sth*".

II. *Przetłumaczyć na język angielski podane niżej zdania:*
1. Proszę poczęstować się czekoladkami.
2. Pomogliśmy rannemu mężczyźnie zdjąć ubranie.
3. Pozwolisz, że podam ci płaszcz?
4. Nic na to nie poradzę, że mój mąż ma aż tylu niecie-kawych krewnych.
5. Proszę pomóc tej kobiecie założyć płaszcz.
6. Czy mogę poczęstować się papierosami?

HOLD

to catch [get, take] hold of *sb/sth* — chwycić kogoś, coś; złapać za coś; chwycić się czegoś

Let's move the table. You **catch hold of that end.** — Przestawmy stół. Ty *chwyć za ten koniec.*

The policeman tried **to get hold of the boy,** but he failed. — Policjant usiłował *chwycić chłopca,* ale mu się nie udało.

to hold *sb* **[oneself] back (from** *sth*) — powstrzymywać kogoś [się] od czegoś; opóźniać coś; zataić

He was so impatient that I could not **hold him back.** — Był tak niecierpliwy, że nie mogłem *go powstrzymać.*

I **held myself back from** saying a word. — *Powstrzymałem się* i nie powiedziałem ani słowa.

Figure 2: A sample page from Gajda's dictionary

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The main difference between the two dictionaries is that only Gajda provides illustrative examples to show how the idioms are used in context. This was a step in the right direction; Lubensky and McShane (2007: 927) stress that "no amount of information and no number of examples are superfluous to the motivated L2 learner — the more, the better". The quotations, simple and succinct, were borrowed from the monolingual dictionaries, but some, we are told, were also coined by the author. Table 1 exhibits the treatment of a few phrasal verbs.

Idiom	Equivalents	Quotations
to burn out (of *sth***)**	wykurzyć ogniem; zmusić do ucieczki (przez podpalenie); spalić, wypalić	They **burnt** the enemy **out** of their fox-holes. *Wykurzyli* ogniem nieprzyjaciela z jego (ich) nor. That light bulb **has burned out**. Ta żarówka *wypaliła się*.
to lead off	rozpoczynać (coś); iść na czele; odwieść kogoś (od czegoś)	Who is going **to lead off**? Kto *rozpocznie* (kto *pójdzie na czele*)? I tried to **lead** him **off** from that. Próbowałem *odwieść* go od tego.
to make out	sporządzać (listę, dokument); wystawiać (czek); wypełniać (formularz); zrozumieć, pojąć; przedstawić; udawać	When **will you make out** a list of those books? Kiedy *sporządzisz* spis tych książek? Shall I **make you out** a receipt? Czy mam panu *wypisać* pokwitowanie? I **can't make out** what he wants. Nie mogę *zrozumieć*, o co mu chodzi. I daresay he's not so badly off as he **makes out**. Uważam, że nie powodzi mu się tak źle, jak on to *przedstawia*. I hope your affairs **are making out** well. Spodziewam się, że twoje sprawy *układają się* (przedstawiają się) dobrze.

Table 1: The treatment of phrasal verbs in Gajda's dictionary

Not every sense was illustrated. This would have taken too much space, but Gajda made a sensible selection of contextual uses.[18] Typography played an important role here: the idioms in the citations were given in bold, while the equivalents were italicised. This was a handy strategy by which to expose contrastive differences between the two languages, thanks to which semantic and grammatical explanations could be kept to an absolute minimum. The translation exercises that followed allowed the user to apply the idioms actively.

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The fact that nearly 40% of the headphrases are phrasal verbs makes it difficult to apply Dobrovol'skij's classification, but a number of Gajda's equivalents are shown below.

6.4 Searching for influences

Samples from both dictionaries show discrepancies, but there is also a degree of overlap. It is evident that both Borkowski and Gajda drew on the KFD. Borkowski, in particular, was under its influence, because he even copied the abbreviation *s.o.* for *someone*, which was never to become a lexicographical standard.

Table 2 below presents the treatment of several MWEs in both dictionaries. One has to admit that the Polish equivalents are similar, which might imply that Gajda had Borkowski's dictionary at his disposal. Gajda offers a slightly more extensive selection of English items, some of which are functional equivalents and some paraphrases. In three cases, the idioms were entered under different headwords.

MWE	Borkowski	Gajda
take the air	'wyjść na przechadzkę'	'wyjść na świeże powietrze'
it beats everything! / it beats me	'Coś podobnego! Coś niebywałego!'	'ja tego nie rozumiem; to przechodzi moje pojęcie'
for the best	'w najlepszej intencji'	'w najlepszej intencji; (obrócić się na dobre)'
bone of contention	'kość niezgody'	'przedmiot sporu; kość niezgody'
to have money to burn	'mieć pieniędzy jak lodu' (***money***)	'mieć dosyć pieniędzy (na zaspokajanie swoich kaprysów); mieć pieniędzy jak lodu, w bród' (***burn***)
face the music	(pot) 'wyjść odważnie na spotkanie krytyce, trudnościom'	'stawić czoło trudnościom; ponieść konsekwencje czegoś'
to break the news to sb	'ostrożnie podać komuś złą wiadomość'	'zakomunikować komuś przykrą wiadomość (w sposób oględny)'
to make one's flesh creep	'wywołać ciarki na skórze' (***flesh***)	'wywoływać u kogoś ciarki, gęsią skórkę' (***make***)
live from hand to mouth	'żyć z dnia na dzień, pchać biedę, klepać biedę' (***live***)	'żyć z dnia na dzień (bez widoków na przyszłość)' (***hand***)

Table 2: Examples of MWEs and Polish equivalents in Borkowski's and Gajda's dictionaries

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We cannot date Gajda's interest in cross-linguistic phraseology to any specific point in time, but he was surely aware of Kobylański's *Wybór idiomów angielskich* (1951), the first dictionary of English idioms in post-war Poland. In fact, Gajda owes a huge debt to his predecessor; firstly, for the wording of the title; secondly, for the choice of L1 equivalents; and, thirdly, for the general lexicographical model of description, in which headwords lead to headphrases supported by quotations and juxtaposed with Polish translations. A sample of both dictionaries is shown in Table 3.

MWEs	Gajda	Kobylański
with one's back to the wall	'w sytuacji bez wyjścia; przyparty do muru'	'Przyparty do muru; w sytuacji bez wyjścia'
to call up	'telefonować (do kogoś); przypominać (coś); przywołać (coś) na pamięć'	'1. Zatelefonować; zadzwonić do kogo; 2. Wezwać do wojska; powołać; 3. Przywołać; wywołać (np. wspomnienia)'
to make a fuss about [over] sth	'robić wiele hałasu (zamieszania) o coś; robić o coś kwestię; robić ceremonie z czymś, kimś'	'1. Narzekać; wyrzekać; uskarżać się; 2. Robić co ostentacyjnie; robić co na pokaz; robić ceremonie'
to let alone	'zostawić w spokoju; nie ruszać, nie dotykać; pomijać'	'1. Zostawić kogo w spokoju; dać komu spokój'; 2. Nie ruszać czego; nie dotykać czego; zostawić co w spokoju'; 3. Nie mówiąc (już o), abstrahując od'
to take on	'przyjąć; zabrać; denerwować się; robić scenę'	'1. Przyjąć (kogo lub co); podjąć się (czego)'; 2. Zgodzić się być (czyim) przeciwnikiem'; 3. Brać sobie (co) do serca; przejmować się (czym); denerwować się (czym); robić scenę'

Table 3: Examples of MWEs and Polish equivalents in Gajda's and Kobylański's dictionaries

As can be seen, Kobylański was more methodical in that he numbered the senses of the idioms, a technique Gajda chose to ignore.

Gajda mentions the KFD as the only bilingual dictionary consulted. Indeed, there is sufficient evidence of borrowing, as exhibited in Table 4. Whenever Bulas's translations (e.g. *have a finger in every pie* '*p.* umaczać w tym palec') and

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his use of punctuation (e.g. *Make hay while the sun shines* 'kuj żelazo póki gorące') left much to be desired, Gajda corrected them in his own work.

MWEs	Gajda	KFD
to burst one's sides with laughing	'zrywać sobie boki ze śmiechu; śmiać się do rozpuku'	'zrywać sobie boki ze śmiechu; śmiać się do rozpuku'
clear away	'usuwać; sprzątać (ze stołu); ustępować (o mgle, chmurach itp.)	'usuwać; sprzątać (ze stołu), (o mgle, dymie itp.) ustępować, rozchodzić się, *t.* usuwać się, odchodzić
turn the corner	'skręcić na rogu ulicy; minąć punkt krytyczny (w chorobie itp.)'	'skręcić na rogu ulicy, *p.* minąć punkt krytyczny (w chorobie itp.)'
Do by others as you would be done by	'Nie czyń drugiemu, co tobie nie miło'[19]	'nie czyń drugiemu, co tobie nie miło'
have a finger in every pie	'maczać we wszystkim palce; wtrącać się do cudzych spraw'	'*p.* umaczać w tym palec'
Make hay while the sun shines	'Kuj żelazo, póki gorące' (***make***)	'kuj żelazo póki gorące' (***hay***)
show off	'popisywać się; podkreślać; uwydatniać'	'podkreślać, uwydatniać, popisywać się (czymś)'
be through with sb/sth	'skończyć z czymś; mieć (już) czegoś dosyć; zerwać (znajomość) z kimś'	'skończyć z czymś, *p.* z kimś'

Table 4: Examples of MWEs and Polish equivalents in Gajda's dictionary and the KFD

Gajda also drew on Stanisławski's English–Polish dictionary newly launched onto the market (Table 5). The monolingual works of reference which he claims to have used explained the meanings of English idioms, but offered no Polish equivalents. Research reveals that even an outdated bilingual dictionary is more helpful to the lexicographer than a monolingual work, because "establishing equivalents on the basis of the latter involves guesswork and is prone to error" (Podhajecka 2016: 556). A bulky dictionary compiled by an experienced lexicographer may not, therefore, be overestimated in a project on bilingual phraseology. Let us look at the following examples:

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MWEs	Gajda	Stanisławski
to be on [off] one's guard (against sb/sth)	'mieć [nie mieć] się na baczności (przed kimś, czymś); być [nie być] przygotowanym na coś'	mieć [nie mieć] się na baczności (*against sth* przed czymś); być [nie być] przygotowanym (*against sth* na coś)'
head over heels	'na łeb, na szyję; bez opamiętania; po uszy; bez pamięci'	'a) do góry nogami, b) na łeb na szyję; na gwałt; ~ *over heels in love* zakochany bez pamięci;
to have sth at one's finger-ends [finger-tips]	'znać coś na wylot; mieć coś w małym palcu'	'mieć coś w małym palcu; znać coś na wylot'
to take back	'odbierać (przyjmować) coś z powrotem; cofnąć (dane słowo); odwołać; przenieść wstecz; odwieść; zanieść z powrotem'	'1. od-ebrać/bierać (coś komuś (od kogoś)) z powrotem; wycof-ać/ywać (*sth from sth* coś z czegoś); cof-nąć/ać (dane słowo (to, co się powiedziało)) 2. odprowadz-ić/ać (człowieka (zwierzę)) dokądś. 3. zan-ieść/osić z powrotem (*sth to sb* coś komuś)
to be through with sb/sth	'skończyć z czymś; mieć (już) czegoś dosyć; zerwać (znajomość) z kimś'	'a) skończyć coś b) nie potrzebować już czegoś; *I am ~ with him (her)* skończyłem (znajomość) z nim (nią)'

Table 5: Examples of MWEs and Polish equivalents in Gajda's and Stanisławski's dictionaries

In this case, Gajda made use not only of Stanisławski's equivalents, but also other types of lexicographical information, such as translations of English citations. Nonetheless, identifying the scope of borrowing is more difficult than it seems. There are reasons for thinking that Stanisławski used the KFD not only as a comparator, but also as a direct source of equivalents, even though he never admitted it openly.

Occasionally, Gajda's choice of Polish items also reflects his own linguistic preferences. This manifests itself, for instance, in the entries for *Handsome is what handsome does* 'O wartości człowieka świadczą jego uczynki, a nie jego wygląd' ('ten jest ładny kto ładnie postępuje' (KFD) vs. 'nie urodzenie stanowi o szlachetności' (Stanisławski)) and *to put one's foot in it* '… zrobić błąd; wywołać zakłopotanie' ('wpaść, zrobić gafę' (KFD) vs. 'popełnić gafę' (Stanisławski)).

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6.5 Summary of the case study

The two different structural patterns discussed here are indicative of the search for an effective model for presenting idioms in dictionary form.

Borkowski's methodology consisted in collecting as many MWEs as he could in the hope of providing the target user with a fully exhaustive set, however precarious it might have been. As an 'enlightened amateur', he gave little consideration to the consistency of his selection; his dictionary included a mixture of single words and word combinations of different status, only a proportion of which are idiomatic in character. Despite this phraseological mishmash, *An English–Polish Dictionary of Idioms and Phrases* represented a contribution to a network of specialised materials for Polish learners of English, specifically immigrants wishing "to advance in the social hierarchy" [M.P.] of their adopted countries. Still, the fact that the MWEs are hard to find was a serious disadvantage that compromised the usefulness of the volume. One might assume that, with no examples of usage, the dictionary was intended primarily for receptive tasks. Since the pool of modern English–Polish works was limited, Borkowski consulted the KFD, a brand-new endeavour, to ensure that his dictionary would be up-to-date.

While Gajda's dictionary is inferior to Borkowski's in terms of quantity, it is evidently superior in quality, in particular, by being better tuned to the needs of foreign language learners. It was salient, because Gajda focused on the learning process entirely disregarded by his competitor. He, therefore, provided Polish equivalents for the idioms, Polish translations for the citations, and exercises aimed at consolidating the user's knowledge of English phraseology. Clear emphasis on the learning process through translation from and into English, as well as an ample choice of Polish functional equivalents and paraphrases, suggests that the dictionary was to be applied both for decoding and encoding purposes. Turning to monolingual sources and the KFD was a guarantee that the bilingual material would be free from gross errors. What remains odd in this otherwise laudatory overview of Gajda's dictionary is his unacknowledged debt to Kobylański (1951) and Stanisławski (1964).

Borkowski and Gajda opted for a different type of dictionary, but their reasons for doing so remain undisclosed. I will attempt to explain their decisions by taking a broader view. Although both of them pursued similar professional careers, their experiences were dissimilar. The Second World War saw Borkowski move to Britain, while Gajda spent all his life in Poland. An enthusiast of English–Polish phraseology, Borkowski had, however, no expert knowledge to help him create an acceptable bilingual dictionary and had no one to turn to for advice. This comes as little surprise. At the turn of the twentieth century, Europe became the battleground for new ideas in foreign language teaching known as the Reform Movement (1880–1920). In Britain, during the so-called Scientific Period (1920–1970), all the methods were confined to the teaching of English in English without resorting to the learners' mother tongues

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(e.g. Howatt and Smith 2014). Linguists, therefore, frowned upon both bilingual instruction and bilingual aids. Gajda was an autodidact, which presupposes his learning English with bilingual materials, including English–Polish and Polish–English dictionaries, that dominated the Polish educational market during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It is conceivable that Gajda contacted a specialist in English, who might be credited with the idea of incorporating the exercises, for guidance in the case of problematic issues[20] and he also had Kobylański's volume to hand, whose methodology he followed closely. The two different sociocultural contexts thus appear to have been at play.

7. Conclusions

This paper reports on the findings of an analysis of two English–Polish phraseological dictionaries by Piotr Borkowski (1963) and Roman Gajda (1970) carried out in the fields of comparative (meta)lexicography and sociocultural (meta)lexicography, of which the latter is fundamental for studies of dictionary history.

It is time we answered the questions posed in Section 2. Let us begin with those concerning comparative (meta)lexicography. Dictionaries may be evaluated with different sampling methods, but analysis of the entire material provides the most comprehensive results. The techniques for contrasting general and special-purpose dictionaries are superficially similar, with the proviso that only selected information categories (e.g. etymology, pronunciation, or slang) are considered in the latter. Special-purpose dictionaries cover, among other things, phraseological dictionaries. The monolingual subtypes are compared to show the MWEs they record and the way the meanings and usage are described for the sake of the target users. In the case of the bilingual subtypes, the cross-linguistic perspective additionally allows for assessments of the quality of target language equivalents. Since both subtypes record word combinations instead of single-word lemmas, their access structures also qualify for comparison (e.g. Buendía Castro and Faber 2014).

Moving to questions related to sociocultural (meta)lexicography, the compilers' familiarity with the environments is often taken for granted, and rightly so. Not only does it ensure a knowledge of the dictionary market, major competitors, and lexicographical trends in vogue, but it is also instrumental in providing access to experts, informants, supporters, sponsors, and user groups. In any case, compiling a bilingual dictionary involves a complex decision-making process and compiling a bilingual phraseological dictionary is no less laborious (e.g. Lubensky and McShane 2007: 920). The range of problems faced induces the compilers to look for inspiration in their predecessors' works, some of which are found in prefaces, while others remain hidden from the public, of which Gajda's dictionary is a case in point. Once the lexicographical context has been examined, potential sources need to be singled out for comparative scrutiny. It may reveal both striking affinities and marked contrasts, if only because

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dictionaries communicate with lexicographical traditions in two ways: either by following similar models of description or by rejecting them.[21] The compilers' motives, real or assumed, are difficult to pinpoint and must therefore be subjected to thorough biographical research.

The choice of materials and methods in dictionary criticism admittedly involves a great deal of flexibility. What may be compared are editions of the same dictionary (e.g. Kamiński 2013); opposite genres, such as monolingual and bilingual dictionaries (e.g. Piotrowski 1989); or dictionaries belonging to lexicographical traditions of different languages (e.g. Zgusta 1986). No wonder the comparative perspective often aims at capturing developmental trends in lexicography (e.g. Liberman 1998; Hüllen 1999; Cormier and Francoeur 2004). Dictionaries also undergo comparison in pursuit of common features, such as social values (e.g. Landau 1985) and user-friendliness (e.g. Dziemianko 2012), or to expose variation, such as differences in the treatment of gender (e.g. Norri 2019), metonymy (e.g. Wojciechowska 2012), and idioms (e.g. Pinnavaia 2010). Such studies tend to combine the comparative approach of dictionary analysis with approaches typical of other disciplines (e.g. cognitive linguistics or corpus linguistics). It is important that all evaluations follow a clear and unbiased methodology and be "drawn from an expert knowledge of dictionaries, dictionary making and dictionary use" (Jackson 2002: 183), a fairly reasonable requirement.

Sociocultural (meta)lexicography is based on the assumption that analyses should not be restricted to the dictionary text. As Yagello (qtd. in Mackintosh 2006: 60) cogently puts it, "the dictionary is an ideological creation. It is a mirror of society and of the dominant ideology. As an indisputable authority and a cultural tool, the dictionary plays a part in establishing and preserving language, but also attitudes and ideology […] every revolution should be accompanied by dictionary reform". This points to the dynamic and multifaceted interplay between dictionaries, their compilers, and their sociocultural settings. Scholarly dictionaries, including those "repeatedly presented as heroic works" (Considine 2008: 3), have been associated with noble purposes, but dictionaries are also profit-oriented commodities (e.g. Whitcut 1989). The 'war of the dictionaries' between the American lexicographers Noah Webster and Joseph Worcester, for instance, was "fought over who could best represent the soul and identity of American culture", as the blurb of Martin's (2020) book tells us, but money, too, was a crucial factor.

Recent decades have witnessed an upsurge of interest in comparative (meta)lexicography and sociocultural (meta)lexicography, although the latter term remains infrequent.[22] Theoretically speaking, applying a tried and tested research framework and combining it with a relevant methodology is all that is necessary. Practice, however, is more complicated. It shows that there are virtually no limits to what aspects of dictionaries may be contrasted, in what formats, along what criteria, and for what purposes, depending on the (meta)lexicographers' conceptions. Consequently, the diversity of approaches and variables

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means that providing any guidelines, let alone explicit guidelines, is a sheer impossibility.

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Endnotes

1. Ilson (1986) names this type of comparison *lexicographic archeology*.
2. It is worthy of note that the terminology is somewhat vague, because neither *evaluation* nor *dictionary criticism* implies the comparative approach.
3. Generalisations are recommended, but Steiner (1984: 179) also allows more impressionistic observations, such as supplying "entries which should have been included, choices of words and equivalents which are better than those of the compilers, typos which the editors let slide, and lapses by the compilers themselves".
4. Dobrovol'skij's classification closely parallels that introduced by Baker (1992: 68-71) in the translational context.
5. Attempts to identify them have been unsuccessful, which suggests that they were discarded.
6. Collison's argues (1982: 17) that "throughout the whole history of the making of language dictionaries the part played by amateurs is very striking".
7. He was the long-time head of the Department of English of Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (1965–2005) and a renowned lexicographer himself.
8. Generally speaking, there is relatively little resemblance between Gajda's and Worrall's dictionaries, the latter being organised thematically, or between Gajda's and Crowell's, the latter focusing specifically on prepositions.
9. The latter comes from Apperson's *Dictionary of Proverbs* (1993). It first appeared in John Ray's *Handbook of Proverbs* (1670) and its status seems to have been unchallenged since then.
10. This is definitely true of the KFD. Gajda contacted the Kosciuszko Foundation in March 1963. In his reply of 22 April 1963, Stephen Mizwa, the Foundation's President, granted him consent to reproduce illustrative material from the KFD (Archives of the Kosciuszko Foundation, XX.13 Kazimierz Bulas).
11. The last two categories are by no means idiomatic. Borkowski's Russian–English dictionary was also criticised for his haphazard selection of MWEs (Arsenteva and Ayupova 2013: 67).
12. Cowie, Mackin, and McCaig's *Oxford Dictionary of English Idioms* (1993) entered the idioms by the first content word, but the principle may have been somewhat hindered by lexical variation (e.g. *give/lose ground (to sb/sth)*, *(my) goodness (me)!*, *(a matter etc of) life and/or death* or *(those) who the gods love, die young*).
13. Borkowski was aware of the difficulty of arranging idioms neatly and he tried to do something about it. In his 1974 book, he disclosed a system according to which they should be placed by the first noun, verb, adjective, or, in the absence of these parts of speech, simply by the first word (see Gribble 1976: 780). A similar system was used in the second edition of *Longman Dictionary of the English Language* (Jackson 2002: 100).

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14. In this paper, small capitals have been replaced with standard print in italics.
15. Theoretically speaking, phraseological dictionaries pairing L1 idioms with L2 equivalents should be easy to find, but they are a rarity. In the Polish context, "there are very few Polish–English dictionaries of this kind, vastly outnumbered by English–Polish ones" (Szerszunowicz 2014: 2).
16. The translation equivalent was again borrowed from the KFD (cf. Stanisławski's *she would talk the hind leg of a donkey* 'ona gada tyle, że aż głowa puchnie; ona każdego przegada').
17. These were Henryk Kałuża, Janina Smólska, and Oskar Chomicki. Smólska was a well-known author of textbooks and grammars for Polish learners of English.
18. Some of the citations (e.g. *I hope your affairs are making out well*), however, look bookish.
19. Here, Gajda took over even the erroneously spelled Polish adverb 'nie miło' (> 'niemiło').
20. Tadeusz Grzebieniowski, affiliated with the University of Łódź (1945–1953; 1957–1964), seems to be a most suitable candidate. Not only was he an esteemed English scholar, but he also made his name as an author of English textbooks for Poles (e.g. 1947a, 1947b) and a bilingual lexicographer (e.g. 1950).
21. It may be something of a paradox, but compilers experimenting with innovative methods are often aware of the lexicographical tradition they leave behind.
22. Sociocultural (meta)lexicography as a theoretical branch, however, is not reflective of *cultural lexicography*, which Hartmann and James (2001: 33) define as 'a complex of activities concerned with the design, compilation, use and evaluation of cultural dictionaries […]'.

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Appendix 1: The number of MWEs across Borkowski's and Gajda's dictionaries

Letter	Borkowski's headphrases	%		Letter	Gajda's headphrases	%
A	168	3.8		A	22	3.30
B	292	6.73		B	60	9.06
C	282	6.49		C	61	9.21
D	245	5.64		D	66	9.97
E	140	3.22		E	24	3.62
F	249	5.74		F	78	11.78
G	146	3.36		G	50	7.55
H	251	5.78		H	48	7.25
I	64	1.47		I	–	–
J	66	1.52		J	4	0.60
K	51	1.17		K	18	2.72
L	279	6.43		L	13	1.96
M	229	5.27		M	18	2.72
N	131	3.02		N	1	0.15
O	108	2.49		O	16	2.42
P	170	3.92		P	23	3.47
Q	43	0.99		Q	–	–
R	253	5.83		R	16	2.42
S	415	9.56		S	46	6.95
T	256	5.90		T	68	10.27
U	62	1.43		U	2	0.30
V	53	1.22		V	3	0.45
W	337	7.76		W	25	3.78
X	–	–		X	–	–
Y	49	1.13		Y	–	–
Z	2	0.05		Z	–	–
Total	**4,341**	**100**		**Total**	**662**	**100**