Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis 132 (2015): 211–228
doi:10.4467/20834624SL.15.020.4427

JOHN CONSIDINE
University of Alberta, Edmonton
john.considine@ualberta.ca

IN PRAISE OF EDWARD PHILLIPS

Keywords: English lexicography, plagiarism, dictionary consultants

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to rescue the reputation of the much-maligned seventeenth-century English lexicographer Edward Phillips. He has been accused of plagiarizing in his dictionary called *New world of English words* (1658) from an earlier dictionary, Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (1656), and he has been accused of claiming misleadingly that his dictionary was enriched by the contributions of consultants. Both accusations were originally made by Blount. Examining them both – which requires the use of techniques from the history of the book and the social history of science and technology – leads to the conclusion that neither accusation is true, and that Phillips actually made multiple original contributions to the development of the English lexicographical tradition, particularly in the use of consultants and the handling of technological vocabulary.

1. The case against Edward Phillips

> Must this then be suffered? A Gentleman for his divertisement writes a Book, and this Book happens to be acceptable to the World, and sell; a Book-seller, not interessed in the Copy, instantly employs some Mercenary to jumble up another like Book out of this, with some Alterations and Additions, and give it a new Title… Thus it fared with my *Glossographia,* the fruit of above Twenty years spare hours, first published in *1656.* Twelve Moneths had not passed, but there appeared in Print this *New World of Words,* or *General English Dictionary,* extracted almost wholly out of mine, and taking in its first Edition even a great part of my Preface; onely some words were added and others altered, to make it pass as the Authors legitimate offspring. (Blount 1673: sig. A2r)

These words were written by Edward Phillips's contemporary Thomas Blount, very much in dispraise of Phillips himself, and because they have been responsible for giving Phillips the bad reputation against which this paper argues, they call for discussion here.

The *Glossographia* of 1656, compiled by Thomas Blount, to which Blount refers in his attack on Phillips, had been the first free-standing monolingual dictionary of English which can be said to have been directed at the general reader. Before Blount's dictionary, three little dictionaries of hard English words had been published – by Robert Cawdrey (1604), John Bullokar (1616), and Henry Cockeram (1623) respectively – but Cawdrey's was primarily a *vade mecum* to the reading of godly texts such as sermons, and all three smelled of the schoolroom.[1] Blount had done something new. He had spent, or so he said, "the vacancy of above Twenty years" (Blount 1656: sig. A3r) making a dictionary for gentlemen readers like himself, curious about the technical terms they encountered in their leisure reading of histories or newsbooks, or about "the terms of many Sciences … as of Logick, Astrology, Geometry, Musick, Architecture, Navigation, &c. with those of our most ingenious Arts, and Exercises, as Printing, Painting, Jewelling, Riding, Hunting, Hawking, &c." (Blount 1656: sig. A3v).[2] The *Glossographia* was physically bigger than the dictionaries which had preceded it, running to 688 pages against the 332 of Cockeram (1623), and it registered more headwords, 10,577 by one count, as opposed to the 5,836 of the hard-word section of Cockeram (1623) (entry counts from Considine 2012: xxiv–xxv).

Shortly after the *Glossographia* was published, another dictionary appeared, under the title *The new world of English words*. Its title page advertised coverage of "All those Terms that relate to the Arts and Sciences", giving a list which extended from theology and philosophy to hunting and fishing. It is dated 1658, Blount's "Twelve Moneths had not passed" being an exaggeration.[3] As we shall see, although Blount's form of words "extracted almost wholly out of mine" was also an exaggeration, the new

---

1 For Cawdrey and the godly reader, see Brown (2001); for Cockeram and the schoolroom, see Considine (2010).

2 Although Blount's dictionary was intended for the adult reader, it came to be used by children as well: one extant copy of the second edition (1661) has the inscription "Thomas Hill his Books [sic] 1717" and one of the third (1670) has the inscription "Richard Winckworth Juinir [sic], His Book Anno Domini 1731", both in juvenile hands: they were advertised for sale in Catalogue 146 and List 120 respectively of Rulon-Miller Books, St Paul, Minnesota.

3 A copy of Blount's dictionary now in the British Library (shelfmark E.1573) was bought by the bookseller and collector George Thomason on 23 July 1656, and Thomason tended to buy his books very near the day of publication. Phillips's dictionary very probably appeared more than twelve months after Blount's: it is not registered in the "Supplement of New Books, come forth since *August* the first 1657. till *June* the first 1658" in London (1658 sigs. Hh1r–Ii1r) (though it is registered in London [1660 sig. C2v]) , and it is at the end of a list of new releases in a publisher's advertisement in a book which Thomason bought in June 1658 (Herne 1658: sig. V6v, Thomason's being the British Library copy E.1825), suggesting publication in that month, almost two years after the *Glossographia*. As we shall shortly see, when Blount was writing, the most recent edition of *Glossographia* had been followed at scarcely twelve months' interval by the most recent edition of Phillips's *New world*, and this may have coloured his recollection of the interval between the first editions of each.

dictionary did indeed take many entries from the *Glossographia*. Its preface was signed by Edward Phillips, who was an emerging minor literary figure: he had contributed liminary poems to a couple of books, translated a couple of romances from the Spanish, and edited a volume of poems by Ben Jonson's friend William Drummond of Hawthornden (*ODNB* s.n. Phillips; Shawcross 2004: 73–94). A well-informed reader in 1657 might have known that Phillips was the nephew of the controversialist and public servant John Milton, for whom he had done some secretarial work, and a very well-informed reader might have remembered that Milton had published some poetry in the 1640s, and might even have seen the few sonnets by Milton which had circulated in manuscript since then, but *Paradise lost* had not yet been begun: nobody saw Phillips as the nephew of a great poet.

Blount himself was a marginal figure in the world of letters. He was a gentleman by birth, and had trained as a lawyer, but because he was a Roman Catholic, he was prohibited from practising as a barrister or solicitor. For the same reason, he had been unable to take a degree at Oxford or Cambridge. For the same reason again, compounded by his father's support for the royalist cause at a time when England was under parliamentary rule, his family estates, from which he might have expected to draw an income, were, in the 1650s, subject to serious financial penalties. Blount needed some extra money, and sought it by writing. An author writing with the intention of making money from a printed publication would sell a work in manuscript to a bookseller or booksellers, who would then finance its printing and take the profits from the sale of printed copies. This is what Blount did. 1646 saw the publication of his *Art of making devises*, a translation of a book about emblems, reissued with an enlargement in 1648 and reissued again in 1650, and 1654 saw the publication of his *Academie of eloquence*, a collection of models for letter-writing, which ran to multiple subsequent editions (Bongaerts 1978: 18–24). Although Blount claimed to have written his dictionary in his spare time, "the vacancy of above Twenty years", he undoubtedly treated it as a commercial property when he sold it to the printer and publisher Thomas Newcombe.[4] In order to make his next book attractive to a publisher, Blount would have hoped to see the dictionary sell well, and in order to make more money from it after selling it to Newcombe, he would have needed to supply him with additional material for further editions. The appearance

[4] The question of who published an early modern English book is sometimes rather intricate (Shaaber [1944] is still a good guide). The answer can often be found by seeing who entered the right to publish it in the registers of the book trade guild called the Company of Stationers (henceforth *SR* for Stationers' register). The 1646 *Art of making devises* was entered 26 May 1646 by John Grismond (*SR* 1: 230), who printed the book together with William Ellis (only identified as W.E. on the title page, but Ellis and Grismond worked together: see SR [1: 101] and McElligott [2007: 133]); it was sold by the booksellers Richard Marriot, Richard Royston, and Humphrey Moseley, and by other booksellers, and the title page exists in four versions, each one for Marriot, Royston, and Moseley, and one not naming a bookseller. The 1654 *Academie of eloquence* was entered 10 September 1653 by Humphrey Moseley (*SR* 1: 429), who engaged the printer Thomas Newcombe to print it; the title page therefore reads "printed by T. N. for Humphrey Moseley". The 1656 *Glossographia* was entered 3 November 1655 and again 27 June 1656, both times by Newcombe (*SR* 2: 17, 2: 67), and the title page reads "Printed by *Tho: Newcomb*, and are to be sold by *Humphrey Moseley* … and *George Sawbridge*".

of a rival publication in the form of *The new world of English words* was therefore a problem for Blount, and when he saw that material from the *Glossographia* had been incorporated into it, he was understandably vexed.

In fact, Phillips's dictionary did not ruin Blount's sales, although it was an aggressive rival: the *Glossographia* appeared in a second edition in 1661, followed by a second edition of the *New world of English words* in 1662, and the *Glossographia* then appeared in a third edition at the end of 1669 (dated 1670), followed by a third edition of the *New world of English words* at the end of 1670 (dated 1671).[5] Meanwhile, Blount had been collecting material for a new law dictionary, *Nomo-lexikon*, founded on the *Interpreter* of John Cowell (1607) but with much new material from his own reading (see Bongaerts 1978: 45–7). This appeared at the end of 1670 (*TC* 1: 58), and was followed at the end of 1671 by a new edition of Cowell, augmented with material from Blount's *Nomo-lexikon* and published under the title *Nomothetes*.[6] Phillips had nothing to do with this competitor with Blount's law dictionary. But it was anger at its publication which led Blount to make the public protest against both the *Nomothetes* and the *New world of words*, published at the end of 1672 but dated 1673, which was quoted at the beginning of this paper.[7]

One aspect of *The new world of English words* which particularly irritated Blount was its claim to have been undertaken with the assistance of a team of consultants. In the first edition, the work is modestly identified on the title page as "Collected and published by E. P."; below this statement, in larger type, is the legend "For the greater honour of those learned gentlemen and artists that have been assistant in the most practical sciences, their names are affixed in the next page." Generously laid out on the following leaf (sigs a2r–v) is a table of 34 names:

> Antiquity's, Elias Ashmole, Esq;
> Law Terms, Mr. Herne.
> Magick, Mr. Turner.
> Physick, Dr. Sparks.
> Chirurgery and Anatomy, Mr. Ed. Molins. Mr. Will. Molins.
> Chimistry, Dr. Currer.
> Herbary or Botanicks, Mr. Morgan. Mr. Coles.
> Mathematicks, Mr. Moore.
> Geometry, Dr. Wybard.
> Astrology, Mr. Lilly. Mr. Booker.
> Chyromancy, Physiognomy, Mr. Sanders.

---

[5] Dates can be assigned to the dictionaries of 1669–70 from their appearance in the trade lists now called the *Term Catalogues* (henceforth *TC*): the third edition of *Glossographia* was advertised 22 November 1669 (*TC* 1: 24), and the third of the *New world* was advertised 22 November 1670 (*TC* 1: 60).

[6] *TC* (1: 90); see Bongaerts (1978: 47–50) and, for the larger context, Johns (1998: 266–323).

[7] It was advertised on 21 November 1672 (*TC* 1: 120). Blount himself (1673: sig. A2r) explained his delayed response to the *New world* by saying that although it was full of mistakes, "had not those Errors been continued, with new supplies to a Second and third Impression, so little was I concerned at the particular injury, that these Notes (in great part collected from his first Edition) had never reproached his Theft to the World."

Navigation, Mr. Wilsford.
Fortification, Mr. Faulconberge.
The names of the Mathematical instruments, Mr. Greatorex.
Surveying, Mr. Eyre[.] Mr. Blagrave.
Musick, Dr. Coleman.
Architecture, Mr. Ed. Carter.
Perspective, Mr. W. Carter.
Heraldry, Mr. Knight. Mr. Nower. T. Rawlins, Esq.
Jewelling, Mr. Gyffard.
Painting, Mr. Walker. Mr. Hales.
Graving, Mr Fathorn.
Husbandry, Mr. Austen.
Cookery, Mr. May.
Horsmanship, Mr. Green.
Hawking and Hunting, Mr. Gardener.
Fishing, Mr. Taverner.

These were Phillips's dictionary consultants. In the "Advertisement to the reader" with which the preliminary matter of *The new world of English words* closes, the preface to the *Glossographia* is quoted as saying that a really useful dictionary "would necessarily require an Encyclopedie of knowledge, and the concurrence of many learned Heads" (Phillips 1658: sig. c5v, quoting Blount 1656: sig. A5r). Phillips (1658: sigs. c5v–c6r) announces that "Such an Encyclopedy I present thee Reader with from the Muses, as it was delivered me from the forked top of their *Parnassus*; for I shall ever acknowledge such peculiar aides as I received from severall Learned Persons."[8] This attempt to trump the *Glossographia* rankled with Blount, who wrote that

> we find a *Catalogue* prefixed [to the 1671 edition of the *New world of English words*] of the names of divers Learned Persons of this Age, *Eminent in or contributary to any of those Arts, Sciences, or faculties contained in the following Work.* Whereby the Author would at least obscurely insinuate, that those Learned Persons had contributed to or assisted him in it, thereby to advance its reputation; but I believe nothing less, having heard some of the cheif of them utterly disown both the Author and his Work. (Blount 1673: sig. A2r)

So, Blount made two charges, namely that Phillips's dictionary plagiarized his own, and that it boasted of the assistance of imaginary consultants.

History has been on Blount's side. The first serious attempt at a survey of English-language lexicography quoted his complaints at some length, though with the judicious conclusion that he "very much overestimates the injury he had received" (Wheatley 1865: 236). Sir James Murray remarked in his famous lecture on the English

[8] He went on to allege that he had also used "the imperfect remaines of a Gentleman who long since begun this Work" (Phillips 1658: sig. c6r), and this must be an invention, as is the description of the *New world* as "long expected" in a publisher's advertisement (Phillips 1658: sig. Ss4v, item 18): Phillips's dictionary is certainly a response to the *Glossographia*, not the completion of a work begun "long since".

lexicographical tradition that Blount considered Phillips's dictionary "with some reason … to be largely plagiarized" from his own (1900: 32). Half a century later, Starnes and Noyes's *English dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson* refers to Phillips's "wholesale thefts" (1946: 51) and says "That Phillips' dictionary was extracted largely from Blount's *Glossographia*, … that he had a catalogue of the names of eminent persons allegedly contributors to the dictionary – all these are established facts" (1946: 53–4). Robin Alston remarks at the beginning of his Scolar Press facsimile of the *New world of English words* that "there can be little doubt that Phillips plagiarized Blount's work" and that "it seems likely" that none of the consultants "had any connexion with the dictionary" (Alston 1969 n.p.). The notice of Phillips in the *Oxford dictionary of national biography* says that "much of" his dictionary "was plundered from the *Glossographia*." In his chapter on "The early development of the English monolingual dictionary" in the recent *Oxford history of English lexicography*, Noel Osselton quotes Starnes and Noyes's phrase "wholesale thefts" (2009: 143) and says nothing about the consultants. There is, therefore, a strong tradition of dismissing Edward Phillips as the maker of a plagiarized dictionary, the preliminaries of which were dressed up with the names of imaginary consultants. So why is this paper called "In praise of Edward Phillips"?

2. Plagiarism and tradition

A way to examine Blount's claim that Phillips plagiarized from the *Glossographia* is to look at Blount's use of his own sources. The first of the four parts of his *Academie of eloquence* is a close adaptation of "Directions for speech and stile", an unpublished rhetorical treatise written half a century previously by the poet and judge John Hoskins (see Bongaerts 1978: 20–4). As for the *Glossographia*, Blount himself stated in his preface "that I may a little secure the Reader from a just apprehension of my disability for so great an Undertaking, I profess to have done little with my own Pencil, but have extracted the quintessence of *Scapula*, *Minsheu*, *Cotgrave*, *Rider*" and other lexicographers, including Cowell, "for so much as tended to my purpose; and hope I have taken nothing upon trust, which is not authentick" (Blount 1656: sigs. A5r–v). This was to some extent a modesty topos, with a long ancestry (cf. Considine 2008: 49). However, Blount certainly did draw on the work of other lexicographers, not least Cockeram, as he compiled the *Glossographia*, as well as doing some highly original work of his own (see Bongaerts 1978: 25–6 and Considine 2012: xxvi). In the preface to his *Nomo-lexikon*, Blount used very much the same language as he had in 1656: "that I may in some measure prevent the Readers suspition, that my abilities are not commensurate with so great an Undertaking, I'le tell him freely, I have in this *Meadow*, made little *hay* with my own *fork*, but in the more common *words* have made use of *Cowel* …" and other legal lexicographers and commentators, of whom a list follows (Blount 1670: sig. a2r). In fact, about half the entries in the *Nomo-lexikon* seem to be based on Cowell (Bongaerts 1978: 46). Blount was, therefore, by no means averse to, or ashamed of, using material from other people's books in his own.

It is difficult to quantify Phillips's indebtedness to Blount, because unless one dictionary entry follows another word for word, it is hard to distinguish adaptation which simply paraphrases or abridges the original, adaptation which has a significant innovative element, and coincidental similarity. Two twentieth-century analyses of different samples show respectively that 49% and 53% of Phillips's entries in the *New world of English words* are taken directly from Blount's *Glossographia* (Starnes, Noyes 1946: 51; Bongaerts 1978: 28), and Phillips's dependence on Blount in 1658 is by both those measures similar to Blount's dependence on Cowell in 1670. A third analysis shows between 32% and 41% of Phillips's entries originating in Blount, nearly all of them with definitions abridged or otherwise altered (McConchie 2013: 112–7), and a fourth shows 38.8% of Phillips's headwords originating in Blount, often with significant reworking (Miyoshi 2013: 54). So, although there can be no doubt that the *Glossographia* was the principal source of the *New world of English words*, none of these figures suggest that Blount's description of it as "extracted almost wholly out of mine … onely some words were added and others altered, to make it pass as the Authors legitimate off-spring" does its compiler justice. Seventeenth-century English reference books might, indeed, be considerably less original than Phillips's work. For instance, Sylvia Brown and I have shown that well over ninety per cent of the entries in John Dunton's *Ladies dictionary* of 1694 are copied or reworked from identifiable sources (Brown, Considine 2010, 2013), and recent studies of technical and medical dictionaries of the eighteenth century (e.g. Lonati 2007) show similar patterns of copying and rewording.

Phillips's procedure was legally acceptable as well as being in accordance with contemporary norms. As we have seen, the rights to the *Glossographia* were sold by Blount to the printer Thomas Newcombe, who protected his right to print the book by having it recorded in the registers of the Company of Stationers *(SR* 2: 17, 2: 67).[9] If Newcombe had seen the *New world of English words* in 1658 as a reprinting of the *Glossographia*, and hence as an infringement of his rights, he would have proceeded against Nathaniel Brooke, the bookseller who published it, in the court of the Company of Stationers. But he did not: nor did he, Henry Herringman, and John Martin, the publishers of Blount's *Nomo-lexicon* (entered *SR* 2: 414), proceed against the publishers of *Nomothetes*. Outraged as Blount might be by the use in other dictionaries of material which he had compiled, and ready as he was to say that the publisher was "half undone" by it (1673: sig. A2r), the men who actually owned the copyright to that material, and who therefore stood to lose by illegal reprinting, and had a means of redress against it, evidently did not share his outrage. In the case of the *New world* and the *Glossographia*, the publishers had good cause to be indifferent: Phillips's dictionary cost twice as much as Blount's, so that they

[9] A dictionary could, earlier in the seventeenth century, have been protected by a royal patent, making it illegal to republish it without the patentee's consent. John Minsheu had obtained a twenty-one-year patent for his polyglot dictionary *Ductor in linguas* in 1611, and this had protected its publication, for which Minsheu himself arranged financing, in both the edition of 1617 and that of 1625 (see Loewenstein 2002: 141–2). This system would not have applied to Blount, who had sold the right to publish the *Glossographia*, and it was in abeyance in the 1650s.

were not competing in the same market.[10] But even in the case of *Nomothetes* and the *Nomo-lexikon*, where the competing dictionary was offered at a price which undercut Blount's, the publishers of the *Nomo-lexikon* felt that taking some material from the dictionary in which they had an interest was not actionable.[11]

The argument that Phillips's *New world* plagiarizes Blount's *Glossographia* depends, then, on Blount's unusual sensitivity to the reuse of his work, and more generally on an anachronistic concept of plagiarism (cf. McConchie 2013: 118). It is more helpful to say that the two dictionaries belonged to the same tradition: Phillips simply took the tradition further than Blount, just as Blount had taken it further than the little hard-word dictionaries of the first half of the seventeenth century. A different dictionary tradition, that of pre-modern China, treats questions of transmission very differently, so that for instance a dictionary whose name translates as *Jade chapters*, completed in 543, had a successor called *Immensely augmented jade chapters*, completed 470 years later (Yong, Peng 2008: 192–3). The makers of the *Immensely augmented jade chapters* stressed tradition in the title of their work, making it invoke what the new dictionary had taken from its predecessor; Phillips stressed innovation, making the title of his dictionary invoke the additions he had made. But that did not make him a plagiarist. Blount's angry accusation has been quoted with approval too often and too uncritically.

3. Four of Phillips's innovations

Phillips's use of the hard-word lexicographical tradition is, then, neutral. Let us now turn, as the title of his dictionary invites us to do, from tradition to innovation. Starnes and Noyes (1946: 56–7) point to two of the innovations in the *New world of English words.* Firstly, Phillips was the first lexicographer of English to begin his dictionary with a history of the English language, in which he gave particular attention to the origin of loanwords (Phillips 1658: sigs. b3v–c4r). Rod McConchie has remarked appreciatively that "there is quite a lot in Phillips's preface which would not be out of place in a twentieth-century textbook on the history of English and English word-formation" (2013: 113 n 11). Second, as Starnes and Noyes put it, the folio format in which Phillips presented the *New world* "is more attractive and dignified than are those of his predecessors" (1946: 56). Copies of

[10] These dictionaries did not have prices printed on their title pages (unlike Dunton 1694, priced on its title page at six shillings), but we know that the third edition of *Glossographia* was advertised at five shillings in 1669 and the fourth at five shillings and sixpence in 1674 (*TC* 1: 24, 1: 191; the fifth edition was advertised without quoting a price in 1681, *TC* 1:433), and the third edition of the *New world* was advertised at ten shillings in 1670 (*TC* 1: 60; the fourth edition was advertised without quoting a price in 1678, *TC* 1: 314–5); a copy of the first edition of the *New world* was sold for ten shillings in Boston, Massachusetts, in 1666 (Amory 2002: 747). Meanwhile, new editions of the small hard-word dictionaries appealed to the lower end of the market: the 1670 edition of Cockeram's little dictionary and the 1671 edition of Bullokar's were both priced at one shilling and sixpence (*TC* 1: 62, 1: 75).

[11] The *Nomo-lexicon* was offered at nine shillings and *Nomothetes* at eight (*TC* 1: 58, 1: 90).

the 1656 *Glossographia*, an octavo, stand 17 or 18 cm tall; copies of the *New world* stand 28 or 29 cm tall. The larger page size gave Phillips and his publisher space for an engraved frontispiece – "a pompous Frontispiece" according to Blount (1673: sig. A2r) – adorned with images evoking the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and with portraits of the poets Chaucer and Spenser, the historian William Camden, and the legal antiquaries William Lambarde, John Selden, and Sir Henry Spelman. The *New world*'s innovative folio format presents the reader with more words on a page than could be managed in the *Glossographia*, and with longer, more readable lines of type. Each column of type on a page of Blount's dictionary is enclosed in box rules, and these are replaced by a single rule between the columns, lightening the visual effect of the page. As Noel Osselton (2009: 142–3) has remarked, these changes go together with an interest in making the dictionary more readable by adding more encyclopedic entries and more proper names.

A third group of innovations shows Phillips making a first move away from the hard-word tradition of his predecessors and towards a wider documentation of the vocabulary of English. He writes in his preface "that there are many words in this book (though fewer than in other books of this kinde) which I would not recommend to any for the purity, or reputation of them" (1658: sig. c2r). The parenthesis is striking, for it shows Phillips's awareness that one of the tasks of the lexicographer is deciding which words to exclude. As for the words which he includes, "knowing that such kinde of words are written, and that the undistinguishing sort of Readers would take it very ill if they were not explained," he explains that "I have set my mark on them" (1658: sig. c2r), and more than a hundred words are duly marked in the dictionary with a typographical dagger, for instance "†*Introruption*, (lat.) a breaking in, a rushing in by violence". Sometimes he comments on the words which are thus marked: "†*Magnality*, a greatnesse to be admired at, being a made word, from the Lat. *Magnalia*, i.e. great and wonderful things". In his overview of the hard-word dictionaries, Osselton calls this feature Phillips's "most striking innovation" (2009: 144), and in an earlier monograph (Osselton 1958), he had shown how previous English dictionaries had hardly ever stigmatized words in this way, and how Phillips' innovation provided a model for lexicographers for a hundred years. Phillips's move was not merely a matter of prescriptivism. Rather, he was trying to make a dictionary which gave a sense of normal English usage. Indeed, *introruption* and *magnality* were by no means normal English words: both were registered in the *Glossographia*, but *introruption* may have been a coinage of Blount's, and *magnality* may have been a coinage of Blount's source, Sir Thomas Browne's *Pseudodoxia epidemica*, the vocabulary of which is very rich and Latinate.

Phillips's stigmatization of abnormal words was, fourthly, of a piece with his rejection of two features of Blount's *Glossographia*, namely the citation of authors and the provision of etymologies. As for authors, he argued that it was not "proper to quote an Authour for a word that long custome hath sufficiently authoriz'd" (1658: sig. c2r), and that citing authors "as single testimonies for the fantasticalnesse of their own words" was "no lesse needlesse, then abusive and ridiculous" (1658: sig. c5v).

As for etymologies, it might be argued that, as Kusujiro Miyoshi (2013: 64) has put it, "Blount still saw naturalized foreign words as the primary object of lexicography" while Phillips "was coming to realize that what matters is the systematic treatment of the vocabulary of English, whatever its origin." It was more important to decide whether *introruption* was a normal English word than to point out that it was derived from a well-formed Latin word.[12] Phillips's attention to mainstream English usage made his dictionary a suitable starting-point for a tradition of surveying an increasingly broad and general English vocabulary. This tradition would run through the seventeenth-century editions of his dictionary, the last of which had some 17,000 entries, to John Kersey's revision of 1706, which more than doubled the entry count, and on to the even more general English dictionaries of the eighteenth century (see Starnes, Noyes 1946: 84). So it was that Samuel Johnson's first biographer, Sir John Hawkins, concluded that Phillips's *New world of English words* "must be looked on as the basis of English lexicography" (1787: 173).

4. A fifth innovation: the use of consultants

A fifth innovation in the *New world of English words* was Phillips's claim to have called on consultants in the making of the dictionary. As we have seen, this was dismissed by Thomas Blount, and recent scholars have treated it with scepticism. If Phillips's claim is to be understood at all, a distinction must be made between his list of 1658, reproduced above, which claims that the persons named "contributed their assistance" to the making of the dictionary, and the different list in the edition dated 1671, which as Blount says, does not make that claim directly, but leaves the reader to suppose that the persons named had something to do with the dictionary. The later list need not concern us here: what matters is Phillips's original claim that in 1658 he was assisted by thirty-four consultants. This claim is in fact highly plausible, on several grounds.

The first of these grounds is the nature of the names on the list. Some of them, to be sure, were famous in 1658. Edward and William Molins, the consultants for surgery and anatomy, were both celebrated surgeons, and Edward had been called upon to treat Cromwell himself for a bladder stone in 1656. William Lilly, one of the consultants for astrology, was the leading astrologer of his time; Charles Coleman, the consultant for music, was one of the major English composers of the 1650s. In all, twenty of the thirty-four consultants listed by Phillips are the subjects or joint subjects of entries in the *Oxford dictionary of national biography*.[13] But that does not

[12] In fact, although *introruptio* is in early modern Latin dictionaries, it is not attested in classical Latin.

[13] They are the following (dates and, unless square-bracketed, descriptions from *ODNB*): Elias Ashmole, astrologer and antiquary (1617–92); Ralph Austen, horticulturalist and religious radical (c1612–76); John Booker, astrologer (1602–67); Charles Coleman, musician and composer (d. 1664); William Coles, botanist (1626–62); William Currer, iatrochemical physician (1617–68); William Faithorne, engraver (c1620–1691); Ralph Greatorex, maker of scientific

mean that all twenty were famous when Phillips used their names. Jonas Moore, the consultant for mathematics, was to earn a knighthood in years to come, but in 1657 he had just returned to London after some years in the fens, surveying drainage works: there were much better-known mathematicians for Phillips to cite, for instance William Oughtred or John Wallis, if he had just wanted names to steal.[14] Likewise, Elias Ashmole, famous now as the founder of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford, was a coming man rather than an eminent one: he had recently finished cataloguing the Tradescant collection of rarities, but he was its cataloguer and not yet its owner, and apart from that, his main achievement was editing a collection of English poems on alchemy. If Phillips had been making up names, he could have found a more famous antiquary than Ashmole, for instance William Dugdale. Among consultants who are not the subjects of *ODNB* entries, some were men of modest distinction: for instance, Edward Carter, the consultant for architecture, had been Surveyor of the King's Works until 1653, but had since then been in eclipse (his brother William, the consultant for "perspective", was much less distinguished), and Humphry Gyffard, the consultant for "jewelling", was a "Collector of choice rarities" with an administrative position at one of the London prisons.[15] Some of the consultants are downright obscure, for instance the Mr. Green who advised on horsemanship. Phillips's form "learned Gentlemen and Artists" makes it clear that some of them were not even gentlemen, and hence raises the question again of why he would have named them if they had not actually helped him.

Another reason to suppose that the consultants whom Phillips named really had contributed to the *New world* is that so many of them can be associated with him. A first kind of association can be seen from the publisher's advertisement at the back of the *New world of English words*, which lists other books which Nathaniel Brooke had in print or in press in 1657 (Phillips 1658: sigs. Ss1v–Ss4v). One of those which was in print was a translation of a work on the occult by Cornelius Agrippa, done by Robert Turner, the consultant for "Magick" (item 29). Nine further items were by William Lilly the astrologer, who as we have seen was one of Phillips's more celebrated consultants (items 32–40). Another is listed as "The admired Piece of Physiognomy, and Chyromancy" by Richard Saunders, the consultant for "chyromancy and Physiognomy" (item 44). In fact, twelve of Phillips's thirty-four consultants, more than

instruments (c1625–75); John Hayls, portrait painter (d. 1679); John Herne [author of lawbooks] (fl. 1636–1660); William Lilly, astrologer (1602–81); Robert May, cook and author (b. 1588?, d. in or after 1664); Edward Molins, surgeon (1610?–63); William Molins, surgeon and anatomist (1617–91); Jonas Moore, mathematician and patron of astronomy (1617–79); Francis Nowers, heraldic painter (d. 1670); Thomas Rawlins, engraver, medallist, and playwright (c1620–1670); Richard Saunders, medical practitioner and astrologer (1613–75); Robert Turner, writer and translator of occult and medical works (b. 1619/20, d. in or after 1664); Robert Walker, portrait painter (1595 × 1610–1658).

[14] Willmoth (1993: 121) discusses Moore's need to develop a reputation in the late 1650s, but remarks of his appearance among Phillips's consultants that "the few mathematical entries in the work are briefer and more feebly expressed than one would have expected if Moore, or others named, had genuinely contributed to it."

[15] For the Carter brothers, see Summerson (1975: 134), and for Edward's career (1975: 161–5); for Gyffard, see Grosart (1875: x, xiii–xv) and Bohun (1702: 426–7).

a third of them, were named in this single advertisement.[16] Brooke might of course have made books which he had published available to Phillips if the latter were working on the dictionary as an in-house project, but since not all the consultants had published books, this cannot be the whole answer.

One of these twelve was Elias Ashmole: Brooke had published both his collection of alchemical texts and his catalogue of the Tradescant collection (items 45 and 82 in the advertisement in the *New world*). It may well have been through Brooke that Phillips came to know Ashmole, who would employ him as an amanuensis in the 1660s.[17] Ashmole had many contacts among Brooke's stable of authors. One of his closest was William Lilly, to whom he had been introduced by Jonas Moore, another Brooke author, who as we have seen was Phillips's consultant for mathematics; Ralph Greatorex, the consultant for scientific instruments, had known both Moore and Lilly for years.[18] One of Robert Turner's books has a commendatory note by Lilly, while another is dedicated to the alchemist and antiquary William Backhouse, one of Ashmole's intimates.[19] Richard Saunders, the consultant for chiromancy, acted as physician to Lilly and dedicated a book to Ashmole, who was godfather to his son Charles.[20] The other consultant for astrology was John Booker, who was on good terms with Lilly and Ashmole, to whom he dedicated an almanac (Josten 1966: 1.134, 160). The chemistry consultant, the iatrochemical physician William Currer, was a lifelong friend of Ashmole's (Josten 1966: 1.71). William Coles dedicated his *Art of simpling* (published by Brooke) to Ashmole in 1655 and William Faithorne engraved Ashmole's portrait in 1656.[21] Ashmole made an astrological chart for William Molins, which appears in a manuscript of Ashmole's directly after the chart he made for Nathaniel Brooke.[22] He was also on friendly terms with a number of members of the Blagrave family, among whom may be the shadowy "Mr. Blagrave" who was one of the consultants on surveying.[23] It is plausible that Ashmole's name

---

[16] As well as Turner, Lilly, Saunders, and (as we are about to see) Ashmole, the first list in the advertisement identifies printed works by William Coles (items 57–8), John Eyre (item 48), Thomas Rawlins (item 68), Thomas Wilsford (items 49 and 87), John Wybard (item 46), and Phillips himself (items 65 and 88), and the second list identifies works in press by Ashmole (item 20), John Herne (items 23–4), Robert May (item 16), Jonas Moore (item 25), Wilsford (items 1–3), and again Phillips himself (item 18, the *New world*).

[17] Phillips was copying documents for Ashmole's study of the Order of the Garter at a date after 18 January 1663, and referred knowledgeably to the project in a text with the imprimatur date 16 December 1664 (for both dates, see Hone 1956).

[18] For Lilly, Moore, and Ashmole, see Josten (1966: 2.397); for Greatorex and Lilly, see Josten (1966: 2.632 n 3); for Greatorex and Moore, see Willmoth (1993: 47, 123–4 etc.).

[19] *ODNB*, s.n. Turner; for Ashmole and Backhouse, see Josten (1966: 1.76–8 etc.).

[20] For Saunders and Lilly, see *ODNB*, s.n. Saunders; for Saunders and Ashmole, see Josten (1966: 1.105, 2.630–1).

[21] Josten (1966: 2.672) (Coles) and 1.114 (Faithorne).

[22] The charts are in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 332, fos. 42r (Brooke) and 42v (Molins): see Black (1845: col. 221). Perhaps Molins was Ashmole's hitherto unidentified "cousin Mullins" (Josten 1966: 2.391).

[23] See Josten (1966: 2. 472 n 4) for the family; they were related to the Elizabethan mathematician John Blagrave, and it is possible that if a Blagrave helped Phillips, it was by showing him books or instruments of John's.

is at the top of the list of consultants because he introduced Phillips to many of the others, perhaps specifically for the purposes of dictionary-making.[24]

If these consultants did actually contribute to the dictionary, they may simply have helped Phillips to improve entries taken over from the *Glossographia*, but it would have been a laborious matter for him to excerpt entries subject by subject and send them out to consultants. So, they are likelier to have contributed some of the entries which Phillips added to his principal source. Some of the entries which Phillips added do not look like the work of consultants, for instance those for old words taken from the glossary to Speght's edition of Chaucer, and those for classical proper names adapted from an edition of Charles Estienne's *Dictionarium poeticum*.[25] But as one reads through the *New world* and the *Glossographia* side by side, it becomes evident that there are certain subject fields in which Phillips is making a striking number of additions which could not simply have been harvested from a single source like Speght's glossary. One of these is astronomy, which would have been handled by one of the astrology consultants: the names of a number of stars and constellations appear in English for the first time in the *New world*, for instance *Praesepe* and *Procyon*, as do a number of other terms such as *Alphonsin-tables*, a set of astronomical tables made under the aegis of Alfonso the Wise of Castile, and as do astrological senses of *faces* and *fall*. The latter two are interesting, because they are not the sort of words which would present themselves to a non-specialist as interesting astrological jargon. Another subject-field in which Phillips takes a noticeable interest is surveying, where there appears to be a close link between Phillips's additions and the writings of his consultant John Eyre: for instance, the instrument called a circumferentor is described in very much the terms of Eyre's *Exact Surveyor*.[26] Another is painting: the word *mahlstick*, a stick with a padded top on which an artist rests the hand which holds the paintbrush, is first attested in Phillips, and it is highly plausible that he learned it orally from one of the consultants on painting, which would indeed explain the irregularity of the form in which he gives the word, *mosstick*.[27] It is likewise plausible that *sand-bag* as a support for an etcher's plate came orally from the consultant on "graving".[28] Another area which

[24] Cf. Josten (1966: 1.120 and 2.730), "It is interesting to note that several of Ashmole's friends and acquaintances are also mentioned in this list."

[25] For the Chaucerian words, see Kerling (1979: 87–108); for the classical names, see Starnes, Noyes (1946: 49).

[26] With Phillips (1658 s.v.) *circumferentor*, "it is made of wood, eight inches in length, and four broad, three quarters of an inch thick [etc.]" cf. Eyre (1654: 3), "usually made of wood, containing in leng[t]h about eight Inches, and in bredth about foure Inches, and in thicknesse three quarters of an Inch [etc.]." Likewise, Phillips's entry *theodolite* seems to be related to the description of the theodolite at Eyre (1654: 2–3), and the entry *decimal chain* seems to be related to the description of that instrument at Eyre (1654: 10).

[27] After Phillips (1658), the word occurs in three related texts: *Excellency* (1668: 93) (as *Mol-Stick*), Salmon (1673: 122) (as *Mol-Stick*, in a passage very close to the corresponding one in *Excellency* (1668), and Holme (1688: 3.145 and 3.369) (both as *Mol Stick*; the latter passage is very close to those in *Excellency* [1668] and Salmon [1673]).

[28] Phillips (1658) appears to be the first text in which this sense of *sandbag* is attested, the next being Holme (1688: 3.150).

may have depended on oral information is that of the names of scientific instruments, for instance *bow* "a Mathematical instrument to take heights" and *declinator* "a Mathematical Instrument, to take the declinations of the Planets", both first attested in Phillips in these senses, and the very rare *chronodix*.[29] Perhaps it is no coincidence that Phillips's explanation of *thermometre* (sic) as "a weather-glasse" is echoed by Samuel Pepys's reference five years later to "a very pretty Weather glasse for heat and cold" (Pepys 1663/1974: 84), which he had bought from none other than Ralph Greatorex, Phillips's consultant for the names of scientific instruments.

In some subject areas, Phillips could have used printed sources to make his additions to Blount, for instance the names of plants, particularly those used as medicinal herbs: *all-good* and *all-heal*, *fenugreec* and *feverfew*, *cassia* and *madder*. Like the special uses of *faces* and *sand-bag*, these are not particularly outlandish: their inclusion looks like the work of a sensible herbalist or botanist offering a handful of useful plant-names. Another area in which notable additions were made with some help from printed sources is that of the lore of precious stones. Phillips appears to be the first lexicographer to register *alabandine*, "a kinde of blue, and red stone, provoking to bleed", *alectorius* "a precious stone of a waterish colour, found in the maw of an old Capon", and the rare *carp-stone*, "a triangular stone, found in the chap of a Carp, white without, and yellow within".[30] Some but not all of this lapidary material was from a printed book, an English translation of Wilhelm Scribonius' schoolbook *Rerum naturalium doctrina methodica* (Scribonius 1621: 28). I have observed other additions in the subject areas of anatomy; architecture; geometry; heraldry; hunting; military affairs; and seamanship. These are all subject-areas in which Phillips claimed to have had the help of consultants. On the whole, the development of these subject areas was a matter of the addition of new entries rather than the revision of old ones, although the entries for at least two architectural terms have been revised for the better, as have those for *aloes*, *cataract*, and *tunicle*.

Some areas show more new material than others: there is, for instance, a fair sprinkling of new heraldic terms, but much less of the vocabulary of painting. This raises the question of the procedures by which Phillips learned from his consultants. In the case of cookery, for instance, some relevant entries have been added or improved, but the changes are not such as to suggest the close involvement of a knowledgeable cook like Robert May, who was named as Phillips's cookery consultant. Indeed, the index of May's *The accomplish't cook*, published by Brooke two years after the *New world*, is rich in words such as *sparagus*, *torteletti*, *tansy*, and *triffel* which are not registered by Phillips (May 1660: sigs. Hh4v–5r). It is still possible that Phillips consulted May, but that he did so briefly and informally. This would be

[29] The form *chronodix* is in Charleton (1654: 78), "Hour-Glasses, or any other *Chronodix*", from which Phillips's definition "a certain kind of Dial or Instrument, to shew how the time passeth away" could perhaps have been worked out.

[30] The form *alabandine* is quite well attested from the fifteenth century onwards, though it is not registered in dictionaries, and I have not found it associated with Phillips's definition; *alectorius* and *carp-stone* are both in Scribonius (1621: 28) (as are *rubet*, *crab's eye*, *perch stone*, all of which were taken over by Phillips), but Scribonius does not have *alabandine*.

fully consistent with Blount's report that some of the people named as consultants in the edition of the *New world* dated 1671 had been heard to "utterly disown both the Author and his Work": on the one hand, some of them were not on the 1658 list, and so Phillips never claimed to have consulted them, and on the other hand, those who were on the 1658 list might have been consulted very casually. If a person asked one a few questions about one's field of expertise, and proceeded on the sole basis of that conversation to identify one as a subject consultant to a dictionary in which that field of expertise was superficially treated, one might indeed disown him and his work.

The hypothesis that Philips offered his list of consultants in good faith can therefore be reconciled with Blount's words as long as we accept that some of them contributed more systematically to the dictionary than others. There is a final point to make about his list of consultants. They contributed information to the *New world of English words* about the arts and sciences: antiquities and law terms, the occult sciences, physic, surgery, chemistry, botany – and then a long range of applied sciences and useful arts of one sort and another, through architecture down to horsemanship, hawking, hunting, and fishing. All of these contributions ensured that the *New world* would not have a strong literary bias. In this respect, Phillips was following a path indicated by Blount. The title page of the *Glossographia* had advertised "the Terms of … Arts and Sciences Explicated", and the preface had expressed an ambition to emulate the *Essay des merveilles de nature et des plus nobles artifices* by Etienne Binet, a thematically ordered encyclopedia whose subject matter extended from hunting through the arts and sciences, through the human and natural worlds, to rainbows.[31] What was a hint in Blount became a principal ambition for Phillips. He was the first English lexicographer to take technology seriously.

5. Conclusion

It is no coincidence that Phillips's leading consultant and future employer, Elias Ashmole, was a founding member of the Royal Society, and that other consultants of his were associated with the Society.[32] Nor is it a coincidence that Phillips would have a long-standing relationship with John Evelyn, another founding member of the Royal Society, who wrote of him that "He is a sober, silent, and most innocent Person, a little Versatile in his Studies, but infinitely Industrious; Understands many Languages, especially the modern; and is master of an English pen (when he will) not inferiour to any I know" (letter of 1667 in Evelyn 2014: 443).[33]

[31] Blount (1656: sig. A5r), citing Binet (1621) (as "done by René": it was issued under the pseudonym of René François).

[32] For instance Jonas Moore was to become a fellow, and Ralph Greatorex attended meetings of the society.

[33] Evelyn was in Evelyn's service by 1663, as tutor to his son, and was working for him again more than thirty years later, in 1694, as overseer of the printing of Evelyn's *Numismata*: see Evelyn (2014: 316 n 2, 1024 n 3).

Dictionaries and natural philosophy went together for many seventeenth-century virtuosi: Descartes, for instance, left a record of a dream he had in 1619, in which he handled a dictionary and a collection of poetry, and "judged that the dictionary meant nothing other than all the sciences gathered together".[34] Likewise, the "Alphabetical dictionary" which William Lloyd contributed to John Wilkins's *Essay towards a real character* of 1668 is deeply embedded in the thought of the Royal Society in the 1660s (see Lewis 2007: esp. 163–6). It is possible to see Phillips's *New world of English words* in a similar light, as a document with evident close connections to the experimental and technological work of the years immediately before the incorporation of the society, and to the ethos of collaborative progress in knowledge which would shape the society itself.

Phillips did not just acknowledge the importance of the terminology of the applied arts and sciences in the lexicography of English: he understood that this terminology needed to be gathered by recourse to specialist consultants, and he duly had recourse to consultants, and enriched his dictionary with what he learned from them. This represents a great advance beyond the methodology of his predecessors, for which there is indeed good reason, as the title of this paper proposed, to praise Edward Phillips.

References

ODNB = Matthew H. et al. (eds.). 2004–. *The Oxford dictionary of national biography*. Oxford. [online].

SR = Arber E. (ed.). 1913–14. *A transcript of the registers of the Worshipful Company of Stationers from 1640–1708 AD*. London.

TC = Arber E. (ed.). 1903–06. *The term catalogues, 1668–1709 A.D*. London.

Alston R. 1969. Prefatory note. – Idem (ed.) facsimile of Phillips 1658. Menston (UK).

Amory H. 2002. British books abroad: The American colonies. – Barnard J. et al. (eds.). *The Cambridge history of the book in Britain*. [vol. 4: *1557–1695*]. Cambridge.

Baillet A. 1691. *La vie de Monsieur Des Cartes*. Paris.

Binet E. 1621. *Essay des merveilles de nature, et des plus nobles artifices*. Rouen.

Black W. 1845. *A descriptive, analytical, and critical catalogue of the manuscripts bequeathed unto the University of Oxford by Elias Ashmole*. Oxford.

Blount T. 1656. *Glossographia, or, a dictionary, interpreting all such hard words … as are now used in our refined English tongue*. London.

Blount T. 1670. *Nomo-lexikon: A law-dictionary interpreting such difficult and obscure words and terms as are found either in our common or statute, ancient or modern lawes*. London.

Blount T. 1673. *A world of errors discovered in the New world of words, or general English dictionary, and in Nomothetes, or the interpreter of law words and terms*. London.

Bohun W. 1702. *Privilegia Londini: or, the laws, customs, and priviledges of the city of London*. London.

[34] Baillet (1691: 1.83), "Il jugea que le *Dictionnaire* ne vouloit dire autre chose que toutes les Sciences ramassées ensemble."

Bongaerts T. 1978. *The correspondence of Thomas Blount (1618–1679), recusant antiquary*. Amsterdam.
Brown S. 2001. Women and the godly art of rhetoric: Robert Cawdrey's puritan dictionary. – *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900.* 41: 133–48.
Brown S., Considine J. (eds.). 2010. *N. H., The ladies dictionary (1694)*. Farnham (UK).
Brown S., Considine J. 2013. Grub-Street compilers at work: New sources for John Dunton's *Ladies Dictionary* (1694). – *Notes and Queries* 60.4: 554–5.
Bullokar J. 1616. *An English expositor, teaching the interpretation of the hardest words vsed in our language*. London.
Cawdrey T. 1604. *A table alphabeticall, conteyning and teaching the true writing and vnderstanding of hard vsuall English words*. London.
Charleton W. 1654. *Physiologia Epicuro-Gassendo-Charltoniana, or, A fabrick of science natural, upon the hypothesis of atoms founded by Epicurus*. London.
Cockeram H. 1623. *The English dictionarie, or, An interpreter of hard English words*. London.
Considine J. 2008. *Dictionaries in early modern Europe: Lexicography and the making of heritage*. Cambridge.
Considine J. 2010. Henry Cockeram: The social world of a seventeenth-century lexicographer. – Considine J. (ed.). *Adventuring in dictionaries: New studies in the history of lexicography*. Newcastle (UK): 25–46.
Considine J. 2012. Introduction. – Considine J. (ed.). *Ashgate critical essays on early English lexicographers*. [vol. 4: *The seventeenth century*]. Farnham (UK): xv–lxiii.
Dunton J. (ed.). 1694. *The ladies dictionary*. London.
Evelyn J. 2014 = Chambers D., Galbraith D. (eds.). *The letterbooks of John Evelyn*. Toronto.
Excellency 1668 = *The Excellency of the pen and pencil exemplifying the uses of them in the most exquisite and mysterious arts of drawing [etc.]*. 1668. London.
Eyre J. 1654. *The exact surveyor*. London.
Grosart S. (ed.). 1875. *The complete poems and translations in prose of Humfrey Gifford, gentleman (1580)*. Blackburn (UK).
Hawkins J. 1787. *The life of Samuel Johnson LL.D*. London.
Herne J. 1658. *The modern assurancer*. London.
Holme R. 1688. *The academy of armory*. Chester.
Hone R. 1956. The period of Edward Phillips's work for Elias Ashmole. – *Notes and Queries* [new ser.] 3.4: 163.
Johns A. 1998. *The nature of the book: Print and knowledge in the making*. Chicago.
Josten C. (ed.). 1966. *Elias Ashmole (1617–1692): His autobiographical and historical notes, his correspondence, and other contemporary sources relating to his life and work*. Oxford.
Kerling J. 1979. *Chaucer in early English dictionaries: The old-word tradition in English lexicography down to 1721 and Speght's Chaucer glossaries*. Leiden.
Lewis R. 2007. *Language, mind, and nature: Artificial languages in England from Bacon to Locke*. Cambridge.
Loewenstein J. 2002. *The author's due: Printing and the prehistory of copyright*. Chicago.
Lonati E. 2007. Blancardus' *Lexicon medicum* in Harris's *Lexicon technicum*: A lexicographic and lexicological study. – Considine J., Iamartino G. (eds.). *Words and dictionaries from the British Isles in historical perspective*. Newcastle (UK): 91–108.
London W. 1658. *A catalogue of the most vendible books in England, orderly and alphabetically digested*. London.
London W. 1660. *A catalogue of new books, by way of supplement to the former, being such as have been printed from that time, till Easter-Term, 1660*. London.
May R. 1660. *The accomplish't cook*. London.

McConchie R. 2013. "The most discriminating plagiarist": The unkindest cut (and paste) of all. – McConchie R. et al. (eds.). *Selected Proceedings of the 2012 Symposium on New Approaches in English Historical Lexis (HEL-LEX 3)*. Somerville (Mass.): 107–19.

McElligott J. 2007. *Royalism, print, and censorship in revolutionary England*. Woodbridge (UK).

Miyoshi K. 2013. The first systematic treatment of English vocabulary: Philips's *New world of English words* (1658). – Karpova O., Kartashkova F. (eds.). *Multi-disciplinary lexicography: Traditions and challenges of the XXIst century*. Newcastle (UK): 53–66.

Murray J. 1900. *The Romanes Lecture 1900: The evolution of English lexicography*. Oxford.

Osselton N. 1958. *Branded words in English dictionaries before Johnson*. Groningen.

Osselton N. 2009. The early development of the English monolingual dictionary (seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries). – Cowie A. (ed.). *The Oxford history of English lexicography*. Oxford: 131–54.

Pepys S. 1663/1974. *The diary of Samuel Pepys*. [vol. 4: *1663*]. – Latham R., Matthews W. (eds.). Berkeley (CA).

Phillips E. 1658. *The new world of English words, or, A general dictionary*. London.

Salmon W. 1673. *Polygraphice, or, the arts of drawing, engraving, etching, limning, painting, washing, varnishing, gilding, colouring, dying, beautifying, and perfuming in four books*. London.

Scribonius W. 1621. *Naturall philosophy, or, a description of the world*. London.

Shaaber M. 1944. The meaning of the imprint in early printed books. – *The Library* [4th ser.] 24.3–4: 120–41.

Shawcross J. 2004. *The arms of the family: The significance of John Milton's relatives and associates*. Lexington (KY).

Starnes D., Noyes G. 1946. *The English dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson*. Chapel Hill (NC).

Summerson J. 1975. The works from 1547 to 1660. – Colvin H. et al. (eds.). *The history of the King's works*. [vol. 3: *1485–1660* (part 1)]. London.

Wheatley H. 1865. Chronological notices of the dictionaries of the English language. – *Transactions of the Philological Society for 1865*: 218–93.

Willmoth F. 1993. *Sir Jonas Moore: Practical mathematics and Restoration science*. Woodbridge (UK).

Yong H., Peng J. 2008. *Chinese lexicography: A history from 1046 BC to AD 1911*. Oxford.

Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis 132 (2015): 229–237
doi:10.4467/20834624SL.15.021.4428

ANATOLY LIBERMAN
University of Minnesota-Twin Cities, Minneapolis (MN)
aliber@umn.edu

THE FUTURE OF ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARIES

Keywords: etymology, dictionary, bibliography, reconstruction, borrowings

Abstract

Now that printed books are being replaced by online materials, it is especially important to agree on the format of the etymological dictionary of the future. It seems expedient to discontinue the publication of dictionaries that contain minimal or no new information, for the public already has more than enough of them. The profession needs exhaustive (ideally annotated) bibliographies of everything ever published on the origin of every word in the language under study. Of great use can be thematic etymological dictionaries, such as dictionaries of presumably native words in a given language, of borrowings, of slang, of regional words, etc. Only the languages that have never been the object of sustained etymological research require general dictionaries of the type once produced by Skeat, Kluge, and their peers.

In the not too distant future, all traditional reference tools will be superseded by digital resources. Printed books will disappear long before we agree on the origin of Go.[1] *boka* 'letter' or Russ. *kniga* 'book'. Already now the literate world spends most of its time online and words are searched for rather than looked up. Old etymological dictionaries have yielded to countless pages available from the Internet. In preparing for the days when libraries will become computoriums, we should give some thought to the future of publications in our field and to the state of the art on the threshold of the epoch whose arrival will coincide with festivals of book burning along the lines familiar from November 5 in Great Britain, with dictionaries

[1] The following abbreviations are used below: Go. – Gothic, Engl. – English, OE – Old English, Russ. – Russian.

replacing the effigies of Guy Fawkes. One good result of those conflagrations will be that the length of our dictionaries will no longer matter.

The present essay is, as announced in its title, devoted to the future of etymological dictionaries, or, more properly, to their format. The public wants to know where words come from. Professional linguists do too, but, unlike inquisitive amateurs, specialists have to decide how far they can and should go and how much they can say. The oldest authors of the modern era (beginning roughly with the seventeenth century) assumed the existence of the protosource of all languages. Some found it in Hebrew, others preferred Dutch. Such monomaniacs, to use Ernest Weekley's term, are still with us. Dictionaries by deluded authors "prove" that all words of their favourite language can be traced to Hebrew, Arabic, Russian, or Irish Gaelic. Reading their works is sometimes amusing, sometimes sad and even frightening.

Our old predecessors were fortunate in that they had a clear view of their point of departure. In contrast to them, we attempt to *reconstruct* that remotest point. We know where we want to find ourselves, but our Promised Land is, to paraphrase slightly the title of Ehm Welk's novel, *das Land, das ferne leuchtet.* For some it is Proto-Indo-European; for others, Nostratic. Naturally, all reach their place of destination. Whether that place has anything to do with reality is another matter. In what follows we should not lose sight of two most important questions: "How much of that dreamland's territory has to be covered in an etymological dictionary?" and "To what extent are we ready to commit ourselves?" I will begin with the second of them.

Some words have minimal chronological depth. Such is nearly all slang. Occasionally researchers succeed in discovering the area in which a slang word was coined and the time of its first appearance, but more often they hit the wall. Obviously, *dude* did not exist in Proto-Indo-European or even Old English. Other words of undiscovered origin are older, though not necessarily very old. They are not exotic or slangy, or vulgar, and share common ground with *dude* only in that they too came in from the cold. About all of them dictionaries say "of unknown origin". Here are a few English words whose early history is said to be shrouded in obscurity. The numbers in parentheses refer to the centuries of their first attestation. A much longer list can be found in Liberman (1992).

> *Adz(e)* (OE), *awning* (17), *akimbo* (15), *balderdash* (16), *bamboozle* (18), *basket* (13), *binge* (19), *blurb* (20), *boy* (OE), *brag* (13), *breeze* (OE), *coax* (17), *dandy* (17), *dig* (OE), *dodge* (16), *doldrums* (19), *dwarf* (OE), *ever* (OE), *fad* (19), *fidget* (16), *fog* (16), *garbage* (16), *girl* (13), *goblin* (14), *guess* (17), *heifer* (OE), *hint* (17), *hire* (OE), *hobo* (19), *inkling* (14), *jog* (14), *jump* (17), *lad* (13), *loom* (OE), *mongrel* (15), *nod* (14), *oat* (OE), *pond* (13), *pony* (17), *qualm* (16), *quip* (16), *rabble* (16), *scoundrel* (16), *shallow* (15), *sham* (17), *sliver* (14), *sprawl* (OE), *stooge* (20), *strawberry* (OE), *toad* (OE), *trash* (16), *wench* (13), *yeoman* (14).

When we approach such words, we cannot know whether they are all native (a few of them are certainly not). Their arbitrarily chosen distinctive feature ("of unknown origin") ignores their homeland. It only indicates that their beginnings are lost. The question naturally suggests itself: "Is there anything to say about them?" Indeed, there is.

The formula "of unknown origin" conceals a variety of situations. Some words are totally obscure, that is, no one has a clue to how they arose (this is a relatively rare case). Much more often dictionary makers prefer to sit on the fence because no agreement on the word's derivation has been reached. Two, three, or more intelligent guesses may compete, with none of them carrying conviction. However, knowing them is important, for even a dubious hypothesis may contain a grain of truth or show a later researcher the way to a better solution. Even the most conscientious lexicographer is often unaware of a work that sheds light, however dim, on the problem at hand. Of the words cited above I have dealt with *adz(e), awning, boy, ever, girl, hire, hobo, lad, loom, oat, scoundrel, strawberry, toad,* and *yeoman*. I did not come up with definitive answers but succeeded in disproving some unmaintainable conjectures (including a few that enjoyed nearly universal support) and offering tentative solutions. In at least three cases (*hire, loom,* and *yeoman*) I probably even solved the riddle. Meillet's witty dictum that all good etymologies have already been found and the new ones are bad is discouraging and wrong.

Years ago, I realized that the post-Skeat, post-*OED* dictionaries of English etymology do not reflect the state of the art and depend on outdated, non-representative databases. The literature on most words is hard to collect, and lexicographers, if they are not the peers of Feist (*VWGS*), Vasmer *(REW*), von Wartburg (*FEW*), Hofmann (*WH*), Mayrhofer (*KEWA*), and Trubachev (*ESSI*), who devoted years or even all their professional lives to the production of etymological dictionaries, have limited or no knowledge of the monographs, articles, and notes pertaining to the words they describe. After more than two decades of work on my own dictionary (see Liberman 2008; a mere introduction) I have ample confirmation of that view. Excellent suggestions about the history of English words turned up in books, popular journals, reviews, and articles in about twenty languages (see Liberman 2010; since that time this bibliography has grown very considerably). I am convinced that etymological dictionaries of the future should abandon the phrase "of unknown origin" and offer instead exhaustive critical surveys of what has been written on the subject. The absence of a word in a dictionary would mean that the author either has not dealt with it or has nothing to say.

In the future, condensed dictionaries that include most of the vocabulary of a given language will make sense only if there is no or almost no national tradition behind them; that is, not for English, German, French, Spanish, and their likes. The general public will be satisfied with reprints of what we already have, while specialists and other serious students will need topical dictionaries. One of the first "installments" may be "Words of presumably unknown origin". Its publication should be prepared for by a database like the one I put together for English. The editor will have read all the works included (for comparison: Kennedy [1927] did not have to read the articles and books featured in his bibliography; even those who write for *Year's work* have no time to think deeply of what ends up on their desks and in their computers).

Early in my etymological career, I gave a talk on my plans to the Philological Society (Oxford). Professor Terry F. Hoad noted that it would be good if I published

a summary of the literature I had amassed. I explained to him that so-called "interim etymologies" exist but that doing what he had proposed for the entire database would take thousands of hours and pages. I have not changed my opinion, but I now see a practical way of following his advice. Synopses are possible, but they should be made available step by step. A volume like Feist's *VWGS* (3rd ed., 710 pp.) might be sufficient for the most basic English or German words "of unknown origin", though Feist often had to dismiss a hypothesis without discussion, and in the work I envision this approach is inadmissible. It will not do to say that a certain etymology is wrong; each conjecture has to be discussed before being buried. I'll briefly return to this point in the conclusion.

Words borrowed in the course of roughly the last millennium, that is, since the beginning of writing in post-Roman Europe, pose a grave problem. It is unrealistic to expect that a specialist in English historical linguistics (I cite English as an example; the same can be said about other languages) should feel equally at home in Frisian, German, and Scandinavian (Yiddish constitutes a special difficulty, more formidable for a German than for an English scholar), but for the sake of argument let us assume that English etymologists do indeed range freely over all the Germanic languages. Even if such people exist, they will never feel equally comfortable in Romance. Etymological lexicography of the future is thinkable only as a venture with participants from several fields (possibly from several countries).

I have studied the history of the English words *apricot, bar, baron, barricade, beggar, bigot, brave, brothel, ghetto, marquis, petty,* and a half-dozen others of the same type. In doing it, I followed every footnote, probably missed very little, and opened every existing dictionary, but I can have no independent opinion about the dialectal forms of French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese. My knowledge of Romance lacks depth, and I have not developed an almost instinctive feeling for what is right and wrong in French, the instinct that guides me through English, though I can read linguistic literature in Romance languages and Medieval Latin. If such is the situation in Romance, what can I say about Celtic? An accident of birth allows me to deal with Slavic; most of my colleagues in the West cannot boast of this advantage. To repeat: some "installments" will have to be team work.

We have turned the words *diversity, interdisciplinary,* and *global* into meaningless clichés, mere tokens of conformity to the ever-changing political climate. I wonder what organization will agree to fund a small diverse, interdisciplinary, global, and highly sustainable group of specialists (hardly more then ten full-time coworkers), whose goal will be to produce an etymological database and a series of durable etymological dictionaries for the main languages of Europe. In the absence of such a utopia, dedicated students of English (again citing English only as a case in point) should probably try to take care of borrowings in this language themselves. Since I have already made use of the title of one German novel, I will risk summarizing a modern etymologist's experience by referring to another, this time "borrowed" from Hans Fallada: "*Jeder stirbt für sich allein.*"

At this juncture, I can address the first question formulated at the beginning of this paper. So far, we have dealt with words that etymologists hoped to trace

to other recorded words. One could, for example, ask: "Does Engl. *adz(e)* go back to Go. *aqizi* 'ax' or any of its cognates?" As long as researchers try to answer such questions, they stay in the real world. But etymology has always tried to break into the realm of phantoms. Those phantoms are roots, and we need to know what place roots should occupy in an etymological dictionary and especially in an etymological dictionary of the future.

The root as a concept of historical linguistics is an ambiguous or perhaps double-edged concept: it is understood as both the common part of a group of forms (for instance, *cry-* is the root of *cry, crier,* and *decry*) and the begetter of related words, whose relatedness is deduced from the existence of this still undiscovered root (such are the asterisked entities in WP and *IEW*). I discussed this ambiguity in Liberman (2003) and need not go into detail again, for I am only interested in whether abstracting the root is a desired or even the ultimate goal of an entry in an etymological dictionary.

A search for reconstructed roots in Western languages was at one time inspired by the existence of triconsonantal roots in Hebrew. The emergence of what we now call scientific philology, contemporaneous with the discovery of regular sound correspondences (sound laws) and the works by Jacob Grimm, changed the procedures in that scholars left Hebrew roots to Semitologists and turned to Indo-European. With the appearance of Brugmann and Delbrück's *Grundriß* (1897–1916), in principle, of Brugmann's part, a list of such roots acquired its canonical form. However, even then not everybody believed that the discovery of roots was the ultimate goal of etymology.

A great change was instituted by Per Persson (1912), who introduced the idea of extensions, or determinatives (*Erweiterungen*). His revolution can hardly be called an unmixed blessing, because for the first time ever historical linguists began to work with desemanticized units and confronted a high number of homonymous roots endowed with extremely vague meanings. The most cursory comparison of the lists in WP and *IEW* shows that Pokorny expunged whole pages from WP, and no one seems to have minded the loss. But Persson was a brilliant etymologist. Hundreds of his suggestions look plausible, and the determinatives allowed his followers to reach what looked like greater depths in the development of Indo-European.

A well-known reaction to Persson's approach was the counterrevolution in the form of a heightened interest in the "life of words". This laudable interest is easier to proclaim than maintain in its pure form. The parade example of *Histoire des mots* is EM. Despite its fame, EM is not an exemplary dictionary. Meillet, Persson's opponent from the start, wrote skimpy etymologies and too often made do with the formula "origin unknown", even when WH lists some conjectures worthy of note. German scholars also attempted to separate the two aspects and also with questionable success. Kluge (*EWDS*) concentrated on word origins, while Paul (*DW*) traced the words' history after they surfaced in the texts. Such was the initial plan. In principle, both remained true to their design, but, as could be expected, Kluge often discussed recorded history (especially when the word was fairly recent), while Paul could not always steer clear of etymology (especially when the word was old). The merger of etymology and history is even more noticeable in the subsequent editions of both

dictionaries. Most probably, the best etymological dictionaries of the future will combine information on the distant past (prehistory) and the period within human memory, but will succeed in striking a balance between the two.

The next step in pushing the temporal limits was connected with the reconstruction of the Indo-European laryngeals. The roots as we know them from *IEW* were projected to much greater antiquity, almost to the beginning of linguistic time. Fifteen years ago, Brill began to publish a series of etymological dictionaries, envisioned as preparatory studies for a new up-to-date dictionary of Indo-European that would eventually replace *IEW*. Despite the features uniting the members of the Leiden school (especially attention to the substrate and the laryngeals), each volume bears the imprint of its author's expertise and personality. Also, the tasks were different: some investigators had to deal with entire groups (Celtic and Germanic), others with separate languages, to say nothing of the different traditions underlying the assignments. Thus, Boutkan and Siebinga (2005) wrote the first etymological dictionary of Old Frisian. By contrast, Kroonen (2013) dealt with all the Germanic languages and could not even try to master most of the literature on such a subject (there is enough to read even on Old Frisian). The same holds for Latin and Classical Greek. Kroonen began his project when he was a graduate student and wrote the dictionary in two years, after getting his Ph.D. degree. The much more experienced Michel de Vaan completed the Latin dictionary (De Vaan 2008) in one year, a circumstance that aroused Blažek's admiration (Blažek 2007–2009/2013: 113) and leaves me overawed.

It would be unproductive and even unfair to compare such dictionaries with Feist's, Walde's (WP and WH), or even Levitsky's (2010; a more modest enterprise). In the preface, Kroonen admits his limitations. His work belongs to the same class as Orel's (2003). The Leiden dictionaries will be put to good use by the next editor of *IEW*'s successor, but they cannot be looked upon as models for the future. Their additional disadvantage consists in that their authors proposed many original solutions (acceptable or dubious, as the case may be), but the hayrick is huge, and finding those precious needles in them is next to impossible.

Just as, in my opinion, the profession needs a limited dictionary of words customarily dismissed as impenetrable, it needs a dictionary of reconstructed roots, laryngeals and all (with detailed discussion and references), and perhaps a dictionary of words of allegedly substrate origin. The last point deserves an additional comment, and one example will suffice. The indubitable and presumable cognates of Engl. *lie* 'tell falsehoods' are well-known (apart from the Germanic dictionaries, see *EESI* 16: 233–237 – Slavic). Despite such an abundance of attested forms, the verb's distant Indo-European etymology evades us. Discussion of the Gothic homonyms *liugan*[1] 'to lie' and *liugan*[2] ' to marry' and of the possible Baltic congeners of *liugan* has occupied researchers for almost two centuries. Boutkan and Siebinga (2005: 239, *-liuga*) state, perhaps rashly, that Germanic has related forms only in Old Church Slavonic and conclude: "…hence apparently a substratum word (pace Pokorny 1959: 686–7)." A dictionary of all the candidates for the substrate would make it possible to appraise such claims and perhaps allow us to arrive at less revolutionary results. As regards

roots, we already have Watkins (2000), but the material there is a rehash of *IEW*; it is a convenient but unoriginal compendium.

I would like to summarize my views on what kind of etymological dictionaries the future needs.

1. For some European languages good one-volume etymological dictionaries have already been written. There is no need to keep churning out their clones or slightly updated versions. The most typical example is English. As one can see from my overview (Liberman 1998), the post-Skeat titles are rather numerous. The production of those books, with the partial exception of Weekley (1921), was a waste. Even minor revisions of such dictionaries hardly contribute anything to scholarship and education. We can also look at German. When Seebold brought out the 22nd edition of "Kluge", one could not but welcome it, even though the gains accompanied the losses in the version he offered, but the next three editions (insignificant refurbishings) were not worth the effort. Lehmann's experience shows that even updating a dictionary of a dead language with a limited vocabulary (here Gothic) runs into almost insurmountable difficulties. No doubt, Lehmann read the post-1939 literature on his subject, but he had limited space at his disposal and as a result produced a useful supplement to Feist, rather than a new edition of the great work. A true revision should look like WH: in principle, a new dictionary.
2. From what has been said here it does not follow that such well-researched (even over-researched) languages as English do not need new etymological dictionaries. The opposite is true. "An English von Wartburg" is catastrophically overdue, minus of course a catalogue of forms through the centuries, because those can be found in the *OED*. Such a dictionary, clearly not limited to a thousand odd pages like *ODEE*, will offer a critical analysis of everything said about English words (rejecting, rather than dismissing unacceptable solutions; here Feist, with his peremptory *abzulehnen*, is not a good example). An undertaking of this type presupposes a considerable expense of time and money, but "the regime of stringent economy" in such matters will result in ignoring the achievements of the predecessors and supporting untenable conclusions.
3. An etymological dictionary of the future should not be used as a platform for airing the author's or authors' views on the structure of asterisked forms or the musings on the substrate and prehistoric migrations. A supplement on such matters will do.
4. It seems reasonable to let the public use the resources already in existence, target the scholarly community, and start publishing thematic etymological dictionaries. An explanatory volume of Indo-European or Nostratic roots belongs here. Assuming the existence of a database featuring the various opinions on the origin of words to be included, it will pay off to bring out a volume of words of presumably native origin about which there is something to be said. The next or the preceding volume can be devoted to the words of undiscovered origin.
5. Still another volume, sometimes the product of international cooperation, should deal with presumably borrowed words. For instance, in Finnish philology words

of Germanic origin loom large. In English, the main lender is Romance, especially French and Latin. Such words cannot always be discussed in depth, for Finnish is not Germanic and English is not Romance, but summaries and references should be taken for granted. My idea of concentrating on thematic volumes is not new, as evidenced by etymological dictionaries of verbs and adjectives. The latest (and, to my mind, highly successful) sample of this industry is Faltings (2010). If the plan I propose ever becomes reality, concise versions of multivolume dictionaries will follow. At present, society has almost abandoned funding basic sciences in the humanities, but only patience and understanding result in the production of *GDW, OED, FEW,* and similar masterpieces. Such projects exist even today. *DARE,* though completed and nearly bankrupt, still has something to do. *ESSI* and *EWA*, both admirable, are moving forward. If etymological dictionaries survive as a genre, those dictionaries should serve as models and shining examples of perseverance.

References

Blažek V. 2007–2009/2013. (rev.). De Vaan M. 2008. – *Philologica Finno-Ugrica* 13–15: 113–136.

Boutkan D., Siebinga S. 2005. *Old Frisian etymological dictionary.* [Leiden Indo-European etymological dictionary series 1]. Leiden, Boston.

Brugmann K., Delbrück B. 1897–1916. *Grundriß der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Berlin.

DARE = Cassidy F.G., Hall J.H. (eds.). 1985 – 2014. *Dictionary of American Regional English*. Cambridge (MS), London (UK).

De Vaan M.A.L. 2008. *Etymological dictionary of Latin and the other Italic languages.* [Leiden Indo-European etymological dictionary series 7]. Leiden, Boston.

DW = Paul H. 1987. *Deutsches Wörterbuch.* Halle a. S.

EM = Ernout A., Meillet A. 1932. *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine. Histoire des mots.* Paris.

ESSI = Trubachev O.N. (ed.). 1974 – *Etimologicheskii slovar' slavianskikh iazykov. Praslavianskii leksicheskii fond.* Moscow.

EWA = Loyd A.L., Lühr R., Springer O. 1988-. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen.* Göttingen, Zürich.

EWDS = Kluge F. 1884/1989/1995/2003/2011. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache.* [22nd, 23rd, 24th, and 25th editions, by E. Seebold]. Straßburg, Berlin.

Faltings V.F. 2010. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der friesischen Adjektiva.* Berlin, New York.

Feist S. = *VWGS*.

FEW = von Wartburg W. 1934 – [1988]. *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (…). Leipzig, Berlin.

GDW = *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm*. 1854 -1971. Leipzig.

Hofmann J. = WH.

IEW = Pokorny J. 1959. *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.* Bern, München.

Kennedy A.G. 1927. *A bibliography of writings on the English language from the beginning of printing to the end of 1922.* Cambridge (MS), New Haven, London, Oxford.

KEWA = Mayrhofer M. 1956 – 1980. *Kurzgefaßtes etymologisches Wörterbuch des Altindischen. A concise etymological Sanskrit dictionary.* Heidelberg.

Kluge F. = *EWDS*.
Kroonen G. 2013. *Etymological dictionary of Proto-Germanic.* [Leiden Indo-European etymological dictionary series 2]. Leiden, Boston.
Lehmann W.P. = *VWGS*.
Levitsky V.V. 2010. *Etimologicheskii slovar' germanskikh iazykov. An etymological dictionary of Germanic languages. Etymologisches Wörterbuch der germanischen Sprachen*. Vinnitsa.
Liberman A. 1992. Etymological studies IV. The 'dregs' of English etymology. – *General Linguistics* 32: 16–35.
Liberman A. 1998. An annotated survey of English etymological dictionaries and glossaries. – *Dictionaries* 19: 21–96.
Liberman A. 2003. The changing models of etymology. – Maggi D., Poli D. (eds.). *Modelli recenti in linguistica. Atti del Convegnio della Società Italiana di Glottologia, Macerata, 26–28 ottobre 2000.* Rome: 11–40.
Liberman A. [with the assistance of J. L. Mitchell]. 2008. *An analytic dictionary of English etymology: An introduction*. Minneapolis, London.
Liberman A. [with the assistance of A. Hoptman, N. E. Carlson]. 2010. *A bibliography of English etymology* (…). Minneapolis, London.
Mayrhofer M. = *KEWA*.
ODEE = Onions C.T. (ed.). [with the assistance of G. W. S. Friedrichsen, R. W. Burchfield]. 1966. *The Oxford dictionary of English etymology.* Oxford.
OED = Murray A.H. et al. (eds.). 1884–1928. *The Oxford English dictionary.* [3rd edition; www.oed.com]. Oxford.
Orel V. 2003. *A handbook of Germanic etymology.* Leiden, Boston.
Paul H. = *DW*.
Persson P. 1912. *Beiträge zur indogermanischen Wortforschung.* Uppsala, Leipzig.
Pokorny J. = *IEW*.
REW = Vasmer M. 1950 – 1958. *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg.
Seebold E. = *EWDS*.
Skeat W.W. 1910. *An etymological dictionary of the English language.* [4th edition]. Oxford.
Trubachev O.N. = *ESSI*.
Vasmer M. = *REW*.
VWGS = Feist S. 1939/1986. *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache.* [3rd edition; 4th edition by W. P. Lehmann]. Leiden.
von Wartburg W. = *FEW*.
Watkins C. 2000. *The American Heritage dictionary of Indo-European roots.* [2nd edition, revised and edited by C. Watkins]. Boston, New York.
Weekley E. 1921. *An etymological dictionary of Modern English*. London.
WH = Walde A. 1938–1954. *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.* [3rd edition by J. B. Hofmann]. Heidelberg.
WP = Walde A. 1927–1932. *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen.* [edited by J. Pokorny]. Berlin.

Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis 132 (2015): 239–261
doi:10.4467/20834624SL.15.022.4429

MIROSŁAWA PODHAJECKA
University of Opole
mira.podhajecka@wp.pl

LUDWIK KRZYŻANOWSKI'S ENGLISH-POLISH LEXICOGRAPHIC PROJECTS: EVIDENCE FROM THE PIASA ARCHIVES[1]

Keywords: PIASA, bilingual dictionary, lexicography, analysis

Abstract

The present paper is a contribution to the history of Polish-English and English-Polish lexicography. It aims to throw some light on two bilingual dictionaries compiled by Ludwik Krzyżanowski, which have so far been shrouded in mystery. Fonds no. 49 deposited in the New York archives of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America (PIASA) provide archives in New York provide valuable data on the author and his scholarly activity, as well as a tiny part of a dictionary typescript that allows for a preliminary assessment of the lexicographic endeavour.

1. Introduction

This paper is a contribution to the history of Polish-English and English-Polish lexicography which has received little attention so far; a chapter in Piotrowski's monograph *Zrozumieć leksykografię* (2001), describing the main dictionaries with Polish and English as the source or target languages, remains the only comprehensive study in the field. As a result, we know very little about printed dictionaries and even less so about those extant in the manuscript form.[2]

[1] This paper is part of a project in the history of Polish-English / English-Polish lexicography (1788–1947) supported by the Polish National Science Centre (DEC-2011/01/B/HS2/05678).

[2] In chronological order, these are: *Do Słownika Angielsko-Polskiego Dodatek ktorego układanie przedsięwzięte zostało Roku 1799 Dnia 17 stycznia*, an anonymous manuscript dictionary in the holdings of the National Library of Ukraine in Kiev (Siekierska 1985); Michał Wiszniewski's

The aim of this paper is to throw some light on two lexicographic projects undertaken by Ludwik Krzyżanowski, a scholar educated at the Jagiellonian University, a prolific translator and an active promoter of Polish literature and culture in the West. Since a tiny part of a dictionary typescript has been discovered in the archives of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America (PIASA) in New York,[3] it is examined in some detail as a sample of the whole endeavour. Additionally, the PIASA archival materials are explored to help establish facts from the past.

2. Prologue

The paper owes more to serendipity than to systematic research. More exactly, investigating the history of Polish-English and English-Polish lexicography, I came across Ludwik Krzyżanowski's article published in *The Polish Review* (1957), which offered a description of an ideal bilingual dictionary which, in the author's view, still needed to be compiled:

> This need was strongly felt even in pre-1939 Poland. The well-known Warsaw publishing house Trzaska, Evert and Michalski undertook the publication of modern dictionaries of the Western European languages. At the suggestion of the late Professor Roman Dyboski of Cracow University, Poland's foremost authority in the field of English language and literature, the present writer was in 1937 entrusted with the preparation of an English-Polish and Polish-English dictionary which according to the stipulations of the contract was to be at least twice the size of the then existing dictionary previously published by the firm. Until the outbreak of World War II, the English-Polish part had been brought up to the letter "O". Unfortunately all the materials and the plates already set in type were lost when the installations of the printing establishment in Cracow were destroyed, as a result of the Nazi invasion (Krzyżanowski 1957: 100).

The discovery, which came as a complete surprise, became an impetus to collect information on the lexicographer and his works, which, in turn, led me to the Ludwik Krzyżanowski fonds in the PIASA archives. My letter of inquiry was responded to by a Polish archivist who browsed on my behalf through a huge volume of documents in the search for anything that would be related, in one way or another, to the dictionary in question.[4] The search resulted not only in finding interesting archival sources, but also a minuscule portion of an English-Polish dictionary.

Słownik polsko-angielski z porównaniem Języka Angielskiego z Polskim at the Ossolińskis Library in Wrocław (A–F), Jagiellonian Library in Cracow (G–H) and the Ossolińskis Library in Lwów (drafts of G–Z); Paweł Sobolewski's *Słownik Angielsko-Polski, zawierający wsobie wszystkie słowa i frazesa w powszechnem używaniu …* in the holdings of the Polish Library in Paris (B–E); Wincenty Trybulski's *Słownik angielsko-polski* (not found) and Ludwik Krzyżanowski's English-Polish dictionary (A–O) destroyed by the Nazis in 1939 (Krzyżanowski 1957: 100). The first part of Wiszniewski's dictionary is the subject of Jajdelski's analysis (2002), while Sobolewski's dictionary has been investigated by Podhajecka [forthcoming].

[3] The history of PIASA is offered by Nowożycki (2011).

At the same time, I came across a detailed biography of Ludwik Krzyżanowski written by Dorosz on the basis of archival sources available from the PIASA and the Polish Library in London. She argues that, in 1949, Krzyżanowski "undertook the compilation of an exhaustive English-Polish and Polish-English dictionary, interest in whose publication was declared by Marian Kister of "Roy Publishing" in New York.[5] Representatives of the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences sought the financial support of the National Committee for Free Europe for that venture; due to financial and organisational difficulties, however, the substantially advanced project was not seen to fruition" [M.P.] (Dorosz 2010: 271–272). It brought my research to a standstill; the riddle that had to be solved was: was there only one dictionary or two? Should the latter scenario be true, what happened to the allegedly advanced manuscript prepared for "Roy Publishing" and why is there no single mention of it in Krzyżanowski's paper? This and other research questions will be addressed through an analysis of the dictionary and the PIASA materials.

3. The lexicographer[6]

Ludwik Krzyżanowski was born in Krosno, on 10 November 1906, to Józef Krzyżanowski and Jadwiga (née Lubomęska) His father was later employed in Vienna, but, when Poland regained her independence in 1918, the family returned to Cracow. After completing the Jan III Sobieski Gymnasium, Ludwik enrolled at the Jagiellonian University to study English language and literature. He was no doubt an exceptional student, for he continued his studies in Cambridge and, as an exchange grantee of the Kosciuszko Foundation, in Chicago. After graduation, he became an assistant to Professor Roman Dyboski,[7] under whose mentorship he wrote and, in 1932, defended his doctoral dissertation entitled "Joseph Conrad: A Polish Introduction" (AUJ). In 1932–1938, he taught English at local schools and,[8] as archival materials show, worked actively as a translator.[9]

---

[4] I owe a debt of gratitude to Dominik Wołącewicz, whose assistance was essential in my research. My thanks go also to Patrycja Roman for providing me quickly with scans of selected documents.

[5] Marian Kister was a co-owner and financial director of "Rój", a publishing house founded by Melchior Wańkowicz in Warsaw. After 1939, the Kisters wandered across Europe with the intention of emigrating to the United States and wrote to many influential Poles, including Ludwik Krzyżanowski, for help in getting to America (PIASA). After settling in New York, they ran a publishing house ("Roy Publishing") which specialised in Polish literature in English translation. Throughout the war, they also reprinted Stanisławski's 1929 dictionary and, after the war, his 1948 abridgement (as *Newest pocket English-Polish and Polish-English dictionary* [Stanisławski 1948]), but the latter was not a commercial success.

[6] The biographical details come from Krzyżanowski's biography by Dorosz (2010), memories by Gross et al. (1981), the biographies found in the PIASA archives, an obituary in the *New York Times* (Obituaries 1986), as well as the AUJ sources.

[7] Krzyżanowski's "Roman Dyboski: Tribute of a pupil" (PIASA) offers a personal view of Dyboski's achievements. For other accounts, see Bela and Mańczak-Wohlfeld (1998).

Fig. 1. A photograph of Ludwik Krzyżanowski (courtesy of PIASA).[10]

In 1938, upon the recommendation of his former supervisor, he went to the United States as an educational and cultural officer of the Polish Consulate in Chicago (later New York). After the outbreak of the war, he was transferred to the Information Service of the Polish government-in-exile and subsequently served as a regional specialist for the US Government Office of War Information. Between 1940 and 1942, he was editor-in-chief of *New Europe*, a monthly devoted to international affairs and, in 1944, worked briefly at the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA). In 1946, he became a permanent resident of the United States.[11]

---

[8] For example, B.W.A. Massey from Poznań University commissioned him to translate a handbook in Basic English, although it is unclear whether or not the task was fulfilled (ARCM). Krzyżanowski's later literary translations are richly documented in the PIASA archives.

[9] He was a teacher of English at the Hotel School in Cracow (see *Szkoła Hotelarska*… 1935: 23, 37) and the State Coeducational School of Commerce at Biała Krakowska (see *Sprawozdanie dyrekcji*… 1938: 6).

[10] The photograph was taken at the New York atelier of Adrien Boutrelle, probably in the mid-1940s in New York (the note on the reverse is partly illegible).

[11] This notwithstanding, there were periods in Krzyżanowski's life when he was experiencing dramatic hardships. One of them is mentioned in a letter to Wierzyński of 3 April 1948 (Dorosz 2010: 283).

In 1946–1947, he found employment as a precise writer and English–French translator at the Editorial Division of the United Nations in New York but was forced to resign under the pressure of the Polish delegation to the UN. He also worked as an economic and political consultant for Eastern Europe at the International Nickel Company in New York. In 1948, after a short stay at the Army Language School at Monterey, California, Krzyżanowski became a lecturer and professor in Polish language and literature at the Polish School of General Studies of Columbia University in New York and later served as professor and faculty advisor at the Section of Languages and Culture of the Department of Political Science of New York University.[12]

He published extensively on aspects of literature, culture and politics. Among others, he translated into English *For your freedom and ours: Polish progressive spirit through the centuries* (Kridl et al. 1943) and *The democratic heritage of Poland* (Kridl et al. 1944) and was the editor of *Poland in world civilization* (Dyboski, Krzyżanowski 1950), *Joseph Conrad: Centennial essays* (Krzyżanowski 1960) and *Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz and America* (Krzyżanowski 1961). In collaboration with Adam Gillon, he edited *Introduction to modern Polish literature …* (Gillon, Krzyżanowski 1964)[13] and *Joseph Conrad: Commemorative essays …* (Gillon, Krzyżanowski 1975). In 1942, he was one of the founders of the Polish Institute in Manhattan (later renamed the Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America) and, in 1956, agreed to be editor-in-chief of the *Polish Review* (1956–1986), the Institute's scholarly journal. He died of a heart attack at Shannock, Rhode Island, on 16 March 1986.

4. The bilingual dictionary markets

Due to Poland's complicated political situation, up to the mid-twentieth century, English-Polish and Polish-English dictionaries were few and far between. To make things worse, the most comprehensive dictionary, Erazm Rykaczewski's *A complete dictionary English and Polish and Polish and English …* (1849–1851), whose subsequent editions and reprints appeared under the name of Aleksander Chodźko, was painfully outdated. A huge demand for bilingual dictionaries encouraged the publishing house of Trzaska, Evert and Michalski (TEiM), one of the strongest publishers in the Second Polish Republic (1918–1939), to launch onto the market a new Polish-English and English-Polish dictionary edited by Władysław Kierst, who had already made his name as the author of two smaller bilingual volumes.[14] The dictionary, whose

[12] Krzyżanowski was employed at the Polish School of Columbia University after A.P. Coleman, a lecturer in Polish at the Slavic Department, resigned in a protest against obtaining financial support for the school from the communist Polish government (see, e.g., Pastusiak 2002 : 134–137).

[13] The volume included his own translations of excerpts from Polish authors (see Dorosz 2010: 273).

[14] *Słownik języka polskiego i angielskiego. English-Polish and Polish-English dictionary* (1895), allegedly compiled in co-operation with Oskar Callier, was published by the Leipzig-based "Otto Holtze" publishing house of Otto Holtze. The ensuing dictionary, *Dokładny słownik*

Polish-English part came out in 1926 and the English-Polish one in 1928,[15] was soon acclaimed a huge commercial success (Pieczonka 1993: 42).[16] In 1929, Jan Stanisławski, a lecturer in English at the Jagiellonian University, published a new dictionary (Stanisławski 1929) whose lexical coverage was comparable to Kierst's.[17] That volume, as well as its subsequent abridgement, *A new English-Polish and Polish-English dictionary* (Stanisławski 1945), strengthened Stanisławski's reputation as the leading English-Polish lexicographer. Additionally, users had at their disposal a handful of small dictionaries, including pocket (e.g. *Słownik miniaturowy "Dux" angielsko-polski i polsko-angielski* (1920) by Stanisław Goldman) and miniature editions (e.g. *A miniature Polish-English and English-Polish dictionary* (1910) by Michał Dziewicki).

One cannot forget about the overseas markets, especially the Polish diasporas in Great Britain and the United States. Since the mid-nineteenth century onwards, thousands of people left Poland for political causes, whereas others sought a new home mainly for economic reasons. Some of the newcomers who were fluent in English employed their language skills to cater to the less fortunate fellow countrymen. In this way, Antoni Paryski (*Słownik polsko-angielski i angielsko-polski oraz nauka wymowy angielskiej*, 1899), Modest Maryański (*Jedyny w swoim rodzaju przewodnik polsko-angielski i słownik polsko-angielski …*, 1906), Leonard Szumkowski (*Dykcjonarz kieszonkowy polsko-angielski i angielsko-polski …*, 1908), Tadeusz M. Wilde (*Słownik Smulskiego angielsko-polski i polsko-angielski …*, 1928) and J.K. Socz (*Słownik polsko-angielski i angielsko-polski z wymową …*, 1944) became lexicographers out of necessity, so to say. Still, their dictionaries were small, unsophisticated and targeted at inexperienced users.

Importantly, none of the authors – perhaps with the sole exception of Erazm Rykaczewski – was a genuine linguist, which explains, at least to some extent, why the bilingual dictionaries were imperfect. Ludwik Krzyżanowski, with his profound knowledge of Polish and English and the status of a literary scholar, was far better prepared for the lexicographic profession than any of his predecessors. In this context, it is no wonder that he decided to contribute to the Polish-English / English-Polish dictionary-making tradition. Ideally, he would do so for the love of lexicography, but it is obvious that the project was expected to be an additional source of income.

---

angielsko-polski i polsko-angielski w dwóch częściach z wymową wyrazów angielskich (1915–1916) appeared in fascicles under the imprint of "Księgarnia Mazowiecka", but it was left unfinished.

[15] Pieczonka (1993: 41–42) states wrongly that the first volume appeared in 1925 and the other one in 1930.

[16] The new dictionary was not a quantum leap, because it drew on the 1895 edition published by Kierst and Callier, but the author went to great lengths to bring it up to date. For this purpose, he added new vocabulary reflecting changing realia, a better choice of illustrative examples and pronunciations in a simplified phonetic alphabet. The last feature, in particular, was expected to make the dictionary a successful learning tool without a foreign language course or teacher.

[17] The bilingual dictionary was commissioned by J. Lorenz, a Moravian publisher, and published at Třebič in 1933. In 1929, however, the same dictionary material had been published in Warsaw, under a slightly different title, by "Księgarnia Wysyłkowa Dorna". A typed copy of the contract is available from the Tomasz Niewodniczański's Collection (TNC) deposited at the Warsaw Royal Castle.

Let us now concentrate on Krzyżanowski's description of an ideal bilingual dictionary pairing Polish and English.

5. The PIASA archives

5.1. An ideal English-Polish dictionary: Krzyżanowski's 1957 article

Describing the plight of Polish-English and English-Polish lexicography, Krzyżanowski explained why a brand new dictionary was needed. One of the reasons was the situation in post-war Poland and, in consequence, a flood of Polish refugees in the West. The lexical content was a challenge; as the author put it, "[T]he contact with new conditions, surroundings, situations produced its quota of words and phrases. The entirely changed political situation and the thorough social transformation, new concepts and institutions of post war Poland are constantly leaving their imprint on the language" (Krzyżanowski1957: 100). This indicated that, after World War II, speakers of Polish and English lacked a dictionary which would incorporate all the lexical and semantic novelties of the respective languages.

To compile a dictionary like that, Krzyżanowski recommended the use of a card system, in which words and senses would be produced on slips of paper for the Polish and English wordlists. As for the sources of data, he suggested that the lexicographers should use the existing dictionaries, as well as "a number of newspapers, periodicals of various types, novels, technical books etc. and search for words, phrases, idioms, technical terms, abbreviations that have come into use in recent years" (Krzyżanowski 1957: 101). In his opinion, meanings should not be presented on the historical basis but should be grouped from the most to the least current and phraseological items should be listed separately. To help the user navigate through the dictionary, a cross-referencing structure should be built. Technical terms were to be preceded by field markers, Polish headwords being accompanied by adequate grammatical information. As for pronunciations, American English should be given prominence, but British English variants should also be recorded, both of which should appear in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). A range of experts ought to be employed in order to make sure that the treatment of the vocabulary was up-to-date.

Ensuring cross-linguistic equivalence was the greatest problem. As Krzyżanowski (1957: 102) put it, "a dictionary must be a record of the diction, of the phrasing and idiom peculiar to the language under consideration (…) Due to the differences in language, due to the lack of some concepts in one of the languages in question, this practice cannot be wholly avoided, but it definitely should be a last resort and not the rule." Speaking of the prospective size, the author would expect a "comprehensive, reasonably encyclopedic, dictionary of the living language, comprising about 60–75,000 words", which would be a reliable tool for a range of target users and "a modest, but nevertheless necessary link in the cultural rapprochement" (Krzyżanowski 1957: 102) between Poland and the United States.

Assuming that the author endeavoured to compile such a dictionary, he never saw it to completion. Yet his dream did materialise in the United States: the bulk of

the dictionary material was compiled by Kazimierz Bulas, a Polish archaeologist,[18] and published under the auspices of the Kosciuszko Foundation. Entitled *Kosciuszko Foundation English-Polish and Polish-English dictionary* (1959–1961), it was eventually the work of Kazimierz Bulas and Francis J. Whitfield (Bulas, Whitfield 1959), as well as Lawrence Thomas in the Polish-English part (Bulas, Thomas, Whitfield 1961). By contrast, the Polish market was filled out by the dictionary compiled by Jan Stanisławski and edited by Wiktor Jassem under the imprint of "Wiedza Powszechna", a state publishing house; the English-Polish part appeared in 1964 (Stanisławski 1964), whereas the Polish-English one in 1969 (Stanisławski 1969). The two dictionaries virtually monopolized the two markets, foreign and domestic, until the turn of the twenty first century.

5.2. An ideal English-Polish dictionary: Krzyżanowski's drafts

The Krzyżanowski fonds in the PIASA archives offer two mixed drafts of the above-mentioned article, of which one is hand-written and the other one is a machine typescript. What makes them interesting is the fact that they contain passages which did not go into the final version.

The manuscript focuses on *Lilien's dictionary*, an English-Polish dictionary modelled on American encyclopedic dictionaries, whose compilation was undertaken by Ernest Lilien (1944–1951), a retired journalist of Polish origin residing in Stevens Point. It was planned to be the largest English-Polish dictionary, but its publication was stopped abruptly by the author's death in 1952. Krzyżanowski starts by summarising the project, adding that "the undertaking was tremendous and due tribute is deserved by the man who started it". However, he also levels harsh criticism on Lilien's lexicographic principles, claiming that the home-made version of phonetic notation is inadequate and inconsistent, many entries are descriptions rather than translations and the "most common terms" (like "pracodawca" and "chlebodawca" for *employer*) are not recorded at all. This shows, beyond all doubt, that Lilien's dictionary did not match Krzyżanowski's ideal.

The typescript offers various ideas which did not find their way into the published article. To provide a few examples, Krzyżanowski suggests that pronunciations should also accompany Polish headwords "making the dictionary more usable for non-Polish speakers" (p. 5) and the accumulated bilingual material which will not go into the dictionary proper may be useful for "technical or special dictionaries" (p. 7). Speaking of the duration of the project, he expresses hope that, "with sustained and diligent effort, the work may be brought to a successful conclusion in approximately a year and a half" (p. 7). The last point is particularly intriguing, because, in his own experience as a lexicographer, Krzyżanowski must have realised that such a tight deadline was simply impossible to keep.

Significantly, the typescript of the paper includes a list of dictionaries which could be taken into account in the compilation of a comprehensive English-Polish

[18] Bulas' biography has been written by Supruniuk and Supruniuk (2012: 24–25).

and Polish-English dictionary. Among bilingual dictionaries, Krzyżanowski mentions Chodźko's *A complete dictionary English and Polish…* (Rykaczewski 1874), Kierst and Callier's *Pocket-dictionary of the Polish and English languages* (Kierst, Callier 1906), Trzaska, Evert & Michalski's *A dictionary English-Polish, Polish-English…* (Kierst 1926–1928), Stanisławski's *An English-Polish and Polish-English pocket-dictionary* (Stanisławski 1933) and Lilien's dictionary, up to the letter "F" (Lilien 1944[–1951]).[19] The list of monolingual dictionaries embraces, for instance, Baker's *Cassell's new English dictionary* (Baker 1920), Fowler's *Concise Oxford dictionary of current English* (COD),[20] the *Century dictionary* ([Whitney] 1913),[21] Murray's *Shorter Oxford English dictionary* (SOED),[22] Fowler's *A dictionary of modern English usage* (Fowler 1927) and Jones' *An English pronouncing dictionary* (Jones 1932)

5.3. The English-Polish dictionary: Jan Goldman's letter

It is not surprising that, with a growing interest in English as a foreign language in pre-war Poland, the TEiM publishing house came up with the idea of putting out a more exhaustive dictionary than Kierst's concise volume. This is taken as a solid fact, although we can only rely on Krzyżanowski's words, as no documentation has survived to this day; even a detailed monograph on the history of the TEiM publishing house (Pieczonka 1993) does not provide any information on the above project.

The PIASA archives include Jan Goldman's letter to Ludwik Krzyżanowski which has transpired out to be a mine of information in this respect. It is noteworthy that Jan Goldman, the son of Stanisław Goldman,[23] studied French and English at the Jagiellonian University and, in 1930, defended his doctoral dissertation written under the supervision of professor Stanisław Wędkiewicz (AUJ).[24] Krzyżanowski and Goldman were thus university colleagues, who might have also been tied by friendship. The letter, in my translation, is reproduced below in its entirety,[25] retaining the graphic and stylistic features of the Polish original.

---

[19] In fact, the last (nineteenth) fascicle of *Lilien's dictionary* ends with the entry for *hellbind*.

[20] The *Concise Oxford dictionary* (COD) by the Fowler brothers, first published in 1911, is an abridgement of the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1884–1928). A history of the COD has been described by Kamińska (2014).

[21] The *Century dictionary*, compiled by the Sanskrit scholar Dwight Whitney (1889–1891) and published originally in six volumes, represented the American tradition of encyclopedic dictionaries. The 1895 edition appeared in ten volumes and the 1913 edition in twelve.

[22] The SOED is a scaled-down version of the *Oxford English Dictionary* in two volumes.

[23] Stanisław Goldman, the founder and owner of "Księgarnia Lingwistyczna" and "Szkoła Ansona", was a lexicographer and author of textbooks for the teaching of foreign languages, some of which appeared under the pseudonym of Robert Anson.

[24] Jan Goldman's biography has been offered by Rospond (1946: 165–166) and Strzałkowa (1959/1960: 210–211).

[25] Establishing the authorship of the letter was fraught with difficulty. Fortunately, the letter is accompanied by an envelope with the logo of the Anson School of Languages ("Szkoła Ansona"), which turned out to be a reliable proof of identity.

29 October 1938

Dear Ludwik,

I am first of all enclosing my words of sympathy and sorrow because of the sudden death of your beloved Brother. It was no longer possible to help him here in Kraków. We are sharing your pain.[26]

A daughter was born to us yesterday; the mother and the baby are very well. The daughter will be named Felicja (after my Father's mother). My dear Father is feeling better than one might expect and apart from that everything is back to normal. The school's going exceptionally well: 280 students (!), plenty of work. As you may guess, during the school year I have very little time for the Dictionary. This issue is very sad in general. The director, Michalski, was in Kraków,[27] I had a phone call from the printing office telling me to come – I said I was busy at school – why talk to them when you're not writing if you're going to make the Dictionary or somebody else will have to be employed. They promised me on the phone that another 1000–1500 zloty will be sent soon and that was it.

As for me, I'll be glad to do something, e.g. from U to Z, but I can only make the six long letters (O P Q R S T) before the six short ones (U V W X Y Z) in April; it is all the worse that due to your silence I'm not doing anything either, since I don't know if you're not writing the other letter sections. Adela is now at the insurance company,[28] tomorrow is Sunday, Tuesday is a festival, another festival comes next week, I might do something but I don't know what – and then I'll be inundated with work again. Dear Ludwik, please send me C as there is a huge gap and let me know how things are.

I'd be happy if you or your Lady could forward the whole sections O–Ż. Imagine that in Poland changes are now looming on the horizon, to the right or to the left; you may come to Poland, a job is hard to find, and the dictionary would give you 10 000–12 000 zloty over 3–4 years. I always hoped that you would be secured – but a stranger will come instead, Michalikówna or somebody else (…).[29] Believe me that I'd like the best for you, and I myself am working on the Dictionary in the time that should be devoted to rest and family joys.

Bowing and kissing your Lady's hands,

Jasiek

---

[26] This reference is ambiguous, because Krzyżanowski's younger brother Józef (called Dzidek) fled to the West and, after a stay in France, ended up in Great Britain, where he joined the Polish Army. Sadly, he died in London in 1943. Many (if not all) of his letters and postcards to Ludwik Krzyżanowski can be found in the PIASA archives.

[27] Jan Michalski was one of the owners of the TEiM publishing house.

[28] It should be understood as a hospital or clinic.

[29] Krystyna Michalik, Roman Dyboski's assistant, would later become a lecturer in English and head of the Foreign Languages Department at the Jagiellonian University (AUJ).

Despite some inconsistency in Goldman's line of argumentation, it is clear that he was also commissioned with making the dictionary, which is confirmed by his acting as a party in the negotiations with the publisher. It is therefore difficult to say why Krzyżanowski did not openly acknowledge the cooperation in his article.[30] Any hypothesis offered at this juncture will obviously be highly speculative, but perhaps the cooperation did not satisfy his requirements or Goldman's contribution, if any, was less conspicuous with hindsight. Moreover, it is hard to guess from the contents of the letter how the labour was divided, that is, who worked out the compilation principles, who was responsible for which letter sections and who, at the end of the day, would do the proof-reading.

In any case, the offer from the TEiM publishing house must have indeed come from Roman Dyboski, because the potential need to turn to Krystyna Michalik for help points clearly to the shape of the social network. After all, the pool of specialists in English in pre-war Poland was significantly limited.[31] What is baffling, however, is both of the compilers' casual attitude to the task they were entrusted with; since the compilation was (and was to be) generously paid for, it remains an odd element of the puzzle. It makes one wonder whether the first half of the dictionary (A–O) was indeed complete in a year's time or whether the outbreak of World War II was a mere pretext to give up the project altogether.[32] It remains to be established who informed Krzyżanowski of the fate of the dictionary, insofar as Jan Goldman left Cracow in 1939 (Strzałkowa 1959/1960: 211), arguably before the Nazi invasion.

5.4. The English-Polish dictionary

5.4.1. Overview

The part of the dictionary discovered in the PIASA archives encompasses 18 pages covering with English headwords from *O* to *odontalgia*. It is deposited in a large envelope marked as "Słownik", with the name of Prof. E. J. Simmons in the upper left-hand corner.[33]

The text is machine typed throughout, except for the missing phonetic transcription, missing symbols for specific phonemes (e.g. /ʌ/ in the pronunciation for *occult*) and missing equivalents. The first line is pushed to the left. The headwords are entered in a lower-hand letter and are underlined; it goes without saying that differentiated typography was not available with a typewriter. Both the main and

[30] The cruelties of World War II were felt strongly by American Polonia, so Krzyżanowski must have inquired about Goldman who – as a Jew – was in a great danger. In a postcard sent from Paris, Krzyżanowski's brother, Józef, informs him that he does not know anything about Goldman (PIASA).

[31] B.W.A. Massey, searching for competent Polish-English translators in Poland, mentions only three Ph.D. holders: Marian Arend in Poznań, Ludwik Krzyżanowski in Cracow and Tadeusz Grzebieniowski in Warsaw (ARCM).

[32] The article was published in 1957, when Dyboski and the Goldmans were no longer alive; Dyboski died in 1945, whereas the Goldmans were killed by the Nazis in Lwów in 1942.

[33] It is likely that Ernest J. Simmons, chairman of the Slavic Language Department at Columbia University, was asked to review the draft dictionary to assess its scholarly potential.

secondary headwords are followed by pronunciations in the IPA,[34] grammatical information limited to part-of-speech labels and Polish equivalents. Senses are numbered and are sometimes enhanced with examples of use. Derivatives and compounds are clustered alphabetically in the entry, which exemplifies niching rather than nesting (see Fig. 2 below).

5.4.2. The macrostructure

Krzyżanowski's wordlist is comparable to Rykaczewski's; the alphabet range under analysis includes 154 headwords compared to 160 in Rykaczewski (1849), 83 in Kierst (1926) and 76 in Stanisławski (1929). The alleged similarity notwithstanding, Krzyżanowski used the niching principle more frequently, so the overall number of the main and secondary headwords in his dictionary is larger by far.

This suggests that Krzyżanowski turned to monolingual dictionaries for a suitable selection of English headwords. Interestingly, although he claimed that a new dictionary needed to include lexical novelties, all the main headwords and a predominant majority of the secondary headwords were by no means new in the mid-twentieth century. On the contrary, many turn out to have been obsolete and rare lexical items (e.g. *oakum, obit, obley, obloquious, obreption, obsecrate, obsidious, obtenebrate, obus, ochraceous, octastich* and *odic*), whose inclusion in a dictionary of contemporary English is, at best, debatable. But, then, a small sample cannot be seen as fully representative of the whole dictionary.

5.4.3. The microstructure

5.4.3.1. Information on pronunciation

As already stated, Krzyżanowski provides phonetic transcription in the IPA, which must have been more useful to EFL learners than other methods of transcription, but many headwords are followed by blanks. This suggests that they were borrowed from dictionaries with a different system of notation (e.g. COD or SOED). The lexicographer probably copied the IPA pronunciations from *An English pronouncing dictionary* (1932) by Daniel Jones, a distinguished British phonetician. However, despite including as many as 50,000 headwords, Jones' dictionary did not record every English word admitted into bulky dictionaries, which may account for the inevitable blanks in Krzyżanowski's sample.

5.4.3.2. Grammatical information

As the sample of the dictionary comes from the middle of the alphabet, no front matter explaining the abbreviations used throughout is available for reference. Still, my research shows that the compiler resorted to a set of standard abbreviations, such as *s*. for *substantive*, *a*. for *adjective*, *adv*. for *adverb*, *v.t*. for *verb transitive* and *int*. for *interjection*, which were employed consistently ever since the publication of Rykaczewski's English-Polish dictionary (1849).

---

[34] The IPA was first introduced into English-Polish bilingual dictionaries by Stanisławski (*A new English-Polish and Polish-English dictionary*, 1945).

5.4.3.3. Labels

Only a handful of labels have been discerned in the entries, e.g. *Am*. for *American* (*octillion*), *min*. for *mineral* (*obsidian*), *med*. for *medicine* (*obstipation*), *ent*. for *entomology* (*obumbrate*), *zool*. for *zoology* (*ocelot*), *abbr*. for *abbreviation* (*Oct*.), *bot*. for *botany* (*oculus*), *chem*. for *chemistry* (*octane*), *fig*. for *figuratively* (*obscuration*), *hist*. for *historicism* (*obley*) and *S.H.* (?) (*observance*).[35] While *obtected* 'przykryty częścią sąsiednią, dostrzegalny, widoczny spod zewnętrznej powłoki /o poczwarce/' and *obumbrate* 'ukryty pod, zakryty' are treated as entomological terms both in the COD and the *Century*, *ocellar* 'odnoszący się do oczu bezkręgowców' or *ocarina* 'okaryna' are not labelled accordingly by Krzyżanowski.

5.4.3.4. Sense division and semantic information

Needless to say, the choice and shape of target language (TL) translation equivalents expressing the meanings of source language (SL) headwords is part and parcel of bilingual dictionaries. It is therefore crucial to look at this aspect of Krzyżanowski's sample. Table 1 below displays a handful of entries checked against Rykaczewski, Kierst and Stanisławski (pronunciations excluded).

Krzyżanowski	Rykaczewski	Kierst	Stanisławski
oast s. – -house suszarnia /chmielu, tytoniu/.	—	—	**oast** *rz*. suszarnia (chmielu)
oat, s. zwykle oats s.pl. owies; to sow one's wild – s, wyszumieć się /o młodzieży/. – -cake s. placek owsiany. –en a. owsowy, owsiany. –en pipe fujarka. –groats s.pl. kasza owsiana.	**OAT**, *s*. owies, *zob*. **OATS**; (w składanych); – bread, chleb owsiany. – cake, placek owsiany. – meal, mąka owsiana, krupy owsiane. **OATS**, *s. s.pl.* owies. *To sow one's wild* –, (*prov*.), wyszumieć się z szału młodości, ustatkować się.	**oat, oats**, owies; *to sow one's wild* -, wyszumieć (o młodzieży). -**en** *a*, owsiany, -**smeal, oatmeal** *s*, owsianka.	**oats**, *lmn. rz*. owies; sow one's wild ~, wyszumieć (o młodzieży); -**en** *pm*. owsiany; -**meal** *rz*. owsianka, mąka owsiana.
obdura/cy s. zatwardziałość, zaciętość. – te[1] /obdjurit/ a. zatwardziały, zacięty, zawzięty. – te[2] /obdjureit/ v.t. uczynić moralnie zatwardziałym (…)	**OBDURACY**, *s*. zatwardziałość, zaciętość, upór. **OBDURATE**, *adj*. zatwardziały, zacięty, uparty (…)	**obdura/cy** *s*, zatwardziałość w złem. -**ate** *a*, zatwardziały. -**ateness** *s*, zatwardziałość, zaciętość.	**obdura-cy** *rz*. zatwardziałość (w złem); upór; -**te** *pm*. zatwardziały, uparty.

[35] It is possible that *S.H.* stood for *Scottish History* (cf. the SOED's list of abbreviations).

Krzyżanowski	Rykaczewski	Kierst	Stanisławski
objurgat/e v.t. łajać, strofować, dać naganę. -ion s. łajanie, strofowanie, nagana. -ive, -ory a. łający, strofujący.	**TO OBJURGATE**, *v.a.* łajać, buzować, zgromić. **OBJURGATION**, *s.* łajanie, zgromienie, bura. **OBJURGATORY**, *adj.* łający, gromiący, strofujący.	**objurg/ate** *va.* strofować, łajać **-ation** *s.* strofowanie. **-atory**, *a.* strofujący.	**objurga-te**, strofować, łajać; zgromić; **-tion** *rz.* strofowanie; wyłajanie; zgromienie; **-tory**, *pm.* strofujący, gromiący.
obscene a. nieprzyzwoity, wszeteczny, plugawy, sprośny. -ely adv. nieprzyzwoicie, wszetecznie, plugawie, sprośnie. -eness, -ity s. nieprzyzwoitość, wszeteczność, plugawość, sprośność.	**OBSCENE**, *adj.* sprośny, wszeteczny; **-LY**, *adv.* sprośnie, wszetecznie; **-NESS**, *zob.* **OBSCENITY**.	**obscene** *a*, plugawy, sprośny. **obscenity**, sprośność, bezwstyd.	**obscen-e** *pm.* plugawy, sprośny; **-ity** *rz.* sprośność, bezwstyd; wszeteczność.
obstreperous a. 1/ hałaśliwy, wrzaskliwy, krzykliwy. 2/ niesforny. -ly adv. 1/ hałaśliwie, wrzaskliwie. 2. niesfornie. -ness s. 1/ hałaśliwość, wrzaskliwość. 2/ niesforność.	**OBSTREPEROUS**, *adj.* hałasujący, huczny, krzykliwy, wrzaskliwy; **-LY**, *adv.* z krzykiem, z hałasem, hucznie; **-NESS**, *s.* krzykliwość, wrzaskliwość.	**obstreperous** *a*, krzykliwy, wrzaskliwy, niesforny. **-ness** *s*, krzykliwość, niesforność.	**obstreperous** *pm.* krzykliwy, wrzaskliwy, niesforny; hałaśliwy; huczny.
octo/ped s. ośmionóg (…) -pus s. ośmiornica.	—	**octopus** *s*, ośmionóg.	**octo-genarian** (…) **-pus**, ośmionóg.

Table 1. A comparison of Krzyżanowski, Rykaczewski, Kierst and Stanisławski.

Kierst's and Stanisławski's influence is visible at first sight, both in the selection of TL equivalents and, more generally, in the lexicographic design. One of the similarities is niching items in the entry to save space, although this technique has two major drawbacks. Firstly, the main headwords are often derivatives rather than root words (e.g. *observable* instead of *observe*). Secondly, a large number of run-ons affects negatively the retrievability of lexicographic information (or the look-up process) and, in this way, contributes to the dictionary's user-unfriendliness (see Fig. 2 below).

Quite unexpectedly, Table 1 points likewise to the borrowing from Rykaczewski's dictionary. Krzyżanowski clearly appreciated not only his predecessor's equivalents (e.g. 'zaciętość' for *obduracy* or 'łajać' for *objurgate*), but also his range of compounds (e.g. *oatcake* 'placek owsiany' in the entry for *oat*), derivatives

(e.g. *obstreperously*) and, as it seems, contextual uses.[36] Thus, all the three bilingual volumes were presumably consulted to make sure that the dictionary under compilation would be free from blatant errors.

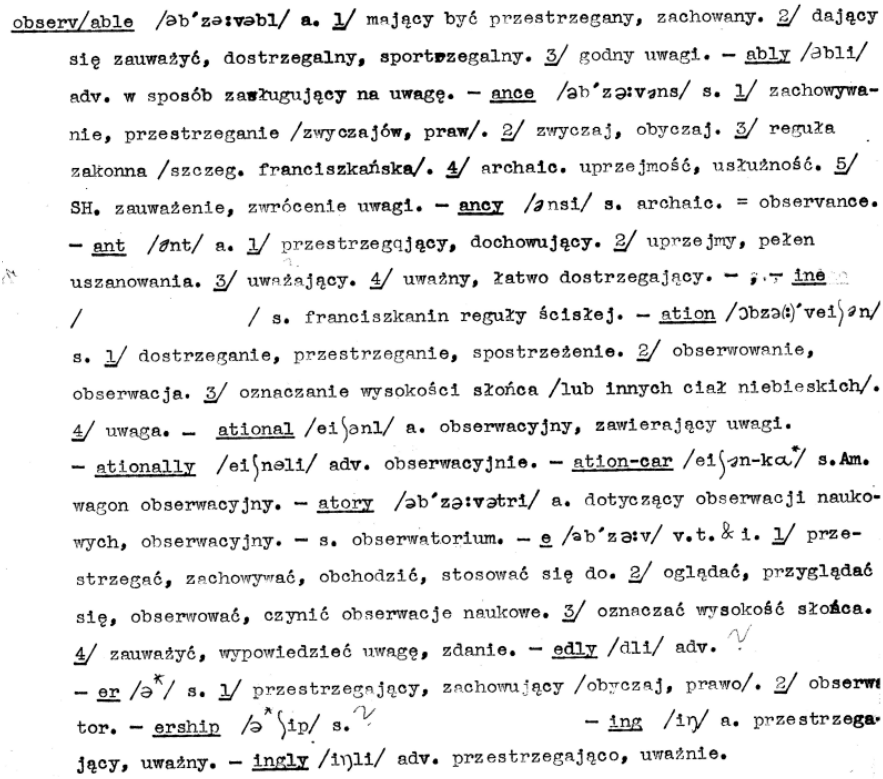
observ/able /əb'zə:vəbl/ a. 1/ mający być przestrzegany, zachowany. 2/ dający się zauważyć, dostrzegalny, sportrzegalny. 3/ godny uwagi. – ably /əbli/ adv. w sposób zasługujący na uwagę. – ance /əb'zə:vəns/ s. 1/ zachowywanie, przestrzeganie /zwyczajów, praw/. 2/ zwyczaj, obyczaj. 3/ reguła zakonna /szczeg. franciszkańska/. 4/ archaic. uprzejmość, usłużność. 5/ SH. zauważenie, zwrócenie uwagi. – ancy /ənsi/ s. archaic. = observance. – ant /ənt/ a. 1/ przestrzegający, dochowujący. 2/ uprzejmy, pełen uszanowania. 3/ uważający. 4/ uważny, łatwo dostrzegający. – ; – ine / / s. franciszkanin reguły ścisłej. – ation /ɔbzə(:)'veiʃən/ s. 1/ dostrzeganie, przestrzeganie, spostrzeżenie. 2/ obserwowanie, obserwacja. 3/ oznaczanie wysokości słońca /lub innych ciał niebieskich/. 4/ uwaga. – ational /eiʃənl/ a. obserwacyjny, zawierający uwagi. – ationally /eiʃnəli/ adv. obserwacyjnie. – ation-car /eiʃən-kɑ*/ s.Am. wagon obserwacyjny. – atory /əb'zə:vətri/ a. dotyczący obserwacji naukowych, obserwacyjny. – s. obserwatorium. – e /əb'zə:v/ v.t.& i. 1/ przestrzegać, zachowywać, obchodzić, stosować się do. 2/ oglądać, przyglądać się, obserwować, czynić obserwacje naukowe. 3/ oznaczać wysokość słońca. 4/ zauważyć, wypowiedzieć uwagę, zdanie. – edly /dli/ adv. – er /ə*/ s. 1/ przestrzegający, zachowujący /obyczaj, prawo/. 2/ obserwator. – ership /ə*ʃip/ s. – ing /iŋ/ a. przestrzegający, uważny. – ingly /iŋli/ adv. przestrzegająco, uważnie.

Fig. 2. The entry for *observable* in Krzyżanowski's dictionary (courtesy of the PIASA).

The sample is left incomplete, because occasional Polish equivalents are written in pencil (e.g. *oblate*[1] 'osoba oddana pracy klaszt. lub religijnej. Zakonnik oddany (?) pracy') or are not recorded at all (e.g. *oblongatal*). There are a number of question marks, not only in blanks but also above specific equivalents, as in the entry for *obstupefy* 'ogłuszyć' and subentry for *obnoxiousness* 'wzbudzanie niechęci', which were probably added by Simmons during his review of the work. One can also come across handwritten notes in English, which are useful clues indicating the compiler's background materials. For example, the first sense of the headword *obtrude* (see Fig. 3 below) is followed by a string of English near-synonyms, 'to thoust (?) out, eject, expel, push out'), which may have been taken from the SOED ('to thrust forth; to eject, push out').[37]

[36] Krzyżanowski recorded the expression *to sow one's wild oat* (under *oat*), but the TL translation indicates that it is more likely to have been taken from Kierst or Stanisławski.

[37] I used the 1970 edition of the SOED (first published in 1933), because there seems to be little change in the bulk of the material and earlier editions were not available to me.

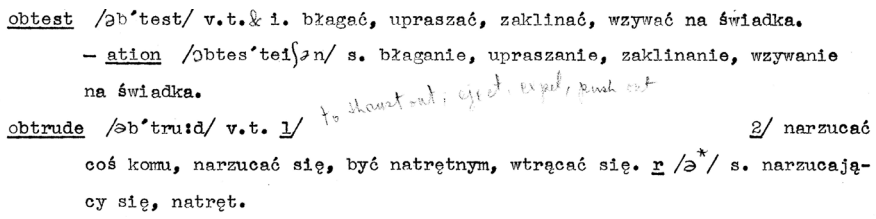
obtest /əb'test/ v.t.& i. błagać, upraszać, zaklinać, wzywać na świadka.
– ation /ɔbtes'teiʃən/ s. błaganie, upraszanie, zaklinanie, wzywanie na świadka.
obtrude /əb'tru:d/ v.t. 1/ 2/ narzucać coś komu, narzucać się, być natrętnym, wtrącać się. r /ə*/ s. narzucający się, natręt.

Fig. 3. The headword *obtrude* and its English synonyms in pencil (courtesy of PIASA).

Since monolingual English dictionaries were consulted for Krzyżanowski's wordlist, it can be taken for granted that they were also a source of semantic information for headwords missing from the English-Polish volumes. Indeed, in a comparative perspective, Krzyżanowski's dictionary shows a striking affinity to the COD and the *Century*. A few examples are displayed in Table 2 (COD) and Table 3 (the *Century*).

Krzyżanowski	COD
o[2] s. prefiks patronimiczny w nazwiskach irlandzkich, syn, potomek, O'Connor.	**O'**, pref. of Irish names, as *O'Connor.*
o[3] prep. 1/ abbr. of w zwrotach o'clock, Jack-o-lanthern, Will-o-the-wisp, man-o-war. 2/ abbr. on cannot sleep o'nights.	**o[2]** prep. short for *of, on*, still in some phrases as (= *of*) *o'clock, Jack-o'-lantern, Will-o'-the-wisp, man-o'-war*, (= *on*) *cannot sleep o'nights.*
oaf s. 1/ archaic. dziecko elfa, duszek (…)	**oaf,** n. Elf's child, changeling (archaic) (…)
oak (…) the O-s nazwa wyścigów trzylatków w Epsom (…)	**oak** (…) *the Oaks*, race at Epsom for three-year-old fillies (…)
ocean s. 1/ ocean; Atlantic O- ocean Atlantycki, Atlantyk; Pacific O- ocean Spokojny, Pacyfik; Indian O- ocean Indyjski; Arctic O-ocean Lodowaty Północny; Antarctic O- ocean Lodowaty Południowy; German O- morze Północne. 2 / masa ogrom. – greyhound s. szybki statek /szczeg. pasażerski/. – -lane s. szlak przepisowy dla statków. -tramp s. nieregularny statek towarowy. O-ia n.pr. Oceania. O-ian a. z Oceanii. s. mieszkaniec Oceanii. -ic a. oceaniczny. O-id s. oceanida, nimfa. -ographer s. oceanograf. -ographic(al) a. oceanograficzny. -graphy s. oceanografia. -wards adv. ku oceanowi, w stronę oceanu.	**ocean**, n. Great body of water surrounding the land of the globe; one of the main areas into which geographers divide this (usu. reckoned as five, *the Atlantic, Pacific, Indian, Arctic & Antarctic Oo.; German O.*, North Sea); *the sea*; immense expanse or quantity of anything (often *oo. of*); *o. greyhound*, swift ship, esp. passenger liner; *o. lane*, track prescribed for steamers; *o. tramp*, cargo-carrying steamer not engaged in single trade. Hence, **oceanography** n., **oceanographic(al)** aa., **oceanward(s)** adv. **Oceania**, n. islands of Pacific & adjacent seas. **Oceanian**, a & n. (Native) of Oceania. **oceanic, O**-, a. Of, like &c., the ocean; of Oceania. **Oceanid**, n. Ocean nymph of Greek mythology.

Table 2. A comparison of Krzyżanowski's dictionary and the COD.

Other entries in the sample, like those of *obcordate, observation-car* and *occipitally*, are a sign that Krzyżanowski used the *Century*. Every now and then the English definitions appear to have been translated literally, but in most cases they were significantly truncated, apparently for space gains.

Krzyżanowski	the Century
o[2] s. prefiks patronimiczny w nazwiskach irlandzkich, syn, potomek, O'Connor.	**O[6], O'**, A prefix common in Irish surnames, equivalent to Mac in Gaelic and Irish surnames (see *Mac*), meaning 'son', as in *O'Brien, O'Connor, O'Donnell, O'Sullivan*, son of Brien, Connor, Donnel, Sullivan, etc.
o[4] int. o, oh; o dear me miły Boże! 2/ s. O's of Advent siedem hymnów adwentowych. O's of St. Bridget, The fifteen O's piętnaście modlitw o męce Pańskiej, zaczynających się od O.	**O[2], Oh** (…) 2 † same as *ho*[1].– **The O's of Advent**, the Advent anthems, sung in the Roman Catholic and Anglican churches (…) **The O's of St. Bridget**, or **The fifteen O's**, fifteen meditations on the Passion of Christ, composed by St. Bridget. Each begins with O Jesu (…)
obcordate a. w kształcie odwróconego serca.	**obcordate**, *a.* In *nat. hist.*, inversely heart-shaped (…)
obelisk s. 1/ obelisk. 2/ krzyżyk /znak drukarski/. [in pencil: *odnośnik w formie krzyżyka*]	**obelisk**, *n.* (…) 2. In *printing* and *writing*, a sign resembling a small dagger (†), and hence also called a dagger (…)
observation-car s. Am. wagon obserwacyjny.	**observation-car**, *n.* A railroad-car with glass or open sides to enable the occupants to observe the scenery, inspect the track, etc. [U.S.]
occip/ital a. 1/ potyliczny. 2/ mający wielki tył głowy. – s. 1/ kość potyliczna. 2/ mięsień potyliczny. -itally adv. [?]. -ut s. 1/ tył głowy. 2. kość potylicowa.	**occipital,** I. *a.* 1. Of, pertaining to, or connected with the occiput or hindhead: opposed to *sincipital*.– 2. Having a comparatively large cerebellum (…) II. *n.* In *zoöl.* and *anat.*, the occipital bone (…) **occipitalis,** *n.* A wide thin muscle arising from the superior curved line of the occipital (…) **occipitally,** *adv.* As regards the occiput; in the direction of the occiput. (…) **occiput**, *n.* 1. In man, the hinder part of the head, or that part of the skull which forms the hind part of the head (…)
octateuch s. oktateuch, pierwszych osiem ksiąg Starego Testamentu.	**Octateuch**, *n.* A collection of eight books; specifically, the first eight books of the Old Testament considered as forming one volume or series of books (…)

Table 3. A comparison of Krzyżanowski's dictionary and the *Century*.

As to the decision which compounds and derivatives should be given headword status, the author was influenced both by the COD and the *Century*; that is why he admits *German ocean* or *ocean greyhound* from the former and *O's of Advent* or *the fifteen O's* from the latter.

Occasionally, the reliance on the above dictionaries has been harder to prove. This pertains to such items as *obeah*, cross-referenced to *obi* (a more widespread spelling variant) in the *Century*, and *occidentals* 'mieszkaniec zachodu, człowiek należący do kultury zachodniej' (*occidental*). In this case, the SOED looks like a probable source of both entries (see Table 4).[38]

Krzyżanowski	SOED
obeah s. 1/ amulet, fetysz murzyński. 2/ rodzaj czarów uprawianych przez murzynów zach. afr. – -man s. czarownik murzyński.	|| **Obeah, obi**, *sb.* 1764. [West African.] 1. An amulet, charm, or fetish used by negroes for magical purposes 1796. 2. A kind of pretended sorcery or witchcraft practised by the negroes in Africa, and formerly in the West Indies 1764. 3. *attrib.* as *obeah* (or *obi*) *–man*, a negro sorcerer, etc. 1764 (…)
occident s. zachód, zachodnie kraje Europy, Ameryka. -al a. zachodni, zachodnio-europejski. -s / mieszkaniec zachodu, człowiek należący do kultury zachodniej. -alism s. zachodniość, przynależność do kultury zachodniej. -alist s. 1/ zwolennik kultury zachodniej. 2/ badacz języków, ustrojów, instytucji zachodnich. -ality s. = occidentalism. -alize v.t. upodobnić do zachodu, uczynić zachodnim. -ally adv. zachodnio, na sposób zachodni.	**Occident** (…) **B**. *sb.* †**a**. A Western country or region; the o., the west 1829. **b**. A native or inhabitant of the West 1857. Hence, **Occide·ntalism**, o. quality, style, character, or spirit; the customs, institutions, etc. of Western nations. **Occide·ntalist**, one who favours Western customs, modes of thought, etc.; one who studies the languages and institutions of Western nations. **Occidentality, Occidentalize** *v.* to render o. **Occidentally** *adv.*

Table 4. A comparison of Krzyżanowski's dictionary and the SOED.

Lack of lexicographic information in other entries, like *occasion*, seems somewhat awkward. Why should Krzyżanowski leave a blank for the nominal meaning of *occasion* if the *Century* includes ten different senses of it? On top of that, Rykaczewski offers a handful of ready-made Polish equivalents ('okazya, zręczność, pora, pogoda, sposobność; pochop, powód, przyczyna, przypadkowa potrzeba') and so does Kierst ('nadarzona okoliczność, stosowna pora, sposobność; 2) wydarzenie, zdarzenie; 3) okazja; 4) potrzeba, powód, przyczyna') and Stanisławski ('stosowna pora, sposobność; wydarzenie, zdarzenie; okazja, przyczyna'). Other main or secondary headwords which are not accompanied by TL equivalents include, for instance, *Bible oath, bodily oath, oblongatal, observership, octandria, octastich, octile, oculomotor* and *ocydrome*.

[38] It should be noted that, in contrast to the SOED, Krzyżanowski entered both headwords correctly in a lower-case letter.

Another issue worthy of attention is the order of senses. In monolingual dictionaries, one may encounter different arrangement techniques, two of which are the key ones: historical or chronological arrangement (from the oldest to the youngest sense) and frequency-based arrangement (from the most to the least frequent sense).[39] Taking into account Krzyżanowski's article, his preference was clearly for the latter, but the order of the senses in the sample illustrates the former, being derived from dictionaries based on historical principles, that is, the COD, the *Century* and the SOED.

5.4.3.5. Cross-references

Even the tiny sample proves that Krzyżanowski planned to build a cross-referencing structure (cf. *obi*[1] = *obeah*, *obd.*, *obdt.* abbr. = *obedient*, *obelus* = *obelisk* 2, *ocher* = *ochre*, *Oct.* abbr. *October*, *Odinic* = *Odinian*). As might be expected, the cross-referenced headwords were taken from the bilingual and monolingual dictionaries mentioned in the previous sections.

6. Conclusions

The aim of this paper was to evaluate the quality of Krzyżanowski's sample dictionary deposited in the PIASA archives. In doing so, I attempted to shed some light on facts and persons previously unrelated to the history of English-Polish and Polish-English lexicography.

What are the strengths and weaknesses of the typescript dictionary? An exhaustive wordlist (both main and secondary headwords), pronunciations in the IPA transcription and comprehensible TL equivalents must be perceived as the dictionary's strong points. Speaking of the weaknesses, there are too many obsolete and rare words, evidently superfluous in a dictionary of contemporary vocabulary, too many run-ons in the entry and too many descriptive equivalents instead of single-word equivalents. At the same time, Krzyżanowski recorded too few contextual uses and occasionally failed to provide labels for specialist terms.

The material confined solely to 18 pages does not allow for a comprehensive study, but the lexicographic conception is clear enough. What about the dating of the sample then? The comparative analysis remains inconclusive, because Krzyżanowski's sources were all published before 1939, so they could be used both in the compilation of the 1939 dictionary (in Poland) and the 1949 one (in America). That the sample was reviewed by Simmons, however, may be indicative of the fact that it was an excerpt of the latter. In any case, it is striking that the theoretical assumptions sketched in Krzyżanowski's article were not necessarily reflected in his own reference work.

Summing up, while the bilingual dictionary undertaken by Krzyżanowski and Goldman in Cracow had no chance to get published during World War II,

[39] Chronologically speaking, the former type of arrangement preceded the latter, which is typical of learner's dictionaries, particularly those based on corpora (see, e.g., Stein 2002: 76).

a similar endeavour could undoubtedly come into being in post-war America. Dorosz (2010: 272) explains that Krzyżanowski's project was abandoned due to "financial and organisational difficulties". This phrase alludes to what practical lexicographers have been acutely aware of: the way from an idea to the final lexicographic product is full of pitfalls and it takes a lot of perseverance and entrepreneurship – not only intellectual effort and time – to successfully see one's project to completion.

References

Primary sources

COD = the *Concise Oxford dictionary of current English*. 1929. [Adapted by H.W. Fowler and F.G. Fowler from the *Oxford English dictionary*. New edition revised by H.W. Fowler]. Oxford.

SOED = the *Shorter Oxford English dictionary on historical principle*s. 1970. [First published in 1933; Prepared by William Little, H. W. Fowler, J. Coulson. Revised and edited by C. T. Onions. Third edition revised with addenda]. Oxford.

Bulas K., Whitfield F.J. 1959. *The Kosciuszko Foundation dictionary: English-Polish, Polish-English*. [vol. 1: English-Polish]. The Hague.

Bulas K., Thomas L., Whitfield F.J. 1961. *The Kosciuszko Foundation dictionary: English-Polish, Polish-English*. [vol. 2: Polish-English]. The Hague.

Dziewicki M. 1910. *A miniature Polish-English and English-Polish dictionary. First part: Polish-English. Second part: English-Polish / Słowniczek-karzełek polsko-angielski i angielsko-polski. Część pierwsza: polsko-angielska. Część druga: angielsko-polska*. Trebitsch.

Fowler H.W. 1927. *A dictionary of modern English usage*. Oxford.

Goldman S. 1920. *Słownik miniaturowy "Dux" angielsko-polski i polsko-angielski*. Kraków.

Jones D. 1932. *An English pronouncing dictionary (showing the pronunciation of over 50,000 words in international phonetic transcription)*. [Revised edition with supplement]. London.

Kierst W., Callier O. 1895. *Słownik języka polskiego i angielskiego / English-Polish and Polish-English dictionary*. [vol. 1–2]. Leipzig.

Kierst W., Callier O. 1906. *Pocket-dictionary of the English and Polish languages … in two parts / Słowniczek polskiego i angielskiego języka … w dwóch częściach*. [vol. 1–2]. Leipzig.

Kierst W. 1915–1916. *Dokładny słownik angielsko-polski i polsko-angielski w dwóch częściach z wymową wyrazów angielskich*. [fascicles 1–6]. Warszawa.

Kierst W. (ed.). 1926–1928. *Trzaski, Everta i Michalskiego słownik angielsko-polski i polsko-angielski. Część pierwsza angielsko-polska*. [vol. 1]; *Trzaska, Evert & Michalski A dictionary English-Polish and Polish-English. Second part: Polish-English*. [vol. 2]. Warszawa.

Lilien E. 1944–1951. *Lilien's dictionary. Part 1: English-Polish. Ernesta Liliena słownik. Cz. 1: Angielsko-polski*. [fascicles 1–19]. New York.

Maryański M. 1906 [©1905]. *Jedyny w swoim rodzaju przewodnik polsko-angielski i słownik polsko-angielski dla wychodźców polskich i przybyszów do Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki Północnej i Kanady, ułatwić mający stawianie kroków pierwszych w kraju obcym i naukę języka angielskiego, z podaniem wymowy i brzmienia każdego wyrazu angielskiego według metody fonetycznej, z dołączeniem niektórych uwag, rad i wskazówek*. Chicago.

Paryski A.A. 1899. *Słownik polsko-angielski i angielsko-polski oraz nauka wymowy angielskiej*. Toledo.
Rykaczewski E. 1849–1851. *A complete dictionary English and Polish, and Polish and English … / Dokładny słownik polsko-angielski i angielsko-polski …* [vol. 1–2]. Berlin.
Rykaczewski E. 1874. *Alex. Chodźko's A complete dictionary English and Polish, compiled from the dictionaries of Johnson, Webster, Walker, Fleming and Tibbins, etc.* [vol. 1–2]. Berlin.
Socz J.K. 1944. *Słownik polsko-angielski i angielsko-polski z wymową oraz skróty angielskie i tablice porównawcze miar i wag. English-Polish and Polish-English dictionary giving imitated pronunciation of every English word and the English alphabet; abbreviations and comparative tables of measurements and weights*. London.
Stanisławski J. 1929. *Słownik angielsko-polski i polsko-angielski*. Warszawa.
Stanisławski J. 1933. *Słowniczek angielsko-polski i polsko-angielski / An English-Polish and Polish-English pocket-dictionary*. Třebič.
Stanisławski J. 1945. *A new English-Polish and Polish-English dictionary / Nowy słownik angielsko-polski i polsko-angielski*. Kraków.
Stanisławski J. 1948. *Najnowszy angielsko-polski i polsko-angielski słownik kieszonkowy / Newest pocket English-Polish and Polish-English dictionary*. New York.
Stanisławski 1964 = Jassem W. (ed.). *Wielki słownik angielsko-polski / The great English-Polish dictionary*. [vol. 1]. Warszawa.
Stanisławski 1969 = Jassem W. (ed.). *Wielki słownik polsko-angielski / The great Polish-English dictionary*. [vol. 2]. Warszawa.
Szumkowski L. 1908. *Dykcjonarz kieszonkowy polsko-angielski i angielsko-polski. Zawiera 12 000 słów polskich, 18 000 słów angielskich*. Chicago.
Whitney W.D. (ed.). 1889–1891. *The century dictionary and cyclopedia*. [available at: http://www.global-language.com/century/]. New York.
Whitney W.D. (ed.). 1895. *The century dictionary. An encyclopedic dictionary of the English language*. [vol. 1–10]. [available at: http://www.global-language.com/century/]. New York.
[Whitney W.D. (ed.)]. 1913. *The century dictionary and cyclopedia*. [With a new atlas of the world. A work of general reference in all departments of knowledge. Revised and enlarged edition; vol. 1–12]. New York.
Wilde T.M. 1928. *Słownik Smulskiego angielsko-polski i polsko-angielski. Słownik kieszonkowy. English-Polish and Polish-English Pocket Dictionary*. Chicago.

Secondary sources

Baker E.A. 1920. *Cassell's new English dictionary: With an appendix*. London.
Bela T., Mańczak-Wohlfeld E. (eds.). 1998. *Proceedings of the commemorative conference for Roman Dyboski (1883–1945), Kraków 1–2 June 1995*. Kraków.
Dorosz B. 2010. Korespondencja Kazimierza Wierzyńskiego i jego żony Haliny z Ludwikiem Krzyżanowskim – listy z lat 1947–1958 i 1976–1977. – *Archiwum emigracji: Źródła i materiały do dziejów emigracji polskiej po 1939 roku* 1.2 (12–13): 271–304.
Dyboski R., Krzyżanowski L. (eds.). 1950. *Poland in world civilization*. New York.
Gillon A., Krzyżanowski L. (eds.). 1964. *Introduction to modern Polish literature. An anthology of fiction and poetry*. New York.
Gillon A., Krzyżanowski L. (eds.). 1975. *Joseph Conrad. Commemorative essays. Selected proceedings of the International Conference of Conrad Scholars, Univ. of California, San Diego August 29–September 5, 1974*. New York.

Gross F. et al. 1981. A tale from an old city. – *The Polish Review* [Special issue dedicated to Ludwik Krzyżanowski] 26.1: 5–15.
Jajdelski W. 2002. *Michał Wiszniewski's "Słownik polsko-angielski" (1854): The scholar and the dictionary he made.* [Unpublished MA thesis, Wrocław University].
Kamińska M. 2014. *A history of the* "Concise Oxford Dictionary". [= *Lodz studies in language* 34]. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin.
Kridl M., Malinowski W., Wittlin, J. (eds.). 1943. *For your freedom and ours: Polish progressive spirit through the centuries*. [Preface by M. W. Davis; translation and editorial assistance by L. Krzyżanowski]. New York.
Kridl M., Wittlin J., Malinowski W. (eds.). 1944. *The democratic heritage of Poland: "For your freedom and ours". An anthology.* [Translated by L. Krzyżanowski and adapted by Mr. and Mrs. S. Sulkin]. London.
Krzyżanowski L. 1957. Needed: An English-Polish and Polish-English dictionary. – *The Polish Review* 2.1: 99–103.
Krzyżanowski L. (ed.). 1960. *Joseph Conrad: Centennial essays*. New York.
Krzyżanowski L. (ed.). 1961. *Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz and America*. New York.
Nowożycki B. 2011. Działalność Polskiego Instytutu Naukowego w latach 1942–1989. – *Archiwum emigracji: Studia – szkice – dokumenty* 1.2 (14–15): 267–288.
Obituaries 1986: Ludwik Krzyżanowski. – *New York Times* of 26 March 1986. [available at: http://www.nytimes.com/1986/03/26/obituaries/ludwik-krzyzanowski.html].
Pastusiak L. 2002. *Z tajników archiwów dyplomatycznych* (*stosunki polsko-amerykańskie w latach 1948–1954*). Toruń.
Pieczonka M. 1993. "*Księgarnia Wydawnicza Trzaska, Evert i Michalski*": *Działalność wydawnicza*. Kraków.
Piotrowski T. 2001. *Zrozumieć leksykografię*. Warszawa.
Podhajecka M. [forthcoming]. Szkic z dziejów leksykografii dwujęzycznej: Paweł Sobolewski i jego słownik angielsko-polski (1840). – *Prace Filologiczne*.
Rospond S. 1946. Jan Goldman. – *Pamiętnik Literacki* 36.1.2: 165–166.
Siekierska K. 1985. Kijowskie polonika (Rękopisy XVI–XIX wieku w Bibliotece AN USSR w Kijowie). – *Przegląd Humanistyczny* 29.1.2: 129–142.
Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji Państwowej Szkoły Handlowej obecnie Państwowego Koedukacyjnego Gimnazjum Kupieckiego w Białej Krakowskiej za rok szkolny 1937/38 (1938). Biała [Krakowska].
Stein G. 2002. *Better words*: *Evaluating EFL dictionaries*. Exeter.
Strzałkowa M. 1959/1960. Jan Goldman (1907–1942). – *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* 8: 210–211.
Supruniuk A., Supruniuk M. 2012. Uciekinierzy z UMK: Jan Zygmunt Wilczyński i Kazimierz Bulas. – *Głos Uczelni. Pismo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika* 12.322: 24–25. [available at: http://glos.umk.pl/2012/12/GU_12–2012.pdf].
Szkoła Hotelarska w Krakowie. Sprawozdanie Zarządu i Dyrekcji za lata nauki 1932/33, 1933/34 i 1934/35 (1935). Kraków.

Archival sources

AUJ = Jagiellonian University Archive in Cracow
Jan Stanisławski's personal file S II 619
Sprawa odznaczenia lektora Jana Stanisławskiego … (31 January 1957)
A registry of doctoral degrees of the Jagiellonian University
A copy of Ludwik Władysław Maria Krzyżanowski's doctoral diploma

ARCM = Archives and Research Collections of McMaster University (Canada)
C.K. Ogden fonds
[available from: https://library.mcmaster.ca/archives/findaids/findaids/o/ogden.01.htm]
Box 41: Correspondence of Ogden, C.K. and Massey, B. W. A. (1932–1935):
Letter from Massey to Ogden of 12 April 1933
Letter from Massey to Ogden of 22 August 1933
Letter from Massey to Ogden of 21 November 1934

PIASA = Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences of America in New York (USA)
Fonds no. 49: Ludwik Krzyżanowski papers
[available from: http://www.piasa.org/archives/fonds-049.html]
Dictionary (a sample of the letter section "O") (49.147.24–41)
Eleventh annual banquet and ball of "Medicus" (1977) → Krzyżanowski's biography (49.2.119)
Goldman Jan to Ludwik Krzyżanowski. A letter of 29 October 1938 (49.5.13–16)
Kister Halina to Ludwik Krzyżanowski. A letter of 16 September 1940 (49.6.67)
Krzyżanowski Józef to Ludwik Krzyżanowski. An undated postcard (49.6.80)
Ludwik Krzyżanowski's draft papers (49.148.001–016)
Roman Dyboski: A tribute of a pupil by Ludwik Krzyżanowski (49.149.1–9)
The Ludwik Krzyżanowski Testimonial → Krzyżanowski's biography (49.2.108–109)
Translations by Ludwik Krzyżanowski (49.85–116)

TNC = Tomasz Niewodniczański's Collection at the Royal Castle in Warsaw
Part of the "Roy Publishing" archive
Contract between Jan Stanisławski and J. Lorenz entered on 20 September 1929

Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis 132 (2015): 263–269
doi:10.4467/20834624SL.15.023.4430

LUCIANO ROCCHI
University of Trieste
lrocchi@units.it

BERNARDO DA PARIGI'S *VOCABOLARIO ITALIANO-TURCHESCO* (1665): AN OTTOMAN-TURKISH LEXICOGRAPHICAL MONUMENT STILL NEGLECTED

Keywords: Ottoman-Turkish, historical lexicography

Abstract

Bernardo da Parigi's *Vocabolario Italiano-Turchesco* (1665) is a huge three-volume dictionary that unfortunately has been virtually ignored by studies on Ottoman lexicography so far. This paper focuses on a number of words recorded by Bernardo which are particularly interesting from a historical-lexicographical viewpoint, such as European loanwords not attested elsewhere or presenting noteworthy features and Anatolian Turkish words missing in Meninski (1680).

1. Bernard de Paris (Italianized as Bernardo da Parigi) (d. 1669) was a French Capuchin friar who spent many years as missionary in Turkey, Syria and Palestine. Thanks to a deep knowledge of Turkish acquired during his long stay in the Ottoman Empire, he wrote a French-Turkish dictionary (1649) that remained little known until, a few years later, the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide decided to prepare an Italian edition of it. Another Capuchin missionary, Pierre d'Abbeville (Italianized as Pietro d'Abbavilla) (1646–1706) was charged with translating the French part into Italian and in this new version the dictionary was published in Rome in 1665 under the title *Vocabolario Italiano-Turchesco.*

Bernardo's work is huge. It is divided into three volumes with a total of almost 2,500 pages; the number of entries amounts to about 25,000 and most Italian headwords have several equivalents, not only Turkish, but also Arabic and Persian, as is usual in Ottoman dictionaries. Nevertheless, this linguistic monument has

been largely ignored by historical studies on Turkish lexicography and even those that include it as source (e.g. the *Lingua Franca* by H. & R. Kahane and A. Tietze) sometimes omit its data (see some instances mentioned below). This lack of interest may be due to various factors: the publishing, fifteen years later, of Meninski's monumental *Thesaurus* that "obscured" Bernardo; the writing of Turkish words only in Arabic-Ottoman script (needless to say, transcription texts are much more useful for linguists); the difficult Italian language, very rich in rare and dialect words, used by the translator Pietro d'Abbavilla. Yet the French Capuchin's work does not deserve to be so neglected. It is a veritable lexical mine, full, for example, of Turkish derivatives formed with every kind of *ekler* (*+CA, +CAk, +CI, +CIk, +CIġAz, +DAş, -DIr/DUr-, +lA-, +lIk/lUk, -mAlI, +sIz/sUz, -(y)IcI, -(y)Iş* etc.); many of these cannot be found in other dictionaries. Given the necessary brevity of this article, I will confine myself here to listing and commenting on a number of words that seem to me important, especially from a historical-lexicographical viewpoint.[1]

2. Loanwords of European origin that, to the best of my knowledge, are not recorded in any other lexicographical work:

ārīġān 'marjoram (Origanum majorana)' (161) • < It. (dial.) *arigano* 'id.' (DEI 288).

arişmāṭīḳi 'arithmetic' (163) • < Gr. *αριθμητική*, but the rendering of [ɵ] as [ʃ] is surprising. Perhaps from some Greek dialect form.

ārtimūn 'mizzen sail' (1363) • < Gr. *ἀρτέμων* 'foresail' (Liddell, Scott 1996: 248) or rather < It. *artimone* 'vela di gabbia' (DEI 309). Missing also in LF.

bālṣamīnā 'balsam, garden balsamine (Impatiens balsamina)' (229) • < It. *balsamina* 'id.' (DEI 418).

cīlek 'kind of sleeveless jacket worn over the shirt' (300, 321) • Probably < It. (old, dial.) *gilecco* and varr. 'kind of waistcoat or vest' (Pellegrini 1972: 339). A classical example of backborrowing, as this term goes back to Osm., T. *yelek* 'waistcoat, vest', through the Lingua Franca spread over the Mediterranean: cf. Ar. (Algerian) *ğalîka,* Sp. (in Cervantes) *gileco* 'jacket worn by slaves' (> Fr. *gilet*) (DCECH 2: 313).

fānel 'linnet (Linaria cannabina)' (821) • < It. *fanello* 'id.' (DEI 1593).

ḳapūçīn in the phrase *ḳapūçīnleriŋ ṭarīḳi* 'the rule of the Capuchins' (1762) • < It. *cappuccino* 'Capuchin (friar)'.

ḳarġı 'loading of the arquebus' (347) • In my opinion, from Ven. *carga* 'carica, parte di munizione che si mette nelle artiglierie, negli archibusi e simili' (Boerio 1867: 138).

labrusk 'wild vine' (1210) • < It. *la(m)brusca* 'id.' (DEI 2145, 2155).

lācāvūn 'legion' (1237) • < It. *legione,* perhaps through an Arabic mediation.

lalanġida 'kind of broad flat noodle' (1221) • < Gr. *λαλαγγήτα* 'frittella di pasta; ciambella, cialda' (Peridēs 1878: 1081).

[1] Turkish words are transcribed according to the usual rules (see TETTL 1: 8) with their meanings translated into English (the original ones are sometimes obscure or incomprehensible even for well-educated native Italian speakers). The numbers between round brackets refer to pages of the dictionary.

Olāndiya 'Holland' (1026) • < Old It. *Ollandia*/*Hol(l)andia* 'id.' (DI 3: 479).
purūṭūriyūn (or *bu-*, the print is not clear) 'podesta's palace' (1503) • < Late Gr. *πραιτώριον* [< Lat. *praetorium*] 'official residence of a governor' (Liddell, Scott 1996: 1458).
repūpliḳa 'republic' (1769) • < It. *repubblica* 'id.'.
riġla 'grain strickle' (1728) • < Gr. *ρήγλα* 'strickle' (Sophocles 1900: 969), *ρίγλα* 'rasiera, legno da rasar la misura del grano' (Somavera 1709: 353) < Lat. *rēgula* (Meyer 1895: 56).
ṣāhitiya 'kind of light fast ship' (1889) • It looks like a blend of Osm. *ṣayka* (< Hung. *sajka*) 'a peculiar kind of sea-going boat used in the Black Sea' (Redhouse 1890: 1113) and Old It. *saettia* 'galea sottile e velocissima' (DEI 3308). The insertion of *-h-* is however unclear.
ṭirbūna 'court, tribunal' (2331) • < It. *tribuna*, with semantic influence of *tribunale*.
vurdunār 'beam' (275, 2323) • < Old It. *bordonale* (with dial. varr. like *bordonar*) 'trave maestra; trave della coperta della nave' (DEI 563).

3. Other loanwords (including place names and ethnonyms) that present noteworthy features:

antenā 'lateen yard' (134) • < It. *antenna* 'id.'. Meninski (1680: 135) records the var. *artenā* < Ven. *altèna* (Rocchi 2013b: 891). Neither Bernardo's nor Meninski's data can be found in LF (69–70), where forms of this word only taken from 19th–20th century lexicographical works are cited.
avarīż/*avāriż* 'tax, levy, duty' (995, 2238) • Cf. Osm. *ʿavariż* 'unforeseen public expenses or levies of money' (Redhouse 1890: 1326). This word originally comes in all probability from Byz. Gr. *ἀβανίες* (note the lack of the *ʿayn* in Bernardo), pl. of *ἀβανία* 'tax' (Rocchi 2013a: 114) and must later have blended, in the literary language, with Ar. *ʿawâriḍ,* pl. of *ʿâriḍ* 'obstacle, impediment; accident'.
ʿazunūr 'giant' (957) • Cf. Osm., T. *aznavur* 'azgın, kuvvetli, heybetli' (TS 354); 'strapping and pugnacious man, tough guy; daring fighter; wild, unruly, unmanageable' (Redhouse 1999: 82) < Arm. *aznawor* 'noble, brave; (dial., reborrowed from Georgian) giant [cf. Bernardo!], demon' (Dankoff 1995: 16). The form given by Bernardo does not seem to be attested elsewhere; the anteposition of the *ʿayn* is not clearly explicable.
bāṅġa 'galley bench' (2318) • This record is an addition to the other Osm.-T. forms *banka*/*manka*/*manga* (< It. *banco*), the only ones found in LF 88.
borāz 'borage (Borago officinalis)' (274) • < It (old, dial.) *boraso* and varr. 'id.' (Rocchi 2013b: 894). As far as we know, Bernardo's entry only has one other corrispondent in Carradori's dictionary: *boraz* (borras) 'borraggine' (Rocchi 2011: 86–87).
dama in the phrases *dama pulı* 'playing piece', *dama taḫtası* 'gameboard' (2248) • Bernardo allows backdating the first Turkish occurrence of this Italian loanword (< *dama* 'draughts, checkers'), which until now has been attributed to Holdermann [1730] (Rocchi 2013b: 899).
*dūj** in the phrase *Venedīk dūjı* 'doge of Venice' (738) • Probably < Cr. (old) (< It.) *duž*/*dùž* 'id.' (Skok 1971–1974: 1: 463). The form *doj* recorded in TETTL (1: 637, from

a work of 1599) and explained as a borrowing from French is doubtful; in my view, it very likely comes from Croatian too and should be read *duj.* Of the other names for the doge in Ottoman, *duçe*/*doce*/*tuce* are direct Italianisms, while *duzi* is mediated via Greek (Rocchi 2013b: 899).

Eflāmīŋ 'Fleming' (860) • The usual Osm. forms are *Filemenk*/*Filemeng,* with anaptyxis (Stachowski M. 1986: 113); Bernardo himself translates 'Fiandra' as *Filāmiŋ vilāyeti* (861). For the prosthesıs wıth *e* in Turkish words see M. Stachowski (1995: 178).

Filorentīn 'Florentine' (876) • Anaptyctic var. of *Florentin* – only attested, as far as we know, in the pl. form *Florentinler* in Molino (Stachowski M. 1986: 118) – < Old It. *florentino* (DI 2: 72).

foryās 'north wind' (154) • Osm. *foryas*/*foryaz* (records from the 14th–16th centuries) < Gr. **φοριᾶς* for *βοριᾶς* 'id.' (LF 494–496; TS 1608–1609). Bernardo's record, not mentioned in LF, seems to be the only attestation of this Turkish variant with *f-* in works published in Europe.

iskemni 'desk, stool' (620) • One (and the oldest) of the rare records of forms of this word with the cluster *mn* preserved, according to the Greek source (< *σκαμνί*): cf. Osm. *iskemni* in Mallouf's dictionary [1863] (Stachowski St. 1971: 277), T. (dial.) *skemne* (id.: 278), *iskemnä* (Tietze 1962: 381).

isturūpadan/*usturūpadān*/*tırūpādān*/*ṭırabūdāl* 'thole(-pin)' (891, 1503, 1945) • Cf. *trabudar* 'palischermo' [= thole] in Carradori (Rocchi 2011: 324), apparently the only other record of this word. Possibly, a derivative of *usturpa* and varr. 'strap, strop' (< Ven. *stropa*) + the Persian morph *-dān* denoting 'what holds or contains (anything)'; the name of "strap-holder" for the thole would be semantically justified as the oar is fastened to it by a strap (Rocchi 2013b: 917).

İṭāliyā 'Italy' (1209) • Bernardo provides the first occurrence of the placename in this form; earlier, the type *Talya* is found in Molino (Stachowski M. 1986: 102, 103).

İṭāliyālı 'Italian' (1209) • There are, it seems, no further old records of this derivative, which is in general much less common than *İtalyan.*

ḳolāçiyūn etmek 'to have breakfast or lunch' (824) • < Ven. *colaziòn* 'colazione' (Boerio 1867: 178). Further Osm. records of this loanword are very few and phonetically different: *ḳolāṣyūn, ḳolāzyūn* with transcriptions such as *gholation, cholation, cholazion* modelled on Italian (old) spellings (Rocchi 2013b: 898).

köfün 'basket' (390, 533, 1510) • T. (dial.) *köfün* 'büyük sepet' (DS 2949) < Gr. *κοφίνι* 'basket' (Tzitzilis 1987: 72). That of Bernardo seems the only Ottoman record of this word.

māb̄āmondi 'map of the world' (1318) • This lexical type (< It. *mappamondo* and varr.) is reflected in Ottoman by three variations with different initials (*m-, p-, n-*). While forms beginning with *p-* and *n-* have been recorded since the 16th century, according to LF those beginning with *m-* are only found in 19th-century dictionaries; the neglecting of Bernardo's data has thus lead to this wrong assumption: "Of this type [with *m-*] there are no old records" (LF 290).

meṣṭrīn 'trowel' (376) • < Gr. *μυστρί(ον)* 'cazzuola, mestola' (Peridēs 1878: 1183). Bernardo's record, which is isolated in Ottoman, must come from a Gr. medieval

form **μυστρίν*. The word is continued in modern Turkish Anatolian dialects as *misiri, mısırı* and the like (Tzitzilis 1987: 91).

Palandra 'Holland' (1026) • Other old records of this place name take the form of *Flandrya* 'Flandria' in Molino (Stachowski M. 1986: 104), *Fiyandra, Filandra* 'Belgium' in Montalbano (Rocchi 2014: 91). As to Bernardo, an (obviously not learned) mediation of Ar. *Falandra* 'Flanders' cannot be ruled out; in any case, his *Palandra* is the only attestation showing the change *f* > *p*.

pīvo 'beer' (388) • Bernardo's record is very valuable, as this Slavism (*pivo* is the word for 'beer' in all Sl. languages) up till now has been thought to be only attested by Hindoglu (1838: 140) as *piva* (from the Sl. genitive).

pūḳlā 'puppet' (298) • A var. of Osm., T. *kukla* < Gr. *κούκλα* 'id.' (Eren 1999: 263–264), perhaps due to the influence of (quasi-)synonymic Romance words like It. *pupa* 'doll' / *pupo* 'puppet' (DEI 3153, 3154).

sardīna (with the taxonym *bālıġı* added) 'sardine, pilchard (Sardina pilchardus)' (85) • It is the third record known so far of this Italian loanword (< *sardina*), besides those coming from Ferraguto's (1611) and Carradori's (1650) transcription texts (Rocchi 2013b: 914).

vārdiyān in the phrase *vārdiyān bāşı* 'overseer of slaves' (1008) • Osm. *vardiyan* 'overseer of galley slaves' with further meanings (< Ven. *vardián* 'overseer'), *vardiyan başı* 'commander of the marines on a ship' have been documented since the 16th and 17th centuries respectively (LF 459). Bernardo's entry, not mentioned in LF, is the oldest lexicographical record of the word.

4. Some interesting Anatolian Turkish words missing in Meninski (1680):

beleŋ 'hill' (424, 433) • Osm. *beleŋ* 'dağlık, sarp yer, dağ beli' (TS 488–489); *belen* 'hilly region' (Evliya Çelebi, given as "türkmen": Dankoff 1991: 17); T. (dial.) *belen* 'tepe, yüksek yer' (DS 611).

boyunṣālıḳ 'muzzle' (1411) • T. (dial.) *boyunsalık* 'hayvanın boynu altından geçen, geme ve yulara takılı ip' (DS 748).

cegnem/çegnem 'mouthful' (270, 1046) • Cf. Osm. *çeynem/çiġnem/çiynem* 'bir kere çiğnenecek kadar' (TS 882–883). See TETTL (1: 524).

çekelez 'squirrel (Sciurus)' (1987) • T. (dial.) *çekelez* with many varr. 'sincap' (DS 1109). Origin unknown according to Eren (1999: 83). Missing in TETTL.

çendmek 'to beat severely' (241) • Cf. Osm. *çentmek* 'kertmek, doğramak' (TS 856), *çendelemek* 'ufak ufak doğramak' (id. 855); T. (dial.) *çendemek* 'yontmak' (DS 1134).

īkīr cinlīlik 'anxiety; perplexity' (133) • Cf. Osm., T. (dial.) *ikircinlik* 'tereddüt' (in a 14th-century Turkish version of 'Kelile ü Dimne': TS 2028), 'kararsızlık, duraksama' (DS 2515–2516); T. *ikircimlik* = *ikirciklik* 'being hesitant/suspicious/doubtful' (Redhouse 1999: 421), derivatives of *ikircik* (*ikircin*/*-cim*) 'suspicion, doubt' < Old Turkic *ikirçgü* 'id.' (on whose formation see Erdal 1991: 164). Tietze finds it difficult to explain the Osm.-T. forms with the final nasal ("şekil değişikliği neye dayanıyor?": TETTL 2: 380). In my view, as Bernardo's record shows, a folk-etymological influence of Osm.-T. *cinli* 'possessed by demons; irritable, nervous'

needs to be taken into account, in which case *ikircin* would be backformed from the adjective *ikircinli* (attested).

oyūḳ 'puppet made of wood or rag' (822) • Osm., T. (dial.) *oyuk* 'insan veya hayvan şeklini andırır korkuluk' (TS 3039–3041), 'bostan korkuluğu' (DS 3303).

*palāz** in the phrases *ördek palāzı* 'duckling' (124), *ḳāz palāzı* 'gosling' (1455, 1512) • Osm., T. *palaz* 'a duckling; a gosling; a young pigeon' (Redhouse 1890: 435). Note that Nişanyan (2007: 368) dates the word from the second half of the 19th century.

poyruḳ 'broom (Spartium junceum)' (958) • Cf. T. (dial.) *poruk* 'katırtırnağı bitkisi' (DS 3471).

teyeklemek 'to stake vines' (1057) • For the base of this verb cf. Osm. *deġek/teġek/tevek/devek* 'asma filizi, asma kütüğü, asma dalı' (TS 1035–1037), T. (dial.) *teyek/tevek* 'üzüm kütüğü' (DS 3900–3901). See TETTL (1: 576).

uyagīc (probably to read *-gīç*) 'delayer, loiterer' (1115) • Hapax, evidently related to *uya,* recorded by Bernardo in the phrase *uya adam* 'slow man' (1037), = Osm. *uyā* 'ignavus, tardus, cunctator' (Meninski 1680: 5865). However, the morphological aspect is problematic because the Turkish suffix *-gIç/gUç* is deverbal, not denominal (Korkmaz 2007: 80).

uyūgen 'sleeping' (752) • Osm. *uyugan/uyugen* 'çok uyuyan' (TS 4042).

vezne boşāldan 'merganser (Mergus)' (1353) • Osm. *vezene boşaltan* 'a water bird' in Evliya Çelebi (Dankoff 1991: 96), *vezne boşaldan* 'a species of wild duck, very hard to kill' (Redhouse 1890: 2136); T. (dial.) *vezne boşaltan* 'anas querquedula' (Çakmak, Işın 2005: 38).

Abbreviations of languages and dialects

Ar. = Arabic	Gr. = Greek	Sl. = Slavic
Arm. = Armenian	Hung. = Hungarian	Sp. = Spanish
Byz. = Byzantine	It. = Italian	T. = Turkish
Cr. = Croatian	Lat. = Latin	Ven. = Venetian
Fr. = French	Osm. = Osmanlı	

References

DCECH = Corominas J., Pascual J.A. 1991–1997. *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico.* Madrid.

DEI = Battisti C., Alessio G. 1950–1957. *Dizionario etimologico italiano.* Firenze.

DI = Schweickard W. (ed.). 2002–2013. *Deonomasticon Italicum. Dizionario storico dei derivati da nomi geografici e da nomi di persona.* Tübingen.

D = 1963–1982. *Türkiye'de halk ağzından derleme sözlüğü.* Ankara.

LF = Kahane H. and R., Tietze A. 1958. *The Lingua Franca in the Levant.* Urbana.

TETTL = Tietze A. 2002–2009. *Tarihi ve Etimolojik Türkiye Türkçesi Lugatı. = Sprachgeschichtliches und etymologisches Wörterbuch des Türkei-Türkischen.* İstanbul, Wien.

TS = 1963–1977. *XIII. yüzyıldan beri Türkiye Türkçesiyle yazılmış kitaplardan toplanan tanıklariyle tarama sözlüğü.* Ankara.

Boerio G. 1867. *Dizionario del dialetto veneziano.* Venezia.
Çakmak M., Işın Pr. M. 2005. *Anadolu kuş adları sözlüğü.* İstanbul.
Dankoff R. 1991. *An Evliya Çelebi glossary. Unusual, dialectal and foreign words in the Seyahatname.* Cambridge (MA).
Dankoff R. 1995. *Armenian loanwords in Turkish.* Wiesbaden.
Erdal M. 1991. *Old Turkic word formation.* Wiesbaden.
Eren H. 1999. *Türk dilinin etimolojik sözlüğü.* Ankara.
Hindoglu A. 1838. *Dictionnaire abrégé turc-français.* Vienne.
Korkmaz Z. 2007. *Türkiye Türkçesi grameri. Şekil bilgisi.* Ankara.
Liddell H.G., Scott R. 1996. *A Greek-English lexicon.* [revised and augmented throughout by H. Stuart Jones]. Oxford.
Meninski Fr. à M. 1680. *Thesaurus linguarum orientalium turcicae-arabicae-persicae.* Vienna.
Meyer G. 1895. *Neugriechische Studien. III. Die lateinische Lehnworte im Neugriechischen.* Wien.
Nişanyan S. 2007. *Sözlerin soyağacı. Çağdaş Türkçenin etimolojik sözlüğü.* İstanbul.
Pellegrini G.B. 1972. *Gli arabismi nelle lingue neolatine.* Brescia.
Peridēs M.P. 1878. *Leksikon ellēnoïtalikon.* Athēnai.
Redhouse J.W. 1890. *A Turkish and English lexicon.* Constantinople.
Redhouse J.W. 1999. *Türkçe-İngilizce Redhouse sözlüğü / The Redhouse Turkish-English dictionary.* İstanbul.
Rocchi L. 2011. *Il dizionario turco-ottomano di Arcangelo Carradori (1650).* Trieste.
Rocchi L. 2013a. Vormeninskische Ergänzungen zu Stanisław Stachowskis "Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Lehnwörter im Osmanisch-Türkischen". – *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 18: 111–145.
Rocchi L. 2013b. Gli italianismi nei testi turchi in trascrizione. Un'indagine storico-lessicografica. – *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 129.4: 888–931.
Rocchi L. 2014. *I repertori lessicali turco-ottomani di Giovan Battista Montalbano (1630 ca.).* Trieste.
Skok P. 1971–1974. *Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika.* Zagreb.
Somavera A. da. 1709. *Tesoro della lingua greca-volgare ed italiana, cioe ricchissimo dizzionario greco-volgare et italiano.* Parigi.
Sophocles E.A. 1900. *Greek lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine periods.* New York.
Stachowski M. 1986. Beiträge zur Geschichte der geographischen und ethnischen Namen europäischen Ursprungs im Osmanischen-Türkischen. – *Ural-Altaische Jahrbücher* 58: 99–126.
Stachowski M. 1995. The increasing of the number of syllables and the chronology of anaptyxis and prosthesis in West European loanwords of Ottoman Turkish. – *Studia Turcologica Cracoviensia* 1: 175–184.
Stachowski St. 1971. Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen Lehnwörter im Osmanisch-Türkischen. – *Folia Orientalia* 13: 267–298.
Tietze A. 1962. Einige weitere griechische Lehnwörter im anatolischen Türkisch. – Eckmann J., Levend A.S., Mansuroğlu M. (eds.). *Németh Armağanı.* Ankara: 373–388.
Tzitzilis Chr. 1987. *Griechische Lehnwörter im Türkischen (mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der anatolischen Dialekte).* Wien.

Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis 132 (2015): 271–281
doi:10.4467/20834624SL.15.024.4431

MAREK STACHOWSKI
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
stachowski.marek@gmail.com

REMARKS ON THE NOTIONS "DOGMATIC" AND "ANALYTIC" IN ETYMOLOGICAL LEXICOGRAPHY[1]

Keywords: etymological lexicography, etymology, dictionaries, metalexicography

Abstract

This author's aim is to show that the general notion "dogmatic dictionary" actually comprises various scholarly etymological dictionaries that should be distinguished from each other due to their different informational potential.

1. Preliminary remarks

Anyone interested in etymology and etymological lexicography will certainly have heard Anatoly Liberman's terms "dogmatic" and "analytic" concerning etymological dictionaries. Actually his EngLib is the only real representative of what he calls analytic dictionaries whose essence is a presentation and a thorough discussion of possibly *all* etymological suggestions and interpretations proposed for a given word. Dictionaries whose authors do not care much about adducing and discussing older opinions in the specific entries are called "dogmatic" by him.[2] Unfortunately, that term is prone to give negative associations, quite against Liberman's will, cf. the following statement: "In my work I call dictionaries like Skeat's and Kluge's dogmatic and those by Feist and Walde-Hofmann analytic" (Liberman 2010b: 60) – neither Skeat and Kluge can be considered unprofessional nor did Liberman wish to arouse

[1] My sincere thanks go to Robert Woodhouse (Brisbane) for both his help with English (incl. the terminological choices) and the factual discussion.

[2] For a short characterization and assessment of Liberman's ideas and dictionary in a comparative context see Stachowski 2011: 190sq., 198.

such suspicions. Besides, Feist and Walde-Hofmann are, in point of fact, far apart from what Liberman offers in his analytic dictionary (EngLib).

In other cases we can at the best expect an etymologist to inform the dictionary user about who suggested the specific etymology and, much more seldom, explain why he is rejecting this or that previous etymology.

Since popular dictionaries do not, on the whole, inform the readers about the references and polemics they are, in Liberman's terms, dogmatic.

The varying intensiveness of the analytic character of various etymological dictionaries as well as the unwelcome associations of the term "dogmatic" and its connection with the very idea of a popular etymological dictionary – all this makes the question reasonable whether other terms and/or taxonomies are also possible.

2. Technical remarks

When talking of professional (i.e., non-popular) etymological dictionaries I mean in what follows exclusively those devoted to one language only whereas dictionaries of whole linguistic families (as, e.g., DraBur) are excluded here because the scope of adduced and discussed words forces the lexicographer to structure his entries in a different way than is the case in a dictionary of a single language. If one goes through various types of etymological dictionaries (see Malkiel 1976: 28–35 ["Range"], 73–78 ["Scope"]) one inevitably arrives at the conclusion that no "interspecific" comparisons should be made.

One may doubt whether the question of listing the works and ideas of one's predecessors actually deserves so much attention. It is true that the quality of etymologies *is* more important than given or omitted references. However, two remarks should be made in this context. First, there is no conflict between the quality of the etymologies and the structure of the entries, that is, citing predecessors does not involve any decline in the quality of the etymologies. Second, we have to answer one important question: is a correct etymology *without* references and discussion equally as good as one *with* references and discussion?

I am not going to present a survey of all etymological dictionaries or even discuss all the paramount ones. I will refer only to a very limited number of them, believing that these sufficiently feature all the telling elements we need to understand the possibility and the sense of introducing intermediate categories between "analytic" and "dogmatic". Liberman's (2010b: 47) opinion that "a bird's eye view of any subject [cannot] replace a series of more specialized works" spurred me to publish these remarks.

3. Popular dictionaries

A prime example of a popular etymological dictionary is FreMat. There are no bibliographical references or polemics here. In the entries, an average user can find what he really expects: short and readily understandable etymologies. Some of them

are questionable or just incorrect but a "semi-mythical general reader" (Liberman 2010b: 51) will be anyway happy to learn that French *polka* 'a folk dance in Central Europe' is a feminine form of *polski* 'Polish' and he will not ask what happened to the consonant *-s-* (why not *polska*?) or wonder why the French edition of the Wikipedia informs us, sub "Polka (danse)", that "La *polka* est une danse originaire de Bohême (actuelle République tchèque)" if it has a Polish name (I presume he will know that *polski* is a Polish word by himself because the original formulation[3] does not inform him about this detail). He will be likewise happy to read that French *mammouth* 'mammoth' comes from Russian *mamont*, *mamut* which was borrowed "d'un dialecte de la Sibérie orientale" (FreMat 313). Even though he cannot know that the Russian variant *mamut* is a reflex of French *mammouth* (as is the case with almost all European names of this animal, and even the Latin biological term *Mammutus* in actuality reflects the same French word; for the French origin of Russian *mamut* cf. the dates of attestations adduced in fn. 4) he might ask why French changed Russian ‹on› = [ɔn] ~ [ăn] into ‹ou› = [u], and whether the "dialect" the word originates from cannot by any means be identified in a somewhat more informative way. He might ask but he will not because "[t]hose who consult an etymological dictionary expect a solution rather than an exhaustive survey" (Liberman 2005: 4), and "fortunately for lexicographers, those who consult the dictionary are not usually critical" (Weekley 1924: 782).[4]

Nevertheless, the popular FreMat well accomplishes its task – it is short, convenient and generally correct. Its special feature is the total lack of an introduction – one is tempted to say: "Right so. A general reader does not read introductions anyway."

---

[3] "Polka : XIXe s. : féminin de *polski* (polonaise)" (FreMat 404).

[4] However, if the reader of this study is a professional and critical dictionary user he may be interested to find a general survey of statements concerning the origin of the word *mammoth* (and its English thread) in Stachowski 2000. – A very peculiar case in this respect is GerKlu. Its 18th edition (1960) explains the word as a derivative of Yakut *mamma* 'land' (this word does not exist at all in Yakut) and the French word *mammouth* as one in which the Russian sequence of characters *on* was misread as *ou* in French (since the French word is attested in the 18th century for the first time it means that Russian was known, at least to some persons, in 18th century France; this is of course to some extent possible but the fact that *on* is written ‹он› in Russian and is, thus, not very similar to Latin ‹ou› makes the possibility of misreading ‹он› as *ou* less possible); further: the mammoth is supposed, according to this edition, to have been first discovered during excavations made by a Russian called Ludloff (in reality, he was a German, the author of a *Grammatica Russica*, who made no excavations and whose real name was Heinrich Wilhelm Ludolf). – The 22nd edition of GerKlu (1989) does not contain the word *Mammut* at all. – In the 25th edition (2011) of GerKlu the French word is derived directly from Russian *mamut* (which is a bit complicated because the Russian variant *mamut* was in use for some time in the 19th century only [RusČer vol.1: 506a], that is about a hundred years after the first French attestation; besides, the Russian source does not explain the French and English *-th*) and as the ultimate source a Yurak term is given (adduced as *jĕaŋ-ŋammurəttaə* in lieu of the correct *jĕä ŋammurɔ̆ttʊ̯ə̯*) that was first proposed in Kiparsky 1958 (not cited in GerKlu) and then criticized by Uralists. The most popular etymology by Heaney and Helimski (for further details and the bibliographical data see Stachowski 2000) as well as the discussion in Stachowski 2000 and Futaky 2001 are not mentioned at all. – The fact that GerKlu always gives some bibliographical references does not, as can be seen, guarantee its scholarly reliability.

RumRoh is quite a different case. It gives, quite like FreMat, no bibliographical data and no discussion in the entries but it does have an introduction. We read there that RumRoh is a preliminary version of a planned comprehensive dictionary and that is why the author declined to include any commentaries.[5] A common situation is that a popular edition of an etymological dictionary is a short version of a full edition, and its conciseness results from removing professional discussions, information on the chronology and philological sources as well as other technical details, that is, all the elements which previously were put through examination of etymologists and are too special for a general reader. The situation with RumRoh is quite the contrary: the short version is a popular edition of a non-existing version and its conciseness results from non-existence of a full version with arguments and details that, by the same token, were never discussed by professional etymologists.

In the light of what has been said above I hesitate to call RumRoh a popular dictionary. Maybe rather a "preliminary sketch" or a "collection of private notes" is the proper taxonomical term?[6]

After this excursus we can now come back to popular dictionaries. Our next example after FreMat is a Polish school dictionary of etymology, PolDłu. It is an obvious thing that a school dictionary can only be of a popular character. Thus, one readily accepts that it only has a short bibliography consisting of fifteen titles, and they are all dictionaries (FreMat has none, so the Polish school dictionary is doing very well). A really weird thing is the fact that specific Polish words are compared with the lexis of different Indo-European languages, for instance, a pupil who looks up the word *dzień* 'day' in PolDłu will find, in the entry, its cognates in Gothic, Latin, Latvian, Lithuanian and Sanskrit, as well as of course its Proto-Slavic etymon. That is the standard situation throughout this dictionary. I cannot help asking myself what an average pupil can think of this list at times when even Latin is widely unknown to his generation. Even those few who know what Gothic is will not conceive the sense of enumerating non-Slavic words that do not actually sound like the Polish headword. I would rather suggest giving, in schooltime, a short course in etymology that can prepare the pupils for using at least an ordinary popular etymological dictionary.

FreMat is more popular and more useful than PolDłu because it does not require from its readers any linguistic knowledge. Nevertheless, they can both be used as examples for rather typical popular dictionaries.

---

[5] RumRoh "ist ein Entwurf für ein später zu erarbeitendes Rumänisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch. […] Aus diesem Grunde ist in der Regel darauf verzichtet worden, die jeweilig angegebene Etymologie zu kommentieren." – This and all other passages adduced here from RumRoh stand on the first page of the introduction.

[6] Such a published collection of etymological slips is, for instance, TurRäs, in which some headwords are not even supplied with a suggestion of an etymology (e.g. "mtü. [= Middle Turkic] *čikin* 'ährenbildende Futterpflanze, die zwischen Weinstöcken angepflanzt wird", and not a word more [TurRäs 111], or with some cognates: "kmk. [= Kumyk] *čille* 'Puppe, Kokon', krč. [= Karatchay] *čille* 'Seide', blk. [= Balkar] *cille* id." [loc. cit.]) while others feature more or less normal etymologies (e.g., "osm. [= Ottoman] *dolajy* 'Kreis, Umkreis', Postp. [= postposition] 'wegen' < *dolaj* 'Umfang, Umgebung' < *dola* 'winden' < **tolya*" (TurRäs. 139).

4. Professional dictionaries

The level of professionalism of non-popular etymological dictionaries varies from one author to another, and it usually depends on three factors: the author's personal preferences, his conception of the future user of his dictionary as well as the question of whether or not there exist other etymological dictionaries for the given idiom.[7] This is the case with TurKab, being a first etymological dictionary of Cyprus Turkish. Its author has attempted to write a dictionary for any educated person. He concisely cites older authors and calls the user's attention to problems and discussions[8] but he generally avoids real polemics and technical (esp. phonetic) discussions. This is, it seems, a reasonable compromise.

Another feature of TurKab is the treatment of Greek loanwords that are, to be sure, especially numerous in Cyprian Turkish. Let us see how the author explains the origin of Cyprian Turkish *bastelli* (= literary Turkish *pestil*) 'dried fruit pulp': < Cyprian Greek *pastellin παστέλλιν* ~ Byzantine Greek *pastilos παστίλος* < Greek *pasteli παστέλι* < Italian *pastello* (TurKab 93). Greek words are written first in Latin characters and only then in Greek ones. An etymologist does not, as a matter of fact, need a Latin transcription but the author probably reckoned that his fellow turkologists outside Cyprus may have problems with the Greek alphabet and very especially with its orthographical rules (as, e.g., Greek ‹ου› = [u], ‹γυ› = [i̯i], and so on) but he also knew that those who knew Greek would prefer to see the original notation and not to hesitate whether in the given word with, say, Latin ‹o› should be written ‹ο› or ‹ω› in Greek or where the original accent lay. Again, we have a solution that is a compromise made for two different groups of dictionary users. The author apparently clearly had in mind his future readers.

At least one element distinctly demonstrates the author's scholarly approach. The dictionary contains an 18-page presentation of Cyprian Turkish phonology (TurKab 27–44). There can be no doubt that this part of the dictionary was intended for professional linguists. Similarly, a 47-page etymological list of Turkish loanwords in Cyprian Greek, added at the end of the dictionary (TurKab 627–673) confirms our assessment. The list brings valuable information for Greek dialectologists and etymologists rather than for Turkish intellectuals.

Although TurKab only sporadically presents discussions with the author's predecessors and the bibliographical references are somewhat limited it certainly deserves to be considered a scholarly work.

---

[7] The two last factors complement each other. They are especially important in the case of non-descriptive dictionaries (such as etymological ones) as well as any dictionary of a language without a rich lexicographical tradition; for instance, we can read the same idea in authors of dictionaries of endangered languages: "[…] the dictionary maker[s] must be mindful of the possible future users of their work" (Ogilvie 2011: 398). In both cases the user may have no other source of this sort at his disposal that could be considered more crucial than the etymologist's own preferences.

[8] Cf. the entry *gazzan* 'kettle, cauldron' with an indication concerning polemics: 'Sözcük üzerindeki tartışmalar için bkz. […]" (TurKab 270), that is: 'For the discussion of this word see […].'

Another dictionary that also takes place between popular and strictly professional ones is PolMal, a small dictionary of Polish geographical names. Frequent bibliographical references and etymologies underpinned by chronologically dated philological sources as well as non-linguistic circumstances like historical facts and geographical conditions confer a professional quality to this dictionary. On the other hand, however, the author avoids discussions and the introduction (unlike the phonological one in TurKab) presents only basic information on types and structure of geographical names, being thus a rather popular element in this publication.

In sum, both TurKab and PolMal are reliable publications intended for both etymologists and non-etymological intellectuals.

One big step further towards an analytic dictionary was made by the authors of KomLyt, an explicitly scholarly work of great value for etymologists, not exclusively for those specializing in Uralic. A survey of phonetic equivalents in various Fenno-Ugric languages given right at the beginning (KomLyt 9–28) can only have been intended for professional historical linguists, and the same feature can be observed throughout the whole main body of the dictionary. At least one entry deserves to be cited by way of example:

Under Komi *zep* (~ dial. *źepj* ~ *ʒ́ep*) 'pocket' the following information is given:

a) this Komi word is of Turkic origin;
b) it also occurs in numerous non-Turkic languages;
c) the Turkic word is borrowed from Arabic [with bibliographical references[9]] [cf. (j)];
d) the usual assumption is: Komi < Russ.dial. [with bibliographical references];
e) the assumption in (d) is questionable because of (f) and (g);
f) northern Russian dialectal forms usually display *ź-* [with bibliographical references];
g) the change of Russ. *ź-* > Komi *ʒ́* is out of the question;
h) rather Y. Wichmann was right although he presented his idea in a very uncertain way[10] [with bibliographical references];
i) the authors' own suggestion is to distinguish between Komi *ʒ́* < Old Chuvash (as proposed by Wichmann) and Komi *ź-* < Russ. *ź-*;
j) in addition: Turkic *ʒ́eb* ['pocket' – M. S.] < Arabic *ǯeb*[11] [with bibliographical references] [cf. (c)].

That is certainly a highly expert way of demonstrating etymological reasoning. A general reader would be quite happy to learn that Komi *zep*, etc., is a Russian loanword. Only the most aspiring persons would try to remember that two different sources are possible. None would like to know more.

[9] The abbreviated references are usually limited to one title only. On the other hand, they are given frequently so that virtually every claim is equipped with a bibliographical indication.

[10] "весьма неуверенно" (KomLyt 105a).

[11] Actually, the correct Arabic form is *ǯayb*.

A Slavic etymological dictionary at the same scholarly level is a (regrettably unfinished) Polish dictionary PolSła. The numerous references and abundant discussions based on reasonable arguments secured PolSła a high (some would say, the highest) place in the lexicographical ranking of Slavic linguists (see Boryś 2010: 17).

The best completed Polish etymological dictionary certainly is PolBor. However, it essentially differs from KomLyt and PolSła in that it is published as a "dictionary for everybody" (probably, the fact that it appeared in the *Wydawnictwo Literackie*, i.e. the 'Literary Publishing House' was of some importance to its form and structure). There can be no doubt that its author successfully saw to a high etymological quality and solidity of his ideas and arguments. But the total exclusion of bibliographical references and serious limitations of discussion considerably lower its usefulness in etymological research. It is true, PolBor is 861 pages long and allowing for other persons' ideas would destroy the initial plan of producing a one-volume dictionary. On the other hand however, relatively long explanations could have been put in a shorter form. Gerard Clauson's Old Turkic dictionary can deservedly be criticized for some important reasons (the most significant one being the notorious lack of clear or indeed any etymologies except in trivial cases); nevertheless, Sir Gerard's device of abbreviating long "etymological set phrases" deserves our attention. That is the case, e.g., with *a.o.o.* = 'and other occurrences', *c.i.a.p.a.l.* = 'common in all periods and languages', *s.i.m.m.l.* = 'survives in most modern languages' (TurCls XXXIII, XXXVI). In view of the possibility of including analytic parts in standard etymological dictionaries these abbreviations will probably gain in importance in the years to come.

Because of its weird combination of characteristic features LthSmo is quite a special case. If one skips the introductory parts and focuses on the etymologies only one will have no doubt about the decidedly professional character of this dictionary. Apart from the general impression one can also try to formulate specific elements determining this perception. I, for instance, would like to emphasize two aspects: detailed morphological, phonological and partially also semantic analysis on the one hand and different levels of reconstruction (Proto-Baltic, Proto-Slavic, Proto-Balto-Slavic, Proto-Indo-European) on the other.

If we now go back and cast a glance at pages XXI–XXVII we will find there a glossary of some linguistic terms. Liberman (2010b: 51) mentions "a recent handbook of linguistics for literary scholars" that "provides its readers with the definitions of such terms as *vowel* and *consonant*." There is no *vowel* in the glossary in LthSmo, that is true, but we find there the entry "*vocalism* – a vowel or a diphthong being a part of a morpheme"[12]. What is one to make of an etymological dictionary written for professional Indo-European linguists that provides its readers with a glossary of such terms? In this case, a thinkable explanation could possibly be that not everybody would include both elements of a diphthong in vocalism. However, one finds here

[12] "*Wokalizm* – samogłoska lub dyftong w składzie morfemu" (LthSmo XXVII).

also terms like *affix*, *derivative*, *folk etymology*, *Indo-European*, *lexeme*, *morpheme*, *nomen*, *protolanguage*, *suffix*, and so on.[13] This part of the dictionary is clearly written for beginners (originally, a proto-version of LthSmo was prepared for students) and it markedly conflicts with the professional character of the entries.

Since no references at all are given and no discussions are found in the entries LthSmo is doubtless a dogmatic dictionary.

5. Analytic vs. non-analytic

LthSmo is dogmatic and highly professional. But the term "dogmatic" is often negatively interpreted in that it suggests an arrogant, dictatorial, intolerant manner of speaking, as well as lacking flexibility and openness to someone else's opinions.

That is why I would rather prefer some other term, one free of such connotations. We can, for instance, distinguish some types of etymological dictionaries as far as both their author's attitude towards older etymological literature and the level of popularity vs. scholarliness is concerned:[14]

popular:	– monodic (e.g., FreMat, PolDłu)
	– polylytic (e.g., PolMal)
scholarly:	– monodic (e.g., FinToi, LthSmo, PolBor, SlnSno, SweHel)
	– polylytic (e.g., GerKlu, RumCio, RumPuş, TurKab)
	– analytic (e.g., EngLib, GerHie, KomLyt, PolSła, RusČer)
	– exhaustive (? a planned continuation of EngLib)

The terms used may be explained as follows:

monodic (< Greek *hodós* 'way') – a dictionary that generally gives but one etymology for each entry even in cases where the etymology is disputed; a monodic dictionary can sometimes fleetingly mention other etymologies but it does not attempt at discussions;

polylytic (< Greek *lýein* 'to loose, to resolve') – a dictionary that regularly mentions other etymologies and/or bibliographical sources but generally avoids discussion;

analytic – a dictionary that gives a possibly full scholarly treatment of etymologies;

exhaustive – a dictionary that aspires to treat all etymological suggestions with full discussion for a whole language or a reasonably comprehensive section of the lexis.

---

[13] On the other hand, some terms, far less known, are used in the entries but omitted in the glossary, as e.g. *antevocalic* (see *laistýti* 'to smear, plaster') or *causative* (see *stérti* 'to stiffen, become numb'), and so on.

[14] Some dictionaries are, of course, more and some are less analytic. However, a scheme of more categories would be rather inconvenient. The rule is approximately the same as that formulated for semantic fields in Berryman (1994: 35): "There are many words that fit easily into more than one category, but a more complex system would have made word entry prohibitively time-consuming."

Liberman's (2010a: IX) claim that "[o]utside the area of English most modern etymological dictionaries are analytic" was questioned in Stachowski (2011: 190) and we can now say that Liberman's statement is more or less true for what we would like to call "analytic (but not exhaustive)" whereas EngLib is an introduction to a future dictionary that will, as we all hope, deserve to be called "exhaustive".[15]

A phonological survey in the introductory part of a dictionary is intended for professionalists preeminently representing philologies different from that of the given lexicographer. It is generally of little interest to fellow specialists in the same domain (providing, the author does not propose a shockingly distinct set of phonetic equivalences) and will not at all fascinate the unprepared non-professionals. Which means that the presence of a phonological introduction doubtless excludes the popular character of a dictionary.

Users of analytic dictionaries can form a more or less general view on the diversity of thinkable etymologies just while reading the specific entries. Those who use polylytic dictionaries will, by contrast, have to read and interpret by themselves what was said in the sources mentioned in form of abbreviations only in the given dictionary.

The most dangerous case is a scholarly monodic dictionary because its readers can find no signals in the entries pointing to the fact that the specific etymology is not necessarily the only or the commonly accepted one. No choice is offered to them and the author's opinion, even if possibly questionable, is presented as the only existing solution. That is why the term "dogmatic" should, if ever used, be limited to exclusively this group of etymological dictionaries.

6. Final remarks

A few additional features were cursorily mentioned above but left without discussion. The problem of classificatory criteria in lexicography, especially in its etymological branch, still remains open. In this context I would like to emphasize a factor that is usually disregarded or just overlooked: an author's ability to omit everything that need not be discussed or even mentioned in a dictionary of a given type (as, e.g., meticulous listing of all variants in all languages of the given linguistic family, even if they do not contribute by any means to the etymology; abbreviations like those in TurCls [see above] will suffice (they could even be shorter, e.g. *c.a.p.l.* instead of *c.i.a.p.a.l.*, and *s.m.m.l.* instead of *s.i.m.m.l.*); an author who gives up enumerating his sources should not list all phonetic variants because otherwise users of his dictionary will not be sufficiently informed – they will not be anyway). This skill is of paramount importance at times when we all complain about problems of scope and bulk as well as paper limitations.

[15] Even a short glance into Berryman (1994) convinces everybody how complex the realization of such a project is. An idea that a single etymologist could comb through the whole etymological literature, especially without a computer, by himself is absolutely unrealistic.

Another criterion, usually unwittingly disregarded, is the principle of etymological or historical order of meanings enumerated in a headword because:

> Genealogical principles demand that the sense of a given English word closest to the etymon […] must be treated as the primary sense, and must stand first in an account of the word […]. Historical principles, on the other hand, demand that the first recorded sense of the English word should stand first in its history, whether or not it appears "logical" that it should do so […] (Considine 1996: 368)

It is quite clear that etymological principles sometimes collide with historical ones. The problem does not only concern historical-etymological dictionaries since purely etymological works are also dependent on chronologically ordered philological sources. The question has been known to lexicographers since at least 1860 when the guidelines for the arrangement of entries in the *Oxford Etymological Dictionary* were laid down, item 6 reading:

> The *Meanings*, deduced logically from the Etymology, and so arranged as to show the common thread or threads which unite them together. (Considine 1996: 366)

I am not sure that the problem has ever been thoroughly discussed by modern etymological lexicographers.

It is a great dream to have *at least* three etymological dictionaries for every language: an analytic, a scholarly polylytic and a popular monodic one. The dream does not appear very realistic today but its important advantage is making us aware of how many pages still can and should be written on the origin of words (as well as on that of verbal collocations, phraseologisms, blend words, obsolete technical terms, slang words, dialectal archaisms, nonce words, and so on). Etymologists are not menaced with intellectual joblessness.

References

Dictionaries

DraBur = Burrow T., Emeneau M.B. 1961. *A Dravidian etymological dictionary*. Oxford.
EngLib = Liberman A. [with the assistance of J.L. Mitchell]. 2008. *An analytic dictionary of English etymology. An introduction*. Minneapolis, London.
FinToi = Toivonen Y.H. 1955-. *Suomen kielen etymologinen sanakirja*. [vol. 1–]. Helsinki.
FreMat = Mathieu-Rosay J. 1985. *Dictionnaire étymologique*. Alleur.
GerHie = Hiersche R. 1986-. *Deutsches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. [vol. 1–]. Heidelberg.
GerKlu = Kluge F. 1960 [18th edition] / 1989 [22nd edition] / 2011 [25th edition]. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*. [ed. E. Seebold]. Berlin, New York.
KomLyt = Lytkin V.I., Guljaev E.S. 1970. *Kratkij ètimologičeskij slovaŕ komi jazyka*. Moskva.
LthSmo = Smoczyński W. 2007. *Słownik etymologiczny języka litewskiego*. Wilno.
PolBor = Boryś W. 2005. *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*. Kraków.
PolDłu = Długosz-Kurczabowa K. 1998. *Słownik szkolny. Etymologia*. Warszawa.
PolMal = Malec M. 2003. *Słownik etymologiczny nazw geograficznych Polski*. Warszawa.
PolSła = Sławski F. 1952-. *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*. [vol. 1–]. Kraków.

RumCio = Cioranescu A. 1966. *Diccionario etimologico rumano*. Madrid.
RumPuş = Puşcariu S. 1975. *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der rumänischen Sprache. Lateinisches Element mit Berücksichtigung aller romanischen Sprachen*. Heidelberg.
RumRoh = Rohr R. 1999-. *Kleines rumänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. [vol. 1–]. Frankfurt am Main.
RusČer = Černych P.Ja. 1993. *Istoriko-ètimologičeskij slovaŕ sovremennogo russkogo jazyka*. Moskva.
SlnSno = Snoj M. 2003. *Slovenski etimološki slovar*. Ljubljana.
SweHel = Hellquist E. 1970. *Svensk etymologisk ordbok*. Lund.
TurCls = Clauson G. 1972. *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*. Oxford.
TurKab = Kabataş O. 2007. *Kıbrıs Türkçesinin etimolojik sözlüğü*. Lefkoşa.
TurRäs = Räsänen M. 1969. *Versuch eines etymologischen Wörterbuchs der Türksprachen*. Helsinki.

Studies

Berryman M. 1994. The bibliographic database for an *Analytic dictionary of English etymology*. – *Dictionaries* 15: 30–38.
Boryś W. 2010. Stan i potrzeby badań etymologicznych w Polsce. – *Rocznik Slawistyczny* 59: 9–28.
Considine J. 1996. The *Meanings*, deduced logically from the Etymology. – Gellerstam M. et al. (eds.). *Euralex '96 Proceedings I–II*. [Part 1]. Göteborg: 365–371.
Futaky I. 2001. Bemerkungen zur Herkunft von russ. *мамонт* 'Mammut'. – *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 6: 79–82.
Kiparsky V. 1958. Das Mammut. – *Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie* 26: 293–300.
Liberman A. 2005. *Word origins… and how we know them*. Oxford.
Liberman A. [with the assistance of A. Hoptman and N. E. Carlson]. 2010a. *A bibliography of English etymology*. [vol. 1–2]. Minneapolis, London.
Liberman A. 2010b. The genre of the etymological dictionary. – Dykstra A., Schoonheim T. (eds.). *Proceedings of the XIV Euralex International Congress (Leeuwarden 6–10 July 2010)*. Ljouwert/Leeuwarden: 47–63.
Malkiel Y. 1976. *Etymological dictionaries. A tentative typology*. Chicago, London.
Ogilvie S. 2011. Linguistics, lexicography, and the revitalization of endangered languages. – *International Journal of Lexicography* 24.4: 389–404.
Sledd J., Ebbitt W.R. 1962. *Dictionaries and that dictionary. A casebook on the aims of lexicographers and the targets of reviewers*. Chicago et al.
Stachowski M. 2000. Das Wort *Mammut* in etymologischen Wörterbüchern. – *Folia Orientalia* 36: 301–314.
Stachowski M. 2011. Liberman and Levickij: Towards comparative etymological lexicography of English and Germanic. – *Studia Etymologica Cracoviensia* 16: 189–199.
Weekley E. 1924. On dictionaries. – *The Atlantic Monthly* (June 1924): 782–791. [also reprinted in Sledd, Ebbitt 1962: 9–21].

Studia Linguistica Universitatis Iagellonicae Cracoviensis 132 (2015): 283–294
doi:10.4467/20834624SL.15.025.4432

GRZEGORZ SZPILA
Jagiellonian University in Kraków
grzegorz.szpila@uj.edu.pl

ANGLICISMS IN CONTEMPORARY UPPER SORBIAN – ENGLISH / ENGLISH – UPPER SORBIAN DICTIONARIES

Keywords: Anglicisms, dictionaries, Upper Sorbian, English

Abstract

This paper investigates four bilingual English – Upper Sorbian / Upper Sorbian – English dictionaries regarding the presence of Anglicisms therein. The paper describes the place of Anglicisms in the macrostructure of the lexicons as well their treatment within entries either as headwords or counterparts. The paper enumerates their numerical presence as well as the types of borrowings, and the other processes responsible for enriching the lexis of Upper Sorbian with English lexical elements as revealed in the dictionaries. The paper discusses the information regarding the adaptation of English lexical items in Upper Sorbian (phonetic, graphic, morphological and semantic) that can be obtained from the lexicographic works.

Introduction

It is not surprising that linguists have for a considerable time been interested in analyzing the interlingual relationships between English and other world languages in the light of the status of English as the modern lingua franca and its influence on other tongues on many a level. One of the domains in which the English language exerts an impact on other languages is undoubtedly lexis, which has arguably attracted the most attention on the part of language researchers studying the results of language contact. This perhaps is not surprising since English is believed to be the major source of lexical borrowings in the languages studied (Furiassi 2003: 121), a matter which is not restricted only to languages spoken in Europe.

The need to research the English influence on Slavonic languages was formulated a long time ago (Filipovič 1974: passim) and since then the contact between the languages of these two different groups has also been analyzed with regard to the presence of English loanwords in Slavonic languages. Indeed the lexical impact of English on the vocabularies of many European languages was described in *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms* (Görlach (ed.) 2005), arguably the most important work of this type and scale compiled so far. The dictionary, somewhat surprisingly, does not provide information regarding the lexical borrowings from English in all the European languages. One of the languages not considered is Upper Sorbian (together with Lower Sorbian). The absence of the Sorbian component in *A Dictionary of European Anglicisms* is not of course intentional on the part of the dictionary's compilers but can be rationalized, and perhaps explained, either by the extremely limited research into English borrowings in Upper and Lower Sorbian and/or the assumption that the English loanwords in German penetrate the Sorbian languages profoundly enough to sanction generalizations concerning the two Slavic languages on the basis of the impact English has exerted on German and the influence of the latter on Upper and Lower Sorbian.

It may be safely stated that the existence of English words in the Sorbian languages is to a large extent conditioned by the contact of the latter with German (cf. Völke 2006: 43). Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the fact that apart from the indirect contact between the English lexis and Upper Sorbian via German, the Slavonic language is in direct contact with English as well. The latter type of relation needs further examination but such an analysis goes beyond the scope of the present exploration.

The aim of this paper is to highlight the differing lexicographic descriptions of Anglicisms in the selected dictionaries from the perspective of the four major adaptation processes which regulate the assimilation of foreign words into target languages and which at the same time demonstrate the degree of adaptation of the foreign lexis. Linguists studying the process of borrowing usually differentiate the following types: phonetic, graphic, morphological and semantic adaptation. We have to bear in mind that words are adapted gradually and do not undergo all the processes while being accommodated in the system of the target language, which oftentimes is attested in their lexicographic description. The lexicons selected for the present study may give us some, but not necessarily all, the information concerning the degree of adaptation, because, for instance, they are not specialized dictionaries and so they do not provide information about the pronunciation, nor the etymology of Anglicisms – this is also the case with other foreign lexical items. More precise and exhaustive information could be obtained from dictionaries of foreign borrowings in Upper Sorbian, which would have a greater focus on aspects of assimilation, including, for instance, information about the etymology, which is conspicuously absent from the bilingual dictionaries discussed here. However, no dictionary of English borrowings exists for Upper Sorbian, nor is there a dictionary of foreign words available in this Slavonic language, nor a genuine monolingual Upper Sorbian dictionary in which it would be possible to find further information about borrowed items. Therefore, when analysing any lexicographic material we have to rely on all and every piece of information that is available in the description of headwords and their counterparts

in the target language. The analysis of the Upper Sorbian dictionaries can help to partially establish the status of Anglicisms in this tongue and should without doubt be supplemented by further lexicographic studies of the available dictionaries as well as other sources in order to attempt to ascertain the situation of English lexical elements in Upper Sorbian.

The dictionaries chosen for the present analysis are:

Stone G. 2002. *Hornjoserbsko-jendźelski słownik*. Budyšin. = *HJS*
Wornar E. 2007. *Jendźelsko-hornjoserbski šulski słownik*. Budyšin. = *JHŠS*
Richardson K. 2009. *Jendźelsko-serbski słowničk za zakładnu šulu*. Budyšin. = *JSSZŠ*
Strauch M. 2000. *Sorbian [Wendish]-English / English-Sorbian [Wendish]*. New York. = *SEESD*

Macrostructure

All four dictionaries have the same general structure: all are bilingual, contemporary, general, synchronic lexicons, which are semasiologically orientated. *Jendźelsko-serbski słowničk za zakładnu šulu* is an exception in that it is also in part an onomasiological dictionary: it arranges the headwords within 20 lexical fields. Also it seems to be the least general as it is not only limited in scope by its size (1000 headwords) but also and more importantly by the target user – primary school students (*JHŠS* is also geared towards the school user). The other three are examples of bilingual dictionaries *par excellence*.

The megastructure of *HJS, JHŠS* and *SEESD* is similar, except the A-Z list of headwords also contain the outer texts (Adamska-Sałaciak 2013: 219). The latter consist of Zawod (*JSSZŠ*); Abbreviations/Wužiwane skrótšenki, The Upper Sorbian Alphabet (*SEESD*); Preface, Abbreviations, the Upper Sorbian Alphabet, Upper Sorbian Pronunciation and Grammar (*HJS*); Zawod, Přispomnjenja…, Skrótšenki a kwalifikatory and an extended lexico-grammatical section (*JHŠS*).

In none of the dictionaries is there explicit information concerning the type of vocabulary that forms the macrostructure of the lexicons. Nor do they make any reference to borrowings from English, nor from any other languages, into Upper Sorbian. It seems that English loanwords are taken for granted and there is no marked difference between the treatment of English and Upper Sorbian headwords/equivalents, which becomes evident in the analysis of the microstructure.

The corpus collected on the basis of the four dictionaries contains over 500 English lexical items (501). The material does not distinguish between Anglo-Americanisms and Briticisms (cf. Wanzeck 2010: 133), and although further analyses of English borrowings in Upper Sorbian could perforce make such a distinction to establish the relation between the two types of words (and the impact of British and American English on Upper Sorbian), it seems that in most cases such distinctions are impossible and/or futile. Additionally, the Anglicisms in Upper Sorbian are not differentiated on the basis of their etymology: both historically English (*baby*, *byte*,

nylon, *šerif*) and non-English (*bikini*, *curry*, *kiwi*, *kayak*, *wigwam*) words in Upper Sorbian are treated in the same manner. The material analyzed does not include proper names either. All the words in my corpus are in consequence called Anglicisms. The table below lists the four dictionaries used for the analysis and shows the number of Anglicisms therein and their percentage *vis à vis* the total number of headwords. It has to be noted that the total number of Anglicisms takes into account the headwords and the equivalents.

Dictionary	Word content	Number of Anglicisms	Percentage of Anglicisms
Sorbian[Wendish]-English/English-Sorbian [Wendish]	circa 4500/3200	166 / 161	3.7% / 5%
Hornjo-serbski słownik	circa 20 000	169	0.8%
Jendźelsko-serbski slowničk za zakładnu šulu	circa 1000	46	4.6%
Jendźelsko-serbki šulski słownik	circa 15 000	339	2.3%

The statistics show different numbers of Anglicisms identified in the dictionaries. The dictionary most abundant in Anglicisms is Wornar's dictionary, while the learner's dictionary has the fewest number of English elements although percentagewise this dictionary is the most saturated with Anglicisms.[1] The low number of Anglicisms in this dictionary is motivated by the target user but nevertheless shows the penetration of English elements into the lexis treated as the core vocabulary for school children. The first two dictionaries in the table contain almost the same number of Anglicisms but the saturation of Strauch's dictionary with Anglicisms is clearly greater.

Anglicisms show different distributions within the dictionaries. That is to say, some Anglicisms appear in all four and others only once in one of the four lexicons. The following enumeration lists Anglicisms that have been excerpted from all four lexicons: *alligator*, *anorak*, *baseball*, *basketball*, *bus*, *disco*, *fairny*, *golf*, *helicopter*, *hobby*, *hokej*, *interview*, *jeans*, *kanu*, *keks*, *lift*, *partner*, *piknik*, *pulower*, *reporter*, *rowdy*, *šampun*, *slogan*, *sport*, *start*, *tabu*, *tenis*, *test*, *toast*, *traktor*, *trend*, *t-shirt*, *tunl*, *wagon*. Almost as frequent are the following lexemes: *baby, bara*, *blidotenis*, *bos*, *camping*, *cent*, *charterowy, cowboy, design*, *designer*, *dollar*, *esej*, *fan*, *farma*, *firma*, *fit*, *fitness*, *fulm*, *hot dog*, *import*, *inch*, *jazz*, *job*, *kenguruh*, *keyboard*, *klub*, *lady*, *layout*, *lord*, *manager*, *medije*, *mikrofon*, *okay*, *party*, *pony*, *poster*, *punt*, *rugby*, *shortsy*, *slum*, *squash*, *steak*, *teenager*, *tramwajka*, *volleyball*, *whisky*. On the other hand, many an Anglicism is registered only once, for example: *chipsy*, *cornflakes*, *species*, *shake* (*SEESD*); *clan*, *cracker*, *cutter*, *flanel*, *freak*, *gag*, *jumbojet*, *smog*, *speedway*, *sterling*, *unca, yuppie* (*HJS*); *Halloween*, *inlineskaty*, *monster* (*JSSZŠ*); *kiwi*, *linolej*, *spleen*, *tweed*, *wigwam* (*JHŠS*).

[1] In comparison *Wot A do Ž. Słowničk za zakładnu šulu* (Langerowa, Šołćina 2007) inlcudes 32 Anglicisms.

As far as English borrowings are concerned it is not surprising that the vast majority of the headwords are nouns, followed by adjectives and verbs, with other classes being extremely rare amongst the borrowed lexical units (cf. Onysko 2004: 61; Kowner, Rosenhouse 2008: 12). The dictionaries reflect this tendency very well: they contain 84% of nouns, 10% of adjectives and 6% of verbs, of which some examples are listed below.[2] The high percentage of adjectives in comparison with verbs is a result of the application of derivational processes to English bases, and such derivatives are counted in this analysis as borrowings as well. Adverbial/adjectival elements are represented by *okay*, and *hi* is classified as a borrowed interjection. Not all the dictionaries register all the major parts of speech, for example, *JSSZŠ* does not list any verbs.

HJS: nouns: *anorak*, *album*, *bojkot*, *clown*, *tiket*; adjectives: *crossowy*, *fair*, *golfowy*, *wirtualny* verbs: *bluffować*, *boksować*, *campingować*, *padlować*, *sprintować*, *šampunować*, *šarterować*.

JHŠS: nouns: *baby*, *bikini*, *bos*, *bypass*, *derby*, *email*, adjectives: *fitnessowy*, *hobbyjowy*, *recyclujomny*, *sportowy*, *zoomowy*; verbs: *boykottować*, *charterować*, *faksować*, *kidnapować*, *klonować*.

SEESD: nouns: *broiler*, *camping*, *cent*, *cowboy*, *designer*, *hamburger*, *inch*, verbs: *interviewować*, *managować*, *padlować*, *picknikować*; adjectives: *fit*.

JSSZŠ: nouns: *comic*, *keks*, *kompjuter*, *monster*, *poster*, *snowboard*, *šampun;* adjectives*: busowy*, *cejdejkowy*, *comicowy*, *kompjuterowy*, *tenisowy*.

The selection of Anglicisms for this analysis included all types of words, both monomorphemic and multimorphemic, including compound words. In my material there are no formulaic expressions, which the dictionaries in question fail to register. It has to be noted that certain Anglicisms appear in many open collocations in the dictionaries yet not as headwords or equivalents of the headwords, for example, *denim – jeansowy płat* (*HJS*), *contact lenses – kontakne čoćki* (*JHŠS*).

Simple words are illustrated by, for example, *acre*, *baby*, *bob*, *bos*, *clown*, *comic*, *dress*, *fair*, *fan*, *freak*, *gin*, *sprint* and others. Complex words can be exemplified as follows: *bowling*, *camping*, *gangster*, *komputer*, *kontejner*, *manager*, *rewolwer* and many others. The following are examples of compound words: *babysitter*, *barkeeper*, *basketball*, *baseball*, *cornflakes*, *countdown*, *cowboy*, *gentleman*, *grapefruit*, *hot dog*, *know-how*.

These examples represent Anglicisms in the dictionaries in their original forms. Nevertheless, the lexicons show examples of multimorphemic lexical items derived according to Upper Sorbian word formation rules. Such words are derived either from simple or complex words in English, for example, *comicowy* (US *comic* < Eng. *comic* + US. *-owy*), *editěrować* (US. *editěr* < Eng. *edit* + US. *-ować*), *eksportować* (US. *export* < Eng. *export* + US. *-ować*), fairność (US. *fair* < Eng. *fair* + US. *-ny*, *-ość*), *grilowanje* (US. *gril* < Eng. *grill* + US. *-ować*, *-nje*).

[2] The statistics presented here confirm my observations (Szpila [forthcoming]) concerning the use of Anglicisms in the Upper Sorbian press in the years 2013–2015.

The vast majority of the words are borrowings, that is lexemes represented in the lexicons either in their original forms or adapted shapes. Another category are calques and semi-calques created on the basis of English lexical items (cf. Obara 1989) and reinforced by their German calqued or semi-calqued counterparts. Calquing is considered the other major source of new elements in a language (cf. Onysko, Winter-Froemel 2011: 1552), but examples of calquing and semi-calquing in the dictionaries are rare, although the following do exist (some can be classified as phraseological calques and semi-calques): *charterowy lět* (Eng. *charter flight*), *coologiska zahroda* (Eng. *zoological garden*, *zoo*), *hodowy pudding* (Eng. *Christmas pudding*), *podłoha za myšku* (Eng. *mousepad*), *tenisowy hrajer* (Eng. *tennis player*), *popsĕw* (Eng. *pop song*), *pophudźba* (Eng. *pop music*), *kameramuž* (Eng.*cameraman*), *mikrožołma* (Eng. *microwave*), *wirtuelna realita* (Eng. *virtual reality*), *kisały dešć* (Eng. *acid rain*) as well as *pfadfinder* (Eng. *pathfinder*), which is a borrowed calque from German (Germ. der *Pfadfinder*). I found only one pseudo-Anglicism in the dictionary – *handy* – a classic example of this type of creation in German is also used in Upper Sorbian.

The collected words can be classified into various thematic classes, representing the domains which make use of English words in the process of nomination (Kleparski 2001: 22; Kovács 2008: 181). English borrowings in a foreign language can be grouped into many different thematic categories of which I have chosen only a few, those which to my mind best represent the lexical domains most significantly affected by English in the four dictionaries. My observations concerning the vocabulary domains with English loanwords confirm Völke's (2006: 38) remark that in Upper Sorbian we can find new lexical items of foreign origin in arguably all lexical fields.

Sport: *aerobika*, *badminton*, *baseball*, *basketball*, *blidotenis*, *bob*, *bokser*, *bowling*, *derby*, *golf*, *hokej*, *krawl*, *kriket*, *rugby*, *skateboard*, *squash*, *surfowar*.
Clothes: *bikini*, *blazer*, *dress*, *jeansy*, *kilt*, *overall*, *pulower*, *pyjama*, *shorts*, *slip*, *t-shirt*.
Transport: *awtobus*, *jeep*, *jumbojet*, *lokomotiwa*, *tramwajka*, *trolleybus*, *wagon*.
Technology: *byte*, *cejdejka*, *email*, *hacker*, *harddisk*, *hardware*, *high-techowy*, *internet*, *joystick*, *kompjuter*, *layout*, *monitor*, *notebook*, *online*, *processor*, *software*.
Music and entertainment: *bas*, *disco*, *film*, *jazz*, *musical*, *reggae*, *rock*, *rum*.
Food and drink: *biskwit*, *chipsy*, coca-cola, *cornflakes*, *curry*, *drink*, *gin*, *grapefruit*, *hamburger*, *pudding*, *hot dog*, *keks*, *ketchup*, *kiwi*, *popcorn*, *porridge*, *roastbeef*, *steak*, *toast*, *whisky*.
Lifestyle: *fitness*, *Halloween*, *hippy*, *hobby*, *hooligan*, *party*, *piknik*, *rowdy*, *skinhead*, *yuppie*.

Microstructure

As was the case with the megastructure and macrostructure, the dictionaries do not differ much from one another when it comes to the form of their microstructure. Although *Jendźelsko-serbski słowničk za zakładnu šulu* always provides each

headword with example sentences in English and Upper Sorbian (for example, *Ćeta Lizzy, wuj Bill a baby bydla na burskim statoku*, *Widźiš poster mojeje najlubšeje popoweje skupiny*, *Dźensa snědam toast*), this feature is entirely absent from *SEESD* and only occasionally appears in the other two dictionaries (for example, *Zličbowanki so wšě z kompjuterom pisaja* in *JHŠS*).

The entries in the four dictionaries provide equivalents, occasionally together with a periphrastic semantic explication of the concepts. *JHŠS* is the only lexicon that includes information concerning the pronunciation of English words as headwords. The entries may contain a certain amount of grammatical information and collocations, but the English borrowings as mentioned earlier are not treated as a special category of words, hence their entries are only as informative as the other entries.

In Wornar's dictionary we encounter an interesting lexicographic situation. For some Anglicisms the author provides extended definitions, which hardly function as translational equivalents. The case in point is the lexeme *adapter*, which has the following explanation: "tykač z wjacorymi móžnosćemi přizamknjenja" for the meaning of 'a device for connecting two parts, such as plug' (Stone adduces the Anglicism *adapter/adaptor* in the sense of 'record player'). This is surprising as *Prawopisny słownik hornjoserbskeje rěče* (Völkel 2005) and *Deutsch obersorbisches Wörterbuch neuer Lexik* (Jentsch, Pohontsch, Schulz 2006) no longer distinguish the two meanings and introduce the Anglicism for both senses. Similarly, Wornar does not register the Upper Sorbian *baby* as an equivalent for *baby* despite its presence in many a Sorbian dictionary. This strategy may be explained by the prescriptive approach to using foreign lexical items to the detriment of native vocabulary (cf. the lack of *bachelor*, *bike*, *box*). However, it may lead to situations when English loanwords are registered as equivalents of words other than their English etymons, for example, *blancmange* is translated as *puding*, but *pudding* only as *dessert* and *pojědź*; *mikser* is paired with the English *blender* but not with *mixer* ("kuchinska mašina"). Another reason may be simply that with the vocabulary of Upper Sorbian changing so rapidly the dictionary makers hesitate to include Anglicisms for fear that the latter might be ephemeral borrowings and so not merit a place in a lexicon.

Pronunciation

It is impossible to establish the way English words are pronounced by native speakers of Upper Sorbian by analysing the Anglicisms in the four dictionaries: they do not contain information about the pronunciation of Anglicisms (they may give the pronunciation of English words as headwords). The only information pertaining to the issue of phonetic assimilation may be obtained from the spelling of Anglicisms which in some cases – it may be assumed – reflects their pronunciation. In other cases we have to take that bilingual speakers of German and Upper Sorbian follow the German pronunciation of English loanwords. The spelling of well-established Anglicisms, as mentioned, suggests their pronunciation, for example: *biskwit*, *bojkot*, *kontejner*, *kompjuter*, *ketčup*, *krawl*, *kwis*, *hokej*, *pulower*, *skawt*, *skeč*, *šampun*, *šarter*,

šerif. However, it remains to be ascertained if the accent of the English counterparts has changed or not and if so, how. It has to be said that because the spelling is not consistent (for instance, *ketchup*, *container* and others) we cannot be sure either if the pronunciation changes alongside the change in graphic shape simply by looking at the dictionaries.

Spelling

As far as the spelling of Anglicisms is concerned, we observe that English loanwords either retain their original spelling (the vast majority) or change to adhere to the spelling rules of Upper Sorbian, in which case the graphic adaptation reflects also the assimilation on a phonetic level (see above): *dźungl*, *faks*, *skeč*, *šampun*, *skeč*, in which English sounds are replaced by Sorbian phonemes (for instance: /ʤ/, /ʧ/, /ʃ/ > /dź/, /č/, /š/). The changes are conditioned by the correspondence between letters and sounds in Sorbian (for example: "c" = /ts/) as well as by the non-existence of certain letters or combinations thereof in the target language (for instance: "ph", "x"). The main processes regarding orthographic adaptation amongst Anglicisms in the selected material are as follows:

- Replacement of letters: *bokser*, *kompjuter*, *kombajn*, *koncern*, *klawn*;
- Elimination of double letters: *bas*, *bos*;
- Reduction in clusters of letters: *ticket*, *gril*, *hokej*, *joker*, *trick*;
- Lower case spelling: *aids*, *american football*, *internet*;
- Elimination of hyphenation or solid spelling: *comicstrip*, *jumbojet*, *soapopera*, *widejohra*, *widejorekorder*.

We should note at this point that the dictionaries discussed here may provide two versions of the orthographic forms, such as *kwisowy*/*quizowy*, *charterowy*/*šarterowy*, *esej*/*essay* (*SEESD*), whereas elsewhere they reflect the alternative spellings in English itself, such as *hot dog* vs. *hotdog*, and finally different dictionaries may even vary in the way they register the spelling of Anglicisms: *biscuit* (*HJS*) vs. *biskwit* (*JHŠS*), *boycott* in *HJS* vs. *bojkot* (*JHŠS*), *scout* (*SEESD*) vs. *skawt* (*HJS*). The four dictionaries eloquently demonstrate that the spelling of some Anglicisms is not standardized into one form only (*container*/*kontejner*, *computer*/*kompjuter*/*komputer*, *volleyball*/*wolejbul*) but otherwise adaptation on the orthographic level seems regular and predictable.

Morphology

The four dictionaries provide scant information regarding the grammatical aspects of Anglicisms. The grammatical sections of the entries are limited or non-existent (*JSSZŠ*), although two dictionaries *JHŠS* and *HJS* provide grammatical

information about the gender and inflection of the headwords, including those which are Anglicisms (in *SEESD* the grammatical information is random and occasionally erroneous). As far as Anglicisms are concerned, the headwords provide information concerning parts of speech, gender and inflection. The part of speech is assigned indirectly in *HJS* as nouns are described in terms of gender (for example, *bas*, *bokser*, *bulldozer* are masculine nouns; *hostess*, *jachta* and *padla* are feminine nouns; *bluffować*, *boksować* and *campingować* are verbs); in *JHŠS* the grammatical information is available only for English headwords and not for the equivalents, but it is direct. There is also information regarding inflection: the open classes are crossreferenced with the inflectional paradigms of the outer matter of *HJS* but in the case of uninflected nouns or adjectives the information is provided in the microstructure of the headwords, for example: *fair* and *jury* are classified as indeclinable.

The derivatives automatically imply the declinability of forms, which can be observed in the case of nouns, adjectives and verbs: *campingowaniśćo*, *fairnosć*, *startowc*; *busowy*, *centowy*, *comicowy*, *crossowy*, *fitnesowy*, *golfowy*, *hobbyjowy*, *njefairny*, *padlowy*; *bluffować*, *boksować, joggować*, *toastować*. Derivation concerns adjectives (and in consequence adverbs) and verbs. Nouns are borrowed without the necessary prefixal-suffixal formatives unless further semantic senses are to be derived, such as feminine nouns from English genderless nouns, for example, *designer/designerka, partner/partnerka, reporter/reporterka, steward/stewardka*. Surprisingly, such feminine derivatives are extremely rare in the lexicons analyzed. We can only speculate about the grammatical features of other forms, as no grammatical information is provided. Therefore, Anglicisms such as *cool* and *fit* which do not bear Upper Sorbian derivational suffixes could be treated as indeclinable, which in fact they are. Other features can be ascribed to Anglicisms only on the basis of the grammatical (inflectional and gender) system of Upper Sorbian.

In the material I noted only two specific examples concerning the morphological process of adaptation, namely the process of the deplurization of nouns, which involves ignoring the original plural suffix and adding a native marker of plurality, and examples include: *chipsy*, *jeansy*, *legginsy* and *shortsy* (but cf. *jeans* in *SEESD* and *shorts* in *JHŠS*). The reverse process can be exemplified by dint of the lexemes *pyjama* and *overall*, whereby the English plural suffix is eliminated.

Semantics

The dictionaries discussed are typical bilingual dictionaries in that they provide only synonyms for the headwords. The equivalents when English words are headwords are almost always corresponding Anglicisms in Upper Sorbian, for example: *hamburger – hamburger*, *lobby – lobby*, *volleyball – volleyball* in *SEESD*, if, that is, Upper Sorbian has a borrowing as an equivalent (but cf. *cider – jabłukowe wino* in *HJS*). Occasionally, English words may be translated by means of another English word as an Anglicism, for example: *briefs – slip*, *hooligan – rowdy*, *rollerblade – inliner* (*HJS*).

It should be noted that recent dictionaries have introduced other equivalents for the above words, for example, *Deutsch-obersorbisches Wörterbuch neuer Lexik* (2006) cites *hooligan* as an Anglicism in Upper Sorbian. The dictionaries are not consistent in registering Anglicisms, as some provide them as equivalents, other do not, preferring to suggest native words as counterparts: cf. *babysitter – hladar/ka*, *dohladowar/ka dźěći* in *SEESD* vs. *babysitter – babysitter* in *HJS*.

English lexical items are usually provided with only one equivalent (Anglicism), but in some cases they are given more than one; that is, apart from an Anglicism the dictionaries list Upper Sorbian lexemes as counterparts, for example: *babysitter – babysitter*, *pěstońca*; *canoe – padlowanski čołm*, *kanu*; *clan – clan*, *wulkoswójba*; *layout – layout*, *naćisk*; *sticker – nalěpk*, *sticker* (*HJS*); *band – kapała*, *hercy*, *band*; *baby – ćěšenk* (*SEESD*). Naturally, more equivalents appear when the English words are polysemous, as is the case with *trip – jězba*, *wulět*, *pućowanje*; *trip*; *zakopnjenje*. It may happen that one English word is paired with different equivalents, each of which contain an Anglicism, the case in point being *comic* which is translated as *comic* and *comicowy zešiwk* in *JSSZŠ*, *comic*, *comicstrip* in *JHŠS*, and additionally as *comic-zešiwk* in *SEESD*.

In very infrequent cases English words and Anglicisms are additionally explained in differing ways, for example: *AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome)*; *derby – derby (tradicionelne konjace wubědźowanje)*; *squash – (hra) squash*; *kilt – šotiska muska suknja*; *know-how – praktisko-techniska wěda, nazhonjenja* (*SEESD*); *sterling (britiski měnowy system) sterling* (*HJS*).

In each case the meaning of the headword is clearly conveyed. A problem only presents itself when English might have influenced the existing words of foreign origin in Upper Sorbian by extending their senses, which is illustrated by *album – album* (*HJS*); *pirate – pirat* and *virus – wirus* (*SEEED*), a fact which is not mentioned in the dictionaries. In such cases it is not certain which sense of the English word the Upper Sorbian lexeme may have and if and how the words have enriched their semantics in the way, for example, Polish lexemes have under the influence of English (but in *JHŠS virus – wirus* is in the medical sense only). Similarly, some polysemous senses of Anglicisms are not registered, as in *application – pisomna prózstwa*, *nałožowanje* (*HJS*), where another sense of *application* (*aplikacija*) is not registered. The explanation may be quite simple yet at the same time informative, because we may assume that the dictionaries did not register some senses as they were not present among Upper Sorbian words at the time of the compilation of the dictionaries.

Semantically speaking, the dictionaries under scrutiny also provide examples of neo-semantization/anglosemantization of native Upper Sorbian words, that is a modification of the lexemic senses due to the influence of foreign words (cf. Witalisz 2007: 17). The most frequently adduced example of the influence of the semantics of *net* and *mouse* upon other languages is eloquently registered in the dictionaries. According to the lexicons, the Upper Sorbian words *syć* (as an equivalent of *web* vs. *pawčina* in *JHŠS*) and *myška* (in *podłoha za myšku* in *JSSZŠ*) have broadened their meanings to cover the assimilated senses of their English counterparts.

Conclusion

The analyzed dictionaries show the presence of English loanwords in the vocabulary of Upper Sorbian, thanks to which we can establish a significant number of Anglicism in the language and observe the adaptation processes. Due to the lack of exhaustive information, however, we cannot fully account for the nature of these processes in Upper Sorbian: the dictionaries do not include phonetic information about the pronunciation of English borrowings, the information about inflection and gender assignment is too limited and the precise semantic descriptions of the borrowed items could be extended. In assessing the assimilation of English lexical items in Upper Sorbian we have to rely on the general nature of the adaptation processes in borrowings and resort to a knowledge of German and Upper Sorbian. Such an analysis of English loanwords in the selected Upper Sorbian – English / English – Upper Sorbian dictionaries allows us not only to determine the number of Anglicisms in this Slavonic language, the processes of adaptation in operation, but also to ascertain their diachronic development and presentation in Sorbian lexicography, as well as to compare the lexicographic description of Anglicisms with their actual use. Lexicographic analyses of English borrowings in Upper Sorbian provide material for an examination of the assimilation of English words in closely related tongues (Upper vs. Lower Sorbian) as well as for comparative studies of Anglicisms in Upper Sorbian and English borrowings in other Slavonic languages.

References

HJS = Stone G. 2002. *Hornjoserbsko-jendźelski słownik*. Budyšin.
JHŠS = Wornar E. 2007. *Jendźelsko-hornjoserbski šulski słownik*. Budyšin.
JSSZŠ = Richardson K. 2009. *Jendźelsko-serbski słowničk za zakładnu šulu*. [transl. Karichowa A.]. Budyšin.
SEESD = Strauch M. 2000. *Sorbian [Wendish]-English / English-Sorbian [Wendish]*. New York.

Adamska-Sałaciak A. 2013. Issues in compiling bilingual dictionaries. – Jackson H. (ed.). *The Bloomsbury companion to lexicography*. London: 213–231.

Faska H. (ed.). 1998. *Serbšćina*. Opole.

Filipovič R. 1974. A contribution to the method of stuyding Anglicisms in European languages. – *Studia Romanica et Anglica Zagrabiensia* 37: 135–148.

Furiassi C. 2003. False Anglicisms in Italian monolingual dictionaries: A case study of some electronic editions. – *International Journal of Lexicography* 61.2: 121–142.

Görlach M. (ed.). 2005. *A dictionary of European Anglicisms*. Oxford.

Jentsch H., Pohontsch A., Schulz J. 2006. *Deutsch-obersorbisches Wörterbuch neuer Lexik*. Bautzen.

Kleparski G.A. 2001. Angielskie zapożyczenia leksykalne w języku polskim i niektóre problemy ich adaptacji. – *Zeszyty Naukowe Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Rzeszowie 42. Studia Anglica Resoviensia* 2: 18–28.

Kovács É. 2008. On the integration of Anglicisms into Present-Day German. – *Eger Journal of English Studies* 8: 75–92.

Kowner T., Rosenhouse J. 2008. The hegemony of English and determinants of borrowing from its vocabulary. – Rosenhouse J., Kowner R. (eds.). *Globally speaking: Motives for adopting English vocabulary in other languages*. Clevendon: 4–19.
Langerowa A., Šołćina B. 2007. *Wot A do Ž. Słowničk za zakładnu šulu*. Budyšin.
Obara J. 1989. *Teoretyczne problemy kalkowania*. Wrocław.
Onysko A. 2004. Anglicisms in German: From iniquitous to ubiquitous? – *English Today* 1: 59–64.
Onysko A., Winter-Froemel E. 2011. Necessary loans – luxury loans? Exploring the pragmatic dimension of borrowing. – *Journal of Pragmatics* 43: 1550–1567.
Szpila G. [forthcoming]. Zapożyczenia angielskie we współczesnym pisanym języku łużyckim.
Völke S. 2006. Aktualne tendencje rozwojowe w górnołużyckim języku literackim. – *Zeszyty Łużyckie* 39/40: 37–49.
Völkel P. 2005. *Prawopisny słownik hornjoserbskeje rěče*. Budyšin.
Wanzeck C. 2010. *Lexikologie*. Göttingen.
Witalisz A. 2007. Z problematyki badań nad zapożyczeniami semantycznymi. – *Język Polski* 87.1: 16–23.