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English/German Bilingual Lexicography in the Nineteenth Century

1 Introduction

Bilingual dictionaries are potentially valuable but thus far largely overlooked witnesses of historical multilingualism – including aspects such as language contact (e. g. borrowings), the history of language learning and teaching, and the dissemination of language attitudes and ideologies – as well as important sources for the history of intercultural exchange and cultural appreciation. Just as monolingual dictionaries were part of the story of national and nation-building philological traditions, so more recent transnational and multilingual approaches to European and global history now invite us to examine the history of bilingual dictionaries too. The English/German lexicographical tradition began in the eighteenth century, relatively late compared to some other language pairings, with two dictionaries by Christian Ludwig in 1706 and 1716,[1] and the output remained modest until the late eighteenth century.[2] However, as we shall see below, the nineteenth century saw considerable expansion, diversification, and maturation. Hausmann and Cop attributed the expansion to three factors: Queen Victoria's 1840 marriage to Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, refreshing the dynastic connection between Britain and Germany (established when the Hanoverian George I took the British throne in 1714); industrialized Great Britain's growing global dominance; and the growth of the United States as a country in which English was firmly established and to which many Germans migrated in the nineteenth century.[3] To those factors we must add the establishment of Ger-

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1 Christian Ludwig, *A dictionary English, German, and French [...]* (Leipzig: bey Thomas Fritschen, 1706); Christian Ludwig, *Teutsch–Englisches Lexicon [...]* (Leipzig: bey Thomas Fritschen, 1716). See Nicola McLelland, "Christian Ludwig (1660–1728) and the beginnings of German/English lexicography", *Oxford German Studies* [online first] (2024), pp. 1–25, DOI: 10.1080/ 00787191. 2024.2313897. Note that I use "English/German" as a general term for bilingual dictionaries of the two languages; "English–German" refers to dictionaries from English to German (i. e. with English lemmas, German equivalents), and "German–English" to the reverse.

2 See McLelland, "Christian Ludwig", for a detailed account.

3 Franz Josef Hausmann and Margaret Cop, "Short History of English–German Lexicography", in *Symposium on Lexicography II. Proceedings of the 2nd International Symposium on Lexico-*

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man as the second foreign language in British schools, so that German became, with French, one of two 'modern' languages available as subjects in the school-leavers' examinations first administered in the late 1850s; and the introduction of German in the growing university sector.[4] (English was already available in most German universities by 1800.)[5] Figures 1 and 2 summarize the growth in this dictionary market up to 1850, both in the number of dictionaries published (Fig. 1) and in the growing number of publications outside Germany: first in London, later also in the United States (Fig. 2). The Figures, based on my working bibliography and taking into account both new works and re-editions of previously published dictionaries, are unlikely to be exhaustive for the years 1800–1850. Nevertheless, Figure 1 demonstrates strong growth, with 45 dictionaries in the first half of the nineteenth century – there had been just four in the first half of the eighteenth century, and 22 in its second half; of those, eleven appeared in the 1790s.

graphy, ed. by K. Hyldgaard-Jensen and Arne Zettersten (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1985), pp. 183–197 (p. 189).

4 Nicola McLelland, "German as a Foreign Language in Britain – The history of German of a 'useful' language since 1600, *Angermion*, 8 (2015), pp. 1–34.

5 Nicola McLelland, *German Through English Eyes: A History of Language Teaching and Learning in Britain, 1500–2000* (Berlin: Harrassowitz, 2015), pp. 78–84; Matilde Gallardo and Nicola McLelland, "A historical introduction to the development of Language Teaching and Learning in Higher Education in England: Spanish as a case study ", *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Historiografía Lingüística, SEHL* 18 (to appear 2024); Friederike Klippel, "The History of English Instruction in the German-Speaking World", in *English in the German-Speaking World*, ed. by Raymond Hickey (Cambridge: CUP, 2020), pp. 77–95 (pp. 80–84).
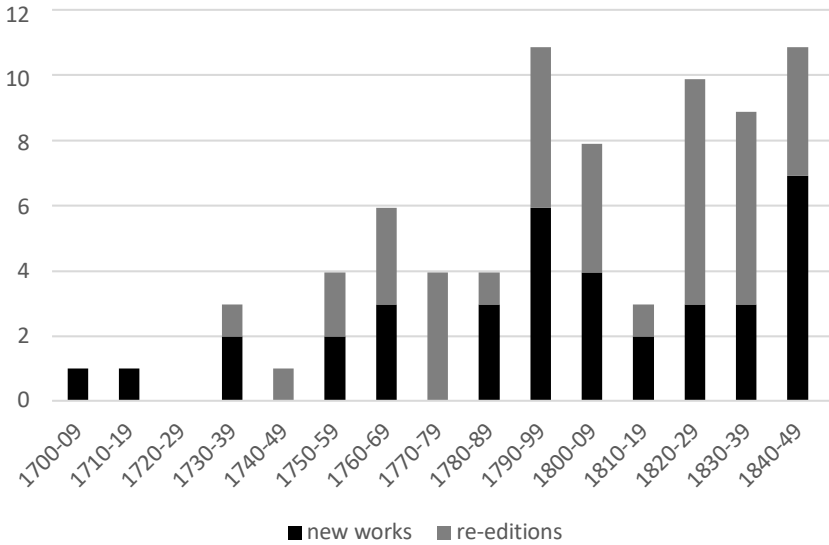
Fig. 1: Publication dates of bilingual English/German dictionaries 1700–1850 by decade (Multi-volume works by a single compiler are counted once, and where the volumes straddle more than one decade, they are counted as belonging to the earlier decade.)

The slow start, followed by an acceleration around the middle of the eighteenth century, aligns with Fabian's figures on the growth of a German readership for English *belles lettres* and wider humanistic literature (both in the original and in translations).[6] Leipzig, as the main centre of publication in Germany and home to more than 70 publishers of humanistic literature (Fabian 1977), was also the centre of dictionary publishing (see Fig. 2). The Gleditsch firm, which published 88 translations from English between 1732 and 1800,[7] also published seven English/German bilingual dictionaries in the period up to 1849, all of them reprints and/or revisions of the dictionaries of Christian Ludwig (himself based in Leipzig) first published in 1706 and 1716 by Thomas Fritsch, a stepson of one of the Gleditsch publishing family. The most prolific publisher in this dictionary market

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6 Bernhard Fabian, "English Books and Their Eighteenth-Century German Readers", in *The Widening Circle: Essays on the Circulation of Literature in Eighteenth-Century Europe*, ed. by Paul J. Korshin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), pp. 117–196.

7 Fabian, "English Books", p. 132.

was Waisenhaus / Frommann, [8] with a total of 14 dictionaries published between 1761 and 1822, all of them reprints and revisions of the English–German and German–English dictionaries of another Leipzig-based lexicographer, Theodor Arnold (published in 1736 and 1739), and of his *Compleat Vocabulary*, which first appeared with the publisher Gross, bought by Frommann in 1759. As British interest in German and Germany grew, Schade's *Taschenwörterbuch* seems to be the first English/German dictionary published outside Germany, appearing in both Leipzig and London in 1797. In America, the first English/German dictionaries were published in Philadelphia in 1834 and 1849, a development to which I return below.
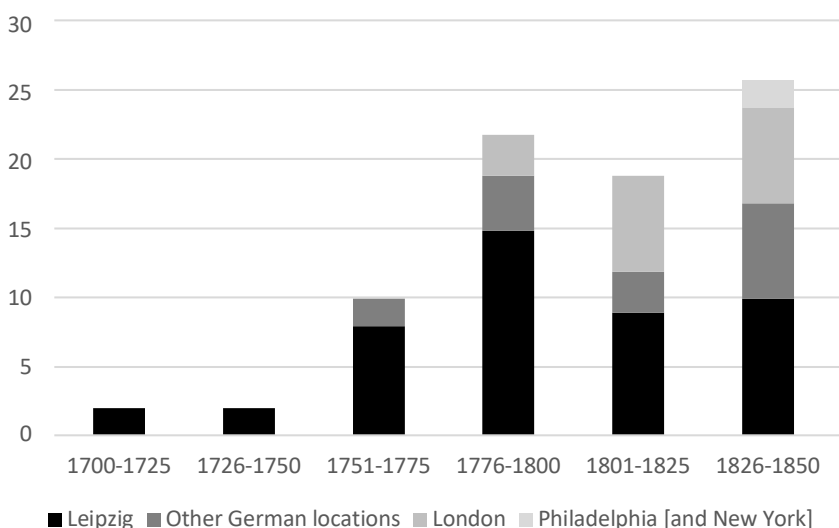

Fig. 2: Places of publication of English/German dictionaries, 1700–1850 (Multi-volume works by a single compiler are counted once, and where the volumes straddle more than one decade, they are counted as belonging to the earlier decade.)

8 Frommann worked for the Waisenhaus publishing company from its beginnings in the 1720s, and had a stake in the business from 1759. See Brigitte Klosterberg, Anke Mies, and Helene Jung, *Bibliographie der Drucke des Waisenhaus-Verlags in Züllichau (1729–1740)* (Halle: Francke Stiftung, n. d.), p. 1.

In the eighteenth century, nearly all English/German lexicographers were teachers of English in Germany.[9] The initial predominance in the market of German users of dictionaries (rather than English-speaking students of German) is evident in the dictionary page counts too. The number of new English–German dictionary pages produced by the first four lexicographers up to 1790 (Ludwig, Arnold, Prager and Adelung) is some 5000 pages, compared to only around 2500 of German–English.[10] This makes the three-thousand page, three-volume German–English dictionary produced by Johannes Ebers at the end of the century (1796–1798) – the first explicitly intended to cater to the needs of English users – an all the more significant landmark. That work also exceeded Ebers' own two-volume English–German dictionary of 1793–1794 by more than a thousand pages.

Hausmann and Cop note the publication of seven "comprehensive dictionaries" over the nineteenth century:[11]

1. The 1830 *Vollständiges Englisch–Deutsches und Deutsch–Englisches Wörterbuch* of Johann Gottfried Flügel, its German–English volume in fact delegated by Flügel to Johann Sporschil. The 1841 *Complete Dictionary* of Feiling &

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9 Ludwig, Theodor Arnold, John Bartholomew Rogler, and Johannes Ebers all taught English, and they published grammars of English for German, as did Johann Christian Prager; Johann Anton Fahrenkrüger likewise taught languages. On their biographies, see Konrad Schröder, *Biographisches und bibliographisches Lexikon der Fremdsprachenlehrer des deutschsprachigen Raumes, Spätmittelalter bis 1800* (6 vols.) (Augsburg: Universität Augsburg, 1987–2001): on Ludwig, vol. 3, pp. 136f.; on Arnold, vol. 1, pp. 131f.; on Ebers, vol. 2, pp. 55–57; on Fahrenkrüger, vol. 2, pp. 80f.; on Prager, vol. 3, pp. 333f.; on Rogler, vol. 4, pp. 46f.; and see Herbert F. Brekle et al. (eds.), *Bio-bibliographisches Handbuch zur Sprachwissenschaft des 18. Jahrhunderts. Die Grammatiker, Lexikographen und Sprachtheoretiker des deutschsprachigen Raums mit Beschreibungen ihrer Werke* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1992–2010): on Arnold, vol. 1, pp. 102–108; on Ludwig vol. 5, pp. 382–388; on Ebers, vol. 1, pp. 313–319; on Rogler, vol. 7, pp. 212–217; and on Prager, vol. 7, pp. 83–86.
10 Figures are approximate, as pages are not numbered in Arnold's 1739 German–English dictionary; where numbering is by columns rather than pages, totals have been halved as appropriate. These figures take into account only the first editions of the dictionaries of Ludwig, Arnold, Prager, and Adelung (described in more detail in Nicola McLelland, "English/German bilingual dictionaries in the eighteenth century: an overview", accepted, to appear in *Dictionaries. Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America*, to which the reader is also referred for bibliographical details of these eighteenth-century dictionaries).
11 Hausmann and Cop, "Short History", p. 189. For bibliographical details of the dictionaries, see the Appendix.

Heimann, and Adler's 1849 *Dictionary of the German and English Languages*, are largely based on this;[12]

2. The 1891 *Universal English–German and German–English Dictionary*, which was a complete re-edition of the Flügel dictionary by his son Felix Flügel;

3. Christoph Grieb's 1842 *English–Deutsches und Deutsch–Englisches Wörterbuch*. Grieb was accused by Johann Gottfried Flügel of shameless plagiarism of Flügel's work in a furious pamphlet published in 1843;[13]

4. The re-working of Grieb's dictionary by Arnold Schröer (1894–1902), published 1894–1898 as *Christoph Fr. Grieb's Englisch–Deutsches und Deutsch–Englisches Wörterbuch*;

5. Joseph Leonhard Hilpert's *Dictionary of the English and German languages*, whose first volume appeared in 1828, the second produced after Hilpert's death by a number of compilers in 1845;

6. Newton Ivory Lucas's relatively short-lived *Englisch–deutsches und deutsch–englisches Wörterbuch*, in two volumes (1855, 1868);

7. The 1891 *Encyklopädisches Englisch–Deutsches und Deutsch–Englisches Wörterbuch,* the joint effort of Eduard Muret and Daniel Sanders, completed after more than thirty years' collaboration, and which remained a reference point for decades.

Not included in Hausmann and Cop's list are the nevertheless substantial two-volume dictionaries of Johann Christian Fick (*Vollständiges englisch–deutsches und deutsch–englisches Lexicon*, 1802) and the *Neues vollständiges grammatisches Wörterbuch* of Friedrich Wilhelm Thieme (1844), the latter revised after Thieme's death by Emil Preußer in 1849. Many other dictionaries appeared too.

Aside from the useful but incomplete outline by Hausmann and Cop just cited, and Hartmann's inclusion of Adler's 1849 dictionary in his comparative study of cultural specificities in dictionaries, the corpus of nineteenth-century bilingual dictionaries has barely received any attention at all. Here, I address that gap with an overview of some 50 works, structured according to the following themes:

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12 Hausmann and Cop, "Short History", p. 193, n. 4. Flügel's name and that of his son are variously spelled *Flügel* and *Fluegel* in catalogues and titles. I have used *Flügel* throughout,

13 Flügel was incensed at the "terrible plagiaries" ("arge[n] Plagiate") of his work by Grieb, who had used his work without any acknowledgement; Flügel furiously sought to reclaim his "literary property" ("literarisches Eigenthum") in Johann Gottfried Flügel, *Literarische Sympathien oder industrielle Buchmacherei. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der neueren englischen Lexikographie, nebst einem Vorwort von G. Hermann* (Leipzig: In Commission bei August Weichartdt, 1843), pp iv, 1.

1. Diversification of the market, including taking into account the needs of English-speaking dictionary users
2. Catering to commercial and technical needs
3. Foreign-word purism
4. Dictionaries and literature
5. America and English/German lexicography
6. The treatment of German pronunciation in dictionaries

Since this is the first such overview, I provide the full bibliographical references of all the English/German dictionaries discussed below for the period 1790–1900 in a single list in an Appendix, rather than scattered through footnotes. To avoid duplication, these works are therefore generally referred to in the main text and notes by author, short title, and, where appropriate, volume, even at first mention. Other primary and secondary sources are referenced in footnotes in the usual way.

Before proceeding, a caveat needs to be introduced concerning problems of attribution of some of the dictionaries mentioned. It is axiomatic – and entirely rational – that dictionary compilers copied from each other, in bilingual just as in monolingual dictionary-making.[14] This can make the attribution of lexicographical information to its originators difficult. In addition to this problem, however, the potentially lucrative dictionary market seems to have tempted publishers to play fast and loose with the identity of their dictionary compilers. Already in the late eighteenth century, Adelung was probably not the author of the second (1796) volume of the English–German dictionary which bears his name.[15] In the nineteenth century, the three-volume dictionary 'by' Carl Gottlob Küttner (1755–1805) and William Nicholson (1805–1813) is mysterious. Küttner died in 1805, years before the second and third volumes of the dictionary appeared, and his biographer Ratzel makes no mention of him having worked on such a dictio-

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14 "The best lexicographer was often the most discriminating plagiarist", noted De Witt T. Starnes and Gertrude Noyes, *The English dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson 1604–1755* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1946), p. 183. McConchie argued on the basis of case studies from early modern lexicography that those accused of plagiarism were "by and large thoughtful compilers and collators of dictionary material": R. W. McConchie, "'The Most Discriminating Plagiarist': The Unkindest Cut (and Paste) of All", in *Selected Proceedings of the 2012 Symposium on New Approaches in English Historical Lexis (HEL-LEX 3)*, ed. by R. W. McConchie et al. (Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, 2013), pp. 107–119 (p. 118).
15 Nicola McLelland, "Adelung's English–German dictionary (1783, 1796): its achievements and its relationship to the dictionaries of Samuel Johnson and Johannes Ebers", *Historiographia Linguistica* [online first] (2024), pp. 62–93, https://doi.org/10.1075/hl.00131.mcl.

nary.[16] The second named author, Nicholson, is known to have lent his name to publications in which he had no involvement; perhaps he did so here too.[17] Husbands raises similar doubts about Ferdinand Adolph/Adolph Ferdinand Weber (1794–1870), the ostensible compiler of an 1833 English/German pocket dictionary. Weber was, Husbands has ascertained, a "behind-the-scenes editor" for the publisher George Westermann of Braunschweig, who made a habit of assigning English- (or Welsh-) sounding names to anonymously compiled bilingual dictionaries, "apparently to increase marketability in the non-German country of the language pair" (in Husbands' words). Husbands hypothesizes that Weber – seemingly recommended by the publisher Bernard Tauchnitz to Georg Westermann as a ghost editor – was also behind the work supposedly edited by William Odell Elwell (1806–1895), *A New and Complete Dictionary of the English and German Languages* (1850, 2nd ed., 1851; 3rd ed., 1852);[18] and Weber was perhaps also the real figure behind William James, the supposed compiler of (among other bilingual dictionaries) a *Complete Dictionary of the English and German Languages for General Use* (1846).[19] We must, then, be careful to avoid making assumptions about dictionary authorship.

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16 Friedrich Ratzel, "Küttner, Karl Gottlob (1755–1805), Reiseschriftsteller", *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 17 (1883, online 2015), 443–444.

17 I rely here and in the remainder of this paragraph on Christopher Husbands' unpublished research of lexicographers' biographies, very kindly made available to me by him.

18 Husbands found, in unpublished research, that a Westermann advertisement in the sixteenth edition of what was purportedly Elwell's dictionary "covers eight individual dictionaries, four different modern languages, five language pairings, and eight purported compilers. Of these eight names, three were definitely invented; one (M A Thibaut) is a pseudonym of Johann Gottfried Haas (1737–1815), as noted in the British Library catalogue; see also Hamberger and Johann Georg Christoph Meusel, *Das gelehrte Teutschland*, 5th. ed., vol. 16 (Lemgo: im Verlag der Meyerschen Buchhandlung, 1812)".

19 Husbands was unable to identify a plausible candidate in English, Welsh, or German censuses; nor in relevant records in Leipzig, the seat of the publisher Bernard Tauchnitz (whose archives were, however, destroyed in a bombing raid on 3–4 December 1943).

2 Diversification of the Market, including Taking into Account the Needs of English-speaking Dictionary Users

Beside the various large dictionaries already noted in the Introduction above, the nineteenth century saw diversification in the size, scope and focus of English/ German dictionaries. The first dictionaries on the market had been quarto in size (those of Ludwig) or octavo (those of Arnold, Prager, and Ebers), but octavo size did not necessarily mean highly portable: the three volumes of Ebers' octavo German–English dictionary (1796–1799) added up to over 3300 pages. So Schulz's 1796 explicitly "pocket" dictionary in two 12º-sized volumes, intended for "travellers, merchants & lovers of both languages", seems to have been the first among a small flurry of pocket dictionaries that appeared over the following years.[20] Johannes Ebers also published a smaller, octavo two-volume bidirectional *Handwörterbuch* (in two volumes, 1800 and 1802), derived from his two large dictionaries (English–German 1793–94, German–English 1796–99).

Dictionary compilers also increasingly catered to a growing market among English speakers, compared to the eighteenth century, when users had justifiably largely been assumed to be Germans needing to make sense of English.[21] At the very end of the eighteenth century, Ebers had for the first time seriously taken into account English learners of German in his three-volume German–English dictionary.[22] A couple of decades later, William Render's 1814 *Complete pocket dictionary* – published in London, with a German–English part approaching twice the length of the English–German part (592 pages vs 370 pages) – was the first pocket dictionary to be aimed explicitly at English learners of German.[23] Hen-

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20 Schade's pocket dictionary, also 12º, appeared in 1797 (with a second edition in 1799, and a third edition 1805). The first volume of Ricklefs' octavo *Taschenwörterbuch* appeared in 1799. An anonymous trilingual octavo volume (including French) appeared with the publisher Schwickert in 1800 (reviewed in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Zeitung* 336 (1801)), and another in 12º size with Rabenhorst in 1800, revised by Martyni-Łaguna (?) in 1807, and by Henry Noehden in 1814 (see below). The mysterious F. A. Weber (see above) is ostensibly the author of a *New Complete Pocket-Dictionary* published in Leipzig and London in 1828. For these and for other dictionaries discussed below, full bibliographical details are given in the Appendix.

21 See McLelland, "English/German bilingual dictionaries".

22 Ebers, *New and Complete Dictionary*, *Vorbericht*, p. [i]. See McLelland, "Adelung", pp. 82f.

23 Render was a teacher of German in London; both Render and Henry Noehden (see below) had already published textbooks for learners of German; see McLelland, *German Through English Eyes*, pp. 65–76.

ry Noehden (1770–1826) was, like Render, a teacher of German to English speakers in London. Noehden lamented that his revision of Rabenhorst's 1800 pocket dictionary – published in 1814 and again in 1822 (with other editions in 1829 and 1836) – had taken almost two years, because previous dictionaries had generally been the work of Germans "for the service of their countrymen in learning English", and so the "purposes of Englishmen were not attended to". In the German–English part, Noehden found that nearly every entry required "a new definition and interpretation".[24] We might compare, for example, Rabenhorst's mere five English equivalents for *abkommen* with Noehden's 14, including the addition of the sense 'to enter into an accommodation or agreement', completely overlooked by Rabenhorst in 1800.

Like Render, Noehden also ensured that the German–English part was suitably full for English users (502 pages, similar in scope to the 479-page English–German part), compared to Rabenhorst, who originally offered a mere 146 pages, compared to 231 pages for the English–German part. Like Ebers, Noehden also systematically indicated the gender of noun lemmas in the German–English part; and in the English–German part, he supplied the definite article of German equivalents to indicate their gender, more consistently than Ebers had done. Mid-size school dictionaries also began to appear, such as Thieme's 1841 "Hand- and school-dictionary" or, rather later, the *Wörterbuch der Englischen und Deutschen Sprache für Hand- und Schulgebrauch* (1890), produced by Schmidt and Tanger based on Flügel's dictionary. Besides German and British compilers, American lexicographers also entered the market, initially with single-volume bidirectional dictionaries, to which I return below. The first, published by Mentz in 1841, was the work of unnamed compilers; Adler's 1849 dictionary was a descendant of Flügel's 1830 work; a third was published by linguist William Whitney in 1877. A bidirectional *Pocket Dictionary* by father and son Tafel & Tafel was also published in Philadelphia in 1870.

3 Catering to Commercial and Technical Needs

Apart from a wider range of size and scope, and the growing regard paid to English dictionary users, another change in the nineteenth century was the increasing attention paid to commercial and technical vocabulary. Trade was one of the oldest and most enduring reasons for language learning. Eighteenth-century lan-

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24 Noehden, *Rabenhorst's dictionary*, pp. if.

guage learning manuals catered to the needs of businesspeople with English–German sample business correspondence and model dialogues about buying and selling, for example.[25] Lexicographers do not seem to have sought to appeal to this market until the turn to the nineteenth century. In his preface to Ricklefs' 1799 pocket dictionary, J. J. Eschenburg made a point of noting that Nemnich's *Waaren-Lexicon* had been drawn on;[26] a review praised Ricklefs' work over many other pocket dictionaries, "hauptsächlich für die Bedürfnisses des commercirenden und professionirenden Publicums".[27] In the 1830s, Johann Gottfried Flügel published a trilingual commercial dictionary, the *Triglotte, oder, Kleines kaufmännisches Handwörterbuch in drei Sprachen* (1836–40, 2nd ed. 1854), noting "the progress and improvement in manufactures and commerce" and having, he said, felt the "great want of such a Commercial Dictionary" when compiling his trilingual guide to commercial correspondence.[28] The *Triglotte* entries are organized by headwords in English (vol. 1), French (vol. 2) and German (vol. 3). A great many – perhaps most – of the lemmas were admittedly familiar from general dictionaries (*abandon, aboard, accept*, etc.), but others were indeed more technical, e. g. "*Aak* (a kind of flat-bottomed lighter on the Rhine)" or "*Aam, ahm, ame, aum* (a liquid measure in Germany and Holland)". How many entries were indeed new terms, or new senses, emerging from progress in manufacture and commerce would require further investigation.

25 Pieter L. M. Loonen, *For to learne to buye and sell: learning English in the Low Dutch area between 1500 and 1800. A critical survey* (Amsterdam: APA-Holland University Press, 1991). Examples of model commercial letters are discussed in Nicola McLelland, "Briefe in Lehrwerken für englischsprachige Deutschlernende im achtzehnten Jahrhundert", in *Fremdsprachenlehrwerke in der Frühen Neuzeit: Perspektiven – Potentiale – Herausforderungen*, ed. by Julia Hübner and Horst Simon (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2021), pp. 49–65 (pp. 51–60).

26 Philipp Andreas Nemnich, *Waaren-Lexicon in 12 Sprachen* (Hamburg: n. p., 1797–1802). The English version was published as *Encyclopaedia of merchandise: comprising all the exports and imports of Great-Britain, her colonies and America* (London: printed for J. Johnson ... I. Remnant ... & W. Remnant in Hamburgh, 1799). On Nemnich's Waaren-Lexicon, see Przemysław Dębowiak, "Waaren-Lexicon de Ph. A. Nemnich (1797)", *Observações acerca do material português*, 134 (2018), pp. 264–281; Lucia Berti, "An international master key ot the languages of trade. Ph. A. Nemnich's Universal Dictionary of Merchandise", *Aevum*, 93 (2019): 773–98. Note also the later German–English *Universal-Lexicon der Englischen und Deutschen Handlungs-Correspondenz* (Hamburg: printed for P. A. Nemnich [and] sold by T. Boosey, London, by A. Constable, Edinburgh, 1815).

27 Anon., [review of] "F. R.: Neues vollständiges Taschenwörterbuch der Englischen u. Deutschen Sprache. T. 1. Englisch–Deutsch. Mit einer Vorr. v. J. J. Eschenburg. Bremen: Wilmans 1799", *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung*, 35 (February 1800) pp. 279f.

28 From Flügel's preface to the first edition of his *Triglotte*, dated 1836 but cited here from the 1854 ed., vol. 2, p. V.

Overlapping with the commercial orientation, dictionaries often claimed to attend especially to the technical vocabulary of the 'arts and sciences'. We first encounter this kind of lexicographical claim in the second half of the eighteenth century, after the publication of Diderot's *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des <u>Sciences, des Arts et des Métiers</u>* (1751–, my emphasis).[29] The title of Lewis Chambaud's 1761 French–English dictionary already boasted of including the "terms of arts, sciences and trades", for example.[30] Among English/German lexicographers, Fick bemoaned in his 1802 *Lexicon* that one sought "in vain" for "[m]any technical terms" in earlier dictionaries,[31] but the full title of Ebers' 1796–99 German–English dictionary promised that it was "thoroughly enriched with Phrases and Terms of ARTS and SCIENCES: A Work, which will be useful and even indispensible [sic], and therefore welcome to all such as have a Mind to translate or read the Works of either of the two Languages". Such promises became common. The pocket dictionary of Ricklefs (1800) claimed to contain "all words of general use and terms of arts and sciences". In 1854, the title of Lucas's dictionary was said to be "adapted to the present state of literature, science, commerce and arts"; the preface of its 1868 German–English volume similarly promised coverage of "every branch of Art and Science".[32] Felix Flügel's *Practical Dictionary* of 1861 was "constructed particularly for the use of those engaged in business, in which, beside the words and expressions in daily use, those terms employed in commerce, the trades, the arts, and the sciences are more fully explained than in any work hitherto in use".[33] In America, the 1870 *Pocket Dictionary* of Tafel & Tafel claimed to be "Enriched with the Technical Terms of the Arts and Sciences: For the Use of Business Men and Schools." Again, to what extent these various dictionaries fulfilled their promises remains to be investigated.

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29 Denis Diderot et al., *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*, vol. 1 (Paris: Chez Briasson, etc., 1751).

30 Lewis Chambaud, *A Dictionary French and English: containing the signification of words, with their different uses, the terms of arts, sciences and trades* (London: A. Millar, 1761).

31 Fick, *Lexicon*, p. vii.

32 Lucas, *Wörterbuch*, preface, no p. n.

33 F. Flügel, *Practical Dictionary*, p. VI.

4 Foreign Word Purism

Related to the coverage of technical language is lexicographers' attitudes to loanwords in German, often a feature of specialist or technical language. Ebers was the first English/German lexicographer to comment explicitly on such words, saying pragmatically:

> Nun kommen aber in diesem Wörterbuch, besonders unter C und D, verschiedene Wörter vor, die eigentlich nicht deutsch sind, doch aber so allgemein in deutschen Schriften gebraucht werden, daß ich sie nicht wohl weglassen konnte; doch habe ich ihre eigentlichen deutschen Bedeutungen beigefügt.[34]

Sometimes Ebers gave a German equivalent, followed by English equivalents (e.g. "Campìren, *v. r. n.* sich lagern, to camp. To encamp"; "candìren, *v. r. a.* überzuckern, mit Zucker übergeben"). In other cases, the reader was merely referred to what Ebers presumably considered the "actual" ("eigentliche") German word: "der [sic] Díssonanz [sic], Dissonance, see Mislaut. die Distánz, Distance, see Entfernung".

Henry Noehden was a more forceful advocate of German linguistic purity. In Noehden's view, the "power" of German

> to create new words out of it's [sic] own elements, for any new ideas [...] in a great measure, obviates the necessity of having recourse to foreign terms and expressions, and has given rise to the attempt of purifying it from every thing extraneous[.][35]

Evidently Noehden supported the "attempt of purifying" German. He recommended "to the student a scrupulous adherence to the laws of purity, in his cultivation of the German tongue" and cautioned "against the careless use of any foreign terms". Noehden did, however, concede that in rare instances where German lacked a "native term", then "necessity must serve as an excuse for the admission of a foreign term; the "zeal for purity" should have limits. Nevertheless, in his dictionary Noehden had "studiously abstained" from "the licence of employing foreign (that is to say, impure, and not genuine German) expressions". Those words which Noehden deemed it necessary to include "for the purpose of explanation" in the German–English part were "marked by particular signs, prefixed to them, so as to warn the reader of the degree of estimation to which they are entitled", according to a three-level hierarchy of acceptability. Acceptable

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34 Ebers, *Neues Hand=Wörterbuch*, Part II [i. e. German–English], pp. IIIf.

35 Noehden, *Rabenhorst's Dictionary*, pp. iif.

words were left unmarked. A dagger (†) marked "a word which is not of pure German origin but is become current in the language, either from its convenience and aptness, or from the want of a pure and genuine term"; for example, † was attached to *Academie, Accent, Accise, Acten, Actien, Addiren, Addresse,* and *Adjectiv* [sic]. The most unacceptable words – "spurious and impure words as have no plea for being retained, but ought to be discharged" – were prefixed by a ‡.[36] Examples of such words from the early pages include *aboliren, Abolition, abominable, abonniren, Abonnent, abortiren, Abscess, absolviren, Absolution, absurd, Absurdität, abvotiren*. Noehden did not, however, offer any alternatives for such words that "ought to be discharged".

In the English–German part of his dictionary, Noehden frequently weeded out German equivalents that had been included in Rabenhorst's first (1800) edition of the dictionary but which were loanwords (and often cognates of the English lemma). For example, under *process*, the 1800 dictionary had given German *Process*, but Noehden omitted it. Similarly, *Procession, Procurator,* and *procuratorhaft* were all omitted by Noehden, even where this meant that there was no one-word translation equivalent: instead of *procuratorhaft*, we read for English *procuratoral*, "von einem Anwalde [sic] herrhührened, eines Anwalds [sic]". Not all such words were omitted, but where they did survive, they tended to be listed as the last possible equivalent, e. g. *s. v. Professor* "der welcher sich für etwas erklärt; der Bekenner; der öffentliche Lehrer, Professor", compared to the 1800 entry, "der Professor, Bekenner".

Compared to the hard-line Noehden, New York professor of German Georg Adler took a more pragmatic view in his 1849 dictionary. Adler observed that

> in comparing the different German–English Dictionaries, it was found that all of them were deficient in their vocabulary of foreign words, which now act so important a part, not only in strictly scientific works, but also in the best classics, in the reviews, journals, newspapers, and even in the conversational language of ordinary life.[37]

Noting that German lexicographers such as Campe and Heyse had "sought altogether to banish all alien words, by proposing a variety of native equivalence for them", Adler appreciated the "large collection of the most usual foreign terms" available in the 1818 *Volksthümliches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* of Theo-

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36 Noehden, *Rabenhorst's Dictionary*, German–English part, pp. iii, 3.

37 Adler, *Dictionary*, p. xi.

dor Heinsius.[38] Adler observed that so many borrowed terms were in use in the sciences and arts that

> the Germans have even a double (as it were, a scholastic and a popular) terminology. [...] It was therefore deemed a matter of the first importance to have in our vocabulary a strong representation of foreign and technical terms, the want of which, in ordinary lexicons, so often proves a source of infinite embarrassment and vexation to the student".[39]

Adler still identified foreign words with an asterisk – not, however, like Noehden, in order to warn the dictionary user against them, but for the practical reason that those not fully "completely germanized" tended to "differ in form, and often in pronunciation and inflection too, from such as are purely native".[40]

5 Dictionaries and Literature

While lexicographers' and publishers' faith in a growing interest in the language of business, commerce, arts and sciences led to increased coverage of technical terms of various kinds, a driving force behind lexicography throughout the nineteenth century was the importance of literature as a locus of cultural encounter between German and English speakers. Hilpert's 1828 *Dictionary*, dedicated to "George IV of Britain and King of Hanover", was intended to ease (*erleichtern*) the "geistigen Verkehr" between these lands.[41] The study of English had, Hilpert noted, been somewhat neglected during Napoleon's occupation of Germany, but now:

> Nicht nur im Norden [...], der von jeher in häufigstem Verkehr mit Englands vereinigten Reichen stand, sondern auch in Süddeutschland liebt und studiert man Englische Sprache und Literatur. Der Eifer, sich mit beiden bekannt zu machen, erstreckt sich über alle Stände, und gleichwie man noch vor kurzem von Gelehrten und Nichtgelehrten es forderte, daß ihnen die französische Sprache nicht fremd sei, so ist man heutzutage ziemlich dahin

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38 Joachim Heinrich Campe, *Wörterbuch zur Erklärung und Verdeutschung der unserer Sprache aufgedrungenen fremden Ausdrücke. Ein Ergänzungsband zu Adelungs Wörterbuche* (Braunschweig: In der Schulbuchhandlung, 1801); Christian Heyse, *Allgemeines Wörterbuch zur Verdeutschung der in unserer Sprache gebräuchlichen fremder Wörter und Redensarten* (Oldenburg: in der Schulz's'schen Buchhandlung, 1804); Theodor Heinsius, *Volksthümliches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache: mit Bezeichnung der Ausprache und Betonung für die Geschäfts- und Lesewelt* (Hannover: Hahn, 1818).
39 Adler, *Dictionary*, p. xi.
40 Adler, *Dictionary*, p. x.
41 Hilpert, *Dictionary*, Dedication, p. vii.

gekommen, die Kenntniß der Englischen Sprache bei jedem wissenschaftlich gebildeten Manne vorauszusetzen.[42]

Johann Sporschil similarly hoped, in the second edition of his German–English volume of Flügel's 1830 dictionary, that the dictionary would continue to serve as "a connecting medium in the literary intercourse between Germany, the British Islands and North America".[43]

The importance attached by Germans to enabling cultural encounters through literature was not entirely unreciprocated. However, the appreciation of German literature had started later among English speakers, from the 1770s onwards,[44] and it was not until the mid-nineteenth century that any lexicographer alluded to it. The first to do so was the German Georg Adler, who had migrated to America aged twelve (see below), and who expressed the hope, in rather purple prose, that his 1849 dictionary could

> conduct the American scholar into a wide and sunny region of Literature and Art, when he might people his mind with new imperishable thought, his phantasy with new conceits, his imagination with new images of beauty, and enrich his soul with new springs of emotions, which flow, with more or less copiousness, alike in all human hearts, of all ages, of every race and tongue.[45]

In practice, it seems that the German appetite for English literature remained a stronger consideration than the reverse case. Among many claimed advantages of his 1830 dictionary, J. G. Flügel noted that he had included many "poetical words in present use, and those of ancient literature", in order to meet Germans' "ardent desire to be able fully to appreciate [the] beauties [of] the English classicks [sic]". Newton Ivory Lucas remarked on the insufficient attention paid by Hilpert and Flügel to words used by "wichtige ältere Dichter" in English such as Chaucer, Spenser, Shakespeare and others.[46] Meanwhile the (possibly pseudonymous) William James emphasized the attention paid to newer lexis in his 1846 dictionary, in which the "special aim" was "the admission of new words and new significations so frequently occurring in the works of the most recent classical

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42 Hilpert, *Dictionary*, Preface, p. ix.

43 See Sporschil's preface to the second (i. e. 1838) edition, Part II, p. X.

44 On evidence from language learning manuals for the growing appreciation of German literature in this period, see McLelland, *German Through English Eyes*, pp. 56–68.

45 Adler, *Dictionary*, p. xii.

46 J. G. Flügel, *Dictionary*, p. VI; Lucas, *Wörterbuch*, Vorrede p. VI.

writers", so as to be "particularly serviceable in reading the productions of English literature".[47]

Two new kinds of dictionaries were also in essence a response to the desire to understand English literature fully: a synonym dictionary and a phraseological dictionary. In the later nineteenth century, mainstream bilingual dictionaries had begun paying more attention to synonyms, mirroring developments in monolingual lexicography. Henry Fick, in his 1823 revision of his father Johann Fick's 1802 dictionary, drew attention in his preface to the "essential addition" of "the synonyms joined to many words", largely taken from Piozzi's pioneering *British Synonymy* of 1794. Adler later added German synonyms, incorporating synonyms that he had found in Hilpert's dictionary, "the first that offered to the English student a selection from the rich store of [the German synonym dictionaries of] Eberhard, Maass and Gruber".[48] Despite Adler's implied praise of Hilpert, however, Henry M. Melford judged, in the first dedicated English synonym dictionary for Germans, which Melford published in 1841, that Hilpert's "sehr kurze sinnverwandtschaftliche Erklärungen" were "höchst oberflächlich und meistens falsch".[49]

The *Synonymisches Handwörterbuch* of Melford, a lector teaching English at the University of Göttingen, was inspired, Melford wrote, by the popularity of "die englische Sprache und ihre herrliche Literatur" in Germany. In a foreword to the dictionary, the Marburg Gemanist Karl Franz Christian Wagner praised the numerous citations brought together under each heading by Melford "mit großer Belesenheit aus den vorzüglichsten englischen Schriftstellern"; Wagner anticipated that the dictionary would be welcomed by every friend of "der jetzt so verbreiteten englischen Literatur und Sprache". Melford himself used his preface to situate his work explicitly in a European tradition of lexicography in general, and of synonym dictionaries in particular.[50] His dictionary was largely extracted and abridged from George Crabb's rather longer *English Synonymes* [sic].[51] For ex-

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47 James, *Dictionary*, p. V, cited from fifteenth stereotype edition, 1864.

48 Fick, *Dictionary*, rev. 1823, pp. ix–x; Adler, *Dictionary*, p. x. Adler refers here to Johann August Eberhard, *Versuch einer allgemeinen deutschen Synonymik – in einem kritisch-philosophischen Wörterbuch der sinnverwandten Wörter der hochdeutschen Mundart* (Halle: Ruff, 1795–1802), second ed. by Johann Gebhard Ehrenreich Maaß, 1818–21, 12 vols.; third ed. "fortgesetzt und erweitert" by Johann Gottfried Gruber, 6 vols. (Halle: Ruffsche Verlag, 1826–30). A fourth edition "Durchgesehen ergänzt und vollendet" by Carl Hermann Meyer appeared in 1853 (Leipzig: Verlag von Johann Ambrosius Barth, 1853, 2 vols.).

49 Melford, *Synonymisches Handwörterbuch*, p. VIII.

50 Melford, *Synonymisches Handwörterbuch*, p. VII; foreword by Wagner, p. IV.

51 Melford (p. vi, note 1) specifies the fifth edition of George Crabb's *English Synonymes* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1808), in an 1829 printing. (A sixth edition appeard in 1837). At 448

ample, of Crabb's first nine entries (for *abandon* and its synonyms, then *abase, abash, abate, abdicate, abettor, abhor, abide, ability*), Melford kept only four: *abandon, abate, abhor, ability*. Melford's abridgement and reorganization of individual entries compared to Crabb's is exemplified in the entry for *abuse, invective* (see Tab. 1). Melford omitted Crabb's etymology and general definition, but supplied a quite faithful German rendering of the detailed description of each English term. However, he separated them out under each heading, rather than (for example) repeatedly differentiating *abuse* from *invective*. Notably, although Melford omitted and abridged some attestations, he also supplemented Crabb's examples with literary citations of his own, in this case from Milton (see under 1. in Tab. 1).

Tab. 1: The entry for *Abuse, Invective* in Melford's *Synonymisches Handwörterbuch* compared to its source, *Crabb's English Synonymes* (underlined passages are translated or cited by Melford)

Crabb, *English Synonymes*, pp. 19f.	Melford, *Synonymisches Handwörterbuch*, pp. 6f.
ABUSE, INVECTIVE	1. *ABUSE*, 2. *INVECTIVE*
ABUSE. (v. *To abuse*) is here taken in the metaphorical application for ill-treatment of persons.	1. Schimpf, Schmach. 2. Schmähung, Lästerung.
INVECTIVE, from the Latin *inveho*, signifies to bear upon or against.	1. **Abuse**. Persönliche Schmähung, größtentheils mündlich, veranlaßt durch Zorn, der allen Anstand verletzt und sich jedes Zwanges entzieht.
Harsh and unseemly censure is the idea common to these terms; but the former is employed more properly against the person; the latter against the thing.	The more rude and ignorant the man, the more liable he is to indulge in *abuse*. We must expect to meet with *abuse* from the vulgar whom we offend.
Abuse is <u>addressed to the individual, and mostly by word of mouth</u>; *invective* is communicated mostly by writing.	I dark in light, expos'd
Abuse is <u>dictated by anger which throws off all constraint, and violates all decency</u>; *invective* is dictated by party spirit, or an intemperate warmth of feeling in matters of opinion. *Abuse* is always resorted to by the vulgar in their private quarrels; *invective* is the ebullition of zeal and ill nature in public concerns.	To daily fraud, contempt, *abuse*, and wrong.
	(*Milton's Samson*.)
	2. **Invective.** Ein Schimpf, der größtentheils schriftlich zugefügt wird, veranlaßt durch Partheigeist, ungezügeltes Gefühl

pages, Melford's dictionary is notably shorter than Crabb's 772 pages. George Crabb also published three works for English learners of German – seemingly the first non-German to do so (see McLelland, *German Through English Eyes*, pp. 67f, 346f.).

The more rude and ignorant the man, the more liable he is to indulge in *abuse*. The more restless and opinionated the partisan, whether in religion or politics, the more ready he is to deal in *invective*. We must expect to meet with *abuse* from the vulgar whom we offend, and if in high stations our conduct will draw forth *invective* from busybodies whom spleen has converted into oppositionists.

At an entertainment given by Pisistratus to some of his intimatees, Thrasippus, a man of violent passion and inflamed with wine, took some occasion, not recorded, to break out in the most violent abuse and insult. Cumberland.

This is the true way of examining a libel; and when you consider that no man living thinks the better of their heroes and patrons for the panegyric given them, none can think themselves lessened by their *invective*. STEELE.

in Meinungssachen, und Aufwallung des Eifers und der Bösartigkeit in öffentlichen Angelegenheiten.

In high stations, our conduct will draw forth *invective* from busybodies [sic] whom spleen has converted into oppositionists.

This is the true way of examining a libel; and when you consider that no man living thinks the better of their heroes and patrons for the panegyric given them, none can think themselves lessened by their *invective. (Steele)*

A decade after his synonym dictionary, Melford's 1852 *Gemeinnütziches englisch–deutsches phraseologisches Handwörterbuch* was also an innovation. Its purpose was to help users overcome the "größte Schwierigkeit" ("greatest difficulty") of English, by which Melford meant selecting the right *Vorwörter* (i. e. particles or prepositions) to use with verbs, nouns and adjectives, something which Melford suggested required as much attention as the notoriously difficult English pronunciation. For example, Melford exemplified using *account* as a verb with *for, to,* and *with*; *account* as a noun with *in, into, of, on, to,* and *upon*; and *accountable* with *for, to*, e. g. "He is accountable *to* me *for* it, er ist mir dafür verantwortlich". Like his synonym dictionary, Melford's phraseological dictionary was informed by his wide reading of English literature, from Shakespeare to the present day: Melford claimed to have found "in klassischen Werken" combinations not listed in any dictionary, whether English or English–German.[52] While the *accountable* example cited above is unattributed, the majority of Melford's attestations were taken from a wide range of literary sources. For example, under *abandon*, we find attestations from David Hume's *History of England*; Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; William Temple's *Letters*; Shake-

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52 Melford, *Phraseologisches Handwörterbuch*, pp. v, 4, vi.

speare's *Twelfth Night*; and William Robertson's *History of Charles V*. Over the following few pages of entries, Melford included attestations from numerous early modern and eighteenth-century authors including Edmund Spenser (d. 1599), John Tillotson (1630–1694), John Dryden (1631–1700), Joseph Addison (1672–1719), Alexander Pope (1688–1744), Oliver Goldsmith (1728–1744), Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), Henry Fielding (1707–1754), and Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751–1816), as well as more recent writers – Walter Scott (1771–1832), George Gordon Byron (1788–1842), Robert Southey (1774–1843), and James Fenimore Cooper (1789–1851). Living authors were also included: in the first few pages, we find Thomas Moore (1779–1852), William Howitt (1792–1879), and the American Washington Irving (1783–1859).

In 1866, the intended audience of Friedrich Köhler's *Wörterbuch der Americanismen* was the growing number of German readers of American literature ("und in welcher Proportion wächst die Zahl?", he asked rhetorically). The lack of such a reference had, Köhler asserted, led to a large "Anzahl von Stellen, deren Auffassung mangelhaft bleibt, such that "the characteristic features of the American spirit" ("die eigenthümlichen Züge des amerikanischen Geistes") were lost, "verwischt", or "entstellt", and reducing the "pure, full effect up on the reader" ("reine, volle Wirkung auf den Leser").[53] I return to this dictionary of Americanisms below. However, the century's most determined lexicographical effort to remove the barriers to appreciating English-language literature was surely Alexander Hoppe's *Englisch–Deutsches Supplement-Lexikon* (1871), intended 'for better comprehension of English writers in general' ("zum besseren Verständnis englischer Schriftsteller überhaupt"). Hoppe included in his encyclopaedic dictionary words not found, or in his view insufficiently or wrongly explained, in other dictionaries; explanations of peculiarities of English life and conditions; and explanations of "Personen- und Sachnamen".[54] Hoppe's method was first to compile a list of words and senses that he had encountered himself ("selbst gefundene[r] Wörter") not included in the recent (1854) English–German dictionary of Newton Ivory Lucas, which Hoppe judged the most complete available.[55] Hoppe then added a suitable explanation, and an attestation from a writer, some-

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53 Köhler, *Americanismen*, pp. IV, III.

54 Hoppe, *Supplement-Lexikon*, pp. V, VI.

55 Hoppe notes (*Supplement-Lexikon*, p. VII) that his dictionary integrated work published in a series of eight articles that he had published 1860–1864. See his eight numbered articles, all titled, "Beiträge zur englischen Lexicographie ", in *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 28 (1860), pp. 385–416; 29 (1861), pp. 321–342; 30 (1861), pp. 111–184; 31 (1862), pp. 113–138; 34 (1863), pp. 105–136; 35 (1863), pp. 35–62; 36 (1864a), pp. 175–199; 36 (1864b), pp. 353–372.

times referring to the Tauchnitz editions published in Germany of writers such as Thomas Moore, Walter Scott, Alfred Tennyson (1809–1892), and the American Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882). A list of abbreviations for 87 of the most frequently cited book titles gives a further indication of Hoppe's sources, many of them recent works of the 1850s and 1860s.[56] The list includes, for example, three works by William Makepeace Thackeray (1811–1863); fifteen by Charles Dickens (1812–1870); five novels by Anthony Trollope (1815–1882); five works by Wilkie Collins (1823–1899); Benjamin Disraelis's *Coningsby* (1844); and *Tom Brown's School Days* (1857) by Thomas Hughes (1822–1896). Two women authors were also represented, with *North and South* (1855) by Elizabeth Gaskell (1810–1865), and three works by George Eliot (1819–1880), including *Silas Marner* (1861). Journalistic and non-fiction sources include the monthly *Cornhill Magazine*; *London Labour and the London Poor* (4 vols., 1851–1862) of the activist and writer Henry Mayhew (1812–1887); *Southern Lights and Shadows, being brief notes of three years' experience of social, literary and political life in Australia* (1859) by Frank Fowler (1833–1863); and *Der Parlamentarismus, wie er ist* (1855) by Lothar Bucher (1817–1892). Hoppe also consulted dictionaries and lexicographical works, including the 1864 *Slang Dictionary, or, the vulgar words, street phrases, and "fast" expressions of high and low society*; unspecified editions of the American Joseph Emerson Worcester's *Pronouncing, explanatory, and synonymous dictionary* and of Noah Webster's *Complete Dictionary of the English Language*; two lexicographical studies by Richard Chenevix Trench; Franz Heinrich Strathmann's *Beiträge zu einem Wörterbuch der Englischen Sprache* (1855–1860); and Johann Flügel's 1851 article on "Das englische Lexikon in Deutschland".[57]

Some of Hoppe's entries were, Hoppe admitted, "ohne Gewähr", where he had taken words from conversation or where he admitted to having lost the cita-

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56 Hoppe, *Supplement-Lexikon*, pp. X–XI.
57 [John Camden Hotten], *The Slang Dictionary, or, the vulgar words, street phrases, and "fast" expressions of high and low society* (London: John Camden Hotten, 1864) [the compiler's preface is signed J. C. H., i. e. John Camden Hotten]; Joseph E. Worcester, *A pronouncing, explanatory, and synonymous dictionary of the English language* (Boston: Hickling, Swan, and Brown, 1855 [first edition 1830, according to the preface]); Noah Webster, *An American dictionary of the English language* (New York: S. Converse, 1828); Richard Chenevix Trench, *A Select Glossary of English Words used formerly in senses diferent from their present* (London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co, 1865), Richard Chenevix Trench, *On some deficiencies in our English dictionaries. Being the substance of two papers read before the Philological Society* (London: John W. Parker & Son, 1860); Franz Heinrich Strathmann, *Beiträge zu einem Wörterbuch der englischen Sprache* (Bielefeld: Aug. Helmich, 1855–60); Johann Gottfried Flügel, "Das englische Lexikon in Deutschland", *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 8 (1851): 250–290.

tion.[58] In addition, he placed in an appendix some 440 words where he had been forced to use guesswork for the particular sense (though many were common words and/or also had an entry in the main dictionary). One such entry in the appendix is Walter Scott's use of "left-legged" in his 1821 novel *Kenilworth*: "the ungainly awkwardness of a left-legged and left-handed man", where Hoppe mused, "Was hat man sich unter left-legged vorzustellen?". The dictionary also included a six-page subject index covering particular domains of life such as public administration, church, parliament, law and the courts, university life, school, medicine, theatre, sport, and household matters, all indexing lemmas in the main dictionary.[59] Under sport, for example, an entry for cricket listed numerous articles in the main dictionary, including *in, out, on, off, over* (two entries!), *wicket, crease, stumps, slip, run, drive, swipe, block, draw, cut, catch* and *butterfingers*. Hoppe was certainly at pains to ensure that his German readers would be able to follow the niceties of cricket, so key to understanding plot details of English novels such as *Tom Brown's Schooldays*. To this end, the main entry for cricket was accompanied by a diagram of a cricket pitch (Fig. 3), with fielders' and batsmen's positions marked using abbreviations for terms explained in the entry itself.

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58 Hoppe, *Supplement-Lexikon*, p. VII.
59 Hoppe, *Supplement-Lexikon*, pp. 475–480. 'Left-legged' is on p. 468.
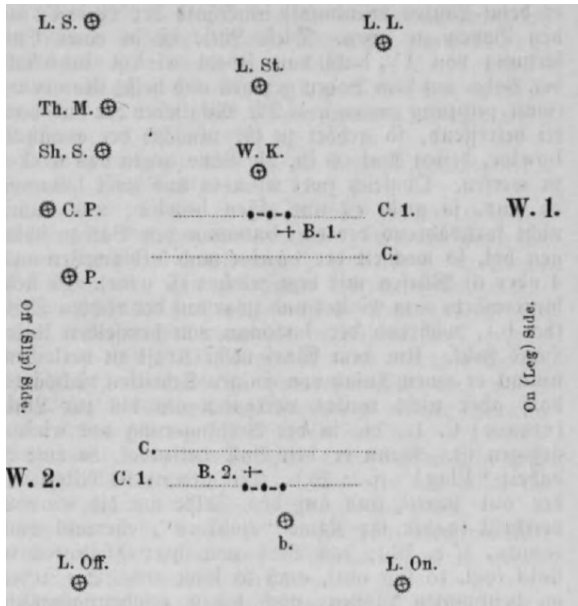
Fig. 3: Hoppe's diagrammatic representation of a cricket pitch (from his *Supplement-Lexicon*, p. 101, urn:nbn:de:bvb:12-bsb10989009-6)

6 America and English/German lexicography

While Hoppe chiefly focussed on the English of Britain, English–German lexicography was also beginning to take into account America. The German Johann Gottfried Flügel was the first lexicographer to boast, in his 1830 *Complete Dictionary*, of paying "[p]articular attention [...] to the American words and phrases". Flügel labelled Americanisms "Am.", using Pickering's *Americanisms* (1816) as a source, but also drawing on his own reading and first-hand knowledge, having lived in America himself for ten years from 1810 to 1832.[60] For example, Flügel included entries for *Stoop* (in the sense of the landing of the front steps to a house) and *Yankee*, neither included by Pickering:[61]

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60 J. G. Flügel, *Wörterbuch*, p. VIII.

61 John Pickering, *A vocabulary; or, Collection of words and phrases, which have been supposed to be peculiar to the United States of America* (Boston, Cambridge: Cummings and Hilliard, 1816). Flügel's definition of *stoop* also seems to be independent of Webster's 1828 definition "In America, a kind of shed, generally open, but attached to a house; also, an open place for seats at a

Stoop, s. das Neigen, Bücken; *Am. (New York)* der (bedeckte) Eingang (die äußere Treppe) eines Hauses

Yankees, (Yankeys) [pronunciation indication given] *s. pl.* (von den Indianern allmählig [sic] aus *English* in *Yenglees, Yangles, Yankles,* &c., verdorben); 1. *Am. burl.[esk]* (mehr im guten als übeln Sinn) die Neuengländer; 2. *Engl. cont.[emptuously]* die Amerikaner; Yankee-doodle, *burl.[esk]* der Neuengländer; *cont.[emptuously]* der Tölpel; ein beliebtes munteres amerikanisches Volkslied; [...][62]

Flügel cited *Sleigh* as an example of the kinds of errors made by (unnamed) "translators of American literature", one of whom apparently mistakenly rendered it as "a chariot with wheels".[63] Flügel's own entry provided the correct sense, differentiating it clearly from *sled* and *sledge* in American English:

Sleigh s. *Am*. ein stattliches, auf Kufen laufendes Fuhrwerk, der Schlitten (zur Belustigung unter den gebildeten Amerikanern in den nördlichen Staaten, – wie die in Deutschland üblichen. S. ; – in England muß sled und unrichtig gebildete sledge dieses mangelnde Wort ersetzen; – sleds werden in Amerika zur Fortschaffung schwerer Körper, z. B. Kaufmannsgüter & c. gebraucht; sleds, nennt man daselbst auch die niederen, aus einigen rohen, auf Kufen befestigten Bretern [sic] bebauten Schlitten der Bewohner des Nordens; ebenso die, aus einem, vorn in die Höhe gekehrten Brete [sic] bestehenden S. der Indianer, &c. *vid*. *Pike's Expeditions*, p. 62)[64] [...]

A few decades later, in 1866, Friedrich Köhler produced a dedicated *Wörterbuch der Americanismen*, already noted above. It was based on the third edition of John Russell Barlett's *Americanisms*, keeping Bartlett's inventory of lemmas but abridging the entries.[65] For example, Köhler's entries for *sleigh* and *sleigh-bells*, combined into a single line ("**Sleigh**, Schlitten; **Sleigh-Bells**, Schellengeläute"), are reduced from two six-line entries in Bartlett's dictionary. (Neither Bartlett nor Köhler provided the neat disambiguation of *sleigh*, *sled* and *sledge* given earlier by Flügel).

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door". See Webster, *American Dictionary*, s. v. *stoop*. In Webster's later 1841 dictionary, the definition is amended to read "The steps of a door. In New England, a stoop has a balustrade and seats on the sides".

62 The etymology considered most plausible today is a derivation from Janke, diminutive of Jan (John) applied as a derisive nickname ("Yankee, n. & adj."). *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, July 2023), https://doi.org/10.1093/OED/2886686612.

63 J. G. Flügel, *Wörterbuch*, p. VIII.

64 Zebulon M. Pike's journal narrating his 1806 expedition to the American South-West first appeared in 1810. See W. E. Hollon, "Zebulon Montgomery Pike's Lost Paper", in *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 34:2 (Sept. 1947), pp. 265–273 (p. 265, n. 1).

65 John Bartlett, *Americanisms* (n. p.; n. p., 1861). On Bartlett's dictionary, see Michael G. Crowell, "John Russell Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanisms", *American Quarterly*, 24 (1972), pp. 228–242.

Meanwhile, the reverse trend – American interest in German, stimulated by German immigration to America – brought American publishers and compilers into the market. The compiler(s) of the single-volume *New English–German and German–English Dictionary* published in 1834 by Georg W. Mentz and Son in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, are not named, but they certainly drew on Flügel, as evidenced, for example, in text repeated verbatim under the Americanisms *sleigh* and *wampum*. The preface noted that German was now taught in America's "higher seminaries of learning" and noted its usefulness "in those states more particularly, in which the knowledge and practical use of the German language are considered essential in promoting the social and commercial intercourse of the inhabitants".[66] Pennsylvania, where the dictionary was published, was of course one such state, home to many German-speaking migrants and their families. Among several letters of recommendation added in the 1839 printing (and perhaps already in the 1835 or 1837 printing, which I have not been able to inspect), a letter by George Wolf, Governor of Pennsylvania, reinforced the point that in Pennsylvania "the German [sic] may be said to be the vernacular tongue of a large proportion of its population, and [...] much of the intercourse and business is conducted in the German language".[67]

The preface to the Mentz & Son dictionary presented it as useful for both English- and German-speaking inhabitants of America: both those "often brought into contact with the German population of this country", and "those Germans who have made this country their permanent place of abode, with a view of participating in all its valuable rights and privileges".[68] However, the work's main market is likely to have been those studying German formally in "higher seminaries", for the volume also contained *Bernays' Compendious German Grammar* (first published in 1830 in London, and then in 1832 in Philadelphia, though not by Mentz's firm).[69] Five of the six remaining letters of recommendation were from men at colleges or seminaries, including Herman Bokum, "a teacher of the Ger-

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66 Mentz, *Dictionary*, Preface, first page, unnumbered.

67 Mentz, *Dictionary*, p. i.

68 Mentz, *Dictionary*, Preface, first page, unnumbered.

69 *Bernays' Compendious German Grammar, with a Dictionary of Prefixes and Affixes* (Philadelphia: Hogan and Thompson, 1832). Adolphus Bernays was, from 1831, professor of German Language and Literature at King's College London. See John L. Flood, "Ginger beer and sugared cauliflower. Adolphus Bernays and language teaching in nineteenth-century London", in *German studies at the turn of the century*, ed. by Rüdiger Görner and Helen Kelly-Holmes (Munich: iudicium, 1999), pp. 101–115.

man language in the University of Pennsylvania".[70] The dictionary appears to have met with success, for it was reprinted in 1835, 1837, 1839, 1840, and 1841.

Georg Adler's 1849 *Dictionary of the German and English Languages* was the second such dictionary produced in America. In the face of a "steadily increasing interest manifested in the study of German", it was explicitly aimed at "the American student of the German" [sic] and sought "to facilitate, and, if possible, to establish a free intercommunication between the German and the American or English mind".[71] Its compiler Georg Adler (1821–1868) had been born in Germany but had lived in America since emigrating with his parents at the age of twelve, and became a professor of German in the University of the City of New York.[72] In practice, Adler merely reprinted, with permission, the English–German part of the "London Edition of Flügel's work", and concentrated instead on giving "the utmost possible completeness and perfection to the German part", the part that was, he said, often "incomplete" in those dictionaries published in Germany. Drawing on a wide range of existing bilingual and monolingual dictionaries, Adler "carefully revised, in many parts entirely re-arranged, and augmented by at least thirty thousand new words and articles" the 1841 Feiling and Heimann edition of the Flügel German–English volume, so that of its 850 pages, "nearly one half are additions of our own".[73] Unusually in the bilingual tradition thus far, Adler also placed the reworked German–English part first in the volume, again reflecting the English-speaking user's perspective; and in the English–German part, no indications of pronunciation were given for the English lemmas.

A generation after Adler, the single-volume *Compendious German and English Dictionary*, published in New York, was the work of William D. Whitney (1845–1894), still well known today as a scholar of Sanskrit and comparative philology at Yale, as the first president of the American Philological Association, and as chief editor of the encyclopaedic *Century Dictionary* of English (published 1889 to 1891).[74] "Assisted" (according to the title page) by August Hjalmar Edgren (1840–1903), Whitney's aim was "a single moderate volume" with "as much as possible of what would be most useful to the student of German". Such useful

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70 Mentz, *Dictionary*, p. iv.

71 Adler, *Dictionary*, pp. ix, xii.

72 Adler would also go on to produce a German reader, a Latin grammar, and a study of Humboldt's linguistic work, which Adler believed to be the first such exposition in English: Georg Adler, *Wilhelm von Humboldt's Linguistical Studies* (New York: Wynkoop & Hallenbeck, 1866), 'To the Reader', p. [3].

73 Adler, *Dictionary*, p. x.

74 William Dwight Whitney, *The Century dictionary: an encyclopedic lexicon of the English language* (New York: The Century co., 1889).

points included giving the genitive and plural of German noun headwords, listing irregular verbs forms like *ging* 'went' as headwords, with a cross-reference to the main verb "for the convenience of beginners"; and a separate list of German irregular verbs and their principal parts. Unique in the history of lexicography as far as I know is Whitney's use of bold type face to mark out cognates (e. g. "Abdeichung, *f.* –*gen.* **diking**, making dikes [fr. abdeichen]"), and of small capitals to show where the word structure was analagous in English and German, as in *Mitleid*, sympathy and compassion.[75] Often the English "cognate" thus highlighted in an entry was not in fact a usual English equivalent, but was included expressly to illuminate the German word-structure, as with *off-hang*:

> **Abhang**, m. -ges, -änge. **off-hang**, declivity, slope [fr. abhangen] (sic)

Betraying Whitney's enthusiasm for comparative philology, such indications were intended "for the intrinsic linguistic interest of the correspondences", but also "for facilitating the practical acquisition of the German vocabulary".[76] Such a facilitation could, of course, only be effective if the dictionary user already knew enough Latin to recognize the analaogous structure of, say, *Abhängigkeit* and *dependence*:

> **Abhängigkeit**, f. declivity, dependence. [fr. abhängig]

In 1883, some years after the Mentz and Adler dictionaries, a third dictionary was published in Philadelphia, Morwitz's *Neues amerikanisches Wörterbuch*. Morwitz expressed the aim of "teaching the student English and German as they are spoken in America".[77] Whether the English and/or German entries reflect this in practice remains to be investigated. Given the mention of German as "spoken in America", however, I conclude this section on nineteenth-century American contributions to English/German bilingual lexicography with a somewhat special case: the *Pennsylvania German Dictionary* published as part of Horne's 1875 *Pennsylvania German Manual for Pronouncing, Speaking and Writing English*.[78] At under 100 pages, Horne's "dictionary" is better described as a vocabulary, but it is significant because, as Horne pointed out in his "Remarks", in writing the

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75 Whitney, *Compendious German and English Dictionary*, pp. iv, 533–537, iii.

76 Whitney, *Compendious German and English Dictionary*, p. iii.

77 Morwitz, *Dictionary*, p. 527.

78 Subsequent early contributions on Pennsylvania German include Marcus Bachman Lambert, *A dictionary of the non-English words of the Pennsylvania-German dialect* (Lancaster, Pa.: Lancaster Press, 1924), and Anon., *A Pennsylvania–Dutch Dictionary: Pennsylvania Dutch Words Translated into English* (Quakertown, Pa.: Meredith Publ. Co., 1949 [second ed.]).

Pennsylvania German dialect, "The ground is altogether new, since nothing exists to serve as a guide or substratum", and "A system of orthography had to be adopted"[79] to reflect the local variety. In each case in the vocabulary, the Pennsylvania German lemma was followed by the English translation, and then the standard German form in Gothic typeface (which I represent here with italics), as in "árbar, strawberry, *Erdbeere*", or "awreiwă, to rub against, *anrühren*". Although Horne did not comment on it, vowel-derounding in the dialect compared to standard German meant that words beginning in standard German *über-* were listed by Horne under the letter *i*, as in *iw'rdrĕfă* for *übertreffen*: "iw'rdrĕfă, to surpass, to excel, *übertreffen*". However, Horne was aware in general terms of phonological differences compared to standard German. His guidance to readers advised, pragmatically if imprecisely: "Words not found under the letter where they are looked for may be found under one resembling it, as gounti for counti, *county*, shdŭk or shtŭk, *cane, plant*, &c" (the examples are cases of the consonant lenition that characterizes many German dialects, blurring the distinction between voiced and unvoiced stops b/p, g/k, and d/t).[80]

7 The Treatment of German Pronunciation in Dictionaries

The preceding brief discussion of Horne's dictionary alerts us to the problem of representing German pronunciation, a uniquely nineteenth-century problem, caught between lack of lexicographical interest in the eighteenth century and the solution provided by standardized IPA notation in the twentieth. I therefore end this overview of nineteenth-century German dictionaries with a few brief remarks

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79 Horne, *Pennsylvania German Manual*, p. 81 in the third section, the *Pennsylvania German Dictionary*. German dialectology was still at a very early stage, and there was as yet no standard notation for rendering sounds of spoken German language (or indeed any other spoken language). See Joachim Herrgen, "Die Dialektologie des Deutschen", in *History of the Language Sciences: An International Handbook on the Evolution of the Study of Language from the Beginnings to the Present*, ed. by Sylvain Auroux and E. F. K. Koerner, Hans-Josef Niederehe and Kees Versteegh (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), pp. 1513–1535; J. Alan Kemp, "The development of phonetics from the late 18th to the 19th century", in *History of the Language Sciences*, ed. by Auroux and Koerner, pp. 1468–1480; and J. Alan Kemp, "The history and development of a universal phonetic alphabet in the 19th century: from the beginnings to the establishment of the IPA", in *History of the Language Sciences*, ed. by Auroux and Koerner, pp. 1572–1584. On dialect alphabets see Kemp, "The history and development", p. 1583.
80 Horne, *Pennsylvania Dictionary*, p. 82.

on the treatment of German pronunciation in dictionaries. Some indication of *English* word stress had already been provided in the very first dictionaries of the early eighteenth century, and Theodor Arnold already introduced in the second (1752) edition of his English–German dictionary a rendering of the pronunciation of many (but far from all) lemmas using German spelling, e. g. „TO AB'ANDON, (tu äbändon) [...] verlassen, aufgeben [...]". By contrast, it was not until the nineteenth century, with the growth of a market of English students of German, that any attention at all was paid in English/German lexicography to German pronunciation. In the early nineteenth century, various language learning manuals aimed at foreigners dealt with the topic,[81] but there was no monolingual German authority for German pronunciation. Adelung had – probably inspired by the practice he had encountered in English–German dictionaries – at least given an indication of the pronunciation of certain words in the second edition of his German dictionary (published 1793–1801),[82] but it was only in 1818 that the *Volksthümliches Wörterbuch* of Theodor Heinsius became the first German dictionary to provide an indication for each lemma. As Heinsius observed, "Beides [i. e. both pronunciation and word-stress, "die Bezeichnung der Aussprache und des Worttons"] hat der Deutsche mehr als irgend ein Volk vernachlässigt, da er mehr schreibt als spricht" [!].[83] William Render, whose 1814 pocket dictionary was the first aimed at English learners of German, was also the first to include at least "a concise *prospectus* of the genuine *articulation* and *pronunciation* of each letter in the German Alphabet, which will be very useful for those who have been neglected in this very material point".[84] In Mentz's dictionary of 1841, Bernays' *German Grammar*, which preceded the dictionary proper, contained some limited information (for example that *r* is pronounced "as in English, but more distinct as a final", and that *v* is "like f in all German words ; Vater pron. *fa-ter*; but in foreign words and proper names, as in English".[85] However, Mentz's dictionary proper still contained no indication of how to pronounce German words.

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81 McLelland, *German Through English Eyes*, pp. 209–221.

82 Johann Christoph Adelung, *Grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der hochdeutschen Mundart* (Leipzig: Breitkopf, 1793–1801). See McLelland, "Adelung", pp. 69–72.

83 Theodor Heinsius, *Volksthümliches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache: mit Bezeichnung der Ausprache und Betonung für die Geschäfts-und Lesewelt* (Hannover: Hahn. in 4 vols., 1818), p. XVII.

84 William Render, *A complete pocket dictionary*, p. vii; see pp. viii–xx for the overview and pp. xxiii–xxiv for a summary table, both of which Render reproduced with some abridgements from his earlier German grammar: William Render, *A complete analysis of the German language, or A philological and grammatical view of its construction, analogies, and various properties* (London: H. D. Symonds, 1804), pp. 9–38; the table is reproduced pp. 36, 38).

85 Mentz, *Dictionary*, pp. xiii–xiv.

Not until the 1840s do we find the first indications of the pronunciation of each German lemma, initially merely an indication of stress. Friedrich Wilhelm Thieme marked word stress and vowel length in his 1844 dictionary by placing an apostrophe after a stressed syllable. Thieme gave the minimal pair of *Um'gehen* and *Umge'hen* as an example.[86] Placement of the apostrophe before or after the consonant closing the stressed syllable indicated whether the vowel was short or long: contrast, for example, *Akademist'* (short stressed vowel) and *Akade'miker* (long stressed vowel). From the mid-nineteenth century, we find works explicitly presented as pronouncing dictionaries for learners of German, at last giving a precise indication of each word's pronunciation, a full hundred years after Arnold had first attempted the same for German learners of English. The earliest such work seems to have been the 1850 *Pronouncing German Dictionary* of James C. Oehlschläger (1805/6–1876), a teacher of German in Philadelphia.[87] Notable is Oehlschläger's distinction of two levels of word-stress, marked using ′ and ″, applying to German a system introduced for English by Thomas Sheridan in 1789.[88] (Heinsius's German pronouncing dictionary did not use such a system). The first "mainstream" dictionary to mark the pronunciation of each German headword systematically and in full appears to be Morwitz's 1883 *Neues amerikanisches Wörterbuch*, which also provided a (rather incomplete) pronunciation key in two running footers.

Some examples from Oehlschläger's *Pronouncing Dictionary* and from Morwitz's standard dictionary are given in Table 2. Note that neither dictionary's notation captured the pronunciation of unstressed vowels as schwa, nor the palatalization of *s* in *st*- to /ʃt/, as in *standeswidrig* and *Strang*. Note also Oehlenschläger's indicative pronunciation of <ng> in *Strang* as –nk, which suggests a more southern German pronunciation. (A more accurate rendering in today's notation would be –ŋk, as a result of assimilation of the nasal n to velar k).

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86 Thieme, *Dictionary*, cited here from a later, 1859 edition, revised by Emil Preusser, vol. 1, p. VIII.

87 According to Husbands (in his unpublished research kindly made available to me), "An English edition, described as the 9th, was published in London in 1860 by Trübner & Co. In 1865 copyright of Oehlschläger's original pronouncing dictionary was assigned to Schaefer & Koradi, publishers based in Philadelphia and Leipzig. The 19th edition appeared in 1873. Copyright was renewed in 1880 by Schaefer & Koradi. What was called a 30th edition of the dictionary was still being published by this Schaefer & Koradi as late as 1904."

88 Oddly, Oehlschläger does not seem to have made the same two-level distinction in his earlier dictionary giving the English pronunciation for Germans, his *English German and German English pocket dictionary, with a pronunciation of the English part in German characters and German sounds*, where he only ever used ´, marking just one main stress.

Tab. 2: Some examples of efforts to indicate German pronunciation in two bilingual dictionaries

LEMMA	OEHLSCHLÄGER, *PRONOUNCING GERMAN DICTIONARY*, CITED ACCORDING TO THE 1862 (9TH) EDITION	MORWITZ, *NEUES AMERIKANI-SCHES WÖRTERBUCH* (1883)
abbiegen	âp″-bee′-ghen	âb- bee′-gĕn
Brezel (*Bretzel* in Morwitz's dictionary)	brai′tsel	brèt- sèl
Briefgeld	breef′-ghelt	breef + gèld [this dictionary has no entry for *Briefgeld*]
Kassendiebstahl (*Cassendiebstahl* in Oehlschläger's dictionary)	kass″-sen-deep′-stâhl	[two separate indications, one for each compound element]: *Kassen* (kăs- sĕn), *−diebstahl* (−deeb stāl)
du	doo	doo
Dudelsack, Dudelkasten	doo″-del-zâck′	doo- dĕl kăst ĕn [no entry for *Dudelsack*]
standeswidrig	stând″-dess-vee′-drich	[two separate indications, one for each compound element]: stăn- dĕs + -vee drig
Strang	strânk	străng

Finally, at the end of the century, Muret and Sanders, in their 1891 dictionary, abandoned the attempt to render the pronunciation of individual sounds and returned to a mere indication of stress and vowel length, using notation familiar from marking Latin verse metre (see Fig. 4). Length was not marked for all vowels, rather than just the stressed vowel (as Thieme had done). For word-stress, Muret and Sanders used the by now established system of marking primary and secondary word-stress, as exemplified in Figure 4.[89] Note that the first edition of Theodor Siebs' *Deutsche Bühnenaussprache* had yet to appear (in 1898), and even then

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89 Muret and Sanders followed the so-called Toussaint–Langenscheidt system, also already used by Hoppe in 1871 for his dictionary, likewise published by Langenscheidt. The notation derives from a system first developed for use in a French correspondence course, *Unterrichts-briefe zur Erlernung der französischen Sprache*. A tabular overview of the notation is given in Hoppe's *Englisch–deutsches Supplement-Lexikon*, p. XII. On the method, whose origins lie in a French correspondence course for German speakers, see W. Swoboda, "Die methode Toussaint–Langenscheidt", *Englische Studien* XIV (1890), pp. 210–240.

Siebs did not provide a full phonetic rendering for every word, something that followed only in 1910, in a substantially revised edition.[90]

ab-bau·en $(\breve{\sigma}\acute{-}\smile)$
("[...] to settle far (at a distance) from neighbours [...]"

Dudelſack $(\overset{\prime\prime}{-}\smile\hat{\mathbf{s}})$
("bagpipe(s) [...]")

Fig. 4: The marking of German pronunciation in the *Encyklopädisches Englisch–Deutsches und Deutsch–Englisches Wörterbuch* of Muret and Sanders (1891)

There may well be revealing insights into nineteenth-century German pronunciation to be gleaned from the indications given in dictionaries for foreign learners, especially where lexicographers dared to attempt a full phonetic transcription of some kind, but these remain for the time being untapped sources. Another open question is the extent to which bilingual lexicographers were influenced by ideologies of standard pronunciation. For example, an awareness of questions of normativity in pronunciation was hinted at in Gustav Tanger's 1888 *Englisches Namen-Lexikon*. While noting that some might consider it "unpatriotisch" to do anything other than pronounce foreign words as if they were German, Tanger considered it uncontroversial to pronounce English names in English as English people would do. Tanger noted, however, the tendency of some (unspecified) English-language orthoepists to have run ahead of curent practice ("ihrer Zeit vorausgeeilt") in order to educate English users ("belehrend zu wirken"), by indicating the correct pronunciation of classical and other foreign-language names, rather than merely to reflect practice.[91]

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90 Max Mangold, "Entstehung und Problematik der deutschen Hochlautung", in *Sprachgeschichte: ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*, ed. by Werner Besch (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), pp. 1804–1809 (pp. 1804f.).

91 Tanger, *Englisches Namen-Lexikon*, pp. VII, VIII.

8 Outlook

This first analysis of the corpus of nineteenth-century English/German dictionaries has taken into account over fifty works from the 1790s to 1900 (listed in the Appendix), tracking the growth of English/German interactions and mutual interest through that period. One lexicographer listed in the Appendix but not yet mentioned here is Elizabeth Weir, worth noting as the first and only woman lexicographer in this English/German tradition before 1900.[92] Bilingual dictionary-making in particular seems to have been a more accessible sphere of lexicographical activity for women, no doubt thanks to its links to language learning and teaching, both acceptable female undertakings.[93] The attempts to indicate the pronunciation of lemmas – first for English only, then, gradually through the nineteenth century, also for German – reflect that connection to the history of language learning. So too do many incremental improvements in nineteenth-century dictionary microstructure, some of which I have noted here but not traced systematically: examples include the consistent indication of German noun gender and of genitive and plural forms. As more dictionaries catering to English-speaking users emerged, Whitney's rather scholarly dictionary marked a high point in the degree of linguistic reflection on the German language demanded of English-speaking users.

The question of pronunciation constitutes an important point of intersection with monolingual lexicography, as German compilers such as Ebers and Hoppe eagerly referred to English-language authorities such as Sheridan and Webster. As for German pronunciation, as we have seen, lexicographers were on their own. They responded to that challenge in various ways, whether drawing on Sheridan's method of marking primary and secondary stress in English (as Oehlschläger did), or adapting a system first developed for learners of French by correspondence, as compilers from the Langenscheidt stable such as Hoppe and Muret and Sanders did. Alongside Tanger's views on what constituted the correct pronunciation of English names, the differing attitudes of Noehden and Adler to

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92 Christopher T. Husbands, "Who was Elizabeth P. Weir?: Gender visibility and female invisibility in the world of lexicography", *The Linguist*, 40 (2001), pp. 48–51.

93 See Lindsay Rose Russell, *Women and Dictionary Making: Gender, Genre, and English Language Lexicography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). See also Nicola McLelland, "Women in the history of lexicography. An overview, and the case of German", in *Dictionaries and Society: Proceedings of the XX EURALEX International Congress 12–16 July 2022, Mannheim, Germany*, ed. by Annette Klosa-Kückelhaus, Stefan Engelberg, Christine Möhrs and Petra Storjohann (Mannheim: IDS Verlag, 2022), pp. 53–70. Open access at: https://euralex2022.ids-mannheim.de/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/EURALEX_2022_Proceedings.pdf.

loanwords in German illustrate the varying degrees and ways in which bilingual lexicographers engaged with the questions of language normativity that preoccupied many monolingual lexicographers and other language specialists at the time. This theme would no doubt reward further investigation. Potentially interesting too is the interaction of this question with the growing awareness of an American variety of English, which we have traced in the dictionaries of Flügel and Köhler, for instance. An anonymous article on Americanisms, published in a German journal in 1860, noted, for example, that English speakers used the term *luggage* and might consider the Americanism *baggage* "pretentious".[94] To what extent bilingual dictionaries in our corpus offer any such metalinguistic indications remains to be investigated. Dictionaries were expensive undertakings for publishers, and their marketing was accordingly important. That is reflected not only in some publishers' 'creative' attribution of dictionaries to spurious authors, but also in the alacrity with which they responded to changes in the perceived needs of dictionary users, whether with a greater (claimed) focus on commercial, technical, or literary interests. Both of Melford's dictionaries and, even more so, Hoppe's *Englisch–deutsches Supplement-Lexikon* can virtually be read as German Anglophile hymns to English literature.

In sum, this article has opened up more questions for investigation than it has answered. However, I hope that in taking the English/German case as an example, I have shown how much studying bilingual dictionaries can contribute not just to lexicographical history, but also to the history of multilingualism in all its facets, including language learning and teaching, language attitudes and ideologies, cultural appreciation, and intercultural exchange.

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94 Anon., "Americanismen", *Archiv für das Studium der Neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 29 (1860), pp. 63–66 (p. 60).

Appendix: An indicative bibliography of English/German dictionaries, 1790–1900

Note: This bibliography is indicative, rather than exhaustive. Longer titles are abbreviated. Authorship is stated as per library catalogues; note, however, the caveats about authorship in some cases, discussed in the introduction above. Later editions are not generally noted, except where cited above. For fuller details and discussion of late editions of the eighteenth-century dictionaries of Ludwig, Arnold (often referred to as "Nathan Bailey's dictionary"; see under Fahrenkrüger below), and Prager, see McLelland, "English/German bilingual dictionaries in the eighteenth century: an overview" (cited in note 10 above).

Adelung, Johann Christoph, *Neues grammatisch-kritisches Wörterbuch der englischen Sprache für die Deutschen vornemlich aus dem größern englischen Werke des Hr. Samuel Johnson nach dessen vierten Ausgabe gezogen.* (Leipzig: im Schwickertschen Verlage,1783 (A–J), 1796 (K–Z)). The second volume was probably not compiled by Adelung himself; see McLelland: "Adelung", cited in note 15 above.

Adler, Georg, *Dictionary of the German and English Languages* (New York: D. Appleton & co. ; Philadelphia: G. S. Appleton, 1849).

Anon., *Pocket Dictionary of the English, French and German Languages compiled from the best authorities* (Leipzig: Schwickert, 1800).

Anon., and C. T. Rabenhorst, *The new pocket-dictionary of the English and German languages* (Leipzig: printed for C. T. Rabenhorst; and sold by T. Boosey, London, 1800).

Ebers, Johannes, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch der englischen Sprache für die Deutschen* (Leipzig: bey Johann Gottlob Immanuel Breitkopf, Sohn und Compagnie, 1793 (A–J), 1794 (K–Z)).

Ebers, Johannes, *The New And Complete Dictionary Of The German And English Languages composed chiefly after the German Dictionaries of Mr. Adelung and of Mr. Schwan* (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Haertel. 3 vols., 1796–99).

Ebers, Johannes, *Neues Hand=Wörterbuch der Englischen Sprache für die Deutschen und der Deutschen Sprache für die Engländer* (Halle: Rengersche Buchhandlung, 1800. Part I (English to German) in two vols. Part II (German to English) in one volume.

Elwell, William Odell, *New and complete dictionary of the English and German languages remodelled and greatly improved* (Brunswick: G. Westermann, 1891 (32nd stereotype edition). First edition 1868.

Fahrenkrüger, Johann Anton, rev. Adolf Wagner, *Nathan Bailey's dictionary, English–German and German–English*. Twelfth edition completely revised by Adolf Wagner (Leipzig und Jena: Friedrich Frommann, 1822).

Fick, Johann Christian, *Vollständiges englisch–deutsches und deutsch–englisches Lexicon* (Erlangen: Palm, 1802).

Fick, Johann Christian, and Henry Fick, *Vollständiges Englisch-Deutsches und Deutsch-Englisches Lexicon. [..] Second edition. Considerably enlarged, improved and published by the former's son, Dr Henry Fick, in Nurnberg [sic]* (Erlangen: Palm, 1823).

Flügel, Felix, *A universal English–German and German–English dictionary = Allgemeines Englisch–Deutsches und Deutsch–Englisches Worterbuch ... entirely remodelled ... (by Felix Flugel)* (Braunschweig and London: Georg Westermann; Asher, 1891).

Flügel, Felix, and Johann Gottfried Flügel, *Praktisches Englisch–Deutsches und Deutsch–Englisches Wörterbuch in zwei Theilen: Bearbeitet von Felix Flügel unter Mitwirkung von von J. G. Flügel* [= *A practical dictionary of the English and German Language*] (Leipzig and Hamburg: Julius E. Richter/Johann August Meissner, 1861).

Flügel, Johann Gottfried, *Triglotte, oder, Kleines kaufmännisches Handwörterbuch in drei Sprachen, enthaltend die gebräuchlichsten Ausdrücke des Handels*. 3 vols. Vol. 1 (1836): Deutsch–Englisch–Französisch. 2. (1838) English–French–German: 3. (1840): Français–Anglais–Allemand *[=Commercial Dictionary in three languages]* (Leizpig: Verlag der J. C. Hinrischen Buchhandlung, 1804. 2nd ed. ("zweite, stark vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage") 1854.

Flügel, Johann Gottfried, and Johann Sporschil, *Vollständiges Englisch–Deutsches und Deutsch–Englisches Wörterbuch* (2 vols.; Leipzig: By A. G. Liebeskind, 1830).

Flügel, Johann Gottfried, and Johann Sporschil, *Vollständiges Englisch–Deutsches und Deutsch–Englisches Wörterbuch, etc. = A complete dictionary of the English and German and German and English languages. Zweyte verbessere und vermehrte Auflage* (Leipzig: A. G. Liebeskind. 1838).

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