Overview of the Early Development of the Lexicography of the Three Baltic Nations (from 17th to 19th century)

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Abstract: *The three Baltic nations (as a geographical and political concept) and languages share many similarities and as many differences. So far no serious comparison of the lexicography of the three languages has been carried out. This paper looks mostly at key general tendencies and key lexicographical works. These show that the bilingual/multilingual beginnings of the 17th century set a tradition for the following two centuries. Also the role of German pastors and the non-native target audience of the dictionaries was retained for the same period. The dictionaries grew in scope and precision. In all Baltic nations the living vernacular language really appeared in dictionaries only in the second half of the 19th century when after the National Awakening dictionaries were made mostly by native philologists. Encyclopedias (Konversationlexikonen), foreign word dictionaries appeared around the turn of the 19th and 20th century. This prepared the ground for the iconic national works which were developed in the early 20th century during the independence period. Yet the bilingual dictionaries of various type have dominated the scene and for the Baltic nations the term 'dictionary' was and is mostly associated with a bilingual one.*

Keywords: *bilingual lexicography, German language, Estonian language, Latin, Latvian language, Lithuanian language, multilingual dictionaries, Polish language*

Introduction

The three Baltic nations (as a geographical and political concept) and languages share many similarities and as many differences. All started with multilingual dictionaries at approximately the same time. The similarities include kindred languages for Latvian and Lithuanian, similar early history for Latvia and Estonia, as both have been under the German and Lutheran dominance while Lithuanian had a Polish-bound Catholic history. Yet also part of Lithuanian-populated territory (Lithuania Minor/Eastern Prussia) was under the German dominance and much of the early Lithuanian dictionary work took place there. Eastern part of Latvia shared Catholic and political affiliation with Lithuania and in the 19th century suffered under similar Russification policies when in the rest of Latvia and Estonia there was a fast surge of economy, education, literacy and nationalism. It should be pointed out that the local people were mostly illiterate until the 19th century. Since the beginning of the 20th century the three nations had a similar history and very similar lexicographical progress. Baltic lexicography shows numerous parallel and amazingly similar processes. Partly this can be explained by coordinated activities of the Churches, partly by well-connected German elites. Finally, the role of the University of Tartu as a centre of the new native intellectual learning (mainly for Latvia and Estonia) should be emphasized. The similarities and parallel processes testify to the common space of knowledge (*Wissensraum*), the concurrent spread of lexicographical memes.

Baltic lexicography so far has been viewed mainly within the confines of each language and nation (Zemzare, 1961; Balode, 2002; Jansone, 2003; Jakaitienė, 2005; Erelt, 2007; Melnikienė, 2009), thus its description lacks a broader regional and European dimension (Simpson, 2004; Consadine, 2008; Cormier, 2010) which lexicography itself does possess. This paper looks mostly at key general tendencies and key lexicographical works. There are numerous others that cannot be mentioned for lack of time and space. There are also valuable dictionary manuscripts in all languages that are important for linguistic studies of the period. Much deeper insights into the collaborative processes should be attempted by a detailed study of lexicographers' links, for example, Mancelius' professorship in Tartu, Valdemārs' involvement with publishing of Wiedemann's dictionary, etc.

Background

The first dictionaries were preceded by the early written monuments which came into being as a result of Reformation ideas that the Word of God should be preached in a language that is understandable or communication with God could proceed individually via the written word and naturally in a language closer to the human. Counter-reformation and Catholic backlash also seems to have helped, as a situation of competition between the churches (Tāgepera, 2010, p. 7) via the texts in native language contributed to more translation and writing. Serious religious literature calls for a broader choice of vocabulary, abstract notions, certain curtailment of dialects and varieties, normativization of the languages which are precursors of literary language. This contributed to the development of writing in the Baltic languages, formation of grammars and dictionaries. A parallel technological process that assisted dissemination of writing was the establishment of print shops in the Baltic area. After the initial attempts, first to be printed were catechisms, followed by the New Testament and finally the Bible in the 18th century. Latvia was an exception where the latter was done faster (1689). Dictionaries or dictionaries together with grammars tended to appear before the full Bible translation, in a way paving the way for the latter.

17th century

The 17th century, after the turmoil of war ceased in 1629, was a stabilizing one in the former territories of Livonia (Latvia and Estonia). They were under the Swedish crown which introduced an orderly management, promoted education in the local languages.

Latvian lexicography

It is usual to date Latvian lexicography from 1638 when the first dictionary, preceding Grammar (1644), was published (Mancelius, 1638). Most of the territory was under the Swedish crown (Latgale was under Poland) and the conditions were favorable for spiritual and cultural development. Latvians at that time were the peasant nation and the official cultural sphere was fully in the hands of non-Latvian governors, German clergy and landowners. This had lasted for about 400 years since the territory came under the German crusaders

and bishops. The dominant powers had changed (and will change) from time to time – Danes, Poles, Swedes, Russians came and went, hardly affecting the Latvian language scene as their sole interest was the territory and, to some extent, the nobility. The German nobility, however, retained its positions until the end of the 19th century. It was to develop the link between the church and the peasant nation, between the German-speaking clergy and Latvian-speaking people that the first dictionaries were actually created. The quality of Latvian used by the German clergy in the beginning was not high: Mancelius, the author of the first dictionary, writes in his handbook on biblical plots *Lettisch Vade mecum* (Mancelius, 1631) that after a sermon a Latvian commented, "Who knows what that German cat is saying" (a word-play on *kaķis* [cat] and *katķisms* [catechism]). One can see elements of colonial or missionary language field work in the early dictionaries and grammars.

The first dictionary was a German-Latvian book (Mancelius, 1638) containing about 7,000 words; often several Latvian synonyms are provided to the German word. Naturally, Gothic script was used, yet Mancelius can be credited with developing a relatively reasonable and consistent spelling system. A slash was used to separate words of both languages as well as synonyms. The second part is a thematic lexicon containing about 4,000 somewhat random items about 51 topics called *Phraseologia Lettica* (Mancelius, 1638). Though this part seems to be hastily put together, many of these words and expressions are not in the first part. A later edition of 1685 had another addition of 10 parallel conversation pattern chapters. This division of the macrostructure is to be noted as it tended to repeat in some other later dictionaries.

The other two Latvian dictionaries of the 17th century were of less importance – multilingual Polish–Latin–Latvian (Elger, 1683) published in Vilnius, and a small 1,000-word German–Latin–Polish–Latvian (supposedly Dressel, 1688). Elger was also a translator of Latin hymns and German songs and his dictionary is worth noting mainly because it creates an early link between Latvian and Lithuanian lexicography – it is in fact based on Sirvydas' third edition (1642) supplemented by the Latvian part – and with its 14,000 entries is much larger than *Lettus*. This does not seem to be a case of early plagiarism (or copying [Cormier, 2010, p. 133] or piracy, which was rife until the 20th century [Landau, 2001, p. 43]), but most likely a concerted attempt by the Catholic Church or Polish rulers to spread their influence. Published in Vilnius and representative of the Eastern (Polish-dominated) variety of Latvian, it introduced the Latin script into Latvian, but had many mistakes, including those copied from Mancelius. This dictionary, however, did not contribute to further development of Latvian lexicography as it would be German dominated. It is difficult to pass criticism

on these first lexicographic attempts. There are many obvious mistakes, and there is clearly a strong German interference in the description of Latvian lexis, both on the lexical and grammatical levels. Trying to figure out the complexities of Latvian patterns and dialects was certainly not an easy task and it can be supposed that the first compilers did as much as one could reasonably expect.

Estonian

The historical and linguistic backdrop is very similar to Latvian. The end of the 16th century saw prominence of Tartu as a centre of Jesuit and counter-Reformation learning and translation, which established South Estonian as the language of early religious writings in Estonia. The early written texts, like in Latvian case, differed from the spoken language, as they dealt with new and specific topics and were written by non-Estonians. Schools and also publishing in Estonian grew, as well as literacy.

The first dictionary in Estonian is within the first grammar book *Anführung zu der Estnischen Sprach* by Heinrich Stahl (1637) – about a hundred pages of German–Estonian dictionary containing 2,300 German words and 2,200 Estonian words. This set a tradition of adding vocabulary lists to grammars. The book is written in German orthography and reflects North Estonian language. Stahl, to a large extent, codified North Estonian literary language for his followers in a rather Germanic and rigorous Latin tradition. Johannes Gutslaff (1648) produced a similar work in Latin for South Estonian with about 1,700 German(–Latin)–Estonian correspondences.

This was followed by a more substantial Göseken's (1660) book on North Estonian – with an appendix '*Farrago Vocabulorum Germanico-Oesthonicum*' – 400 pages of German–Estonian dictionary containing about 9,000 words. The aim was to improve Stahl's book which was criticized for not being a quality work. Apart from the above publications, some glossary manuscripts were also in use and circulated.

Lithuanian

Lithuanian early history differs from that of Latvian and Estonian. Most of its territory never came under a German dominance, but after early (12th- and 14th/15th-century) adoption of Christianity it was in a powerful union with Poland until the end of the 18th century when it was absorbed by Russia. Hence there was a Lithuanian elite and clergy which, however, tended to become Polonized. Similarly to Latvian, the early dictionaries were compiled for the practical needs

of the German protestant pastors in Lithuania Minor (East Prussia) so as to be able to communicate with the Lithuanian peasant population of the region. The first Lithuanian grammar, *Grammatica Litvanica*, was published in Latin in 1653 by Daniele Klein. His dictionary manuscript was not, however, published and is lost. Some other German–Lithuanian dictionary manuscripts were compiled, but remained unpublished.

In Lithuania proper dictionaries were needed for the Catholic priests working in Jesuit schools and not knowing the Lithuanian language. Yet these would be compiled by native Lithuanians, so they would have a better grasp of the language. Thus 1620 saw the first edition of Polish–Latin–Lithuanian *Dictionarium Trium Linguarum* by Sirvydas (1642). A single copy has survived with the initial pages missing, which is why the year of the first publication is doubted. The first edition has more than 8,000 entries, with about 6,000 Lithuanian words, based on N. Volkmar's *Dictionarium linguarum quatuor, latinae, germanicae, polonicae et graecae* (1613). The compiler supplied Lithuanian part also by coined neologisms for the missing items. The second edition (1631) was thoroughly reworked, based on Knapski/Cnapius' *Thesaurus Polono–Latino–Graecus* (1621), but has not survived. The third edition (Sirvydas, 1642), based on the same, published after Sirvydas' death reached 14,000 entries (10,000 Lithuanian words), about one-fifth of the items of the first edition have been removed. The dictionary saw two more editions (1677 and 1713), and its material was much copied in later lexicographical works. It also served as a prototype for Elger's (1683) Latvian dictionary.

18th century

Latvian

In the 18th century Latvia was ravaged by the Great Northern War, plague and changing masters, the territory was frequently split and the atmosphere was not conducive to writing and educational issues. The status of peasants grew even more miserable. Pietism (Moravian movement) in Latvia and Estonia with its home-education drive might have contributed to some increase in literacy as it again clashed with its competitor – the official church (another controversy that was beneficial). It also lead to a manuscript culture (Apīnis, 1987). Small print shops were established.

18th-century Latvian dictionaries (including several unpublished manuscripts) were also made by non-Latvians; they gradually improved in scope and depth. 1705 saw a new edition of Dressel's dictionary with some corrections (Latin

substituted by Swedish, etc.), possibly done by Depkin. Elvers' (1748) German–Latvian dictionary contained about 8,000 words, partly replicating Mancelius.

Lange's (1777) dictionary, written about 20 years earlier (the first part published in 1773), had already 15,000 entries in its German–Latvian part and 10,000 entries in the reverse part, also providing information on regional use, borrowings, biblical words and toponyms. The dictionary is strictly alphabetic. Lange did some cleansing of mistaken forms and Germanisms that had accumulated in the previous dictionaries and manuscripts. This is emphasized in the preface. The dictionary has a grammatical marking system, and words from religious texts, not heard in the vernacular, are marked as biblical words and phrases. This dictionary showed many previously unrecorded vernacular words, the existence of which was unnecessarily doubted by Stender.

However the centre-piece of the century is Stender and his dictionary. Stender was a rationalist, enlightener and educator as well as the greatest authority of the time on issues of the Latvian language. Apart from the dictionary (which was an authoritative one for almost a hundred years), Stender was the author of numerous translations, localizations and original writings (altogether about 30). Thus his activities can be viewed as symbiotic – translating enlightening information with didactic goals and in parallel expanding the Latvian lexis.

Stender's first Latvian–German dictionary (Stender, 1761) was a trial attempt for his notable dictionary later. It was an appendix to his grammar. The dictionary had about 4,000 words. Within the general list of words there are also (proper) first names. Latin script is used for Latvian words for the first time in the Germanic tradition (it might have been a deliberate choice, or a way of better visual separating of the language texts as Latin script was often used for Latin texts in German books). Yet this choice was retained in the big dictionary. The dictionary also contained 137 Latvian proverbs and sayings, part of them from previous dictionaries.

The notable *Lettisches Lexicon* (1789) had 1,178 pages, and 7,000 words in the Latvian–German, 14,000 in the German–Latvian part. Stender retained Latin script for Latvian, established the principle of nesting, highlighting the idioms and derivatives. The lexis is exemplified, often by full sentences, rich phraseological and idiom material is on hand. The German–Latvian part provides numerous Latvian synonyms for the German entry. The nesting principle is very broad, thus under German 'horse' Latvian phrases and words also notionally connected with horses can be found. German phraseology and proverbs sometimes have well chosen Latvian analogues, sometimes (perhaps, translated by Stender himself), calques. For German words, mostly internationalisms having no Latvian

equivalents, Stender provides extended definition-like Latvian counterparts. The dictionary also pursued the tradition of appendices in both parts, containing toponyms, personal names, names of birds, fishes, insects, plants, trees, fungi (perhaps reflecting Stender's amazement at the huge Latvian lexicon of nature). When making use of previous dictionaries Stender prudently marks those items unknown to him with the initials of the previous lexicographers. This dictionary was extensively used in the 19th century and its material consequently entered the following big ones.

The dictionaries, however, often retained also the mistaken stock of the previous works. One can trace many German elements in Latvian grammar, collocation patterns and phrases, not characteristic of Latvian – and that apart from the undeniable German influence that must have already existed in the language (Zemzare, 1961). Lexicography thus followed the general development of Old Written Latvian, which, though lacking a strong normative code had emerged as a unified language with norms different from those of colloquial speech (Rūķe-Draviņa, 1977, p. 30). Generally, Latvian dictionaries from the beginning tended to be separate linguistic products, usually not published together with grammars.

Estonian

The Great Northern War and takeover by Russia in 1721 interrupted many Estonian-language projects – for example, full Bible translation was delayed until 1739. The Estonian Bible translator, grammarian and lexicographer Anton Thor Helle played a decisive role in working out and enriching Estonian. A grammar and dictionary had to be accomplished before the Bible. *Kurzgefaßte Anweisung zur Ehstnischen Sprache (1732)* was a collective work, edited by Thor Helle according to his normative principles, proceeding from the aim of translating the Bible. It had a 5,500 word Estonian–German word list (based on several unpublished manuscripts, e.g., that of Vestring's [c.1720s–1730s] and the new collection) as well as many appendices – 16 lists with German (sometimes Latin and Russian) correspondences and clarifications. It also carried Estonian proverbs and riddles with German counterparts. At the end of the book there are 10 dialogs trying to describe peculiarities of Estonian spoken language (similar to Mancelius – *author's note*).

Wilhelm August Hupel's book (Hupel, 1780) on both Estonian dialects contained in its dictionary section an Estonian–German (192 pages) and German–Estonian (216 pages) dictionaries amounting to 17,000 words with an appendix on South Estonian. The second edition, already in the 19th century (1818, published in Mitau/Jelgava), increased the word-stock to 21,000 words. As can be noted,

the early Estonian dictionaries tended to be published more as part of Estonian language descriptions or grammars.

Lithuanian

Lithuanian–Polish Union in the 18th century was gradually falling apart, the central government losing its power. Only Sirvydas' fifth edition (Sirvydas, 1713) was republished in Lithuania proper. Most of Lithuanian language description was done in Prussia. Around this time native Germans started to dominate in the Lithuanian language study. The Bible was finally published in 1735.

Haack's *Vocabularium Lithuanico-Germanicum et Germanico-Lithuanicum* (Haack, 1730) is shorter in comparison with Sirvydas, though it boasted having all words of the Bible which explains its aim – it was meant for Halle seminary students and contained about 5,000 words.

Ruhig's dictionary (1747), published in Königsberg, was a more systematic book and in addition to religious terms had many vernacular words. It is symptomatic that the Lithuanian–German part had 192 pages (around 5,700 words) while the German–Lithuanian part covered 424 pages (around 20,000 words). This tendency – that foreign language–Lithuanian part is always larger than the other language direction – did not change for a long time. Based on Sirvydas and Haack and being well supplemented, it had many synonyms in the German–Lithuanian part, and derivatives were nested with the root word. The author tried discerning loans, for example, pointing out that Slavicisms were not Lithuanian words

The latter was further improved by Mielcke's (1800) *Littauisch-Deutsches und Deutsch-Littauisches Wörterbuch* which expanded the wordstock, including new words from various manuscripts, 300 proverbs (not all of Lithuanian origin) and materials from Donelaitis' *Metai* (The Seasons).

19th century

The 19th century for the Baltic nations is the time of emancipation, modernization and awakening. The Latvian national awakening was fast and radical in all aspects, the Estonian one was more gradual (language issues became more important towards the very end of the century), while Lithuanian developments were largely delayed until the beginning of the 20th century. The general thrust is

to turn the local languages from spoken peasant idiom into a language of culture, with a developed writing system, literary language and literature going hand in hand with Western trends.

Latvian

After an early abolishing of serfdom, peasants in Estonia and Latvia were given surnames, were allowed to own property and migrate. From the forties the school system comprised most of the population. There was a fast growth in literacy, reading habits turned from intensive (a couple of religious texts at home [Apīnis, 1977, p. 77]) to extensive (various texts of secular character). The German elite established cultural societies with a task of looking into Latvian (1817, 1824).

In the first half of the 19th century the first Latvian–German dictionary aimed at Latvians by A. J. Stender (1820) (the son of G. Fr. Stender) appears, reflecting the developing opinion of the German elite that the local population perhaps should not be ignored, but instead educated and Germanized. The relatively small 3,000 word dictionary is mostly based on the dictionary by Stender senior, with small deviations.

There is also a novel and interesting book of supplements and amendments to G. Fr. Stender's dictionary (Wellig, 1828), which apart from the above provides suggestions to future lexicographers. These advise against indiscriminate copying of previous materials without checking them. There is also a call to involve larger numbers of people in collection work. The book was intensively used by later dictionary compilers.

Finally, there is a multilingual dictionary (Kurmin, 1858) that after almost two centuries represents the Latgallian variant again. The dictionary is based on Elger's and Sirvydas' fifth edition (Sirvydas, 1713), contains about 13,000 entries. Its task was to ease learning of Latvian for the Catholic priests. The author used Polish orthography; however, the dictionary has many mistakes and imprecisions.

The situation changed in the middle of the 19th century when the so-called Latvian national awakening started, lead by Neo-Latvians (nationally aware Latvians who refused to be Germanized, as former well-to-do and educated people tended to do). National literature and writing quickly passed from the German pastors into the hands of Latvians: for example, the percentage of works in Latvian authored by native Latvians rose from 3% in 1844 to 51% in 1869 (in just 25 years!) (Schmidt, 1992, p. 89). The same occurred in publishing houses and editorships – they passed into the hands of Latvians (Karulis, 1967, p. 85). Book publishing doubled

every 10–15 years (Apīnis, 1977, p. 330). Latgale being territorially part of Russia proper, however, was subject to the same language restrictions as Lithuania in the second half of the century which delayed its development. Latvian nationalism in its struggle against German domination sought support from Russia and for a time succeeded. Yet in the last decades Russification policies (administration, schooling and religion) thwarted this trend. But the Latvian–Russian closer contact spilled over also into lexicography.

Most dictionaries of the second half of the 19th century were produced by the Latvian speakers and accordingly tended to reflect the spoken vernacular more. Valdemārs' Russian–Latvian–German dictionary (Valdemārs, 1872) was innovative in many ways. The concept was based on a Russian–Swedish–Finnish dictionary of 1851. Russian was selected from four to five Russian dictionaries. It was a practical dictionary aimed at Latvians learning Russian and Russians learning Latvian. His dictionary had a team of compilers who introduced much of the folk element, coined new words, as well as introduced many borrowings (preferring Greek and Latin) not only for new notions but also to substitute many German loans. German was used mainly to explain these Latvian neologisms. Three fonts were used – Cyrillic for Russian, Latin italics for Latvian and Gothic script for German. In the second edition (Valdemārs, 1890), the German part was dropped as many neologisms had taken root, some borrowings were removed as dictionaries of foreign words had appeared. This dictionary had several editions. In 1879, a reversed dictionary – Latvian–Russian–German (*Lettisch*, 1879) was produced with 13,000 Latvian entries, again improving and modernizing the language material.

The last serious work of Old Latvian tradition – Ulmann's *Lettisches Wörterbuch* (1872) (Latvian–German, with 20,000 words), was aimed mostly at German readers and had so far the most exhaustive number of entries in Latvian. It used Latin script for Latvian, was historical, contained no invented items, had few internationalisms, included many dialect words, with some etymological elements, phrasal examples, avoided some Germanisms (the letters 'f', 'h'), included the most widespread neologisms (supplied by Kronvalds), and all in all was a descriptive and traditional dictionary (though several Latvians were among its compilers, such as Neikens). In a way it crowned the German contribution and was its last major work, yet it served as a basis of the large iconic dictionary of Latvian in the 20th century. Published in the same year as Valdemārs', it was a competing, more academic, product. The national, social and professional strife between the German and Latvian editors and their dictionaries generally was beneficial, bringing together the Old Latvian and New Latvian and improving the end products.

The reverse German–Latvian dictionary started by Ulmann and others was finished by Brasche (Ulmann & Brasche, 1880). It contained 35,000 words and has a somewhat uncoordinated wealth of general words, dialect words (especially of Kurland), borrowings, archaisms. Brasche had some years before published a smaller dictionary, generally considered to be old-fashioned.

Other types of dictionaries started to appear, testifying to the growth of language contacts. The development of the national language, together with the spread of newspapers and international contacts created a need for books of foreign words (Mekons, 1878 [2,000 entries]; Dravnieks, 1886 [5,000 entries]). The opening of the wider world and the wish to demonstrate the national intellectual and linguistic potential of Latvia, as well as the Russification of schools, spelled a need for encyclopedias. Encyclopedias (according to the German pattern called *Konversationlexikon*) became popular at the end of the 19th century, e.g. Dravnieks' *Konversācijas vārdnīca* (1891–1898; unfinished, until letter 'K'), was patterned on Meyer's *Hand-Lexicon des allgemeinen Wissens* (Kleine Meyer), some entries were just translated, and another (*Konversācijas*, 1906–1921) both in the Gothic script. This culminated in the monumental *Latviešu Konversācijas vārdnīca* in 21 volumes in the 20th century. In all of these, despite the political anti-German drive, one can see the influence and pattern of German lexicographic ideas of the time, namely Brockhaus' dictionaries with their strong emphasis on personalities (differing from *Encyclopedia Britannica* with its more subject-oriented approach).

Valdemārs (1881) also produced also a multilingual pocket marine dictionary in Russian, English, French, German, Italian, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Latvian, with Dutch and Spanish supplements, based on one of the existing books, where his contribution was Russian and Latvian.

Estonian

The economic and political background was similar to Latvia. There was a rapid growth in population and literacy – reading skill reached 80% in the 1850s. The University of Dorpat (Tartu) was reopened in 1802 and in the middle of the century became a focal point of Estonian and Latvian nationalism. It became clear that the spelling system should be changed and Finnish served as an example. The national awakening in Estonia proceeded along similar lines as in Latvia, with a step behind (Hroch, 1985, p. 29); it was also less radical. Thus it spilled over into language reforms ideas (Aavik) only in the beginning of the 20th century. Tsarist Russification attempts hit the awakening radicals who, similarly to Latvians, had sought Russian support against Germans. At

the end of the century, literacy rate was approaching 100%. A standard national language was being molded from a church language and peasant parlance with a consensus that there should be one written language and end of the century saw consolidation of the new spelling. Accordingly, in the 20th century Estonian lexicography paid much attention to language norms and orthography.

Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann, though of German-Swedish origins from Haapsalu, falls in line with Valdemārs and Juška as a representative of the native lexicographers in the Baltic. He had a broad outlook, was an outstanding expert of Finno-Ugric linguistics, member of Russian Academy of Sciences, author of Estonian grammar (1871). His comprehensive and descriptive Estonian–German dictionary (Wiedemann, 1869), covering all varieties of Estonian, amounted to 50,000 words. The vast scope of this dictionary lead to the absorption of South Estonian lexis in contemporary literary language. Unclear (spelling of) words are marked with a cross, neologisms with an asterisk. German equivalents are italicized and typographically the dictionary is clear and pleasant. The dictionary was very bulky, academic and not user-friendly, the spelling system, mostly vowels, is most complicated from the modern point of view, which makes finding the words an orthographic nightmare. The second supplemented edition (Wiedemann, 1893), edited by Jakob Hurt, increased the number of entries to 60,000. Besides the comprehensive projects by Wiedemann, also some insignificant attempts were made to publish popular Estonian–German dictionaries (Körber, 1866).

The end of the century, because of the Russification policies lead to several Estonian–Russian and Russian–Estonian dictionaries being published: a Russian–Estonian dictionary (Johanson-Pärna, 1885) had 16,000 words, was popular and had five editions before 1917, other Russian–Estonian dictionaries followed (Kõrv, 1889–1896; Jaanus, 1893). An Estonian–Russian dictionary (Salem, 1890), based on Wiedemann, had 25,000 words; the Estonian–German tradition was pursued by Nebokat (1887–1889) in a more user-friendly edition (see Vihma, 1996). A German–Estonian dictionary (Ploompuu & Kann, 1902) had 35,000 entries. Smaller specialized dictionaries also appeared, such as a dictionary of 1600 new and foreign words collected and with equivalents in Estonian explained (Grenzstein, 1884). Also, a German–Latvian–Russian-Estonian thematic dictionary (*Systematisches*, 1885) can be mentioned. Estonian encyclopedias, though, had to wait until the 20th century.

Lithuanian

From the beginning of the 19th century, Lithuania proper was split and divided administratively within the Russian Empire. Russians gradually suppressed the Vilnius University as a centre of Lithuanian education, started a Russification campaign and from 1864 to 1904 banned Lithuanian writing in education and publishing. This affected lexicography which largely stayed in manuscript form.

As Lithuanian looked likely to disappear in Prussia, an interest appeared in recording it. Thus, in 1879, Litauische literarische Gesellschaft was established by prominent linguists, which however, was interested mostly in recording its archaic character and place within Indo-European studies. This trend found reflection also in dictionaries. Nesselmann's (1851) Lithuanian–German dictionary seriously expanded its vernacular component. The dictionary had about 35,000 words excerpted from previous dictionaries and manuscripts, also new ones collected by Nesselmann's assistants. The dictionary had a strange nesting principle: first come vowels, then consonants according to Old Indian grammar traditions (Sanskrit alphabet) that were close to Nesselmann's heart.

A three-volume Kurschat's (1870–1874; 1883) German–Lithuanian (724 plus 392 pages) and Lithuanian–German dictionary (530 pages) was both a scientific and practical dictionary, compiled in about 30 years, having both written and spoken language material of the 19th century. It achieved precision also on Lithuanian intonations which had been a regular stumbling block in previous dictionaries. The words unknown to the author were provided in square brackets – among which there were many mistaken ones. Its German–Lithuanian part had many neologisms, also phraseology. The dictionary was most useful for the following lexicographers.

A multilingual Lithuanian–Latvian–German–Russian dictionary by Miežinis (1894), published in Prussia, contained about 15,000 words and testified to the main contact languages.

The living Lithuanian vernacular appeared in its full in a trilingual explanatory dictionary by Juška (1897–1922) which, however, partly remained in manuscript form (three volumes were published, the third after World War I, reaching letter 'K') and all posthumously (Juška died in 1880). The manuscript of the dictionary contained about 30,000 words and is a mirror of the Lithuanian spoken language of the second half of the 19th century, containing not only 'nice' words, but also vulgarisms and borrowings. The chief deficiency in the dictionary is the sometimes erroneous indication of the position of stress and the failure to establish vowel length. Juška had prepared several other manuscripts, among them that of a Latvian–Lithuanian–Polish dictionary.

Further developments

In the 20th century the three Baltic states had a similar historical background, they achieved independence after World War I, started active nation-building processes which involved iconic lexicography works – national projects associated with well-known names of lexicographers. These projects reflected the past tendencies and future challenges of the respective languages. A Latvian–German dictionary (Mühlenbachs, 1923–1932) with supplements (Endzelīns & Hauzenberga, 1934–1946) had a strong academic and purist drive. Estonian orthological dictionary by Veski (1925–1937) was perhaps less of an icon than the Latvian and Lithuanian projects, yet it was prescriptive and introduced many new words. The Lithuanian project under various editors spanned a century and came to 20 volumes (*Lietuvių*, 1941/1968–2002) encompassing citations from 1547 to 2001. Apart from these monumental works, Baltic lexicography carried on the traditional bilingual focus (Veisbergs, 2000), reflecting Russian, German and English as the major contact languages. The variety of lexicographical resources exploded in the 20th century but this is beyond the scope of this paper.

Conclusions

Latvian, Estonian and Lithuanian lexicography are characterized by a similar early development (despite a different language contact situation). There is a clear dominance of bilingual/multilingual dictionaries compiled to serve the needs of the clergy in the main contact language pairs and triples. While in Latvia and Estonia this was predominantly a German–Latvian, German–Estonian combination, in Lithuania it was Polish–Latin–Lithuanian (Catholic tradition) and German–Lithuanian (Protestant tradition) combination. The German contribution, thus, is dominant in all Baltic language lexicographies. Latvian had by far the largest number of early dictionaries, while Lithuania proper had to suffice with one for a long time (however of better quality). Latvian dictionaries, including the iconic one, also tend to have had a better absorption of previous works. Later, with the countries' incorporation into Russia, Russian gradually became another dominant language in the bilingual lexicography of all three countries. Lithuania's lexicographical development was seriously hindered by the language ban imposed by the tsarist authorities. End of the 19th century saw lexicography move into the hands of the native speakers in all three countries resulting in an influx of vernacular in dictionaries and concerted attempts to stabilize the language (writing, spelling, alphabet,

variants). A variety of dictionaries appeared. After achieving independence, iconic projects of a different scope and timescale were started.

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