

Eloquence («Beredsamkeit») and Rhetoric («Rhetorik») as Terms and Lexemes

The Concept of Rhetoric in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* of Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm in the Context of the European Idea of «National Language» in the 19th Century

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Abstract

This article focuses on the European heritage of rhetoric in the 18th century within the dictionary *Deutsches Wörterbuch* by the brothers Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm as a case of transformation of knowledge from the classical language of scholarship - Latin - to the vernacular of Germany in scholarly literature. The dictionary *Deutsches Wörterbuch* begun by the Grimm brothers was finally edited in the 20th century. It is a source for the historical terms used in the German language in the written and published books prior to the first half of the 19th century. The *Deutsches Wörterbuch* presents historical terms, which are documents of the usage of the German language since the time of Luther, and also newly created terms resulting from translations. The concept of «rhetoric» in the dictionary demonstrates this dichotomy. The effects this dictionary had on its readers' understanding of language will be shown in contrast to other European movements of national identity in the 19th century.

Key words

German language, Rhetoric, Redekunst, 19th century, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, historical linguistics, rhetorical terminology

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1. Introduction: The European Heritage of Rhetoric

1.1 The Conditions of Rhetoric during the 19th Century

1.1.1. The Rise of National Identity in Europe and National Rhetoric in the 19th Century

The 19th century was in Europe a century of constant political movements; their aim to construct European languages can be studied in the writings of the time. The colonization and political protection of ample parts of the world under the dominance of Euro-

pean countries brought a first wave of ‘internationalization’. With the formation of national states in Europe each country emphasized its national language. Today we are used to understanding the term «national language» as referring to the standard language associated to a nation. But in the 19th century in Germany and other European countries the process of national identity started and was accompanied by the search for a new republican and democratic state in the territory of Germany. The term «national language» as a modern term was associated with the idea of a cultural nation, which carried its «national language» as heritage of the past. Language was considered a carrier of distinct cultures.

The idea of «national state» developed in Europe within the search for an alternative to countries that were monarchies under the leadership of a sovereign. As a tool for the development of republican and democratic national states, since the 18th century, the idea of a national language for Germany was used politically as a carrier of the idea of «national state». *The Deutsches Wörterbuch*, which was started by the brothers Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm after they had to resign at the University of Göttingen, was not the only linguistic work to be deeply influenced by the idea of «nation» as unit of cultural identity in Europe. On the one hand, the brothers Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm were also studying the connections between European languages and discovered rules for the historical linguistic development of languages, on the other hand their knowledge led to a specific study of the national heritage and history of the German language. The brothers collected tales and stories of the area of contemporary Germany, which had been passed down from generation to generation until then only orally. Thus, they aimed at contributing to German language and literature. The books published in the 19th century in Europe were discussing and promoting the idea of «nation» and here language served as a document of the shared common heritage of a «nation». This process was not happening only in Germany. Scholars were also inquiring upon the origin and the relationships between languages in Europe and North America. Horatio Hale, for example, published *The Origin of Languages and the Antiquity of Speaking Man as An Address before the Section of Anthropology of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at Buffalo, August, 1886* in Cambridge. Charles Lassalle published his book *Origin of the Western Nations & Languages* in London in 1883. *The Writing Babel. A Letter to James Silke Buckingham* was written by Alfred Tobias John Martin and published in Penzance in 1844. Especially the variations of the English language spoken in the island and in colonies all over the world raised the question about the coming into existence of languages. An example is Elias Molee’s book *Plea for an American Language, or Germanic-English, Showing the Necessity of Systematic Spelling and of Making our Words Pure*, which aimed at the proposition of an American Language; it was published in Chicago in 1888. Various examples exist demonstrating the rise of the idea of «national language»; thus, under the title *The Reciprocal Influence on Each Other of National Character and National Language, the English Prize Essay for 1870* Henry Francis Pelham published an essay in Oxford in 1870.

In the Grimm brothers’ *Deutsches Wörterbuch* the intention of creating a dictionary in order to document the national treasure of the German language, which has been preserved in the literary writings since the Renaissance, was formulated *expressis verbis* by the promoters of the dictionary. Also in the editorial work carried out subsequently, which would last until the second half of the 20th century, the object of producing a dictionary as document of the national heritage of the country was never abandoned. In the dictionary, an ancient science and subject of teaching such as rhetoric also became a subject of the idea of «national state», as it was now confronted with the national languages of Europe, which were being examined from a scholarly point of view as heritage of the na-

tional states. So the European vernaculars in the 19th century became the topic of study of this ancient discipline of Greece, which was also still studied as a linguistic subject by the scholars of the classical authors in the Greek and Latin language. The contemporary national languages – among them the German, the English and the English-American variation, and the French language – were the subject of the enforcement of the national identities of these countries. Germany, in contrast to France, had not undergone a process of national unification and the *status quo* of the political situation was still a scattered formation of small sovereign states with separate laws and regulations. The *Deutsches Wörterbuch* of the Grimm brothers started as a project in the middle of the 19th century after they had left the University of Göttingen, which was part of the ruling dynasty of the kings of Hannover in today's Lower Saxony.

1.1.2 National Languages and Rhetoric in the 19th Century

Dictionaries, which contained the inventory of the local language as heritage of the nation, were published in the 19th century in Europe. Especially the English language and other languages spoken on the islands in Northern Europe and the English language that developed in the former colonies in the United States of America and in Canada were at the centre of the reflections on national identity. The idea of «national identity» was clearly linked to the idea of national heritage. In this regard, the traditional discipline of rhetoric was re-established under the vernacular languages as vehicle to promote the idea of «national state», since rhetoric arose from non-monarchical political states. The question whether a national literature could exist at all was also discussed in places like the United States of America. This country was traditionally a country of immigrants. So *Why a National Literature Cannot Flourish in the United States of North America* was written by Joseph Rocchietti in New York in 1845. The book *The Influence of the Irish Language on Irish National Literature and Character* was published as a lecture by William O'Brien. *A National Dictionary of the Welsh Language with English and Welsh Equivalents* was published by William Owen Pughe. This book was successfully read and a third edition, which was edited and enlarged by Robert John Pryse, was published in Denbigh between 1866 and 1873.

With similar intentions T. O. Russell's *The National Language of Ireland* was published in Dublin in 1897. *The College Irish Grammar Compiled Chiefly with a View to Aid the Students of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth in the Study of the National Language* was published by Ulick J. Bourke in Dublin in 1868. An *Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language Illustrating the Words in their Different Significations* was published as a dissertation on the origin of the Scottish language by John Jamieson in Edinburgh in 1808. The English language was also subject to the national ideas promoted in scholarly studies. *The New Illustrated National Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language* in «Collins's Series of Illustrated Dictionaries» was published in London by William Collins in 1868. *A Grammar of the English Language in a Series of Letters Intended for the Use of Schools and of Young Persons in General* written by William Cobbett was published in a third edition in London in 1819. *The Reciprocal Influence on Each Other of National Character and National Language* was published by Henry Francis Pelham in Oxford in 1870. *National Education and the English Language* was published under the pseudonym «by a foreigner» by Tito Pagliardini in 1868 in Oxford. *An Easy, Natural, and National Mode of Teaching and Acquiring the French Language* written by William Henry Pybus was published in London in 1816. *Primitive and Universal Laws of the Formation and Development of Language. A National and Inductive System Founded on the Natural Basis of Onomatops* was published by Callixte Auguste Godde de Liancourt in London in

1874. *An Analytical and Practical Grammar of the English Language with an Appendix on Prosody, Punctuation* was written by Henry William Davies and published in Toronto in 1868.

The English language was treated as topic of rhetoric in *Selections for the Illustration of a Course of Instructions on the Rhythmus and Utterance of the English Language with an Introductory Essay on the Application of Rhythmical Science to the Treatment of Impediments, and the Improvement of our National Oratory and an Elementary Analysis of the Science and Practice of Elocution, Composition, &c.*, a work that was published by John Thelwall in London in 1812. Dictionaries regulated particularly in matters of pronunciation of the English language. Thus, an *Illustrated National Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language* was published in Glasgow in 1869 and a *National and Universal Illustrated Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language* was published in London in 1890. The United States of America openly discussed the question of the possibility of a national language. Besides the English language, scholars took into consideration as the official language of the country also German. An example of this discussion is the writing *Plea for an American Language, or, Germanic-English Showing the Necessity of Systematic Spelling and of Making our Words Pure, Self-developed and Self-explaining according to Greek, German and Irish Models, with a Grammar, Reader and Vocabulary of the Proposed American Language, Appeal to Germans, Irishmen and Skandinavians as well as the Americans in Behalf of an Expressive Tongue, the Present English Proven to be a National Misfortune*, which was written by Elias Molee and published in Chicago in 1888. A *Discourse on the Necessity and the Means of Making our National Literature Independent of that of Great Britain* was a speech delivered before the Members of the Pennsylvania Library of Foreign Literature and Science in 1834 by Peter S. Du Ponceau, published in Philadelphia in 1834.

1.2 The State of Research and its History in the 19th Century

1.2.1 Rhetoric of the 19th Century as Research Field

Introduction: State of research

Rhetorical styles have been collected in manuals since antiquity. The terms documented in these works are present in the 18th century in the available scholarly writings and handbooks written in European national languages. Robling (2007: 265) mentions the Brothers Grimm only marginally. Haase (2011) discussed the tradition of «Beredsamkeit» in Germany during the 19th century. Linn (1962), Neuber (1987), and Broch (2012) discussed the state of rhetoric in the 19th century. Dahmen (1993), Dahmen, Herbig and Wessela (1993), and Ueding (1998) discussed rhetoric in the 19th century. Mirra published *Der Weg zur deutschen Nationalsprache* in Berlin 1964. Johnson (1991), Oliver (1986), and Turville-Petre (1996) discussed rhetoric in the English-speaking countries in the 19th century. Lohmann (1993 and 1993) discussed the pedagogical function of rhetoric from 1750 to 1850 for the *Vormärz* in Germany. The handbooks and historical studies about rhetoric were continuously published in the 19th century as scholarly studies of antiquity; besides these classical studies now also studies of rhetoric in the vernaculars of Europe occurred. *Über Beredsamkeit und Rhetorik* was written by Carl Jahn and published in Bern 1817. *Philosophische und religiöse Begründung der Rhetorik und Homiletik* written by Heinrich August Schott was published in Leipzig in 1815. The systematic handbook of rhetoric *Die Beredsamkeit eine Tugend, oder, Grundlinien einer systematischen Rhetorik* written by Franz Therenin was published in the German language in Berlin in 1814. Two years before the lectures *Zwölf Reden über die Beredsamkeit und deren Verfall in Deutschland* as speeches concerning the decline of rhetoric were held in Vienna in the spring of 1812 by Adam Mül-

ler. *Der deutsche Redner oder Album classischer Prosa in einer chronologisch geordneten Beispiel- und Mustersammlung deutscher Beredsamkeit aller Zeiten zum Gebrauch auf Gymnasien, ferner für Studierende und Staatsbeamte und für Gebildete überhaupt vorangehend der Grundsätze der Rhetorik* was published by Karl Ludwig Kannegießer in 1854. Gustav Adolf Zimmermann's *Handbuch der deutschen Literatur Europa's und Amerika's* has a third part *Abriss der Literatur-Geschichte, Verslehre, Poetik, Rhetorik und Stilistik*, which was published in Chicago in 1876 and discussed the history of rhetoric in Germany.

The Tradition of «Beredsamkeit»

The term «Beredsamkeit» («eloquence») was used in Germany in the 19th century to cover all areas of rhetoric from ancient to contemporary. The loanword and term «Rhetorik» («rhetoric») itself was also used, but not as frequently as «Beredsamkeit». Studies of classical rhetoric like Blass' *Die attische Beredsamkeit* published in Leipzig in 1898 and the edition of the *Institutio Oratoria* by M. Fabius Quintilian under the title *Unterricht in der Beredsamkeit*, which was published in Leipzig in 1892, were among the classical philological studies. Also translations like the book *Gespräch über die Redner oder von den Ursachen des Verfalls der Beredsamkeit* by Tacitus, which was published in 1897, were now available to readers who could not understand the Latin language. The homiletic usage was a modern application of rhetoric and Luther can be considered its first representative scholar in Germany. The academic lectures *Theorie der geistlichen Beredsamkeit* by Joseph Jungmann were published in 1895 in the 3rd edition. Christian Stock's *Homiletisches Real-Lexikon, oder reicher Vorrath zur geist- und weltlichen Beredsamkeit* was published in St. Louis in 1890. The *Handbuch der geistlichen Beredsamkeit* by Heinrich Basermann was published in Stuttgart in 1885. The eloquence of the body was also studied; the book *Die Gebärdensprache* of Carl Michel entails as part 1 *Die körperliche Beredsamkeit. Gebärden, Seelenzustände, Stimme, Rollenstudium, Spielenand* was published in Cologne in 1886. The Greek and Latin authors served as the examples for the study of rhetoric, which was in most cases called eloquence «Beredsamkeit». To this end, *Grundzüge der Beredsamkeit mit einer Auswahl von Musterstellen aus der klassischen Litteratur der älteren und neueren Zeit* written by Nikolaus Schleiniger was published in Freiburg im Breisgau in 1883. Political rhetoric was also a topic of scholarly discussion in the second half of the 19th century. Ambros Lissner published *Ueber die Entwicklung der Staats- und Gerichts-Beredsamkeit in Athen* in Vienna in 1870.

From a scholarly point of view, rhetoric was studied as a subject that became increasingly independent from its ancient classical heritage. Even German texts were now used as samples for the study of rhetoric. *Der deutsche Redner oder Album classischer Prosa in einer chronologisch geordneten Beispiel- und Mustersammlung deutscher Beredsamkeit aller Zeiten zum Gebrauch auf Gymnasien, ferner für Studierende und Staatsbeamte und für Gebildete überhaupt* by Karl Ludwig Kannegießer was published in Leipzig in 1854. Besides the historical works of the ancient authors, the study of European history of rhetoric in modernity was also a topic of the books titled *Beredsamkeit* or *Redekunst*. The *Geschichte der Poesie und Beredsamkeit seit dem Ende des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* was published by Friedrich Bouterwek in Göttingen in 1850. The book *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur, oder der Sprach-, Dicht- und Redekunst der Deutschen, bis auf unsere Zeit* by Theodor Heinsius was published in Berlin in 1843. Heinsius' work *Teut, oder, Theoretisch-praktisches Lehrbuch der gesammten deutschen Sprachwissenschaft* entails a second part *Vorschule der Sprach und Redekunst, oder theoretisch-praktische Anleitung zum richtigen Sprechen, Schreiben und Verstehen der deutschen Spra-*

Die Beredtsamkeit eine schöne Kunst oder kritisch philosophische Untersuchung über das Wesen der Beredtsamkeit by Theodor Haase was published in Göttingen in 1857. The lectures *Vorträge über Beredtsamkeit* by Johann Michael von Sötl were published in Munich in 1869. The piece *Die Beredtsamkeit* composed by Joseph Haydn was published in Berlin in 1855. The speech *Über Wesen und Zweck der akademischen Beredtsamkeit* was held in the name of the Georg-Augusts-Universität by Carl Friedrich Hermann in Göttingen in 1854.

The Tradition of «Rhetorik» («Rhetoric») and «Redekunst» («Art of Speaking»)

In the 19th century the terms «Rhetorik» («rhetoric») and «Redekunst» («art of speaking») were used as synonyms. The terms «Rhetorik» and «Redekunst» referred to the ancient *ars rhetorica* and rhetoric. These terms usually referred to the classical education in the field of rhetoric.

The term «Rhetorik» was not as common as the term «Beredtsamkeit». The work *Schule der Redekunst und schönen Wissenschaften überhaupt nach Hugo Blair* was published in German by Joseph Eiselein. Traditional works by Greek and Roman authors were published in translation. *Aristoteles' Drei Bücher der Redekunst* in a translation by Adolf Stahr were published in Berlin in 1897. *Die Redekunst. Ein Lehrbuch für Jedermann* written by Senff-Georgi was published in Dresden in 1895. *Katechismus der Redekunst. Anleitung zum mündlichen Vortrage* was published by Roderich Benedix in Leipzig in 1889. *Versuch einer sittlichen Würdigung der sophistischen Redekunst* written by Wilhelm Bethe was published in Stade in 1873. *Des M. Fabius Quintilian Anleitung zur Redekunst zehntes Buch. Lateinisch und Deutsch mit kritischen Noten und erläuternden Anmerkungen* was written by Alberti and published in Leipzig in 1858. During the time of the Vormärz, the time prior to the German March Revolution, which was the initial step towards democratization, rhetoric also became a practical vehicle of the political process. Anonymously, *Die parlamentarische Redekunst, d.i. Anweisung in öffentlicher Versammlung zu sprechen und an der Debatte Theil zu nehmen, für die Oberklassen öffentlicher Lehranstalten bearbeitet und mit einer Beispielsammlung vollständiger Debatten, sowie deren skizzierter Umrisse und einen großen Anzahl zur Discussion geeigneter Texte versehen von einem praktischen Schulmanne* was published in Grimma in 1849.

Rhetoric was taught at school and textbooks were written for instruction in *Rhetorik und Redekunst. Practische Rhetorik oder vollständiges Lehrbuch der deutschen Redekunst für die oberen Classen der Schulen und zum Selbstunterrichte* by Falkmann was published in Hannover in 1849. *Die Redekunst. Eine Anleitung zum öffentlichen Vortrage für Volksvertreter und Geschäftsleute nebst Beispielen aus deutschen, französischen und englischen Musterreden* by Julius Sander was published in Leipzig in 1847. The *Handbuch deutscher Beredtsamkeit enthaltend eine Übersicht der Geschichte und Theorie der Redekunst zugleich mit einer vollständigen Sammlung deutscher Reden jedes Zeitalters und jeder Gattung* was published by Wolff in Leipzig in 1846. *Hellmuth Winter published Literärgeschichte der deutschen Sprach-Dicht- und Rede-Kunst, zum Leitfaden bei Vorträgen über die schöne National-Literatur auf gelehrten Schulen und Universitäten* in Leipzig in 1829. Ernestis' *Theoretisch-praktisches Handbuch der schönen Redekünste für die oberen Classen gelehrter Schulen* was published in Quedlinburg and Leipzig in 1820.

The Contemporary Terms for «Rhetoric» in English

The most used contemporary term for rhetoric in English is «rhetoric». This usage of the cognate of the ancient Greek word as an English term is a paradigm of the relationship

between the ancient European heritage of the Greek and Latin languages and the English language; the English language adopted cognates and loanwords of Latin and Greek and scholars promoted the idea of an exchange between ancient and modern languages. In the English-speaking areas of England and the USA the term «rhetoric» was used both for writings about ancient rhetoric and contemporary handbooks. *A Practical Rhetoric for Instruction in English* written by Clark was published in New York in 1889. *English Composition and Rhetoric* was published by Alexander Bain in London in 1887. *The Kāvyaśāstra. A Treatise on Rhetoric* by Rudrata was edited in Bombay in 1886. *The Rhetoric of Aristotle* was edited as a translation by Weldon in London in 1886. The work *Elements of Rhetoric* by Richard Whately was published in London in 1882. *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* by Hugh Blair were published in London in 1874. *The Kāvya Prakāsa, or a Treatise on Sanscrit Rhetoric of Mammata Bhatta* was published in Calcutta in 1866. *Style and Rhetoric and other Papers* was published by DeQuincey in Edinburgh in 1862. *Critical Suggestions on Style and Rhetoric with German Tales and other Narrative Papers* was published by Quincey in London and Edinburgh in 1859. The book *Elements of Rhetoric extracted from the work of Richard Whately* was published in Mirzapon in 1854. *English Grammar, Style, Rhetoric, and Poetry to which are add., Preparatory Logic, and Advice to the Student, on the Improvement of the Understanding* was published by Richard Hiley in London in 1846. *Elements Of Rhetoric Comprising An Analysis Of The Laws Of Moral Evidence And Of Persuasion with Rules For Argumentative Composition And Elocution* written by Richard Whately was published in London in 1846. *Lectures On Rhetoric And Belles Lettres of Hugh Blair* were published in Philadelphia in 1839. *The Philosophy of Rhetoric of John Bascom* was published in New York in 1872. *William Russell's American Elocutionist. Comprising 'Lessons in Enunciation', 'Exercises in Elocution', and 'Rudiments of Gesture'* was published in Boston in 1851. *A Practical System of Rhetoric, or The Principles and Rules of Style, inferred from Examples of Writing, to which is Added a Historical Dissertation on English style* written by Samuel Phillips Newman was published in New York in 1842.

1.2.2 Research of the Terminology of the German Language: «Rhetoric» and «Beredsamkeit» in the *Deutsche Wörterbuch* in the Context of its Time

The *Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften* places the *Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm* as a «national dictionary» together with the major «national dictionaries» of other European cultural languages like the *Oxford English Dictionary*. (*Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften*). Haß (2001), Kirkness (2012), Schmitt (2010), and Wettstein (2010) analyzed the place of the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* by the Grimm Brothers in the history of dictionaries. The latest edition is the online edition of the University of Trier. Already 200 years ago German was a well-established standard language thanks to the achievements of the members of the linguistic society *Fruchtbringende Gesellschaft*. But the spelling was continuously subject to changes. The University of Göttingen describes the German Dictionary by the Grimm Brothers as having its intellectual foundations in early 19th century thought. Jacob Grimm wrote in the preface of the dictionary that the contemporary literary canon of education played an important part in the selection of sources. The Grimm Brothers intended to establish the dictionary as a treasure of German words, ignoring loanwords from other languages. In 1863 Jacob Grimm colleague Karl Weigand continued the work. In 1867 Moriz Heyne started working on the German dictionary. In 1880 Matthias von Lexer started his work to supply the N-

nightingale section. In 1895 Hermann Wunderlich became the successor of Hildebrand. In 1908 the scientific management was transferred to Göttingen. In 1930 the center of the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* was transferred to Berlin. In 1947 Göttingen also became a center for the work on the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*.

In the 1950s the idea of a possible revision first emerged. In 1957 the decision was made to revamp the most obsolete parts. In 1960 the last part of the dictionary was printed. In 1961 revision began. With textual examples of the period between Luther and Goethe the dictionary intended to portray the richness of folk and literary language through quotations. Jacob divides German into three periods «Old High German», «Middle High German», and «High German». The Grimm Brothers rejected foreign words as «anormal» (University of Göttingen). Terms derived from *reden* were described in entries for other lexemes, which entail this main lexeme. The main and oldest source for German rhetoric and referenced source was the Baroque work by Casper Stieler who studied medicine, law, theology and «Beredsamkeit» («rhetoric»). Luther's works are mentioned as the oldest German texts used in the *Deutsche Wörterbuch*. Newer sources for terms derived from «reden» are Gellert, Klopstock, Lessing, Schiller, Wieland, Albert, Goethe, Fichte, Adelung, Kirchhof, Micrälius, Schuppius, Gotter, Gökingk, Bürger, Schweinichen, Ringwald, Creidius, Günther, Keisersberg, Steinbach, Lichtwehr, Varnhagen v. Emse, Haltaus, Baur, Thümmel, and Scheffel. Dasypodius and Tacitus are the authors whose works are cited for ancient articles about rhetoric.

2. Case Discussions of the Term «Beredsamkeit» in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* by Jacob Grimm and Wilhelm Grimm

2.1 Case 1: The Grimms' Understanding of Rhetoric as «Beredsamkeit»

In the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* the term «Beredsamkeit» contains a reference to the Latin terms «facundia» and «eloquentia». Examples are taken from Gellert, Klopstock, and Lessing (GWB 1: 1494). The term «beredt» has the equivalent Latin terms «eloquens» and «disertus». The *Deutsches Wörterbuch* distinguishes between an active and a passive meaning of «beredt» equivalent to «compellatus», «persuasus», and «delinitus». The word «beredet» did not exist in Middle High German, but was used by Luther and occurred as entries in the dictionaries of Dasypodius and Maaler. As for German authors using the term, the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* mentions Micrälius, Schupp, Gotter, Gökingk, Bürger, and Schiller (GWB 1: 1494-1495). The term «Beredtheit» refers to «facundia» and was seldomly used according to the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (GWB 1: 1495). The term is obsolete in contemporary German. The term «beredtheitsgierig» («keen on eloquence») is not used in the German of the 20th century and later (GWB 1: 1495). The term «Beredung» has four meanings in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. The first meaning is equivalent to the terms «suasio», «persuasio», and «zurede». It is used for the usual habit of little souls to comfort each other. This meaning is passed on to the German poets Wieland and Schiller. The second meaning refers to «sermo», «colloquium», and «gespräch». It has the meaning of conversation and the German authors mentioned using it are Schweinichen, Ringwald, and Leibn. The third meaning is «pactio» and «verabredung», which refers to an appointment. Authors quoted here are Frey, Creidius, and Günther. The fourth meaning refers to the Latin terms «oblocutio» and «reprehensio». An author who used this term is Keisersberg (GWB 1: 1495). The term is obsolete in contemporary German. The term «Redekunst» has four meanings in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*.

Derived from «Rede» is the term «Redekunst» is understood as the «art of speaking» («kunstzureden»). The German authors who used the term are Gellert, Albert, Wieland, and Schiller. Besides the natural talent of eloquence it means the rules of speaking learned in a scholarly environment («kunstwol zu reden, und der inbegriff der regeln, nach denen dies geübt wird»). This «Redekunst» is the German equivalent to «rhetorica». Authors who used this term with this meaning were Steinbach, Goethe, and Lichtwer. The term «Redekunst» is also considered to be the equivalent to «grammatica», which is to be distinguished from «wolredekunst», «oratoria», and «rhetorica»). The author who used this meaning is Stieler. The fourth meaning is the plural referring to «arts of speaking» («Redekünste»). Authors who used the term «Redekunst» with this meaning are Goethe and Fichte (GWB 14: 462). The term «Redekünstler» is defined as «der die redkunst versteht und Lehrer derselben» («the one who understands the art of speech and teaches it»). It is the same as the rhetorician or the sophist, since Wieland mentions Gorgias. German authors who used the term were Adelung and Wieland (GWB 14: 462). The term «Redelaster» refers to the Latin terms «injuria verbalis» and «convitiandi libido» used by Stieler (GWB 14: 462). The term «Redelauf» refers to «lauf der rede» and «lauf des sprechens» as the natural process of speaking. This term was used by Varnhagen van Ense 1848. (GWB 14: 462) The term is obsolete in contemporary German. The term «Redelehrer» or «Redlerer» refers to the Latin terms «grammaticus» and «rhetoricus» (GWB 14: 462). The term «Rederlist» refers to the Latin terms «argutatio», «sophisma», «sorites», «fallaciae dictionis et sententiae», and «wortlist». The German author who used them is Stieler (GWB 14: 462). This term is obsolete in contemporary German. The term «redelos» has the meaning «frei von verantwortung» and is an equivalent to «redlos», «redelos», «liber ab impetitione alterius». Haltaus and Baur used the term with this meaning. A second meaning arose as «sprachlos» and «verstummend». This term is the equivalent to the English «speechless» (GWB 14: 463). This term is in contemporary German obsolete. The term «Redelust» or «Lust zu reden» means in English «pleasure to talk» (GWB 14: 463). Related is the term «redelustig» as the adjective for «pleased to talk». This term was used by Thümmer (GWB 14: 463). Both terms are obsolete in contemporary German. The term «redemächtig» has the English meaning «mighty of speech». The German author using the term is Scheffel. Both terms are obsolete in contemporary German. The term «Redemeister» has the equivalents «sprachkenner» and «sprachlehrer» as translations of the Latin term «grammaticus». German authors who used the term were Dief and Luther (GWB 14: 463).

2.2 Case 2: The Contemporary Term «Rhetorik» in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*

No exclusive term exists in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* for «Rhetorik» or related terms. The terms «Rhetorik» and «Rhetorica» occur in the dictionary in quotations from other entries. In the entry «Älter» the term «Rhetorik» is used and the German author mentioned using this term is Riederer. In the entry «Becherleerer» the term «Rhetorik» is used in the book title *Spiegel der Waren Rhetorik of Riederer*. In the entry «Du» the term «Rhetorik» is used for a rhetorical handbook of 1511 stating that all noble men say «du» to each other («alle edelleute dozen einander»). In the entry «Fund» the term «Rhetorik» is used for the academic discipline of rhetoric. In the entry «Gegensatz» the term «Rhetorik» is used for the system of the academy besides grammar, and logic («Rhetorik», «Grammatik», «Logik»). In the entry «Gemeinplatz» the term «Rhetorik» is used for the rhetorical disci-

pline of topics. In the entry «gevollmächtig» the term «Rhetorik» is used as the part of the quoted book title *Teutsch Formular und Rhetorik* published in 1555. In the entry «Gezierde» the term «Rhetorik» is used for a formula for a marriage contract used by Gessler. In the entry «gezuckt» the term «Rhetorik» is used for Notkers' work on rhetoric. In the entry «gleich» the term «Rhetorik» is used for the three types of style («dreistilarten der antiken rhetorik») of the antique rhetoric as described by Quintilian. In the entry «göttlich» the term «Rhetorik» is used for the panegyric rhetoric («panegyrischer rhetorik»).

In the entry «Grammatik» the term «Rhetorik» is used for the discipline of rhetoric as a subject of the trivium in the stadium. Goethe distinguishes here between grammar («Grammatik»), rhetoric («Rhetorik»), and poetry («Poesie»). In the entry «Gruszschreiben» the term «Rhetorik» is used for a type of writing according to the handbook *Teutsche Rhetorik* published by Sattler 1610. In the entry «Kunst» the term «Rhetorik» is explained as a type of philosophy during the Middle Ages, when it was described by the scholastic scholars as «philosophia sermocinalis» or «Kunst der Rede» («art of speaking»). In the entry «Redenheit» the term «Rhetorik» is used alongside the term «Redenheit» («Rhetorik und Redenheit»). In the entry «Rederkunst» the term «Rhetorik» is used as equivalent of the Latin terms «rhetorice», «ars dicendi» and German «Rhetorik» with reference to Maler. In the entry «Redewendung» the term «Rhetorik» is used as the reference system for words («Worte»), word compositions («Wortbildungen»), syntax («Wortfügungen»), tropes («Redewendungen») as used by Goethe.

2.3 Case 3: The Entries in the Dictionary *Deutsches Wörterbuch* of the Brothers Grimm and their Contemporary Use in the Language of the 21st Century

In this part we examine the entries in the dictionary of the Grimm Brothers, their sources and their contemporary use in the German language of the 21st century.

The Main Entries in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*

The words «Rede» and «reden» are still used. «Reden» is uncommon in the German language of the 21st century.

German Term in Grimm's Entry	in	Latin Equivalent Term	English Term	Equivalent
<i>Rede</i>		ratio, oratio, sermo, fama, vox	<i>speech</i>	
<i>Reden</i>		loqui, fari, dicere	<i>speak, talk</i>	
<i>Reder</i>		causidicus, orator, rabula	<i>speaker</i>	

Entries in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* with Terms Exclusively for Rhetoric

The translations into English were made as literal as possible. The terms classified as «obsolete» are no longer used in contemporary German. It is possible that alternative terms exist for the meaning meant to be expressed in the dictionary.

German Term in Lexeme of <i>Deutsches Wörterbuch</i> 's Entry	Latin Equivalent Term in <i>Deutsches Wörterbuch</i>	Status of Lexeme in 20 th Century	Translated English Equivalent Term
Redeabkürzung		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech abbreviation</i>
Redeamt		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech office</i>
Redeart		Obsolete compositum	<i>Kind of speech</i>
Redeausdruck		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech expression</i>
Redebau		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech construction</i>
Redebild		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech image</i>
Redeblüte		Obsolete compositum	<i>Flower of speech</i>
Redeblume		Obsolete compositum	<i>Flower of speech</i>
Redebrauch		Obsolete compositum	<i>Custom of speech</i>
Redebühne		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech stage</i>
Redefaden		Figurative usage	<i>Thread of speech</i>
Redefähig		Obsolete compositum	<i>Able to speak</i>
Redefähigkeit		Obsolete compositum	<i>Ability to speak</i>
Redefertig		Obsolete compositum	<i>Able to speak</i>
Redefertigkeit		Obsolete compositum	<i>Ability to speak</i>
Redefluss		Obsolete compositum	<i>Flow of speech</i>
Redeform	<i>forma dicendi, jus et norma loquendi</i>	Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech form</i>
Redefreiheit		Used compositum	<i>Freedom of speech</i>
Redefügung	<i>cohaerentia orationis</i>	Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech coherence</i>
Redefülle		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech volume</i>
Redegebrauch		Obsolete	<i>Speech use</i>

Redegeflecht		compositum Obsolete	<i>Speech network</i>
Redegepränge		compositum Obsolete	<i>Speech bombast</i>
Redegewalt		compositum Obsolete	<i>Speech power</i>
Redegewandt		compositum Usedcompositum	<i>Versile in speech</i>
Redegewandtheit		Usedcompositum	<i>Speech versatility</i>
Redekampf		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech fight</i>
Redeklang		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech sound</i>
Redeknoten		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech knot</i>
Redekreis		Usedcompositum	<i>Speech circle</i>
Redekünstler		Usedcompositum	<i>Speech artist</i>
Redekunst		Usedcompositum	<i>Speech art</i>
Redelaster	<i>injuriaverbalis, convitiandi libido</i>	Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech vice</i>
Redelehrer	<i>grammaticus, rhetoricus</i>	Usedcompositum	<i>Speech teacher</i>
Redelist	<i>argutatio, sophisma, sorites, fallaciae dictionis et sententiae</i>	Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech trick</i>
Redelos		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speechless</i>
Redelust		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech lust</i>
Redelustig		Obsolete compositum	<i>Lustful of speech</i>
Redemächtig		Usedcompositum	<i>powerful of speech</i>
Redemeister	<i>grammaticus</i>	Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech master</i>
Redemitteilung		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech information</i>
Redemuster		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech pattern</i>
Redenhaftigkeit		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech-likeness</i>
Redenheit	<i>nestoriafacundia</i>	Obsolete compositum	<i>Ability to speak well</i>
Redensart		Usedcompositum	<i>Way of speech</i>
Redenskunst	<i>rhetorice, ars dicendi, rhetoric</i>	Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech art</i>
Redenswert		Obsolete compositum	<i>Speech worth</i>
Rederei		Obsolete lack of grammatical construction	<i>Talk</i>
Rederiemen		Obsolete	<i>Speech belt</i>

		compositum object no longer existing	
<i>Rederisch</i>	<i>Oratorie</i>	Obsolete; lack of grammatical construction	<i>Speakable</i>
<i>Rederkunst</i>		Obsolete	<i>Speech art</i>
<i>Redeschlacht</i>		compositum Obsolete	<i>Speech battle</i>
<i>Redeschmuck</i>		compositum Usedcompositum	<i>Speech decorum</i>
<i>Redenspiel</i>		Obsolete	<i>Speech game</i>
<i>Redetheil</i>		compositum Usedcompositum	<i>Part of speech</i>
<i>Redeübung</i>		Usedcompositum	<i>Speech exercise</i>
<i>Redeverkürzung</i>		Obsolete	<i>Speech abbreviation</i>
<i>Redeversetzung</i>	<i>anastrophe</i>	compositum Obsolete	<i>Anastrophe</i>
<i>Redeweise</i>		compositum Usedcompositum	<i>Way of speech</i>
<i>Redewenden</i>		Obsolete; lack of grammatical construction	<i>Speech turning</i>
<i>Redewendung</i>	<i>paraphrasis</i>	Usedcompositum	<i>Speech trope, paraphrase</i>
<i>Redewerk</i>		Obsolete	<i>Speech work</i>
<i>Redewerkzeug</i>		compositum Obsolete	<i>Speech tool</i>
<i>Redewillig</i>		compositum Obsolete	<i>Willing to speak</i>
<i>Redezeichen</i>		compositum Obsolete	<i>Speech sign</i>
<i>Redebeutel</i>		compositum Obsolete	<i>Speech bag</i>
<i>Rederlich</i>		compositum object no longer existing Obsolete; lack of grammatical construction	<i>Inclined to talk</i>

The majority of the entries in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* of the brothers Grimm are composita of nouns and adjectives derived from the stem. These composites do not exist in the written or spoken language. Regarding the obsolete terms we can distinguish between terms that are no longer in use like *Rederiemen* («speech belt») or *Redebeutel* («speech bag»), since the object of reference no longer exists, and obsolete terms, which are no longer terms of the German language, but which can be found in a changed form in the German language (e.g. «Redeblüte») and «Redeblume» changed to «Stilblüte»), and derivations, as grammatical constructions derived from the stem «-rede».

2.4 Case 4: The Selection and Structure of Entries for Lexemes and Concepts Related to «Rhetoric» in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*

The dictionary *Deutsches Wörterbuch* by the Grimm brothers derived the entries for the lexemes of the concept «rhetoric» from various fields. But when the scholars considered the dictionary to be a document of Germany's national heritage, they rejected entries classified as «Fremdworte» («loanwords») from other languages. This policy of the dictionary was also applied to terms that entailed knowledge that was a constitutive factor of the education system in Germany. The language spoken and written in academic areas was Latin, which allowed the scholars in Europe to communicate. In the 19th century this lingua franca was replaced by the vernaculars spoken in Europe along with the promotion of the idea of a national identity expressed and preserved in the vernacular. We can distinguish in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* the following areas:

1. The traditional terminology of rhetoric in German as translation
2. Terms derived from «reden»
3. German expressions and stylistica in literary sources

1) The Translations of Foreign Words

The concept «rhetoric» was in this dictionary on the one hand implemented, on the other hand the implementation was always based upon the translation of the foreign terms, mostly Greek and Latin words. The Greek and Latin words were mentioned as the equivalent terms for the German translations, which were the main lexemes of the dictionary. So the translated terms could have been complete neologisms, which derived from the Greek and Latin words; in many cases, these neologisms would have not survived in the world outside the dictionary of the brothers Grimm; they were artificially created and not taken from the spoken language.

2) The Implementation of Contemporary Literary Sources in German

The implementation of contemporary literary sources into the dictionary was relatively rare. The contemporary sources, which were already available at the time in German, include both the traditional education in rhetoric in the editions of the Greek and Latin sources adapted for education in Germany and the modern handbooks for rhetoric. But this usage of the contemporary sources was marginal. On the contrary, common literary writers or writers of journalistic contributions were used as the sources for the dictionary. In these cases the traditional heritage of the discipline of rhetoric was lost.

3) The Implementation of Ancient Literary Sources

The scholarly sources the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* employed were completely outdated in the case of the concept of «rhetoric». But the initiators of the dictionary favored the idea of a conceptualization of the lexemes of the dictionary based upon the historical terms, which were already part of the literary canon of books published in German. So the words of

Luther as a general authority of the German language in the Renaissance and the works of the Baroque teacher of rhetoric Caspar Stieler were highly influential for the German lexemes for the concept of «rhetoric».

The concepts of «rhetoric» and «eloquence» were both treated in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Preference, however, was given to the native German term «Beredsamkeit». The terms, which appeared as loanwords of the Greek and Latin language in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, were not used as lexemes. But in the dictionary's collection of the entries loanwords exist, which were part of the original and quoted texts of the entries of lexemes. But these occurrences were never intended to represent the concept of rhetoric and its original roots. In terms of the terminology of higher education the Grimm Brothers's dictionary made efforts to translate traditional terms like «trivium», one of the basic three subjects of education in the «artes liberales», into the German language. Also sub-branches of rhetoric like stylistics («Stilistik») were translated into the German language. In the entry «Stil» the term «Rhetorik» is used as a system for the distinction of style («stilus») in elocution («elocutio»). In the entry «Stilistik» the term «Rhetorik» is used for the German equivalent «Stilkunde», which is called a «sister science» («Schwesterwissenschaft») of rhetoric. In the entry «Trivialschule» the term «Rhetorik» is used for one of the three areas of the «trivium». This type of school only teaches the subjects of the «trivium» («Grammatik», «Dialektik», «Rhetorik»). Occasionally, the *termini technici* of rhetoric also occurred in the texts of the works quoted; but the order was never sufficient to represent the whole system of rhetoric. In the entry «Umschreibung» the term «Rhetorik» is used as paraphrase of Greek. In the entry «Grünen» the term «Metaphorik» is used for the style of the Bible. In the entry «Stengel» the term «Metaphorik» is used for the explanation of this entry as a medieval metaphor meaning plant («Gewächs»).

3. Conclusions: The Status of Rhetoric in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* and in other National Languages in Europe

The *Deutsches Wörterbuch* never aimed at the preservation of the actual contemporary spoken language in Germany. The dictionary was based upon the selection of passages from authors, which had been established as contributors to the canon of literary works in German since the time of Martin Luther. But the majority of the terms that entered this way into the Grimm Brothers' dictionary did not survive in the vernacular spoken starting from the second half of the 19th century. So the majority of terms in the dictionary of the Grimm Brothers, which are derivations from the stem -red, are no longer used in the language of the 20th century. The lack of closeness to the spoken language of the second half of the 19th century as well as the method of translation of the Latin *termini technici* into the German language, which served as translations as the lexemes of the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, created terms that did not even have the quality of historical terms, since they were never part of the German language prior to the establishment of the dictionary, since the second half of the 19th century. Also before the establishment of the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, these terms did not exist. We call them here «created terms», which can be distinguished from «historical terms», which were used as part of the German language, but became obsolete archaisms of the German language. These «historical terms» were once a part of the thesaurus of the German language, but became outdated, since the language changed.

Other countries were in the same situation in the 19th century; they began to write in the vernacular, which was often based on the translation of Greek and Latin terms. But the distinction between the vernacular and the loanwords and cognates of the vernacular, which derived from the Greek and Latin sources, was never made as strict as in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. The *Deutsches Wörterbuch* rejected the implementation of loanwords and cognates, since it aimed to serve only the German language. The problematic conception of the Grimm Brothers' dictionary was the establishment of a border between the classification of loanwords and cognates from other languages and original German words; with this forced conception the dictionary failed to integrate a common and natural type of terms in a natural language that entered the thesaurus of the language thanks to the contacts between two languages. The dictionaries, which were compiled after the beginning of the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* were drawing more attention to the loanwords and cognates coming from the ancient Latin and Greek languages. The cognates and loanwords of these two languages created – compared to other language contact situations – a special contribution to the thesaurus of the German language or any other language in Europe; these words were preserving the heritage of a common European knowledge and were the fundamental inventory of the scholarly educated society. Aiming at the distinction between the German language and the non-German language, the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* did not produce «Fremdworte» («foreign words») in the German language. This distinction between German and foreign languages and the aim to reject the influence of foreign languages, as it was promoted in the Grimm Brothers' dictionary, obstructed as negative side effect the passage of knowledge of ancient scholarly sources to contemporary sources, which could have occurred thanks to the situation of inter-linguistic contact. But with the idea of a «national dictionary» such a flow of knowledge was neglected. On the contrary, the English language was much more integrational in terms of the implementation of cognates and loanwords, which were not considered opposed to the English language. Also the establishment of newly created terms was in the long run not a sufficient contribution to the German language of the 19th century. The understanding of language as we can study it in the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* is ambivalent, but not as distinctly as would happen starting from the 20th century; with the new threefold understanding of language as a system of communication, a natural language, and a style of personal expression, linguists of the coming generations would focus more attention on the exchange between languages. In the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* the dichotomy between German language and foreign languages was emphasized and was the foundation for the constitution of the dictionary. The benefit of recording German sources since the time of Luther as sources of the dictionary was a well-thought approach for the documentation of the national heritage; but it also caused negative side-effects due to the forced separation between German and other languages. The de facto existing usage of the term «Rhetorik» since the 20th century in the thesaurus of the German language and the appearance of the ancient German term «Beredsamkeit» is an example of the limited perspective of the Grimm Brothers' dictionary.

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