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Article

Accepted Version

Schroeter, M. (2017) How words behave in other languages:  
the use of German Nazi vocabulary in English. *Pragmatics and  
Society*. ISSN 1878-9714 (In Press) Available at  
<http://centaur.reading.ac.uk/70513/>

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Publisher: John Benjamins

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# **How Words Behave in Other Languages. The use of German Nazi vocabulary in English**

## **Abstract**

This paper undertakes a systematic investigation into the use of German Nazi vocabulary in English. Nazi vocabulary is checked for frequency of occurrence in a large webcorpus of English and then, where it occurs, for reference to Nazi discourse. Next, its frequency is compared to equivalent French and German webcorpora, showing whether or not the use of Nazi vocabulary outside German is unique to English and whether or not its current usage differs between German and the borrowing languages. Finally, the use of two words that occur with similar frequency in all three languages – *judenrein* and *Blitzkrieg* – and of two words that occur with the highest difference in frequency – *Anschluss* and *Lebensraum* – is investigated in detail by means of the Sketch Engine corpus tool, including analysis of collocations which indicate contexts of usage. The results can inform further research into lexical borrowing by demonstrating that borrowed words may be used in ways that differ notably from their use in the donor language.

## **1 German loanwords in English**

Like other European languages, except for English, German borrows more words from other languages than it lends to them. Despite mass emigration of Germans to English speaking countries, especially to the United States in the 18<sup>th</sup> and more so 19<sup>th</sup> century, German has left far less of a trace in English than French on German in the 18<sup>th</sup> and English on German in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, although – for the historical reason mentioned above - it has left more of a trace in American than in British English. Nevertheless, Pfeffer and Cannon (1994) list more than 5000 words of German origin, including loan translations, in American English. The majority of these are subject specific and mirror the influence of German research on science subjects such as Mineralogy (more than 800 loans from German), Biology (about 600), Chemistry and Geology (about 300). Stubbs (1998: 25) asserts that

(t)he impact of German on modern everyday English is small, though larger and more varied than often supposed, and the influence is much larger in academic areas. All of this perhaps does something to balance the stereotyped blitzkrieg-leiderhosen-kitsch view of German influence on English.

The existence of two recent popular dictionaries of German words in English demonstrates a degree of wider and general interest beyond academia in German lexical traces within English (Knapp 2005, Siedenberg 2009). This issue seems to be of interest to both an Anglophone audience (Knapp 2005) and to a German-speaking one (Siedenberg 2009),

whereby the latter offers a reverse perspective of the notably strong influence of English on German offered. Both dictionaries go some way to broaden the above mentioned lederhosen-kitsch associations, but are not much concerned with the German influence in academic areas.

Pfeffer and Cannon (1994) list 201 words that they assign to the area of History and Politics, and these include words coined and/or used during National Socialism, such as *lebensraum* (p. 231; see glossary), *rassenschänder* (i.e. -schänder, p. 290: “one who commits a Rassenschande [...] The Nazi concept of violation of the purity or the Aryan “race” by marriage to someone of a different race”) and *gauleiter* (p. 194; see glossary). Pfeffer (1999) dedicates an article to this group of German loan words which he concludes by asserting that “loanwords can function as markers of the near and distant past” and that political loanwords illustrate “the hopes, ambitions, deeds, and conflicts that stirred German-speaking Central Europe in the last five hundred years.” (162).

This statement does not reflect the issue of linguistic transfer, which is a core concern of the present article. Certainly, cultural or discourse key words from throughout the German history would serve to illustrate such ‘hopes, ambitions, deeds, and conflicts’ (Pfeffer 1999, 162 as quoted above). Haspelmath (2009) notes that cultural borrowing occurs “(w)hen many people know a concept by a certain word but not by another word, even if the better-known word belongs to another language, it becomes more efficient to use the better-known word.” (47) This might also be a reason for borrowing historical Germanisms. However, such loanwords are not only reflective of culture or history per se, but of the ‘outside’ interest in this history or culture. They testify to a particular view of it and reflect what speaker communities outside of the German speaking historical or cultural community find striking or unique enough about it, so as to consider the original German word as the most suitable means to refer to it.

The documentation provided by Pfeffer and Cannon (1994) goes some way to contextualising these loans and their usage in the overall picture of borrowing from German. There is a sizeable group of German words used in English to refer to historical periods or tendencies such as *Dreibund* (p. 176: “Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy formed in 1882”) and *Kulturkampf* (p. 227: “Conflict between the government and religious authorities”), but overall, such words, according to their dictionary, account for only about 4% of all loans from German, and not all of them are related to the Third Reich and Nazi

ideology. Pfeffer and Cannon base their collection of Germanisms on a number of dictionaries of English, including the Oxford English Dictionary and Webster's. While their dictionary is a necessary starting point, it does not provide much clue to if and how the German words are really used in English. I will show below not only that their number is small among German loan words in English, but also that their frequency of occurrence in large amounts of textual data remains rather marginal overall.

Ehlert's (2012) investigation focuses on British English and seeks to supplement and update Pfeffer and Cannon's (1994) and Cannon's (1998) documentations of German loans in English (cf. p. 17ff.) by consulting the more recent electronic Oxford English Dictionary, the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary and the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English, as well as contributions to the project "Ausgewanderte Wörter" (emigrated words), in which English speakers were asked to send in examples of German words that they encountered. He finds no more than 25 words that were not included in Pfeffer and Cannon (1994), as well as 33 loanwords which were lexicographically documented only after the publication of Pfeffer/Cannon (1994) and Cannon (1998). None of these include Nazi vocabulary, even though *Nazi skin* is listed among the latter. The short word *Nazi* was not part of National Socialist discourse and emerged only later in the discourse about National Socialism, just as *Blitz* was never part of Nazi vocabulary. *Blitz* is listed in Ayto (1999) as a neologism in English of the 1940s, with reference specifically to the Nazi air-raids on London. While it is classed as a shortening of *Blitzkrieg*, only the latter, and not *Blitz*, is listed in Schmitz-Berning's (2000) vocabulary of National Socialism. Thus, *Blitz* needs to be understood as an English coinage and, in order to be systematic, it will not be included in the discussion below.

Lexicographic documentation of Germanisms in English is useful in providing an overview, but is not based on investigations of the extent to which in which Germanisms are used in current English, nor the contexts in which they appear. Hence, this paper aims to go beyond the lexicography discussed above by analysing the actual usage of a subset of Germanisms – Nazi vocabulary – in a large corpus of English enTenTen (2013) (Sketch Engine, Kilgarriff et al. 2014). In doing so, it advances previous corpus-assisted research into the use of a sample of four Nazi Germanisms in British newspaper discourse (Schröter/Leuschner 2013). It also goes beyond existing findings on the use of historical Germanisms or Nazi vocabulary in English (e.g. Demleitner 2009, Stubbs 1998), in that the frequency and use of all Nazi vocabulary listed in Schmitz-Berning (2007) is systematically investigated. In a first step, all

718 entries in Schmitz-Berning (2007) are checked for frequency of occurrence in English (see 5 below). In a second step, Nazi vocabulary that does occur in the English corpus is checked for reference to Nazi discourse. Words which consistently exhibit such reference can be classed as Nazi vocabulary used in English (see 5 below). In a third step, the frequency of occurrence of these words is compared to the equivalent French and German webcorpora. Adding French demonstrates whether or not the use of German Nazi vocabulary outside German is unique to English. Adding German demonstrates whether or not Nazi vocabulary in current usage differs between the donor language and the borrowing languages. (see 6 below). In a fourth step, the use of two words that occur with similar frequency in the German, English and French corpora – *judenrein* and *Blitzkrieg* (see 6.2 below) – as well as two words that occur with the highest degree of difference in frequency – *Anschluss* and *Lebensraum* (see 6.1 below) – is analysed in more detail. The Sketch Engine corpus tool is used to investigate collocations which indicate contexts of usage. The results question the link between the use of Nazi vocabulary and negative stereotyping of the Germans (see 3 below). In German-speaking contexts, *Anschluss* and *Lebensraum* are barely used with reference to Nazi Germany, but exclusively so outside. Outside of German-speaking countries, but not within them, *Blitzkrieg* and *judenrein* are used to refer to Israeli politics and the Middle East context. The results can inform further research into lexical borrowing by demonstrating that borrowed words can be used in ways that differ quite notably from their use in the donor language and suggest scenarios as to how these differences in usage might have developed (see 6 below).

## 2 Nazi vocabulary

Schmitz-Berning (2007) provides a dictionary – in German – of 718 words coined and/or used in National Socialist discourse. Her documentation is based on a range of historical documents sustaining the public discourse of National Socialism and on comparisons of dictionaries published before, during and after National Socialist rule (1933-1945). The entries contain a history of the word, where applicable before it became used within National Socialist discourse, and examples of its historically attested usage. Some entries end with a overview of the usage of the word after 1945; e.g. for *Endlösung*: “The Nuremberg Trials made the word *Endlösung* – which was used internally in Nazi organisations – known to the public and made it a symbol of the horrible crime of the Jewish genocide.” (p. 176; my translation, MS)

Michael and Doerr (2002) provide a dictionary of Nazi vocabulary with English translations and/or explanations. However, they do not explain their choice of lemmas or the sources from which they derived their list of words. While their dictionary is undoubtedly a great resource for studying National Socialism, it also contains lemmas that were most likely not part of the National Socialists' own discourse. For example, their documentation includes *Babi Yar* (p. 86; the name of a ravine in the Ukraine where approximately 100,000 Jews, Roma and Sinti were killed by special shooting commandos in 1941) as well as *Edelweißpiraten* (p. 135; the name of a resistant youth organisation) and humorous references of the time, such as *Balkonschwein*; "Balcony pig/pork. Ironical for main course of a German meal during the final stages of World War II – in reality meat from cats." (p. 87) Their entries contain a translation and in some cases historically contextualising explanations of the word's denotation, but lack indications or examples of the usage or origin of the word. For these reasons, I consider Schmitz-Berning the more reliable starting point for an investigation of modern use of Nazi vocabulary (see below).

### **3 Patterns of usage of historical Germanisms in English**

In the following, I will use the term 'historical Germanisms', by which I mean German words that are used in other languages and that relate to historical or political events, tendencies, developments and ideologies. Nazi vocabulary is part of a small inventory of historical Germanisms that are used in other languages.

Only a small number of publications look beyond the aim of providing lexicographical documentation of German words in English, and take into account their usage in concrete texts and contexts. When it comes to historical Germanisms, negative stereotyping looms large in the discussion of their usage, i.e. German words are seen to be used as tokens that index the inherent Germanness of the negatively evaluated phenomenon they refer to (Leuschner 2012, Demleitner 2009, Eichhoff 1972, Jucker 1996). Eichhoff (1972, 201ff.) distinguishes a number of functions of German words in US newspaper reporting; eye catching, creating authentic 'Germanness', precision (in the case of terminology), puns and humour as well as creating negative associations – in the latter context German fascist vocabulary is explicitly mentioned. Eichhoff (1972, 201ff.) and Stanforth (1993: 451f. 1996: 32ff., 2009: 48) point out a number of functions which are salient for the use of historical Germanisms: eye catching, to create authentic 'Germanness', humorous effect and the creation of negative associations. Jucker (1996) points out the relation between the function

of creating authentic Germanness and negative stereotyping, Stanforth (2009) also mentions eye-catching functions, as well as signalling Germanness or authenticity as well as the negative associations reminiscent of two world wars. Leuschner (2012) discusses *Drang nach Osten* as a linguistic stereotype and points out the effect of representing the Germanness of the phenomenon by use of the foreign token which stands out in a text written in another language:

(J)ust as the stereotype casts the Germans as real-world intruders in Central and Eastern Europe due to their ‘drive to the East’, the German expression *Drang nach Osten* sits like a linguistic intruder in the Polish, Russian, etc. text in which it is cited. (106)

Regarding negative associations, Eichhoff (1972) specifically mentions German fascist vocabulary. Demleitner (2009) looks at mutual perceptions, images and stereotypes of Germany/Great Britain as reflected in the reporting of both British and German newspapers, for example about the 1998 football world cup and about a German car manufacturer’s acquisition of Rolls Royce. A section of her thesis also looks at the use of Germanisms in British newspapers with a focus on xenisms – i.e. lexis that is used to index the ‘foreignness’ of the signified – which she sees as the dominant type of German loanwords in British English. Some of the German Nazi vocabulary found by Demleitner (2009) in British newspaper discourse refers to Nazi rule (*Führer, Reich*) or reflects Nazi ideology (*Entartete Kunst, Herrenvolk*) by using German loan words, whereas she notes that loan translations rather than German words are used when referring to the Holocaust (*concentration camps* and, reflecting Nazi ideology, *final solution*).

It is not the main aim of this article to contradict these discussions and their findings of negative stereotyping. The use of historical Germanisms to some extent serves to index the Germanness of the phenomenon and this indexed Germanness may imply negative stereotyping. However, remarkably few systematic empirical studies focusing on their actual use in discourse contexts have been undertaken for current English. But first of all, if historical Germanisms are used as ‘foreign tokens’ to index the Germanness of the phenomenon, can they then be considered proper loan words in terms of their degree of integration (cf. Haspelmath 2009, 43)? On the one hand, if certain German words are mainly used to index inherent Germanness, then they have to ‘stand out’ from the language in which they are used in order to have that effect. If they were fully integrated into the borrowing language, they would not have the same effect. On the other hand, historical Germanisms



also have to be at least vaguely understood in order to appear, like a loan word proper, without translation or explanation. In a previous related study looking at the use of *Blitzkrieg*, *Anschluss*, *Drang nach Osten* and *Endlösung* in British newspapers, Schröter and Leuschner (2013) found that *Blitzkrieg* and *Anschluss* and even the more ‘difficult’ multiword lexeme *Drang nach Osten* occur with and without translations or explanations. The most frequently used of these four, *Blitzkrieg*, as well as *Anschluss*, appeared with and without capital letters, whereby using the minuscule can be seen as one – albeit not entirely reliable and unambiguous (cf. Ehlert 2012, 90) – indicator for integration of the German loan into English.

In the above mentioned corpus assisted study, Schröter and Leuschner (2013) also found that there are different patterns of usage for *Blitzkrieg*, *Anschluss* and *Drang nach Osten*. First of all, most of the occurrences are due to articles referring to German History during the Third Reich or Second World War. This became apparent in collocations such as *Hitler, 1941* (for *Blitzkrieg*), *1938, Austria* (for *Anschluss*). Secondly, however, they also occur with topical reference to Germany, the Germans or current German politics. This was particularly the case for *Anschluss* and *Drang nach Osten* in the reporting about German unification. Unification added the East German territory of the former German Democratic Republic to the former West German Federal Republic whose territory therefore extended further to the east, hence the updating use of *Drang nach Osten* (see glossary). The updating use of *Anschluss* relates to the fact that territory was added to West Germany, rather than negotiating a ‘new’ unified Germany between representatives of the former two countries.

Schröter and Leuschner also cite instances of updating usage, where the Germanism is employed to refer to more recent events or developments not immediately related to Germany, e.g. *blitzkrieg* against Iraq and Iraq’s *blitzkrieg* against Kuwait. However, here we still have reference to the original (German history) context, in the sense that these instances imply a comparison of current political agents to the Nazis. Last but not least, and keeping in mind the degree of appropriation of historical Germanisms into English discourse contexts, there are instances of discourse transposition, where, in a process of metaphorisation, the Germanism is detached from its original historical context and transposed into different discourse contexts, e.g. publicity *blitzkrieg*, political *blitzkrieg*.

#### **4 Methodology**

The aim of the following study is to establish which Nazi words are used in English and to demonstrate their overall frequency. This has never been done systematically, because lexicographical documentation of German words in English is based on dictionaries and rarely focuses on usage in contexts (Peffer/Cannon 1994), and studies involving the usage of historical Germanisms (Demleitner 2009) are neither based on a well-defined set of historical Germanisms, nor on large corpora. Hence, all the 718 lemmas indexed in Schmitz-Berning (2007) have been searched in a large web corpus of English, enTenTen [2013] consisting of just under twenty billion words, available from the Sketch Engine (Kilgarrieff et al. 2014). Sketch Engine is a linguistic software programme which gives access to a range of existing corpora in different languages and provides users with tools for uploading, tagging and analysing their own corpora. The aim of this paper is to establish a general picture regarding which Nazi words occur in current English usage and which Nazi words loom larger than others, irrespective of contexts and genres. A very large web corpus, unspecific in terms of genre or topic, seems as suitable for the purpose of this explorative study as any other large collection of textual data across a range of topics and genres. The other advantage of using enTenTen [2013], apart from its accessibility through a Sketch Engine account, is the possibility to use web corpora in other languages that were retrieved in similar ways to provide a rough comparative picture.

Following the identification of Nazi words that do occur in the English corpus, analyses of collocations and concordances will be conducted to assert whether or not the words are used with reference to National Socialism/Germany or the Germans. Having thus identified salient Nazi Germanisms in English, a comparative view of the frequency of these words in English, French and German will be provided. French is added at this point in order to observe whether or to what extent the established frequency and usage of German Nazi vocabulary is unique to English, or comparable in another language outside of German. Bearing in mind the question of how words behave in other languages, a closer and contrastive look will be taken at those words whose frequency a) differs most strikingly between German and the borrowing languages and b) differs very little between the use in the borrowing languages and the originator language. Two words from the category of a), *Lebensraum* and *judenrein*, and two words from b), *Anschluss* and *Blitzkrieg* are analysed in more depth by way of analysing collocations and concordances to elicit contexts of usage.

Analyses of word frequency, collocations and concordances are part of the inventory of lexical studies (e.g. Stubbs 2001, Halliday 2004, Teuber/Čermáková 2007) as well as corpus

assisted discourse studies (e.g. Baker 2006, Teubert 2012, Partington/Duguid/Taylor 2013). The present study is concerned with both: the lexicological interest in loan words and lexical borrowing (hence a look at the frequency with which the loan word occurs in the borrowing language), but also, with a view to enhancing understanding of lexical borrowing, the pragmatic interest in the actual usage of borrowed lexical items in discourse contexts outside the originator language (hence analyses of collocations and concordance). Collocations were calculated using the Sketchengine corpus analysis tool (Kilgarriff et al. 2014) with the log likelihood value, taking into account lexis that occurred up to five positions either left or right of the search word and at least three times, provided the collocation by itself also occurred at least five times overall in the whole corpus.

## 5 Frequency and salience of German Nazi vocabulary in English

In order to conduct a systematic survey of Nazi vocabulary in English, all of the words listed in Schmitz-Berning's (2007) index were searched for in enTenTen. Her index lists 718 Nazi lemmata documented in her dictionary. Most of these do not feature in enTenTen [2013] at all. Schmitz-Berning's index also lists acronyms such as *KZ* (Konzentrationslager, concentration camp) and *BDM* (Bund Deutscher Mädels, Nazi organisation for the female youth). However, when checking concordance lines, it becomes obvious that few acronyms that do feature in English are related to National Socialism, with the exception of *SS*, the paramilitary and radical Nazi Schutzstaffel, and *NSDAP*, the German acronym for the National Socialist Party. The German word *Amt* – relating to the organisational structure of National Socialist governance –, on the other hand, is found to be an acronym in English, mostly for Alternative Minimum Tax.

Other words on Schmitz-Berning's list are English as well as German words: *Aggressor*, *Maid*, *brutal*, *blind*, *international* and *Propaganda*. Their frequency is notably higher than that of all the remaining Nazi words that feature in enTenTen [2013] (e.g., 2.993 occurrences of *Blitzkrieg* versus 12.829 occurrences of *aggressor*). A quick check in the comprehensive PONS German-English bilingual dictionary (2005) suggests that, apart from maid – which would be 'Magd' or 'Dienstmädchen' in German whereas German 'Maid' is obsolescent for 'Mädchen', girl – their meaning is similar in current usage in both languages, a fact indicated not least by the use of the same form in the other language as reference when suggesting lexical equivalents in the other language. However, their usage in Nazi discourse was specific and ideologically charged as described by Schmitz-Berning (2007), whereas their use in

current German does not suggest reference to, or even much awareness of, their use in NS-discourse. A look at the concordance lines and collocations in enTenTen [2013] confirms that their usage in English is unrelated to German history and National Socialism.

Some words listed in Schmitz-Berning (2007) happen to be proper names used in English texts: *Ahn* (ancestor), *Bauer* (farmer), *Jude* (Jew). There are a number of words that occurred relatively frequently but hardly bear any traces of historical reference and suggest an absence of awareness of their role in National Socialist discourse: *Dienst* (service, now used mostly in relation to German software providers), *Auslese* (this is now used with reference to German wine), *Totaler Krieg* (total war; now the name of a computer game), *Leistung* (capacity, now relating to technical performance) and *Ahnentafel*, which is now, for some reason, used synonymously to ancestor table, but without reference to the role such pedigree documentation played in National Socialism. There are also stretches of German text in enTenTen [2013], presumably quoted on websites with a UK or US domain, in which words like *Blut* (blood), *Charakter* (character), *Glaube* (belief) and *Gemeinschaft* (community) occur. Again, however, these are used in a variety of contexts, including religion, that by and large do not suggest an awareness of their use within National Socialist discourse.

Following Schmitz-Berning's index the remaining words from her list which do occur in enTenTen [2013] are, in alphabetical order (see glossary in the appendix for translations or explanations):

Anschluss (959)  
Blitzkrieg (5,490)  
Blut und Boden (66)  
Einsatzgruppen (855)  
Gauleiter (511)  
Gestapo (10,421)  
Gleichschaltung (143)  
Führer (4,030)/Führer (3,601)  
Heil Hitler (714)  
judenrein (360)  
Lebensraum (883)  
Sieg Heil (350)  
Untermensch (164)  
Volk (5,071)  
Weltanschauung (1,175).

When checking contexts of usage through collocations and concordance lines, it appears that *Weltanschauung* and *Volk* do not consistently demonstrate any awareness on the part of their

users of their association with National Socialist discourse. For example, concordance lines for the word *Volk* suggest that it is also a family name. Collocations show a heterogeneous picture; an awareness of *Volk* as keyword in National Socialist discourse is reflected in collocations such as ‘Führer’ and ‘Reich’, but *Het* co-occurs with it more frequently (‘Het Volk’ as name of newspapers in Belgium and the Netherlands), and so does ‘das’. Looking at the co-occurrences of ‘das’ and *Volk* again reveals a few stretches of German text contained in enTenTen [2013], as well as a few references to National Socialism, but also to the slogan of the peaceful revolution in East Germany in 1989: ‘Wir sind das Volk’ (we are the people). *Volk* and *Weltanschauung* will therefore henceforth be disregarded because their use as a Nazi Germanism is too sparse and inconsistent.

Collocations of *Gauleiter*, *Einsatzgruppen*, *Anschluss* and *Führer* as well as *Fuhrer* mainly point to the historical context, with some indication of translation of explanation:

	<b>Historical context</b>	<b>Translation/explanation</b>
<i>Gauleiter</i>	‘Hitler’, ‘Nazi’, ‘Reich’ and ‘party’; names of Nazi Gauleiter ‘Sauckel’, ‘Greiser’, ‘Schirach’; places where Gauleiter were based and reference to the territories they were responsible for, respectively ‘Danzig’, ‘Vienna’, ‘Nuremberg’.	
<i>Einsatzgruppen</i>	(‘Jews’, ‘extermination’, ‘SS’, ‘Heydrich’, ‘1941’, ‘Eastern’, ‘camps’, ‘murdered’, ‘shootings’, ‘Chelmno’, ‘massacres’, ‘executions’, ‘ghetto’, ‘exterminated’	‘squads’, ‘killing’, ‘mobile’, ‘task’, ‘special’ (i.e. ‘mobile killing squads’ or ‘special task groups’)
<i>Anschluss</i>	‘Austria’, ‘1938’, ‘Vienna’, ‘Nazis’, ‘Sudetenland’, ‘Czechoslovakia’, ‘1933’, ‘Munich’, ‘Treaty’	‘annexation’, ‘annexed’
<i>Führer/ Fuhrer</i>	‘mein’, ‘Adolf’, ‘Reich’, ‘German’, ‘Nazi’, ‘Hess’, ‘Berlin’, ‘Heil’, ‘Bunker’, ‘SS’, ‘ordered’, ‘Goebbels’, ‘Duce’	

Table 1: Collocations of *Gauleiter*, *Einsatzgruppen*, *Anschluss* and *Führer/Fuhrer*

Occasional updating uses do occur in the case of *Führer/Fuhrer*, e.g. five times with the collocate ‘Jawohl’ in the phrase “Jawohl, mein Führer!” Three of these instances involve discussions about whether or how to use it nowadays. Similarly, collocations of *Heil Hitler* include many references to speech acts (‘greeting’, ‘salutation’, ‘shouting’, ‘said’, ‘screamed’), and looking at concordance lines of all speech act verbs in past and present tense as well as of the most frequent collocate salute, which co-occurs 40 times, reveals that the use of the Nazi salutation in the present is discussed in those instances, e.g.:

upper bodies. He said the man also *shouted* **Heil Hitler** A kitchen worker who gave her name extremist group. The participants held “**Heil Hitler**” signs and *shouted* "This is Poland, not Holocaust victims, Dutch youngsters *shouted* ‘**Heil Hitler**’ during my speech.”[48] This occurred at repeatedly made the Hitler salute and *shouted* “**Heil Hitler**” towards pro-Israel activists and the Greek-Cypriot reportedly raised their right arms and *shouted* “**Heil Hitler**.” Some even shouted “Heil Rauff.” attacked by a gang of thugs who *shouted* “**Heil Hitler**” and “Jewish pigs.” The gang entered the

The collocations of *Sieg Heil* provide a similar picture. Checking the concordance lines of the collocates ‘Nazi’ and ‘Hitler’ shows that reference is made to using the phrase today. Concordance lines from the collocate ‘salute’ include the following examples:

Sharon smokes her cigar, or lets slip a "**sieg heil**" *salute* , or rips open her top to reveal when they are caught on camera doing the **sieg heil salute** used in Nazi rallies (as in the arm raised in the Nazi *salute* , shouting " **Sieg Heil!** Sieg Heil! Sieg Heil! . Madness is not , carried fake rifles or performed the "**sieg heil**" *salute* . Nazi regalia and symbols surface

Interestingly, the fact that these two Nazi greetings are nearly exclusively discussed with regard to their currency and the risks attached to their usage in the present day, illustrates an awareness of the virulence of the use of German Nazi vocabulary in English. It seems worth making this point when looking at *Lebensraum*, which is associated with the historical context (‘Nazi’, ‘German’, ‘concept’, ‘Germany’, ‘Germans’), but also with Israel, pointing to a Middle Eastern context and adopting a critical stance on Israeli politics. Uses of *judenrein* point to translations (‘Jews’, ‘Jew-free’) and to the historical context (‘Germany’, ‘Europe’, ‘Nazi’), but otherwise, the collocations overwhelmingly point to the Middle East context: ‘Palestine’, ‘Palestinian’, ‘Judea’, ‘Arab’, ‘Israel’, ‘Arabs’ and more. The use of *Lebensraum* and *judenrein* will be discussed in more detail below (6.1 and 6.2). Finally, the use of *Gestapo* reflects most of all the historical context (‘Nazi’, ‘arrested’, ‘tactics’, ‘German’, ‘Hitler’, ‘SD’, ‘Himmler’, ‘Germany’ etc.), but some collocates (‘American’, ‘CIA’, ‘US’, ‘FBI’, ‘federal’) indicate critical reference to American security institutions, as in the following examples:

her employer, Eleanor, complained about "**Gestapo** tactics" by *FBI* director J. Edgar Hoover Homeland Security and *FBI* operate like **Gestapo**. They menace freedom. They terrorize. They Obama and Obergruppenfuehrer Holder the **Gestapo**, excuse me FBI, go to their home and engage

Regarding *Blitzkrieg*, the collocates ‘tactics’, ‘lightning’ (sic), ‘lightening’, ‘war’ and ‘warfare’ point to translations or explanations, whereas ‘Nazi’, ‘German’, ‘Poland’, ‘Hitler’, ‘1940’, ‘France’, ‘attack’, ‘launched’, ‘unleashed’ reflect reference to the historical context, we are justified in including it in a discussion of Nazi vocabulary. ‘Bop’, ‘Ramones’ and

‘Marky’ also show high collocation values due to an album by the band Ramones which is entitled Blitzkrieg Bop. The appearance of the collocate ‘Niche’ is due to an online marketing system which is called Niche Blitzkrieg. The latter is already a hint at the use of *Blitzkrieg* in the context of advertising, marketing and publicity, as Schröter and Leuschner (2013) found for British newspaper discourse – *media*, *marketing* and *advertising*, *propaganda* and *publicity* also feature among the collocations in enTenTen [2013], and all of these occur one position to the left of the search word *blitzkrieg*. The collocates ‘Gaza’ and ‘Israel’ can be found here, too; this will be investigated in more detail when comparing the use of *Blitzkrieg* in German, French and English below (6.2).

To summarise, most of the lexis from Schmitz-Berning’s (2007) index does not occur in enTenTen [2013]. Some of the terms that can be found are not used with reference to National Socialism, such as acronyms and words which are formally equivalent in English and German; others such as *Weltanschauung* and *Volk* show no consistent reference to their role in National Socialist discourse. *Gauleiter*, *Anschluss* and *Führer/Fuhrer* occur nearly exclusively with reference to the historical context. *Blitzkrieg*, *Untermensch*, *judenrein*, and *Gestapo* show reference to the historical context, but also updating and transposing use: the lexis is used to refer to more recent events and not so much to a German context, but either a Middle Eastern or American context. Finally, *Heil Hitler* and *Sieg Heil* are nearly exclusively used when recent instances of their use, e.g. by neo-nazis, are discussed – the fact that these greetings were used in and during the Third Reich seems to be reasonably well known and is rarely referred to.

## **6 Nazi vocabulary in English, French and German**

Having established the frequencies in enTenTen [2013] of the Nazi vocabulary identified and documented in Schmitz-Berning (2007) and having also established whether the lexis occurs with an apparent or inherent reference to National Socialism and whether it occurs in other contexts than original historical one, a contrastive look will be taken at the usage of this Nazi vocabulary in English, French and German. The question is whether words are used in the same way in other languages than in the original German. Words, when they enter other languages, might be accommodated into different discourse contexts and their usage could therefore develop differently from use in the original language. Thus, words might lead a different life outside the donor language than inside it due to a process of decontextualisation and re-contextualisation (Baumann/Briggs 1990). Contrasts in the usage of historical

Germanisms across languages might highlight the role of discourse for lexical borrowing. The following scenarios could occur:

- a) The loan word is used in similar discourse contexts as in the donor language;
- b) The loan word is used in similar discourse contexts as in the borrowing language, but its usage in the donor language changes after borrowing, which will not be reflected in the way in which the word is used in the borrowing language;
- c) The loan word is used in similar discourse contexts initially, but is appropriated into other contexts in a chronological process, thus its usage at least partly develops differently than in the donor language where it either remains similar than at the point of borrowing, or its meaning/usage changes, too at some point, but independently of its use in the borrowing language;
- d) The loan word is appropriated into different discourse contexts and evokes different topical associations more or less from the point of borrowing.

The following table lists the remaining words that can be considered genuine German Nazi vocabulary in English. The numbers indicate how often the words occur in raw frequency (and in brackets, in relative frequency per million) in enTenTen [2013], the French equivalent webcorpus frTenTen [2012] and the German one, deTenTen [2013]. It should be noted that in some cases, the absolute frequency is higher, but the relative frequency lower in English or French than in German. This is due to the different sizes of the corpora: enTenTen [2013], comprises 19,717,205,676 words, frTenTen [2012] consists of 9,889,689,889 words, and the word count for deTenTen [2013] is 16,534,176,369. Highlighted in bold are figures when there is

- either a notable contrast in that the relative frequency (per million words – henceforth PMW) is much higher in German than in English and/or French
- or when there is small difference in relative frequency of use of the German word in English and or French as compared to the originator language.

Word	enTenTen [2013]	frTenTen [2012]	deTenTen [2013]
Anschluss	959 (0.0)	1,382 (0.1)	<b>1,222,351 (61.4)</b>
<b>Blitzkrieg</b>	<b>5,490 (0.2)</b>	<b>1,940 (0.2)</b>	5,007 (0.3)
Blut und Boden	66 (0.00)	47 (0.00)	1,416 (0.1)



<b>Einsatzgruppen</b>	<b>855</b> (0.0)	<b>963</b> (0.1)	2,794 (0.1)
Gauleiter	511 (0.0)	761 (0.1)	7,904 (0.4)
Gestapo	10,421 (0.5)	<b>13,146</b> (1.1)	30,482 (1.5)
Gleichschaltung	143 (0.01)	87 (0.01)	14,435 (0.7)
Führer	4,030 (0.2)	7,262 (0.6)	258,799 (13.0)
Fuhrer	3.601 (0.2)	894 (0.1)	n/a
Heil Hitler	714 (0.0)	491 (0.0)	4.282 (0.2)
<b>judenrein</b>	<b>360</b> (0.0)	<b>295</b> (0.0)	510 (0.0)
<b>Lebensraum</b>	883 (0.0)	445 (0.0)	<b>285,335</b> (14.3)
Sieg Heil	350 (0.0)	224 (0.0)	2,767 (0.1)
Untermensch	164 (0.01)	136 (0.01)	5,244 (0.3)

Table 2: Frequency of Nazi vocabulary in the English, French and German webcorpora

The figures in the table indicate that *Anschluss* and *Lebensraum* provide the strongest frequency contrast to French and English. This contrast, which appears to be due to the polysemy of both words in German rather than a preoccupation of dealing with the past, will be discussed below in more detail. The figures also show that there is scarcely any difference in the frequency of *judenrein*, *Blitzkrieg*, *Einsatzgruppen* and *Untermensch* between English and German, which must be considered as unusual. For comparison, other German loanwords in English feature as follows:

- Schadenfreude: 0.8 PMW in deTenTen [2013] versus 0.2 PMW in enTenTen [2013]
- Kindergarten: 32.4 PMW in deTenTen [2013] versus 6.1 PMW in enTenTen [2013]
- Angst: 110.6 PMW in deTenTen [2013] versus 1.8 PMW in enTenTen [2013]
- Blitz: 9.8 PMW in deTenTen [2013] versus 1.8 PMW in endTenTen [2013].

Here, the differences are higher; the loan word is used less frequently in the borrowing language and clearly more frequently in the originator language. In the case of *blitz*, it is interesting to note that in German, it predominantly appears as a noun (translates lightening), and only 0.01 PMW as a verb (translates to shine or twinkle). The use of *to blitz* as a verb is therefore specific to English (0.48PMW), a development based on the English coinage of *Blitz* as mentioned above and independent of the originator language. The relatively frequent

occurrence of *Gestapo* in French might be a residue of the Nazi occupation of France. It will be left aside here, though, owing to the focus on the relation between German and English, for which the French corpus is just an additional point of reference in order to check whether the use of Nazi vocabulary in English is unique or whether it is in line with a more general motivation for borrowing German Nazi vocabulary.

### 6.1 High differences in frequency: *Lebensraum* and *Anschluss*

The use of *Lebensraum* differs notably between German and the other two languages. In French and English, *Lebensraum* is nearly exclusively used with regard to the Nazi past as the sample collocations in the following table illustrate.

Corpus	Collocation	Frequency of co-occurrence	Log likelihood score
enTenTen [2013]	Hitler	62	1,016,082
	German	61	781,985
	Germany	34	400,699
	Nazi	26	391,482
	quest	21	273,698
	policy	27	245,039
	concept	21	206,266
	Nazis	14	210,683
frTenTen [2012]	Israel	14	129,771
	allemand	23	299,743
	Hitler	19	288,434
	conquête	19	275,837
	Est	13	143,118
	Allemagne	13	139,118
	Concept	11	115,023
deTenTen13	Tiere	15,001	168,513,968
	natürlichen	11,622	148,072,565
	Pflanzen	10,541	121,962,807
	Arten	8,031	91,790,655
	Osten	1,132	8697,367
	Hitlers	74	490,442

Table 3: Collocations of *Lebensraum* in the English, French and German webcorpora

Space does not permit a detailed exploration of all collocations. The above collocations illustrate recurring patterns of usage that are most prominent in terms of frequency and statistical strength of co-occurrence, and to highlight contrasts between these in the three languages. In English, we find updating usage indicated by the collocate Israel. Examples from the concordance lines illustrate this:

Washington start yet more wars to create **lebensraum** for *Israel* . Early in the 21st century rid of them. *Israel* is actually driven by **Lebensraum** (Living Space) philosophy. In other words absurdum. Many compare Eretz *Israel* 3 to the **Lebensraum** the Nazis demanded. In that quest, the

native Arab population in the name of Jewish **Lebensraum**. Time and again *Israel* has signed treaties

In these contexts, Israeli politics is seen as pursuing a quest for *Lebensraum*, whereas the use of the German Nazi word can only be interpreted as an implicit comparison of Israeli to Nazi politics, and the criticism of Israeli politics by way of Nazi comparisons needs to be understood as a part of modern anti-semitic discourse (Schwarz-Friesel/Reinharz 2013, 231ff.).

Updating use is absent in French and German. In German, the collocates which most frequently co-occur with *Lebensraum* are: ‘Tiere’ (animals), ‘natürlichen’ (natural), ‘Arten’ (species) and ‘Pflanzen’ (plants). The collocation list contains many more related words referring to the natural environment, wildlife, and the protection of nature and wildlife. In German, *Lebensraum* is overwhelmingly used as an equivalent to ‘habitat’. However, its use in Nazi Germany has not completely faded from contemporary discourse; it does feature among the collocations, but only ‘Osten’ and ‘Hitler’s’ are found among the 5,000 strongest collocates of *Lebensraum*. In more than 90% of all their co-occurrences, *Lebensraum* collocates with ‘Osten’ in the set phrase *Lebensraum im Osten* (living space in the East); the quest of the German people for living space was the rationale and justification in National Socialist discourse for the brutal war in Eastern Europe.

Similarly, *Anschluss* is used exclusively with reference to the Third Reich and the annexation of Austria (and parts of what is now the Czech Republic, hence the collocate Sudètes in French) by the Nazis.

Corpus	Collocation	Frequency of co-occurrence	Log likelihood score
enTenTen2013	Austria	230	4,468,100
	1938	138	2,679,148
	Germany	72	947,361
	Austrian	45	767,858
	Hitler	48	753,140
	Nazi	43	684,296
	German	48	583,469
	Vienna	31	482,899
frTenTen [2012]	1938	204	3,888,802
	Autriche	210	3,688,593
	Hitler	47	691,708
	Allemagne	50	556,780
	Sudètes	25	536,982
	Reich	32	521,242
	autrichien	25	406,774
	Vienne	30	406,710
deTenTen13	Im/im	319,560/381,006	3,175,238,019/3,099,016,348

	an	419,015	2,475,617.001
	DSL	19,254	244,00,279
	USB	17,097	212,605,418
	direkt	20,969	140,602,678
	Österreichs	3,827	35,925,751

Table 4: Collocations of *Anschluss* in the English, French and German webcorpora

In German, *Anschluss* appears in the phrase ‘im Anschluss an’, which translates into the English preposition ‘following’ (“coming after or as a result of”, Oxford English Dictionary 2010). *Anschluss* can also translate as ‘connection’ both in the sense of travel connections and in the context of information technology, which is reflected in the collocates ‘direkt’ (direct), ‘DSL’ and ‘USB’. Again, the use of the word in the context of the Third Reich has not faded, but there is a notable quantitative difference between the aforementioned collocates and the most frequent collocate indicating reference to the Nazi past: the prepositions indicating the phrase ‘im Anschluss an’ occur about a hundred times more often than the collocate ‘Österreichs’ ((of) Austria) and about one thousand times more frequently than ‘Hitler’ (207 co-occurrences with *Anschluss*). For example, ‘Wien’ (Vienna) or ‘1938’ is not among the 5,000 strongest collocates of *Anschluss*.

## 6.2 Small differences in frequency: *Blitzkrieg* and *judenrein*

The use of *Blitzkrieg* shows similarities across the three languages in that the historical context is indicated by the most frequent collocates including ‘German’/‘allemande’, ‘Hitler’, ‘1940’, ‘Poland/Polen’ and ‘France’/‘Frankreich’. Collocates relating to the above mentioned computer game and album by the band Ramones are disregarded here.

Corpus	Collocation ~Nazi context	Freq. of co- occ.	Log likelihood score	Collocation updating use	Freq. of co- occ.	Log likelihood score
enTenTen [2013]	German	253	3,032.621	Media	94	692,269
	tactics	116	1,455.021	Marketing	51	327,747
	Hitler	94	1,270.145	Israel	35	260,694
	Poland	83	1,088.018	Gaza	18	187,140
	Nazi	72	966.506			
	1940	62	762.753			
	France	72	677.338			
frTenTen [2012]	tactique	36	461.715	médiatique	15	159,848
	allemande	33	387.256			
	Hitler	26	333.693			
	1940	26	326.643			
	stratégie	34	321.534			
	1939	21	273.074			
	allemand	24	243.265			
deTenTen13	Polen	149	1,781.229	Kindergarten	34	326,229
	Operation	115	1,416.444	Waldsterben	12	193,524

	Hitlers	84	1,256.372			
	Wehrmacht	82	1,251.094			
	Frankreich	103	1,021.149			
	1940	70	928,820			
	Hitler	52	616,530			

Table 5: Collocations of *Blitzkrieg* in the English, French and German webcorpora

There are differences when it comes to updating usage. In English and French a *Blitzkrieg* can be discursive, a series of mediatised messages sent out into the public sphere in quick succession. The following concordance lines from enTenTen [2013] illustrate this:

underway: A carefully crafted *media blitzkrieg* launched early this year assailing the projects), he will include in the package a *media blitzkrieg* campaign; an oversaturation of "I began our sizeable work as a shrill *media blitzkrieg* group thru the goodness of CRAIGS list your help to become a full fledged, *media blitzkrieg* volunteer org to change public opinion contradicted climate change. </p><p> This *media " blitzkrieg "* completely derailed the conference, forcing

be disappointed; his year-long *marketing blitzkrieg* has ensured that wherever you turn this in a more rapid way than any *marketing blitzkrieg* could provide. The United States, Menon is disappointed by the *marketing blitzkrieg* behind Bollywood films as he believes the would be supported by a huge *marketing blitzkrieg* that would cover outdoor, print, radio

Additionally, and similar to *Lebensraum*, there are again updating references to the Middle East context in English and criticism of Israel as reflected in the collocates ‘Israel’ and ‘Gaza’:

clients when *Israel* launched a two-pronged, *blitzkrieg* pre-emptive strike. In just six days in its Arab neighbors as *Israel* launched a *blitzkrieg* against the Egyptian air force 2 days before could also neatly point to *Israel* 's 1967 *blitzkrieg* as a highpoint of effectiveness – WWII lead the Army. Post 1967 *Israel* believed in *blitzkrieg*, an offensive onslaught that simultaneously West Bank into *Israel* proper. The Israeli *blitzkrieg* was about as "defensive" as Germany's invasion and watched *Israel* unleash its Cast Lead *blitzkrieg* against Gaza's trapped civilians, killing

Palestinian women and children during Israel's *Blitzkrieg* and carpet bombing of *Gaza* during "Christmas Afghanistan and Iraq dissolved with the *Gaza blitzkrieg*. Israel attacked Gaza without permission too much. They've just launched another *blitzkrieg* into *Gaza*. The flimsy excuse is to rescue gurus of Zionism claim during the recent *blitzkrieg* in *Gaza* that Israel had the right to prevent

In German, leaving aside collocates relating to quotes from song lyrics or proper names – apparently, a German DJ calls herself or himself Betty Blitzkrieg –, the two updating uses in German revolve around the awareness of the word's ‘career’ in other languages when it is mentioned together with two German words – *Kindergarten* and *Waldsterben* (referring to the dying of forests due to air pollution) – that are also used in other languages.

The use of *judenrein* shows similarities in English, French and German in that there is reference to the historical context as well as to the more recent situation in the Middle East.

Corpus	Noun collocations ~ Nazi past	Freq. of co-occ.	Log likelihood value	Noun collocations ~ Middle East	Freq. of co-occ.	Log likelihood value
enTenTen2013	Nazi Europe German Germany	12 14 9 8	183,707 146,701 96,689 85,366	Palestinian Palestine Arab Israel East (= Middle East or East Jerusalem) Gaza Bank (= West Bank) Judea Jerusalem Arabs	20 16 15 17 16 11 11 6 8 6	297,615 253,748 204,691 195,149 175,004 163,732 120,787 105,830 102,481 86,498
frTenTen [2012]	Allemagne Europe territoires Hitler Reich	11 10 7 6 5	123,166 89,634 83,979 82,050 78,288	Palestine palestinien Etat/état/État  Israël Gaza terre Arabie Palestiniens	26 21 20/19/9  13 7 10 6 5	423,523 343,742 210,901/185,140/95,053  150,874 92,680 86,357 84,558 79,992
deTenTen13	Deutschland Berlin Nazis Gau Land	36 22 13 8 15	304,995 193,229 172,933 144,628 123,178	Palästina Samaria Westbank	14 5 5	217,952 93,901 84,410

Table 6: Collocations of *judenrein* in the English, French and German webcorpora

It is, however, noteworthy that reference to the Middle East is more prominent in English and French than it is in German, indicated by more lexis pointing to this context which co-occurs with *judenrein* at a higher frequency than in German.

but of two *Palestinian* states: a state in the West Bank and **judenrein** Gaza alongside an that the new *Palestinian* state would be **Judenrein**, like the Nazis and that it would be the that a future *Palestinian* state must be **judenrein** and all Jews currently living in communities Palestinians openly demand that their state be **judenrein** "The *Palestinian* demand for a Jew-free

mean that...the West *Bank* ...must be made **judenrein** and must be so maintained, if necessary 's only fair. If the West *Bank* has to be **Judenrein**, the same should apply to the Arabs in insistence that their future West *Bank* state be "**Judenrein**" doesn't bode well for the indigenous , but of two *Palestinian* states: a state **judenrein** in the West *Bank* and Gaza alongside an

Statements vary as to which side they support regarding the settlement of Jews in certain territories, so criticism of Israeli politics is not the only tendency in these contexts. However, the use of the German Nazi word in these contexts is troubling in its carelessness or else

latent anti-semitism given that during National Socialism, making areas *judenrein* meant the seizing, rounding up or ghettoization of Jews followed by either mass shootings or transportations to extermination camps or concentration camps with few survivors.

## 7 Conclusion

The above analyses have shown that *Lebensraum* and *Anschluss* behave differently outside the originator language. With regard to systematising possible post-borrowing developmental scenarios, as attempted in 6, it is not possible on the basis of enTenTen [2013] to trace exactly the development over time. It would be interesting for future research to investigate diachronically the development of the usage and meaning of borrowed words outside of the respective donor language on the basis of selected case studies of individual words. It would also be interesting to compare the use of loan words, or as in this case Nazi Germanisms – which were also being borrowed not just by speakers of English and French – across a range of languages.

As far as *Anschluss* and *Lebensraum* are concerned, a process akin to the scenario captured under b) in section 6 above seems to be applicable here: the loan word is used in similar contexts initially, i.e. with regard to the point at which it became of interest for borrowing purposes in a discourse about German National Socialism. However, its usage in the donor language changes in that the lexis as it was used in Nazi discourse is overshadowed by other uses of the word – ‘habitat’ in the case of *Lebensraum* and ‘following’ or ‘connection’ in the case of *Anschluss*. In English, the historical reference associated with *Lebensraum* seems well enough established to trigger a few instances of updating use, where the word is used to criticise – by way of the implicit Nazi comparison through the very use of this historical Germanism – another current political agent, namely Israel.

Updating and transposing usage of Nazi vocabulary seems more common outside German, as seen also in the use of *Blitzkrieg* and *judenrein*. These usages suggest the self-sustainability of these words in the other languages; they are presumed to be understood both in their meaning as well as in their relation to Nazi Germany, and updating and transposing usage suggests processes of decontextualisation (taken out of the German (historical) context) and recontextualisation (applied to other agents and other historical situations) (Baumann/Briggs 1990). Recontextualisation points towards an advanced degree of integration in the other languages. While *Blitzkrieg* and *judenrein* are partly used in discourse contexts similar to those in the originator language – thus pertaining to scenario a) in section 6 above –, their

usage partly develops differently than in the originator language in that usage with reference to the Middle East context have become more salient in the borrowing languages than in German, pertaining to scenario c) above. Similarly, *Blitzkrieg* is not used in the context of media or marketing campaigns in German.

The function of using the German word, rather than a loan translation as in the case of final solution, might be to index and authenticate the historical context in relation to Germany in the case of historical usage. In the case of updating usage, the German word seems to index historical precedence. Through this, current political agents can be delegitimised by comparing their actions to arguably history's darkest chapter (American *Gestapo*, Israel's *Lebensraum*, Israel's *blitzkrieg*, *judenrein* Gaza). Discourse transpositions such as media blitzkrieg might constitute witticisms through contrasting the severity of the historical precedence with the comparative triviality of the area of transposition. However, negative stereotyping of Germany and the Germans is not one of the major findings of this study. Arguably, this might be inherent whenever reference to the Nazi past or Second World War is involved, but in the environment of the use of the Nazi vocabulary discussed above, there are no obvious traces to a pattern of usage that likens current Germans or German politics to the Third Reich.

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## Appendix: Glossary, based on Michael/Doerr (2002)

- Anschluss** – euphemism for the annexation of Austria and other territories and integration into the German Reich
- Blitzkrieg** – Lightning war; rapid conquest by means of aerial bombardment, massed armour, and motorized infantry, combines with speed and intensity, with an unpredictable main line of attack
- Blut und Boden** – Blood and soil. German peasants were considered the backbone of a pure Aryan-Nordic race. Only they had the right and duty to grow food on German soil to nourish healthy and strong Germans.
- Einsatzgruppen** – Special Task Groups; battalion sized SS mobile killing units that accompanied German troops at the invasion of Poland in 1939 and Russia in 1941
- Führer** – One of Hitler's official titles in Nazi Germany. The Nazi Führer was meant to have a mystical and magic relationship with the German people

**Gauleiter** – Heads of regional administrative districts – Nazi Germany and annexed territories were divided into Gaue, headed by a Gauleiter

**Heil Hitler** – “Long live Hitler”, the centuries old German greeting “Heil” to replace “GutenTag” between 1933 and 1945

**Gestapo, Geheime Staatspolizei** – Secret State Police; used brutal methods to investigate and suppress resistance to Nazi rule within Germany and during WW2 in Nazi-occupied Europe

**Gleichschaltung** – Consolidation. All of the German Volk’s social, political and cultural organizations to be controlled and run according to Nazi ideology and policy.

**Judenrein** –Free of Jews; the goal of the ‘final solution’, by way of extermination

**Lebensraum** – Living space; the Nazis believed Germans were in need of more living space and natural resources to maintain their population; to be gained by war and genocide in Eastern Europe

**Sieg Heil** – “Hail victory” Nazi slogan and greeting, equivalent to “Heil Hitler”

**Untermensch** – Subhuman people; in the Nazi racial scheme non-Aryans such as Jews, Poles, Russians and Sinti-Roma

**Volk** – People, folk, nation, race; the German nation as a community defined and unified by blood, place, history and language

**Weltanschauung** – Worldview or ideology. The Nazi worldview that involved race, character and destiny as a value system for the German people