

*Crossing languages - crossing discourses:
a corpus-assisted discourse study of
Kulturkampf in German, Polish and
English*

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1 Introduction

Just like people in the world, words are forever on the move. Some lexical migrants, traditionally known as "intimate" borrowings (Bloomfield 1933: 461), travel via multilingual, spoken discourse. *Kaffeeklatsch*, *besservisser* etc. are loanwords that came from German into (American) English via this route (Knapp 2005). Others, known as "cultural" borrowings (Bloomfield 1933: 458, cf. also Haspelmath 2009), cross into other languages via unilingual, written discourse, sometimes travelling large distances even without direct contact between speakers. German loanwords of this kind in English include, not only general terms like *heimat*, *kitsch*, *zeitgeist* etc., but also historical concepts like *Blitzkrieg*, *Drang nach Osten*, *Endlösung* and several others (Stubbs 1997, 1998).

The last-named group, conveniently called "historical Germanisms" (Schröter/Leuschner 2013; cf. also Leuschner 2012, 2013, 2014, Leuschner/Schröter 2015), are of particular interest to loanword studies because of their relevance for cultural and historical stereotyping (Jucker 1996; Stubbs 1997, 1998). Due to their presence in the mass media of both Western and Eastern Europe (Demleitner 2009, Oshlies 2000), they have recently become the object of a new, discourse-analytic approach (Schröter/Leuschner 2013, Leuschner/Schröter 2015) which treats loanwords primarily as parts of discourses rather than lexicons. This approach conceptualises borrowing as a process of appropriation into the host language(s) which is best understood as a type of performative de-/re-contextualisation (Schröter, this issue; cf. Bauman/Briggs 1990) and investigated through corpus-assisted discourse analysis (Schröter/Leuschner 2013).

The current study adds to this body of research by focusing on yet another historical Germanism, *Kulturkampf* 'culture struggle' (or 'culture battle', Knapp 2005), which to date has received little attention in lexicographical and discourse-analytical research. *Kulturkampf* is an instructive object of study for several reasons. First, in contrast to most other historical Germanisms, it originated in the 19th rather than the 20th century and is associated much less with the Nazi period and World War II.¹ Coined around 1840 in Germany and introduced into wider currency in 1873 by the renowned anthropologist and parliamentarian, Rudolf Virchow

¹ At least insofar as *Kulturkampf* is not taken as a synonym of *Kirchenkampf*, the struggle for Nazi domination of the Christian churches from 1933 onwards.

(Puschner 2011: 45), the term *Kulturkampf* is historically associated with the bitter legislative campaign waged by the Prussian/German government under Otto von Bismarck, with the support of liberals like Virchow, against the power and influence of the Roman Catholic Church from the early 1870s to the mid-1880s (Blackbourn 2003: 196-198). A typical German NN-compound, *Kulturkampf* was lexicographically codified by Sanders (1885), who defined it accordingly as the "struggle between the German government and the Catholic Church" (ibid.: 293, our translation). Categorised by Sanders as a "Schlagwort" (i.e. slogan or catchphrase, ibid.), it received due attention in specialised (and widely read) dictionaries by Büchmann (1905) and Ladendorf (1906), and it continues to be listed today by authorities like the *Duden Universalwörterbuch* (Duden 2015: 1077f.). Not surprisingly, it tends to crop up in German public discourse whenever the historical legacy of Prussia is under scrutiny, as e.g. during the *Preußenjahr* memorial year of 2015.²

At the same time, another reason why *Kulturkampf* is such an instructive object of study is precisely that its actual usage is not exhausted by its reference to the events of the 1870s. Sanders (1885: 293) himself qualified his definition of *Kulturkampf* as a "narrow" one hinting at a wider sense evoking secular-clerical struggles in countries or states beyond Prussia.³ Discursive re-contextualisations have been occurring ever since and have at times even attained public notoriety, as in 2008 when the Roman-Catholic bishop of Fulda, Heinz Joseph Algermissen, denounced present-day legal frameworks regulating abortion, euthanasia etc. as a second "Kulturkampf" on the values of the church (cited in Puschner 2011: 45) or when the German press warned against an impending "Kulturkampf" on Jews and Muslims after ritual circumcision for young boys was ruled illegal by a German court of law.⁴⁵ In this case, the concept of *Kulturkampf* was extended to relations between the state and non-Christian religions, adding overtones of a modern *clash of civilisations* (cf. notoriously Huntington 1996). Whereas the precise relationship between Huntington's term and *Kulturkampf* remains

² As the occasion of the *Preußenjahr* was the 200th anniversary of the annexation of the Roman-Catholic Rhineland to Prussia, it provided ample opportunity to bring the *Kulturkampf* into critical focus, see e.g. <http://www.swr.de/landesschau-aktuell/rp/koblenz/preussenjahr-2015-kulturkampf-im-rheinland/-/id=1642/did=15867586/nid=1642/1451nis/> (accessed October 12, 2015).

³ *Kulturkampf*-like struggles affected virtually every European country or state which had a majority or significant minority of Roman Catholics, including several German ones, through the second half of the 19th century. See Burleigh (2005: 311-364) for a Europe-wide survey and Clark/Kaiser (eds., 2003) for country-specific analyses, including the little-known case of the United Kingdom.

⁴ Typical news reports on the issue are <http://www.faz.net/aktuell/gesellschaft/familie/beschneidungsdebatte-kulturkampf-im-gerichtssaal-11805676.html>, http://www.deutschlandradiokultur.de/kulturkampf-um-die-beschneidung.1005.de.html?dram:article_id=217265 (accessed September 20, 2015).

⁵ A typical contemporary media report is http://www.welt.de/welt_print/article2444971/Papsttreue-Katholiken-sehen-Deutschland-im-Kulturkampf.html. – Algermissen reiterated the charge in 2013, accusing proponents of a legal framework for homosexual partnerships of an "ideologische Kulturkampf" against traditional values (<http://www.kath.net/news/42097>, accessed September 20, 2015).

unclear (cf. Kaiser 2003: 75), a loosely translated spinoff of the latter, *culture wars*, was coined by Hunter (1991) in reference to 20th-century debates in the U.S. over social issues like multiculturalism etc. with the purpose of evoking "similarities and dissimilarities between our own time and that of the German Kulturkampf" (ibid.: 12, cited in Clark/Kaiser 2003: 8). Hunter's much-cited term (see Jensen 1995, Clark/Kaiser 2003: 8f.)⁶ was in turn introduced into English-language historiography in order to distinguish the wider 19th-century phenomenon of culture struggles from the specific events in Prussia/Germany, which continue to be referred to as *the Kulturkampf* (Clark/Kaiser 2003: 8).

The third reason why *Kulturkampf* is an instructive object of loanword studies is that it represents distinct routes of borrowing in different host languages. In English and most other languages, *Kulturkampf* is a cultural borrowing which was imported when the media of one country (in this case, Britain) reported on and discussed the topical affairs of another (viz. Germany).⁷ The reference in the OED Supplement to the first attested use of *Kulturkampf* in the Catholic *Dublin Review* magazine in 1879 (although in fact too late, cf. earlier attestations cited in Arlinghaus 1949) can be seen as testimony to this route of borrowing. In Polish, by contrast, *Kulturkampf* is mainly an intimate borrowing, resulting from the fact that many speakers of Polish were citizens of Prussia and therefore, as a Roman-Catholic group with national aspirations of its own, affected directly by Kulturkampf legislation. Since the Kulturkampf was seen by Bismarck (misguidedly) as a way of strengthening the recently unified Germany against potentially disloyal forces, anti-Catholic measures had an anti-Polish edge, hitting Poles doubly hard through their religion and their nationality (Trzeciakowski 1990, Hagen 1980). Not only did the Kulturkampf thus become a formative period in Polish nation-building in a way unparalleled in the English-speaking world, it also meant that many Polish speakers did not have to rely on newspaper reports from a foreign country to encounter the term *Kulturkampf*.⁸ As a working hypothesis for the present paper, it is thus reasonable to assume that present-day usage of *Kulturkampf* will differ significantly between Polish and English in ways influenced by its different borrowing histories. In consequence, it will be instructive to find out in which other contexts the historical

⁶ Note also the term *Linguistics Wars*, coined just two years after Hunter's book (1991) by Harris (1993) in reference to the debates over Generative Semantics in the 1970s.

⁷ According to Clark/Kaiser (2003: 4), the Prussian/German Kulturkampf was observed with a great deal of wariness across the rest of Europe. This is certainly true of the U.K., see recently Hawes (2014: 135-137).

⁸ Although some did of course encounter it this way, especially if they were living under Russian or Austrian rule. Cf. the two examples in Nowowiejski (1996: 295) of the use of *Kulturkampf* in Polish around 1880, which come from newspapers that appeared in parts of Poland annexed respectively by Russia (*Gazeta Warszawska*, 1880) and Austria (*Gazeta Krakowska*, 1884).

Germanism *Kulturkampf* is attested in these two languages, and the extent to which its discursive appropriations (if any) resemble those in the original German.

In order to answer these questions, a trilateral approach is inevitable that refers, not only to the two host languages, Polish and English, but also to the donor language, German. This represents a significant advance over previous studies of historical Germanisms, which were concerned with one host language only (viz. English in Schröter/Leuschner 2013) or at best included a sketchy comparison with the donor language, German (Leuschner/Schröter 2015). By contrast, our analysis offers a three-way comparison of the current usage of *Kulturkampf* in all three languages, effectively using usage in German as a *tertium comparationis* (Egan 2013). Drawing on the notion of "discursive appropriation" as proposed by Schröter/Leuschner (2013), we investigate the extent to which *Kulturkampf* has been discursively appropriated in Polish and English in comparison with German and the functions served by such appropriations. To do so, we adopt the methodology of Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS), which integrates quantitative corpus linguistics with qualitative, discourse-analytical procedures (Partington et al. 2013).

The remainder of this paper is structured as follows: Section 2 describes *Kulturkampf* as an historical Germanism in English and Polish, moving from langue- and parole-based approaches to the discourse-analytical framework adopted for the present investigation, and outlines our methodology, data and analytical tools. Sections 3 and 4 then present our analysis of obtained, respectively, from large TenTen web-corpora and from smaller purpose-built media corpora. Section 5 draws together the results, evaluating them in light of the discourse-analytic framework, and discusses implications for future research.

2 Towards a Corpus-Assisted, Discourse-Analytic Approach

2.1 *Kulturkampf* as an Historical Germanism

In the methodological spectrum of loanword research, the discourse-analytic approach to historical Germanisms can be set off against two other, complementary methodologies, as shown in Figure 1 (from Schröter/Leuschner 2013: 146).

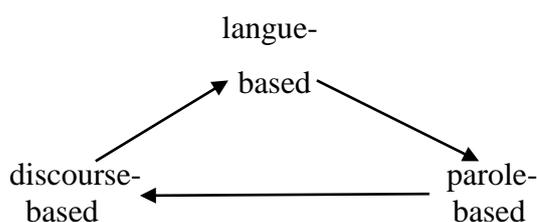


Figure 1: Three approaches to historical Germanisms

The main focus of langue-based approaches is on the lexicographical documentation and lexicological analysis of Germanisms. That German loanwords came into English mainly during the 19th and 20th centuries is well-known (see e.g. Pfeffer/Cannon 1994, Stanforth 2010). It is in principle also true of Polish, although here the number of intimate borrowings was much larger and their presence at least in part more transient, adding to an already substantial stock of earlier loans from medieval and early modern German (Nagórko 2007: 227-245, de Vincenz 2006). While this has led Polish linguists like Buttler (1986), Urbańczyk (1987), Nowowiejski (1996, 2010) and Umińska-Tytoń (2001) to devote a substantial amount of work to 19th-century Germanisms, Nowowiejski is the only one among these four authors to explicitly mention *Kulturkampf* (1996: 179, 191, 295; 2010: 124). Most modern Polish dictionaries (though not all) list *Kulturkampf*, and in those that do, it is mostly spelled with a small <k>, signalling a high degree of integration (e.g. SWO 1971: 407, Zgółkowa, ed., 1998: 291, Dubisz, ed., 2003: 358), and only occasionally with the original German <K> (Kopaliński 1999: 435).⁹ The altogether ambiguous status of *Kulturkampf* on the margins of the Polish lexicon¹⁰ probably explains why it is omitted even in specialized textbooks of Polish linguistics for German-speaking students such as those by Mazur (1993) and Nagórko (2007).

As for English, Pfeffer/Cannon's encyclopedic *German Loanwords* does contain a number of 19th century loans including *Kulturkampf* (1994: 61, 71, 227); major lexicographical sources listing *Kulturkampf* are given (ibd.) as the OED and the American *Random House* and *Webster's Third* dictionaries. Knapp's dictionary of German loans in (American) English (2005) has an entry on *Kulturkampf*, defining it as "the struggle between the Roman Catholic Church from 1873 [sic] to 1887" (ibd.: 65) while also citing a tongue-in-cheek re-contextualisation from *Time* in 1997 in which the then-current debate on spelling reform in Germany was characterised as "this summer's great *Kulturkampf*" (ibd.). Stanforth (1996) refers to *Kulturkampf* briefly in his lexicological study of German loanwords in British

⁹ Interestingly, this is contradicted by our Polish corpus data, where <K> predominates (cf. below).

¹⁰ *Kulturkampf* is not mentioned in the dictionary of German loanwords in written and standard Polish by Andrzej de Vincenz and Gerd Hentschel, published online by the University of Oldenburg (*Wörterbuch der deutschen Lehnwörter in der polnischen Schrift- und Standardsprache*, <http://www.bkge.de/wdip.php>, accessed October 15, 2015), nor in the dictionary of German loans in Polish contained in the historical study of Karszniewicz-Mazur (1988: 29-210), nor indeed in the quantitative study of Witaszek-Samborska (1993), which is based on a large modern newspaper corpus. Since journalistic texts otherwise show high frequencies of Germanisms (ibd.: 36-43), this fact alone justifies the focus on newspaper corpora in our own investigation.

English (ibid.: 58); Stubbs (1997: 136) and Pfeffer (1999) do not. Demleitner's (2009) study of mutual Anglo-German stereotyping in recent newspapers does not mention *Kulturkampf* either, although she does list 19th-century loanwords (ibid.: 204, 208f.) such as *Reichstag* (the German national parliament at the time) and *Realpolitik*, a term coined in the early 1850s as an apposite to the *Idealpolitik* of 1848 and subsequently associated, like *Kulturkampf*, with the policies of Bismarck (Pfeffer 1999: 154).

Langue-based approaches to loanwords are also interested in establishing formal criteria for the integration of loanwords into the regular vocabulary of the recipient language. In the Polish lexicological literature, types and degrees of loanword integration are discussed in impressive detail (Nagórko 2007: 227-245, Karszniewicz-Mazur 1988), but tend to focus on well-integrated older loans, while 19th- and 20th-century loans get short shrift. In addition to formal criteria, the categorisation of loanwords along scales of integration has been a particular focus of attention in the English literature. Alluding to the OED's four-point scale of loanword integration (cited in Pfeffer/Cannon 1994: xxxiv; cf. ibid: 111-132 and for a similar approach Stanforth 1996: 64-154, Ehlert 2012: 87-97), we can distinguish four stages of "naturalization" for German loanwords in the general vocabulary of English, ranging from loans that are only used once or at best occasionally (Stage 1) to those that are "fully configured with English" phonetically, orthographically, morphologically and syntactically and no longer tend to be glossed, italicised or enclosed in special punctuation like quotation marks (Stage 4; Pfeffer/Cannon 1994: 126). Along this scale, *Kulturkampf* is classified as being at stage 4 by Pfeffer/Cannon based on its treatment in older lexicographic and lexicological sources (ibid., : 227, s.v. *Kulturkampf*).

From the issue of integration, it is only a short step to the parole-based approach, which is concerned with the use and functions of loanwords in texts in the host language. According to Stubbs (1998), "loanwords often confirm national stereotypes and symbolize the foreign and the strange" (ibid.: 19, cf. Stubbs 2001: 170-193), and indeed one of the functions of non-specialist German loanwords in the British press is, according to Stanforth (1996: 135-145, see also Stanforth 1993 and Demleitner 2009) to evoke a stereotypical German environment (*deutsches Kolorit* or *Lokalkolorit*). This is clearly reminiscent of sociolinguistic concepts such as language "crossing" (Rampton 2005) and "mock" language (Hill 1995, 1998). Like the "Mock Spanish" described by Hill as an underhand way of perpetuating anti-Latino racism in the U.S., the borrowing and discursive appropriation of historical Germanisms capitalises on a dual indexicality (Hill 1995: 2): through their referential meaning on the one

hand, and through the array of stereotyped assumptions about the ‘other’ that is indexed by such terms on the other hand.

In this sense, the discourse-based approach picks up where the langue- and the parole-based ones leave off. Since the discourse-oriented approach treats loanwords not so much as parts of vocabularies but rather as parts of discourses, historical Germanisms are seen as linguistic tokens in discourses in the host language, indexing (at least initially and to varying degrees) the German-relatedness of the denoted phenomenon. This approach leads Schröter/Leuschner (2013) to insights that tend to be missed by decontextualised scales of loanword integration as those used by Pfeffer/Cannon (1994). *Anschluss* and *Blitzkrieg*, for example, tend to be capitalised in Schröter/Leuschner's data as in the original German when used with reference to German history, but to be written with small initials (showing a higher degree of orthographic integration) in references to non-historical contexts (e.g. *marketing blitzkrieg*). The discourse-based approach thus defines appropriation to host discourses on grounds of contexts of usage, referring to formal features as indicators of degrees of appropriation. A low degree of appropriation can be signalled by capitalisation, the retention of any original umlaut (as e.g. in *Endlösung* instead of the more integrated *endlosung*), <ß> (as in *Anschluß* instead of *anschluss*) and the appending of glosses (as in *Endlösung* 'final solution'). Conversely, the absence of one or more is seen as implying a higher degree of appropriation.

2.2 Methodology and Data

In order to investigate the usage of *Kulturkampf* in German, Polish and English, we adopt the approach of Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS; e.g. Partington et al. 2013, Baker et al. 2013). CADS is especially suitable for our study for two reasons: it encourages researchers to contextualise their analysis eclectically by drawing on as many sources of information, frameworks and data sets as required to arrive at a comprehensive picture, and it stresses the need for a comparative perspective (Partington et al. 2013: 10-14). A classic example is Krishnamurthy (1996), who compares lexicographic definitions of *ethnic*, *racial* and *tribal* with the use of these terms in general-usage and newspaper corpora (Partington et al. 2013: 10). In a similar vein, the present study triangulates the treatment of *Kulturkampf* in various types of dictionaries (cf. above) with usage data from web and newspaper corpora, adding crosslinguistic comparison as an additional dimension in view of its specific focus on lexical borrowing.

To examine *Kulturkampf* in general German, Polish and English usage, we consulted the large web corpora from the TenTen corpus family, which were compiled using a web crawler designed specifically for collecting linguistic data. Table 1 shows the size of each TenTen corpus interrogated for the purpose of this study, viz. deTenTen2013 for German, enTenTen2013 for English and plTenTen2012 for Polish. The search term was *kulturkampf**, enabling us to retrieve inflected forms in German and Polish. Since the TenTen corpora vary in size, the results were normalised per 1,000,000 tokens.

Table 1: TenTen Corpora

Corpus	deTenTen2013 (German)	enTenTen2013 (English)	plTenTen2012 (Polish)
Size	19,918,263,493	22,878,431,750	9,677,787,906

Despite their divergent sizes, the TenTen corpora are large enough to permit the researcher to check the usage of low-frequency lemmas such as historical Germanisms. An added advantage is that they were compiled using the same procedures and approximately around the same time, allowing for methodologically more rigorous comparisons across languages. Their drawback is that they contain very little metadata, which is problematic for a discourse-analytical approach because it prevents researchers from contextualising findings in terms of domain, register or region.

Despite these limitations, the TenTen corpora proved to be useful tools in gaining first insight into the usage of *Kulturkampf* in current general use in German, Polish and English. To examine typical functions and contexts, we followed Schröter/Leuschner (2013) and retrieved first collocations, understood here as the co-occurrence of two or more words within a certain span as determined on the basis of significance testing. Collocations retrieved in this way point to strong lexico-grammatical patterns; they are useful signposts of persistent themes and value judgments associated with the items under study (Mautner 2007) and can therefore help delineate their typical discursive functions. For the purpose of our analysis, we retrieved collocations of *Kulturkampf* from the three TenTen corpora using Log Dice as the measure of statistical significance and a -5 + 5 span. The collocational analysis immediately revealed a number of differences and similarities in the use of *Kulturkampf* across the three languages which go far beyond the (nonetheless instructive) information provided by dictionaries. These results were then corroborated further by examining specialised purpose-built media corpora consisting of data from national newspapers widely distributed in Germany, Poland and UK.

The choice of national newspapers for these corpora is based on the assumption that newspapers are designed for mass audiences. Because the use of loanwords, like that of metaphors or similes, is in principle a matter of the writer’s choice (cf. Charteris-Black 2005), loanwords will tend to be deployed purposefully as an added value in terms of cultural stereotyping or local colour lending their use a rhetorical or even micro-performative character. Furthermore, the ways in which the term is rendered in national newspapers through capitalisation, morphological adaptations etc. may also indicate the degree of appropriation into general usage in the host language and culture.

In order to examine the use and functions of *Kulturkampf* in the national media in the three host languages, three media corpora were compiled consisting of articles from the major national newspapers in Germany, Poland and the UK. To achieve a reasonable comparability of sources and audiences, all three corpora include major national newspapers with different political leanings to the left and to the right. In addition, the Polish and German corpora incorporate two popular weeklies, the Polish *Newsweek* and the German highbrow *Die Zeit*. The data in the English and German corpus were collected from Nexis UK. They include articles published from 2000 to 2014 and were retrieved using the search term *kulturkampf!*, including the wildcard <!> which allowed us to retrieve different inflectional forms of the lemma. We started the search in 2000 because very little data was available for early periods.

As for the Polish corpus, only one national newspaper, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, is included in Nexis UK and the amount of data available is so small as to generate only 2 hits with *kulturkampf!* We therefore collected articles manually from available online newspaper archives. Table 2 shows the type of newspapers and the number of articles and tokens per language, using the labels deNews for the German, plNews for the Polish and enNews for the English corpus. As can be seen, the amount of data in deNews is vastly greater than in plNews and enNews. This is not surprising given that German is the donor language.

Table 2: The German, Polish and English Newspaper Corpora (2000 – 2014)

deNews			plNews			enNews		
Newspapers	Art.	Tokens	Newspapers	Art.	Tokens	Newspapers	Art.	Tokens
Frankfurter Rundschau	413	291,894	Gazeta Wyborcza	32	38,514	Daily Telegraph	19	18,316
TAZ	676	538,115	Rzeczpospolita	24	28,886	Guardian	16	18,376
Welt	643	541,741	Tygodnik Powszechny	11	16,556	Independent	6	6,174
Welt am Sonntag	204	244,005	Nasz Dziennik	28	13,970	Observer	2	2,177

Zeit	169	243,482	Newsweek	20	13,202	Times	8	12,854
Total	2,105	1,636,060	Total	115	111,128	Total	51	57,897

The corpora were searched using the linguistic software Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al., 2004) and the results were normalised per 1,000,000 tokens.

3 *Kulturkampf* in Web Corpora of German, Polish and English

3.1 Crosslinguistic Overview: Frequencies and Forms

This section reports on the general results obtained from the TenTen corpora regarding the frequency and forms of *Kulturkampf*. As Table 3 demonstrates, *Kulturkampf* is a low frequency item in all three languages, but it occurs by far the most frequently in the donor language. In terms of the two host languages, the term is used much more widely in Polish than in English. Given that *Kulturkampf* originally referred to historical events affecting the Polish nation in a way unparalleled in the English-speaking world, its higher usage in Polish is not surprising.

Table 3: *Kulturkampf* in the TenTen corpora

Corpus	Freq.	Norm. Freq.
deTenTen2013	10,624	0.5
plTenTen2012	1,809	0.2
enTenTen2013	314	0.01

An examination of the node forms of the lemma reveals interesting facts about the degrees of appropriation in the two host languages. Tables 4.1-3 present the most frequent inflectional forms of *Kulturkampf* as observed in the three corpora. In German (Table 4.1) the term is mostly used in the nominative or the genitive singular and less frequently in the plural (*Kulturkämpfe*). It is also interesting to observe that it is quite productive regarding compounding: in total, 85 compounds with *Kulturkampf* can be identified, 21 of which refer specifically to aspects relating to language or communication such as *Kulturkampfparolen* or *Kulturkampfrhetorik* (cf. Baur 1951: 464-466, who identified 18 compounds).

Table 4.a: The most frequent node forms of *Kulturkampf* in deTenTen2013

deTenTen2013		
Form	Freq.	% ¹¹

¹¹ The percentages indicate the proportion of the total instances of *Kulturkampf* in the given data set.

Kulturkampf	7,258	68.3
Kulturkampfes	1,774	16.7
Kulturkampfs	439	4.1
Kulturkämpfe	294	2.8
Kulturkämpfen	102	1.0
Kulturkampfgesetze	78	0.7
Kulturkampfzeit	65	0.6
Kulturkampf	58	0.5
Kulturkampfgesetzgebung	19	0.2
Kulturkampfstimmung	13	0.1
Kulturkampfpolitik	12	0.1
Kulturkampfes	11	0.1
Kulturkampfhese	10	0.1
Kulturkampfpärolen	10	0.1
Kulturkampfrhetorik	9	0.1

Inflected forms are also present in the Polish internet corpus (Table 4.2). The nominative and genitive cases are the most frequent, but the instrumental and the locative also occur. In nearly 70% of the occurrences, the term is rendered with a capital <K> as in German; around 30% have the initial <k> in the lower case, representing a higher degree of accommodation in Polish, where nouns (apart from proper names) are not normally capitalised.

Table 4.2: The most frequent node forms of *Kulturkampf* in plTenTen2012

plTenTen2012		
Form	Freq.	%
Kulturkampf	617	34.1
Kulturkampfu	589	32.6
Kulturkampfu	289	16.0
Kulturkampf	204	11.3
Kulturkampfum	51	2.8
Kulturkampfum	35	1.9
Kulturkampfie	24	1.3
Kulturkampfie	9	0.5

In the English web corpus the term is always used with its original capital <K> and without inflection, although we do encounter a few instances of the German genitive form *Kulturkampfs*.

Table 4.3: The most frequent node forms of *Kulturkampf* in enTenTen2013

enTenTen2013		
Form	Freq.	%
Kulturkampf	233	74.2

Kulturkampf	76	24.2
Kulturkampfs	3	1.0
KulturKampf	2	0.6

Note that there is no evidence of the plural in either Polish or English, suggesting that the *Kulturkampf* is treated as a 19th-century German phenomenon *sui generis* by authors in Polish and English, while German writers are potentially more inclined to treat it as just one instance of a wider phenomenon, duly resulting in more discursive appropriations as a result.

3.2 *Kulturkampf* in a Web Corpus of German

To shed some light on the functions and discursive contexts of *Kulturkampf*, collocations were retrieved next. In order to reveal the main themes associated with a given search term, researchers often group the strongest collocations into semantic fields (Ensslin and Johnson 2006; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008; Baker et al. 2013), and this is also a procedure adopted for the present analysis. Since the list of collocations retrieved from deTenTen2013 was much longer than the lists obtained from the two other corpora (due to the difference in size), we looked in more detail at the 100 strongest collocations in German and 50 in the two other data sets. Only content words were included. We begin with the data obtained from German.

Table 5 shows the 100 strongest collocates of *Kulturkampf* in deTenTen2013, grouped into semantic categories. As can be seen, in German the term is mostly used in references to its original historical context, collocating prominently with names of politicians like *Virchow* (a supporter of Bismarck and usually credited with introducing the term *Kulturkampf* into wider currency in Prussia/Germany) and *Windthorst* (leader of the Catholic *Zentrumspartei* and a major opponent of the *Kulturkampf*) and with many terms from the domain of religion, especially *Katholizismus* and *antikatholisch*. The historical context is also evoked through references to the contemporary political scene as in *Zentrumspartei* and *Kaiserreich*. Furthermore, there is a strong focus on the laws promulgated during the *Kulturkampf*, most of which aimed at curbing the activities of groups deemed dangerous such as Jesuits and Poles.

Table 5: Semantic domains of *Kulturkampf* in deTenTen2013¹²

Named Social Actors	Bismarck (399), Huntingtons (22), Huntington (24), Windthorst (7), Virchow (8)
Religion	Katholizismus (56), antikatholisch (16), Ultramontanismus (12), antiklerikal (11), Katholik (107), Säkularisation (17),

¹² The tables show collocates in order of the ‘strength’ as measured by LogDice; the number in brackets points to the raw frequency of the collocate.

	Antikatholizismus (8), Unfehlbarkeitsdogma (7), kirchenfeindlich (7), antireligiös (7), Kirchenstreit (6), Kirchenkampf (7), Redemptorist (7), christkatholisch (6), säkulare (6), Franziskaner (13), Christkatholiken (5), Antiklerikalismus (5), Religionskrieg (7), protestantisch (36), katholisch (326), konfessionell (22)
Politics	Reichsgründung (29), Zentrumspartei (19), Kaiserreich (42), Reichskanzler (39), Sonderbund (8), Reichsfeind (6), neurechts (6), Germanisierungspolitik (5), Klassenkampf (18)
Law	Sozialistengesetz (47), Maigesetz (16), Kanzelparagraph (11), Jesuitengesetz (10), Friedensgesetz (8), Sozialistengesetzen (7)
Descriptors	Preußisch (172), preußisch-deutsch (9), antipolnisch (5), inneramerikanisch (5)
Relations	Zivilehe (11), Homo-Ehe (12), Familienbild (8)
Region	Preußen (136), Okzident (12)
Military	ausfechten (15), Sonderbundskrieg (9)
Other	Beilegung (30), entbrennen (48), abflauen (12), toben (139), tobend (18), angezettelt (9), Hellenismus (8), ausgerufen (12), erbittert (32), clash (6), anzetteln (12), stilisieren (13), aufziehend (7), Wirren (14), Nachwehe (7)

Alongside items pointing to the struggle itself, we also find references to terms such as *Zivilehe* (civil marriage) and *Säkularisation* (secularisation). These items highlight the legalistic aspect of the *Kulturkampf*, especially the attempt to introduce liberal policies into areas that had so far been under religious domination. Civil marriage is one of such liberal outcomes of the *Kulturkampf* and one of the few original measures which survived its official end in the mid-1880s.

Besides the historical context which dominates the usage of the term in German, there are also some collocates that point to its transpositions to other and more current discursive contexts. Firstly, the term is frequently adopted as a translation or equivalent of *clash of civilisations* – whence the presence of *Huntingdon*, the name of the writer who popularised the phrase, among the collocates. According to Huntington (1996), cultural and religious differences between the main civilisations, especially Muslim and non-Muslim, are likely to be the primary source of a global conflict in the post Cold-War era. Against this background, and given the notoriety of allusions to *Kulturkampf* in the German public (cf. above), it comes as no surprise that differences between Islam and Christianity are sometimes described as a *Kulturkampf* in our data, echoing the origin of the term in 19th-century ideologies pitting liberal, progressive, science-based Culture against anti-modern, religious obscurantism (Burleigh 2005: 320-336, Kaiser 2003, Smith 1995: 50-78). This is further evidenced by the frequent collocate *Okzident* (occident) describing the Western parts of Europe and often contrasted in the data with *Orient*, a term describing countries located in the Near and Middle

East, especially Muslim countries. As the concordance lines in Figure 1 demonstrate, *Kulturkampf* often occurs in such contexts to signal a cultural conflict between East and West – though not necessarily with the acquiescence of the writer. The term is often used in our data in a distancing fashion (cf. line 1 in Figure 1) or in verbatim quotes (cf. line 2, where it is the German-born pope, Benedict XVI, who utters the word *Kulturkampf*); both combine in the last line in Figure 2, where *Kulturkampf* occurs in a verbatim quote which is contradicted by the writer. There are also plenty of instances in the data where the term is used presuppositionally, i.e. as if the clash of civilizations were an undisputable fact (cf. the collocation with *unausweichlich* 'inevitable' in the last line but one), and in such cases its use may well reinforce the image of a difficult relationship between the two cultures, carrying forward discursively the process of mutual differentiation and homogenisation that allegedly divides the world into the secular West and the Muslim East (Barker et al. 2013).

Figure 1: Concordance lines: *Okzident* as a collocates of *Kulturkampf*

in Zeiten des allseits heraufbeschworenen	Kulturkampfes	zwischen Orient und <i>Okzident</i> . Und er erzählt
Benedikt XVI. ist von einer "neuen Runde im	Kulturkampf	zwischen Orient und <i>Okzident</i> " die Rede
<gap/> <p> Burak Turna: "Der dritte Weltkrieg"	Kulturkampf	zwischen Orient und <i>Okzident</i> Die Türkei
argumentativen Schleifen. Es ist und bleibt ein	Kulturkampf	zwischen Orient und <i>Okzident</i> . Die traurige
Folge haben und unausweichlich in einen	Kulturkampf	zwischen Orient und <i>Okzident</i> münden. </p>
geht dabei weniger um die "Matrize eines	Kulturkampfs	zwischen Orient und <i>Okzident</i> " als um genau

Another interesting domain of use is signalled by the collocates *Homo-Ehe* (12 tokens, Figure 2), a colloquial term denoting same-sex marriage.

Figure 2: Concordance lines: *Homo-Ehe* as a collocates of *Kulturkampf*

mehr Schecks ausstellen wird, um Santorums	Kulturkampf	gegen Abtreibung und <i>Homo-Ehe</i> zu verlängern
Um das Kraut ist in den USA ein "	Kulturkampf	" wie um die <i>Homo-Ehe</i> entfacht
Gain": Obamas Weg zum Erfolg? <i>Homo-Ehe</i> :	Kulturkampf	um ein Wedge-Issue? Aufreger der
Mallmann einem Exhibitionisten Beine machte.	Kulturkampf	um die <i>Homo-Ehe</i> Kein Zweifel - sie rüttelt
schrillen Lobbyisten, deren aufsässiger	Kulturkampf	(" <i>Homo-Ehe</i> " etwa ist in der Regel ein
Empfohlen von Tanja Praske, USA:	Kulturkampf	um <i>Homo-Ehe</i> geht weiter. Barbara

As the concordance lines indicate, the context is mostly the conflict between supporters and opponents of same-sex marriage during the U.S. election campaign of 2012. *Kulturkampf* here conceptualises the conflict of values between Democrats and Republicans as an irreconcilable clash between distinct cultures within one country – again not necessarily with the acquiescence of the writer.

3.3 *Kulturkampf* in a Web Corpus of Polish

Data from pITenTen2012 suggest that the usage patterns of *Kulturkampf* in Polish is even more focused on the original historical context than in German. Most notably, there is no evidence of use in discourses on present-day interreligious or intercultural conflict. As Table 6 shows, most of the collocates point to the historical context of *Kulturkampf* as a measure to Germanise the Polish minority in 19th-century Prussia. Apart from the main collocate *Bismarck* (in various inflected forms), we find numerous instances of *germanizacja* (Germanisation) and *zabór* (annexation). The focus on Germanisation and oppression is evidenced by the use of *Hakata* and *rugi* in the vicinity of *Kulturkampf*. The term *rugi* refers to a mass expulsion to Russia in 1887 of Poles and Jews who were living in Prussia without German citizenship. *Hakata* is an acronym derived from the initials of the founders of the nationalist and xenophobic *Ostmarkenverein* (Eastern Marches Society): Ferdinand von Hansemann, Hermann Kennemann and Heinrich von Tiedemann-Seeheim. Founded in 1894, this association supported further radical measures aimed at the Germanisation of the Eastern provinces of Prussia/Germany including the exclusion and even eradication of the Polish population (Jaworska 2011). In Polish collective memory, *Hakata* and *rugi* symbolise the increasingly aggressive anti-Polish policies introduced in Prussia after the failure of the *Kulturkampf* in the last two decades of the 19th century.

Table 6: Semantic domains of *Kulturkampf* in pITenTen2012

Named Social Actors	Bismarcka (85), Bismarck (152), Hakata (28), Hakaty (9), Bismarckiem (5), Virchow (4), Bismarka (4), Ledóchowskiego (4), Otto (15)
Politics	germanizacji (31), germanizacja (9), zaborze (30), germanizacyjnej (6), germanizacją (6), rugi (7), rusyfikacją (4), germanizacyjne (3), germanizacyjna (3), kolonizacyjnej (3), germanizację (3), zaborem (7), kanclerza (12), zaborców (7), zaboru (11), zabory (3), socjalistami (3)
Descriptors	bismarckowskiego (29), bismarckowski (17), pruskim (40), bismarckowskiej (5), bismarkowskiego (4), pruskiego (34), pruskie (16), pruski (14), pruską (3),
Religion	urszulanki (4), antykościelnej (3), antykatolicki (3), Katolicyzm
Region	Poznańskiem (4), Gietrzwałdzie (4)
Military	obstrzałem (6), więziony (7), rozpętał (4)
Other	przeciwstawił (6), Drang (3), Osten (3), polskości (23), polskością (4), osławiony (4), zaostreniem (3), szalejącego (3), Prusacy (4), osławionego (3), urzędujący (4), krzyżackie (3)

Compared with the German collocates in Table 5, the legalistic aspects of the *Kulturkampf* are very much in the background in the Polish data and the focus is instead almost

exclusively on its German-Polish relations and the anti-Polish character. It is therefore not surprising to find *Drang* and *Osten* in close vicinity, the two nouns that combine to form yet another historical Germanism, *Drang nach Osten* ('push/drive to the East'). In Polish collective memory, the *Kulturkampf* represents a climax of this aggressive drive by the German nation to increase its power and influence by colonising and Germanising territories in Eastern Europe (Leuschner 2013, 2014; Schröter/ Leuschner 2013).

3.4 *Kulturkampf* in a Web Corpus of English

Despite some references to the historical *Kulturkampf*, the use of *Kulturkampf* in the English web corpus differs considerably from the patterns observed in German and (especially) Polish. Not only is *Kulturkampf* less frequent in English than in either German or Polish, we also observe far more transpositions to other discursive domains than in the other two languages, as shown by the collocates seen in Table 7.

Table 7: Semantic domains of *Kulturkampf* in enTenTen2013

Named Social Actors	Bismarck (21), Otto (3), Obama (3)
Religion	anti-Catholic (5), Catholics (6), Catholic (9), church (8), religious (5)
Politics	opposition (4), politics (3), political (3)
Descriptors	cultural (12), Serbian (3), German (10)
Region	Germany (15), America (3)
Military	waged (8), waging (3), wage (3), fought (3), war (12), battle (4)
Other	ideology (8), mistaken (3), members (8), culture (4), conflict (3), struggle (13), posts (8), attempted (3), ongoing (4), launched (5), century (6), campaign (4), terms (3), society (3), international (3)

This tendency towards transposition is signalled by collocates such as *Obama*, *Serbian*, *Jewish* or *America* that are far removed in time and place from the historical *Kulturkampf*. Apart from *Bismarck*, the second social actor which occurs as a collocate of *Kulturkampf* is *Obama* (3 times). The concordance lines suggest (see Figure 3) that *Kulturkampf* is linked with *Obama* in the context of his 2012 health reform, which forced Catholic health care institutions to supply free contraceptives. In fact, it is mostly anti-reform Catholic groups and institutions that used the term, thus evoking the basic conflictual frame involving the state and Roman Catholicism that first gave rise to the term, while adapting the actors to a new context, that of the U.S.A.

Figure 3: Concordance lines: *Obama* as a collocate of *Kulturkampf*

<p> When the *Obama* Administration began its **Kulturkampf** against American Catholics my husband suggested linked to the *Obama* administration's domestic **Kulturkampf** against the Catholic Church and other religious universities supporters believe they are in a **kulturkampf** with the *Obama* administration , and Spencer

A particularly striking feature of the use of *Kulturkampf* in English is the relatively prominent collocational presence of vocabulary associated with war, the military and general conflict. Although *Kampf* can suggest the use of force, it can equally refer to an intense but non-violent conflict or struggle (Duden 2015), and it is this sense that is traditionally evoked by the compound *Kulturkampf* (Clark/Kaiser 2003: 5). It is therefore all the more interesting to find that forms of the verb *wage*, which in the British National Corpus (BNC) collocates mostly with *war* and *wars*, are among the most frequent collocates of *Kulturkampf* in enTenTen2013, occurring 14 times in total. The strong military connotations are further supported by the frequent use of *war* (16 times) in the glosses of *Kulturkampf*. *Struggle* occurs 14 times in the vicinity of *Kulturkampf* and *battle* five times, drawing on an image of the *Kulturkampf* as a fierce conflict with opposing sides mobilising against each other.

3.5 Interim Summary

All in all, the data from the TenTen corpora confirm our initial working hypotheses. In deTenTen2013, *Kulturkampf* is used often, but not exclusively, in reference to the historical struggle between church and state in 19th-century Prussia/Germany. On some occasions, it is appropriated into discourses about modern-day conflicts in what could be described as an "orientalising" fashion (cf. Said 1978), be it to signal cultural and religious differences between the West and the Muslim East, Huntingdon-style, or else to evoke a clash of cultural values within a single country, in either a presuppositional or distancing fashion. By contrast, the use of *Kulturkampf* in Polish is more localised and historical than in German and predominantly designed to evoke the collective image of Germany as a past oppressor, potentially (though not necessarily) fuelling the prevalent stereotype of Germany and the Germans as a threatening and aggressive Other (cf. Szarota 1996, Tomala 2000). Whereas this seems to leave no room for discursive transpositions and Huntingdon-style appropriations in Polish, *Kulturkampf* is used routinely, indeed mostly, in non-historical contexts in English, often with collocates suggesting violence or military conflict. The different borrowing histories of *Kulturkampf* in the two host languages thus come strikingly to the fore in the data, as the term is anchored firmly in national historical discourse in Polish and largely free for appropriation into other, non-historical discourses in English.

4 *Kulturkampf* in Newspaper Corpora of German, Polish and English

4.1 *Kulturkampf* in the German Newspaper Corpus

To corroborate the results obtained from the analysis of the large TenTen corpora, we examined the use of *Kulturkampf* in smaller, purpose-built media corpora, allowing us to discern patterns of usage in public and more formal domains. Here, too, we start our analysis with the donor language, German.

In the deNews corpus, there are 1,660 occurrences of the lemma *Kulturkampf*, of which 1,390 were in the singular. There were 7 occurrences of the term in plural and 21 examples of compounds (each occurring only once). A collocational analysis was performed on the data using the same parameters as above. The 100 strongest collocates were then subsequently categorised into semantic domains as shown in Table 8. Only content words were considered.

Table 8: Semantic domains of *Kulturkampf* in deNews

Named Social Actors	Bismarck (15)
Descriptors	neu (47), global (10), alt (13), rechts (9), klein (11), deutsch (18), erbittert (9), veritabel (4), semantisch (4), regelrechter (4)
Actions	toben (32), finden (23), entbrennen (10), herrschen (8), ausrufen (7), entfachen (11), drohen (14), ausbrechen (6), gewinnen (7), verloren (5), geraten (5), ausfechten (4)
Region	Amerika (9), Deutschland (12), Frankreich (7), Israel (6), Polen (5) Westen (5), USA (16)
Religion	Kirche (18), Islam (9), christlich (5), Religion (6), Bischof (4)
Politics	politisch (12), konservative (5)
Relations	Homoehe (8), Betreuungsgeld (6)
Military	Schlachtfeld (5), Front (4)
Others	Zeit (16), Rede (8), Berliner (8), Auseinandersetzung (6), Ende (7), Kultur (6), Symbol (4), Erinnerung (4), Thema (5)

The differences between the usage of *Kulturkampf* in deTenTen2013 and in newspaper discourse are considerable: whereas historical and political references dominate in the former, in deNews there are far more collocations suggesting updating uses in terms of present-day contexts and a greater number of regions and countries. The only unambiguously historical collocate is *Bismarck*, and this accounts for only 15 tokens. This is not surprising, as the historical frame of reference is less important in the national press and the term is mostly free for appropriation into discourses concerning other, more topical issues in different contexts. In fact, compared with the German and English web corpora, the picture in deNews is more reminiscent of *Kulturkampf* in enTenTen than in deTenTen.

This is substantiated by the frequent occurrence of *Islam*, the modifier *neu* and two nouns that point to politically controversial and hotly disputed issues, namely *Betreuungsgeld* ('childcare subsidy') and *Homoeh*e ('same-sex marriage'). *Betreuungsgeld* refers to an initiative proposed by the German conservative CDU party and introduced in 2012 for parents whose children, aged 2 or 3, do not attend a nursery and are looked after at home. The term occurs six times in the vicinity of *Kulturkampf*: three times in the liberal *Frankfurter Rundschau* (FR), three times in the conservative *Die Welt*. The difference is striking, as each newspaper uses the term with a different purpose in mind. Whereas the FR evokes the futility of the struggle, which it describes as a "sinnlosen Kulturkampf", in *Die Welt* it is the detractors' anti-*Betreuungsgeld* campaign which is described as an ideologically driven "Kulturkampf" on a measure that is presented as psychologically beneficial to the child.

*Homoeh*e is another instructive example. It occurs eight times in the vicinity of *Kulturkampf*, and all the instances point to clashes between strongly opposing views regarding basic social values and beliefs over the introduction of same-sex marriage in the USA (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Concordance lines: *Homoeh*e as a collocate of *Kulturkampf*

<p>Homoeh</p> e unterstützen. Es nutzt nichts. Der Empfängnisverhütung und <i>Homoeh</i> e . Dieser Diskussion um die <i>Homoeh</i> e in den USA als nennenswerten Kontroversen mehr sorgt. Auch der führt der Streit um die <i>Homoeh</i> e zu einem gespalten. Wird es um die <i>Homoeh</i> e eine Art	<p>Kulturkampf um die <i>Homoeh</i>e scheint zuungunsten der Kulturkampf hat mit der Lebenswelt der Jüngerer nichts Kulturkampf geführt. Die Liberalisierung der Gesellschaft Kulturkampf um die so genannte <i>Homoeh</i>e ist - der Block Kulturkampf . Sogar die Republikaner sind zerstritten Kulturkampf geben? Das verhält sich ein wenig wie mit</p>
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Religious associations are evoked in deNews by the collocate *Islam* (11 occurrences). Again this marks a departure from deTenTen2013, where cultural differences between Muslims and non-Muslims were evoked by the general terms *Okzident* and *Orient*. As the concordance lines reveal (see Figure 5), *Kulturkampf* is often accompanied in deNews by the phrase *gegen den Islam* ('against Islam'), suggesting that Islam is a victim in some conflict (alleged or actual). In fact, in most examples the writer is pointing to potential dangers and risks posed by a *Kulturkampf* against Islam. Not surprisingly, all instances of the collocation of *Islam* and *Kulturkampf* come from liberal or left-leaning newspapers like *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *TAZ* and *Die Zeit*.

Figure 5: Concordance lines: *Islam* as a collocate of *Kulturkampf*

auch extrem gefährlich, einen weltweiten **Kulturkampf** gegen den *Islam* loszubrechen. Was aber ausgehen werden. Auch die Gefahr eines " **Kulturkampfes** " zwischen dem *Islam* und dem Westen wächst

den *Islam* zu instrumentalisieren und einen **Kulturkampf** zu insinuieren. Es ist befremdlich, dass Verlust an Liberalität im Zuge eines neuen **Kulturkampfs** gegen den *Islam* und verteidigt vehement kehren zurück aufs Schlachtfeld, um ihren **Kulturkampf** gegen den *Islam* fortzuführen. Wilfried Europa wie in Amerika, die Gefahr eines **Kulturkampfes** mit dem *Islam* so dramatisch wie seit Jahren

Another interesting pattern can be observed in the category 'Actions' in Table 8 above. Ten of the listed verbs that co-occur with *Kulturkampf*, especially *entbrennen* (flare up), *toben* (rage) and *ausrufen* (declare), are also among the most frequent verbs used with *Kampf* and *Krieg*, evoking strong military associations.

4.2 *Kulturkampf* in the Polish Newspaper Corpus plNews

A very different picture emerges from plNews. There are in total 157 occurrences of the lemma *Kulturkampf*, of which nearly 70 per cent have a capital <K>. A collocational analysis reveals that the historical frame of references continues to dominate. Of the 30 collocates retrieved, 16 specifically refer to the historical *Kulturkampf* and its negative consequences for the Polish population (e.g. Germanisation). Table 9 shows the most frequent collocates (content words only). *Bismarck* and the related *kanclerza* ('chancellor.GEN'), *germanisation*, *zabór* ('division, annexation'), *powstanie* ('uprising'), and the various morphological forms of *pruski* ('Prussian') all point to the historical context of *Kulturkampf*.

Table 9: Semantic domains of *Kulturkampf* in plNews

Named Social Actors	Bismarcka (13), Ottona (3)
Religion	kosciolem (4), kosciola (3)
Politics	kanclerza (6), polityka (6), polityke (5), germanizacja (4), polityki (4)
Descriptors	polityczne (5), pruskim (4), nowy (4), pruski (3), pruskiego (3), polskiego (3)
Region	Śląsku (3), Niemcy (3)
Military	walki (4), powstania (3)
Others	okresie (4), zabór (4), czasów (3), czasach (3), ziem (3), okres (3), ramach (3)

The only exception of this pattern seems to be the modifier *nowy* (new), which occurs 10 times in the vicinity of *Kulturkampf* (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Concordance lines: *Nowy* (new) as a collocate of *Kulturkampf*

upadkiem narodu, weszy w powietrzu brukselski **kulturkampf** i nowa Hakate. Sadze wiec, ze tu tez ta prezentacja ideologii RAS i ma sluzyc *nowemu* **Kulturkampf**, które rozpoczely w teatrze srodowiska,

okupantami niemieckim, dlatego *nowy* **Kulturkampf** nie ma szans na zwycięstwo RAS w tym
 falszowanie historii Polski przez ideologów *nowej* **Kulturkampf** . Rajmund Pollak Religijno-etyczny kultur

As the concordance lines of this collocation pair demonstrate, there are at least two discursive contexts in which a renewed *Kulturkampf* is evoked (Figure 7). The first are European Union policies as emanating from Brussels (*brukselski kulturkampf* 'Brussels kulturkampf'), which are strikingly likened to a "new Hakatist movement" (*nowa Hakate*, i.e. a renewed German Eastern Marches Society) in line 1. The other context is RAŚ, i.e. the *Ruch Autonomii Śląska* (Silesian Autonomy Movement) seeking independence for the industrial region of Silesia in the Southwest of Poland. This has not been welcomed by the government in Warsaw, and voices claiming a unique ethnic identity for Silesians have been the object of fierce criticism in the national press. On some occasions, the movement has been referred to as a fifth column, something mostly associated in Polish historical consciousness with Nazi collaborators, who were mostly members of the pre-war German ethnic community. This is reflected in the concordance lines, as the activities of RAŚ are by some described as a new form of *Kulturkampf* and even associated with the German occupation of Poland during the Second World War.

4.3 *Kulturkampf* in the (British) English Newspaper Corpus enNews

There are only 58 instances of the lemma *Kulturkampf* in enNews, 49 of which are rendered with a capital <K>. Compared with the web data in enTenTen2013, British national newspapers seem to prefer the original German spelling. Given the low number of occurrences, a collocational analysis delivered only 29 collocates, of which five were content words (Table 10). Since the two functional words *between* and *against* were the two strongest collocations, they were included in the analysis.

Table 10: Semantic domains of *Kulturkampf* in enNews

Named Social Actors	Bismarck (7), Thatcher (3)
Descriptors	cultural (4)
Others	between (13), struggle (6), against (11), culture (4)

As can be seen, contexts in which *Kulturkampf* is used in the English national press are limited. They are mostly associated with Bismarck and interestingly with the former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher. Concordance lines with the collocation pair *Kulturkampf* and *Thatcher* (see Figure 7) show that it is mostly Thatcher's policy of reducing public

spending on education that is described as a *Kulturkampf*, thus placing the term firmly within a present-day political and cultural context.

Figure 7: Concordance lines: *Thatcher* as a collocate of *Kulturkampf*

whom Margaret *Thatcher* launched her long **kulturkampf**, blaming it for decades of national decline this time around because the atmosphere of **kulturkampf** that hung over the *Thatcher* years has lifted priests; after "the *Thatcher* government's **kulturkampf** against universities" - Collini's German

Struggle is another strong collocate, occurring five times with *Kulturkampf*, but this is mostly because it is part of the translation 'cultural struggle' which is provided alongside *Kulturkampf* in square brackets, in citation marks or in coordination with *or* (see Figure 8).

Figure 8: Concordance lines: *Struggle* as a collocate of *Kulturkampf*

the German Chancellor Bismarck waged his **Kulturkampf** [culture *struggle*] against the Catholic pursuing an official "cultural *struggle*", a **kulturkampf**, to unify German culture as Protestant Checkpoint Charlie, a furious political **Kulturkampf** (culture *struggle*) has erupted. Berlin embark on massive socio-economic reform - its **kulturkampf**, or cultural *struggle*. The government

An interesting item in Table 10 above is *between*, with six occurrences (see Figure 10) the second strongest collocate after *Bismarck*.

Concordance lines: *Between* as a collocate of *Kulturkampf*

, about policy. They have been a kind of **kulturkampf** *between* two tribes with different values these various battles are part of a single **kulturkampf**, a war *between* civilisations. It does not Muslim/non-Muslim relations and there is a **kulturkampf** *between* what are perceived to be Islamic colour questions", but that's what the great **Kulturkampf** of the age *between* "the north" and the That was a natural outcome of the modern **Kulturkampf** *between* the genders in the United States

Between can indicate the parties involved in a *Kulturkampf*, and as the concordance lines show, groups mentioned include Muslims vs. non-Muslims, men vs. women, the developed vs. the developing worlds, and tribes or civilisations against each other. These are groups that are stereotypically seen as dichotomous, and although there is some evidence of distancing (cf. the reference to the former Italian Prime Minister in line 3), *Kulturkampf* is mostly used presuppositionally in these data, accentuating the opposition between the parties in question and potentially contributing to their mutual differentiation and homogenisation.

4.4 Interim Summary

Compared with the TenTen corpora, the data from our purpose-build newspaper corpora tend to emphasise the special position of one host language, Polish, vis-à-vis the other host language, English, and the donor language. This special position is emphasised by our results mainly because there are fewer references to the historical *Kulturkampf* in the German newspaper data than in the web corpora. Instead, the term is mostly updated or transposed to other discursive domains, often those involving conflicts between conservative and liberal values that come into view when new policies or reforms are proposed. Religious references are also present, but now it is Islam (rather than the more abstract *Okzident*) that is most strongly implicated in references to the *Kulturkampf*, with the left-leaning German press tending to portray any potential *Kulturkampf* on Islam as risky and dangerous. As to the British newspaper corpus, the difference with enTenTen is one of quantity rather than quality: as in enTenTen, *Kulturkampf* is rarely used in enNews in reference to the historical *Kulturkampf* and mostly transposed to other non-German discursive domains, including British politics but also conflicts between groups whose stereotypical dichotomy is accentuated by the use of *Kulturkampf*.

5. Conclusions

We began the present study with the hypothesis that the crossing of words into different languages could lead to distinct appropriation trajectories in different host languages, depending on historical circumstances. This has been confirmed by our trilingual approach and deliberately eclectic methodology, which revealed convergent and divergent patterns in the usage of *Kulturkampf* in German and the two host languages, Polish and English, and showed how the connotations and associations indexed by the term can restrict or encourage appropriations and transpositions. While the historical and Germany-related frame of reference is present in all three languages, exemplified mostly by strong associations with Bismarck, this is the case to varying degrees across the three languages and in different types of corpora. Usage in discourse about the past is most consistent in Polish, where *Kulturkampf* originated as an intimate borrowing associated with a formative period for the Polish nation and continues to be imbued with negative memories, specifically those of German oppression, that leave very little room for discursive transposition. In German the picture is somewhat split between the two types of corpora, with a different emphasis on the legalistic aspects and liberal policies of the original *Kulturkampf* in the deTenTen data versus a stronger tendency for updating and transpositional uses in deNews. Although the English data

do contain references to the historical *Kulturkampf*, this is not the dominant pattern, leaving a lot of room for transposition to other discursive domains. In such cases, *Kulturkampf* often signals current political conflicts or battles between sets of beliefs and values, with a striking number of instances with military associations which capitalise on the semantics of *-kampf* element and are more or less absent in German and Polish.

Referring to the continuum of discursive appropriation proposed by Schröter/Leuschner (2013; cf. also Schröter, this issue), we conclude that *Kulturkampf* displays a far lower degree of appropriation in Polish than in German and English. In English in particular, appropriation is considerable and routine, but since the number of tokens is lowest in English this clearly need not go along with a high frequency of occurrence. It is precisely this synchronic situation which arises diachronically from the status of *Kulturkampf* as a cultural borrowing without any significance in British national history or consciousness, as opposed to its huge national significance in Polish. This pattern could be of interest for further loanword studies, as could the method of trilateral comparison (cf. Egan 2013) and two other recurrent themes in our analysis: the "orientalising" assimilation of *Kulturkampf* to *Clash of Civilisation*, as represented particularly in the German corpora with collocates like *Okzident* and *Islam*, and the distinction between presuppositional and distancing uses of loanwords in their new discursive contexts. *Kulturkampf*, with its distinctive and to some extent recognisable component elements *Kultur* ('culture') and *Kampf* ('struggle', also known from the title of Hitler's *Mein Kampf*), proves to be a useful resource in conceptualising present-day stances on political or social issues as dichotomous, ideologically driven, irreconcilable and/or futile on grounds of historical analogy, and to frame their own responses and influence collective attitudes accordingly.

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