Research Article

Are We on Our Own or Pressed into *ein Kollektiv*? The Keyword Pragmatic Trajectory in the German Public and Political Discourse: Corpus-Driven Discourse Analysis

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates the semantics and pragmatics of the German keyword "Kollektiv" based on its actual uses in public discourse and by political actors. "Kollektiv" is regarded as a concept of greatsocial significance, yet it is also a most controversial notion. It relates to the universal values and benefits of collectivism such as mutual assistance, solidarity, effective cooperation when coping with difficulties, mutual support and sympathy. However, otherfeatures of collectivism such as having to integrate oneself into the community, setting equal boundaries for individuals, and invading people's privacy activate negative meanings. This governs the evaluation-based polysemy of the keyword. The explanatory approach in this paper was formulated against the background of deontic meaning as a basic concept in semantics to analyze social evaluation of salient lexis. On par with their descriptive meaning, keywords have a deontic meaning component that their denotational interpretability depends on.The study was carried out as corpus-driven discourse analytical research. Discourse analysis proceeded as noncritical linguistic discourse analysis. To provide a functional perspective on *Kollektiv*, the "Digital Dictionary of the German Language" / "Das Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache" was used with its two sections of dictionaries and text corpora. Two specialized corpora from the "Digital dictionary" were employed: the "Corona corpus" that contains electronic texts with over 50 mln tokens on the coronavirus pandemic, and the corpus "Political Speeches" containing records of proceedings of the government bodies of German-speaking countries and regions as well as transcripts of oral speeches delivered by politicians. We show that the word "Kollektiv"is employed both as description and as evaluation setting up both positive and negative deontics. The deontic polysemy of "Kollektiv" is activated in contextual uses. The conducted study addresses the way in which linguistic forms get integrated in larger activities in the social world and how, through salient lexicalizations in discourse, they open up the perspective to social diversity and polyphony.

Keywords: Kollektiv, deontic meaning, corpus-driven discourse analysis, coronavirus pandemic discourse, political discourse

1. Problem Statement

When socially or politically relevant issues or concepts are discussed and evaluated in public discourse, keywords often occupy a prominent position as they bundle complex content and value-based perspectives. Keywords, whose contextual and connotative meanings are dominant, refer to "lexemes that express the self-conception and the ideology of a social group or an era" (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011: 83) . Keywords appear when it comes to something socially relevant and therefore also controversial. In fact, the matter to which the keyword refers can be controversial.

A large scope of material to observe socially loaded meaningful effects is provided by the usage of a German word *Kollektiv* in different sociocultural practices. The "Digital Dictionary of the German Language" provides the following meaning overview:

> Kollektiv: 1. a closely connected community of people with common social, political or similar goals, especially in socialist states or with reference to social groups: community, group of people who are firmly connected through common professional or similar tasks, such as the workforce of a specific company, the employees of a department, a working group or similar 2. socialist-influenced forms of economic activity: collective farms, cooperatives, especially in agriculture in socialist countries[1] (https://www.dwds.de/wb/Kollektiv#d-1-2; date accessed: 23.04.2022).

Kollektiv is regarded as one of the most socially significant concepts in current use. This word and the notion to which it refersattracted the attention of the researchers more than other linguistic forms, as it reveals language ideologies behind linguistic instances within different social and communicative practices. It was one of the salient keywords characteristic of East Germany in the socialist period. Previous studies such as (Keßler, 2004; Reiher, 2000; Chernyavskaya & Nefedov, 2021)addressed this linguistic instance as an indicator of sociocultural and linguistic practice andperceived it as being mainly

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1   Our translation. The original reads: Kollektiv 1. eng verbundene Gemeinschaft von Menschen mit gemeinsamen gesellschaftlichen, politischen o. ä. Zielen vor allem in sozialistischen Staaten oder mit Bezug auf sozialistisch geprägte soziale Gruppen: Gemeinschaft, Gruppe von Menschen, die durch gemeinsame berufliche o. ä. Aufgaben fest verbunden ist, wie die Belegschaft eines bestimmten Betriebes, die Mitarbeiter einer Abteilung, einer Arbeitsgruppe. 2. mit Bezug auf sozialistisch geprägte Formen des Wirtschaftens: gemeinschaftlich wirtschaftender Betrieb, Genossenschaft, vor allem in der Landwirtschaft sozialistischer Länder. https://www.dwds.de/wb/Kollektiv#d-1-2

characteristic of public discourse in East Germany. *Kollektiv* has become a socially marked form, andmight be classed as astereotype.Such stereotypes are"socially marked forms stripped out of context that carry their context with them" (Bush & Spitzmuller, 2021, p. 132). As Keßler revealed in the discussion on values informer practice in the German Democratic Republic and the linguistic representation of those values in personal assessment texts, the assessment of the position the individual occupied in the collective or in the community and his/her attitude towards the collective, can be considered as a characteristic feature, even more characteristic than statements on the political positions of those to be assessed (Kessler, 1997). This canclearly be seen in word combinations which have become examples ofstereotype in the German language: einen geachteten/ einen festen Platz im Kollektiv haben (to hold a strong position in the collective),im Kollektiv geachtet und anerkannt sein (to be a respected member of the collective), sich für kollektive Belange einsetzen (to work for collective causes), gesellschaftlich-nützliche Tätigkeit zum Wohle des Kollektivs zu übernehmen (to undertake socially useful activities for the benefit of the collective).

In this perspective assumptions about collectivist behaviour and about what it means to be a member of the collective have positive connotations, namely, *to be ready to help, to offer collegial support, to be generous*. In this way the notion of the "collective" begins to be used together with such interrelated concepts as "equality", "assistance and support", "security", "solidarity". As Keßler discusses, the principle of equality was perceived by large sections of the population as social equality, e.g. being able to receive education and thus professional development regardless of social class. Understood in this way it gives the individual a feeling of security, of mutual help, a feeling of not being let go. That is one reason why many (East) Germans associated the word collective with positive meanings, i.e. sympathy (Keßler, 2004).

In addition to this, another assumption is of great significance. The strong orientation towards community-related attitudes and a rather propagated rejection of the value of individuality also had a negative side. "To be in the collective" evokes negative connotations including "having to integrate oneself into the community". This implies forced uniting of people into a group which is controlled by the government; continual supervision; government practice of setting equal boundaries for each individual; invading people's privacy. In this respect collectivist behaviour is opposed to such notions as "individuality", "self-reliance", "autonomy" (Keßler, 2004). Therefore, the concept of *Kollektiv* has developed into a highly controversial notion (Stötzel, Wengeler, 1995).

Kollektiv has entered a list of words which, put figuratively, have the "smell of steel" and of past practices of vigilant watch and total control. The title of Reiher's workspeaks for itself: "The collective has said goodbye to the team" ("Das Kollektiv hat sich ins Team verabschiedet"). Reiher shows that in the Federal Republic of Germany after 1990 speakers and writers of the new federal states very quickly said goodbye toideologically loaded words. "*Kollektiv* had already largely disappeared from everyday usage in 1993 and – despite the different meanings – was replaced by *team*"[2] (Reiher, 2000, p. 90). The failed usage of this linguistic unit after 1990 signals the unpopularity of areturn to uniting people in order to fulfil the tasks under the government's supervision.

The concept of sociality and collectivity is fundamental, in fact, and is correlated with personal identity and self-presentation.The further study of linguistic representations of this concept in diverse social environment is of central interest for discourse analysis addressing the way in which linguistic forms get integrated in larger activities in the social world. For example, when people faced the coronavirus pandemic and total quarantine, they experienced a similar situation of overall control and social pressure. While social interaction may ensure speedy recovery in other traumatic events,it may be dangerous when a pandemic occurs. In such a case, a positive feeling of being part of community can be fatal.

The novel contribution that the present study suggests and adds to the previous discussion is twofold. We will show that the *Kollektiv* lexeme has demonstrated a remarkable pragmatic trajectory and has begun to be used again after a sharp fall in thefrequency of its occurrence in the early 1990s. It is remarkable that since 2020 the lexeme has begun to be used extensively due to the reality brought about by the coronavirus pandemic. This return of the word in the framework of relevant sociocultural contexts casts a new light on the research of the discourse-bound nature of keywords and their reference to social relevance. This is the central point that allows researchers to further specify the characteristics of this lexeme in use.

Another important issue that is of relevanceto the suggested research is thepossibility ofconducting corpus assisted analysis of salient lexis based on up-to-date corpus tools which add to earlier qualitative-empirical studies. Corpus analytical approaches provide statistical significance and widen the scope of analyzing meaning construction in

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2   Our translation. The original reads: "*Kollektiv* war bereits 1993 weitgehend aus dem Sprachgebrauch verschwunden und wurde – trotz unterschiedlicher Bedeutung – durch Team ersetzt" (Reiher, 2000, S. 90).

discourse. Corpus-based procedures make it possible to process very large amounts of text, so that it is possible to prove with greater certainty which discursive characteristics, such as those that take shape in keywords, are really relevant, i.e. statistically significant, and which ones appear comparatively marginal. (cf. Schröter, 2015, p. 407).

We undertake to provide an informed understanding of the term that is based onactual uses of *Kollektiv* in public discourse and by political actors between the years 2020 and 2022.

2. Theoretical framework of the study

The theoretical framework of the study is informed by two building blocks provided by semantics and pragmatics perspective on language, discourse linguistics, and corpus approaches in linguistics. Firstly, this paper was formulated against the background of conceptions of deontic meaning as a basic concept in lexical semantics to analyze social evaluation of salient lexis and keywords. This concept had beenestablished and studied in German linguistics before the specified conceptions of discourse analysis were developed (Hermanns 1989; 1984; Klein, 1991; for the survey see Löbner, 2002). As introduced by Fritz Hermanns the term deontic meaning is considered as part of the lexical meaning of some words and expressions on par with their descriptive meaning that appeals to the stances of the recipients (Hermanns, 1989. P. 74). Deontic meanings refer to the prescriptive usage of a linguistic form which set up its positive or negative deontics pointing to whether something may (not) or ought (not) to be. This term is preferably used along with other alternative ones: expressive meaning (referring to values and emotions) andevaluative meaning, and was used in the "occupation of notions" conception (Liedke & Wengeler &Boke, 1991) to explain the socio-historical context of a word and the diachronic variability of its meaning as well as a range of additional associated meanings ascribed to the word.

Any word may turn into a keyword in the course of its use if it acquires a deontic meaning. Then on par with their descriptive meaning, keywords have a deontic meaning component that their denotational interpretability depends on.Researchers rely upon the assumption that for some words the deontic meaning belongs to the lexical meaning (e. g. *gang, killer*). Other words acquire deontic meaning only in certain contexts of use.

Importantly,the claim cannot be made that deontic meaning as a whole is conventional in the way in which semantic (lexical) meaning is. Klein argues that one could speak of "deontic polysemy" and stresses that the battle on the level of deontic meaning is about whether the addressees will use the word with positive or negative deontics. The competition between opposing deontic meanings does not have to run parallel to the competition of descriptive variants of meaning (Klein, 1991. p. 62-63). Liedke (1989), for example, discusses the positive and negative deontics of the keyword *socialism* in different ideological perspectives. For in-depth discussion on keywords see also (Girnth, 2001; Herberg & Steffens &Tellenbach,1997; Liebert, 2003; Niehr, 2012).The semantics of keywords is discursively determined. Therefore their meaning results from their use in specific discourse contexts and their "social evaluation may vary both in history and society" (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011. p. 83). To specify this thesis with Schröter's words, "on the one hand, the meaning of most keywords only comes into play when the corresponding discourse emerges; keywords are only partially discourse sensible. On the other hand, discourse-specific patterns of use and struggling for meaning mean that a keyword can change its meaning during the 'keyword career'[3] (Schröter, 2015. p. 399).

Secondly, this study was carried out as corpus-driven discourse analytical research. The discourse analysis proceeded as noncritical linguistic discourse analysis. This means that we distance ourselves from critics who focus oncritical discourse analysis (CDA) issues of interpretation and context and its rigorous ideological stance when the analysis rests on a selected search for linguistic choices and manifestations of ideologically marked identity in text structure. The weaknessesand problems of CDA are seen in the rigorous analytical approach, where analysists "project their own political biases and prejudices onto their date", suchthat CDA "does not analyze how a text can be read in many ways or under what social circumstances it is produced and consumed", as Blommaert puts it (Blommaert 2005, p. 32; 31). However, we agree with the CDA focus on pragmatic aspects and the basic perspective, that discourse analysis should reveal critical language awareness, sensitivity for discourse as subject to implicit meanings, evaluation and value-attribution. Thus, we follow linguistic pragmatic stream in discourse analysis underlining that discourse is the pragmatic process of meaning negotiation (Blommaert, 2005. p. 3, for discussion see also Chernyavskaya, 2020a; Chernyavskaya 2020b; Molodychenko& Spitzmüller, 2021; Nefedov,

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3   Our translation. The original reads: "Zum einen tritt Schlagwortbedeutung bei den meisten Wörtern erst hinzu, wenn sich der entsprechende Diskurs abzeichnet; Schlagwörter sind nur zum Teil diskursspezifische Prägungen (z. B. Gastarbeiter). Zum anderen führen diskursspezifische Gebrauchsmuster und Bezeichnungs- und Bedeutungskonkurrenz dazu, dass sich die Bedeutung als Schlagwort während der 'Schlagwortkarriere' verändern kann" (Schröter, 2015. p. 399).

2020). In analyzing language-in-society "the unit of analysis is not an abstract 'language' but the actual and densely contextualized forms in which language occurs in society" (Blommaert, 2005. p. 14-15). Discursive work provides an access point to meaningful aspects of our social, cultural and political environments. In that connection the lexical features (lexical machinery) of the texts are "classic topics" and "prominent entities in discourse linguistic analysis" (Spitzmüller & Warnke, 2011. p. 83).

The corpus-driven analytical approach we adopted has its explanatory charge in a twofold perspective. It provides empirical validation and statistical significance to the research, and it allows documentation on keywords in relevant contexts. Previous studies on keywords, and on the word under discussion in particular, proceeded fundamentally in a qualitative-empirically oriented way. Herewith this present research was and is guided by the premise that the meaning and use of keywords can only be understood on the basis of concrete contexts and social situations. The corpus assisted analysis as suggested in this paper expands the existing studies and provides a wider picture of salient lexis relevant to public-political discourse.

Besides this, a data-driven approach allows us to avoidthose concerns of CDA which are often regarded as its weak points in selection of text examples to be analysed and their representativeness. For more details see (Baker 2012; Baker, 2016; Bubenhofer & Scharloth, 2013; McEnery & Xiao &Tono, 2006; Wu, Lei, 2016). The hidden weakness of discourse analysis proceeding as critical discourse analysis is that the texts singled out for investigation are occasionallynot regular examples but catchy, unusual instances which appear to be heterogeneous and thus not necessarily representative for characterising a typical practice (for critical discussion see Blommaert, 2005, p. 34-35; Widdowson, 2004, p. 89-110). The used corpus-driven research presupposes an inductive approach in comparison with a corpus-based approach that assumes the validity of linguistic facts derived from theory or suggested hypotheses, "so that the linguistic constructs themselves emerge from analysis of a corpus" (Biber, 2015, p. 196). The findings based on corpus assisted tools paint a more nuanced picture of deontic polysemy in keywords meaning and contextualized use.

3. Data, methods and procedure

In order to provide a functional perspective on *Kollektiv*, we used the "Digital Dictionary of the German Language" / "Das Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache

(DWDS)" which is a global lexical-semantic system of words and their text occurrences (27 billion tokens)for German sociocultural space. In the analysis undertaken we addressed two sections of the "Digital dictionary": dictionaries and text corpora. The analysis proceeded as follows. In the first stage dictionary data on the lexeme of *Kollektiv* given in the "Digital dictionary" were collected to reveal the structure of the lexical meaning of the given lexeme and the notion it refers to. To do this the search-analytical tool of OpenThesaurus (www.openthesaurus.de) integrated in the "Digital dictionary" was used. The tool allows researchers to identify lexical-semantic links of the required keyword with other words in the German language vocabulary and to present them in clusters.

In the next step two specialized corpora from the text corpus section of the "Digital dictionary" were employed. The first corpus called "Corona-Korpus" (https://www.dwds. de/d/korpora/corona) contains texts on the coronavirus pandemic. Large enough for field-specific corpora as well as balanced in terms of time and text types, this body of empirical material (over 50 mln tokens and 71,128 electronic texts published between January 2018 and December 2021) confirms a high degree of validity and full representation of the findings. The corpus includes daily and weekly newspapers, periodic magazines, internet websites and web pages of the leading Germannews media websites, blogs, literary diaries, online medical newspapers, etc.

The second corpus is called "Politische Reden"/"Political Speeches" (https://www. dwds.de/d/korpora/politische_reden). It contains records of proceedings of the executive and legislative government bodies of German-speaking countries and regions as well as transcripts of oral speeches delivered by politicians. The corpus has a large scope of empirical material (over 27 mln tokens and 15,240 speeches delivered bypoliticians between 1982 and 2021), and it is well balanced in terms of several relevant criteria (political significance of the event that was marked by the speech; public response to the speech; a variety of countries and political systems; a broad timescale of the political events). These also provide a high degree of validity and full representation of the results.

Both corpora refer to the category of Webkorpora, i.e. text corpora which are automatically generated fromInternet electronic texts by means of a special computer tool called Webcrawling. TheGerman corpus "Corona-Corpus" was made in 2020, whereas the"Politische Reden"/ "Political speeches" corpus was made in 2019. Both corpora were processed with the help of a uniquetool called trafilatura (https://github.com/adbar/ trafilatura).

The procedure of the corpora analysis was as follows. Firstly, the search engine of Dialing Concordancer (DCC) integrated in the "Digital dictionary" was used to set a maximum possible format of extracted verbal component of the *Kollektiv* lexeme, namely, a text set of a three-sentence size measured from full-stop to full-stop irrespective of its structural integrity. Each sentence containing the *Kollektiv* lexeme was always preceded by one sentence and followed by another. When necessary, full texts were used, these being available at every text extraction session following the link given in the source abstract.

Secondly, the system's search tools allowed us to identify the occurrences of the word under consideration in the corpus. The Corona corpus revealed 247 occurrences of the word. The complete set of the 247 text fragments extracted formed a small research corpus or a concordance of *Kollektiv* keyword contexts. The extracted 247 contexts were divided into subcorpora according to the type of source. The subcorpora under discussion contain the following text types:

1. Media texts derived from electronic versions of well-known German, Austrian and Swiss daily and weekly newspapers (die „*Tageszeitung*", der „*Tagesspiegel*", die „*Zeit Online*", die „*Neue Zürcher Zeitung*", der „*Freitag*", die „*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*", die „*Welt*", der „*Handelsblat*t", etc.) – subcorpus called [MASSMEDIA I] having 125 contexts.

2. Media texts taken from online weekly and monthly magazines (der „*Spiegel Online*", „*The European*", „*Manager Magazin*", „*Profil*", „*Tichys Einblick*", etc.) – subcorpus called [MASSMEDIA II] having 24 contexts.

3. Texts from the websites including blogs and webpages of social and political websites which draw attention to topical social issues (www.link.springer.com, www.zflprojekte.de, www.fr.de, www.addendum.de, www.cash.de, etc.)– subcorpus called [WEB] having 54 contexts.

4. Texts derived from federal German medical journals and newspapers („*Deutsches Ärzteblatt*",„*ÄrzteZeitung*") – subcorpus called [MED] having 29 contexts.

However, 15 texts extracted by the search engine could not be included in the present analysis as they refer to the errors which arose in the course of automated text data processing. The built concordance revealed 12 repetitions of text fragments as well as

three contexts with the adjective *kollektiv*. Thus 232 contexts were further linguistically analysed.

The corpus of "Political Speeches" revealed 40 occurrences of the phrase, and 40 text fragments were extracted. However, two texts extracted by the search engine could not be used in the undertaken analysis as they refer to the errors resulting from automated text data processing. One occurrence of the adjective *kollektiv* and a case of substantivization *das Kollektive* appear in the built concordance.

4. *Kollektiv*: lexical meaning and contextualized use of the word

The meaning of the word *Kollektiv* (its lexical core) reveals such semantic features as plurality, joint actions. It is the lexicographic data from the "Digital dictionary of the German language" (Das Digitale Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache/DWDS)[4] that point to the core character of the semes.

The search tool of OpenThesaurus (www.openthesaurus.de) integrated in DWDS allows researchers to identify lexical-semantic links of the word under discussion with other words entering the vocabulary of the German language. Lexical-semantic links of the word are represented as a cluster of lexical items which are in synonymic and hyponymic relationships with the given word. In addition tothis, based on semantic links between units of the cluster, the most rigid feature, orthe core meaning of a word,is automatically generated. The search tool of OpenThesaurus is used to configure a lexical-sematic cluster of the words similar in meaning to lexeme *Kollektiv*, see Fig.1.

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4   The dictionary section of the digital lexical system DWDS is based on 584,000 dictionary entries derived from leading, standard dictionaries of the German language such as "Duden: Großes Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache", "Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen", Hrsg. unter Leitung von Wolfgang Pfeifer, "Deutsches Wörterbuch" von Jacob und Wilhelm Grimm.
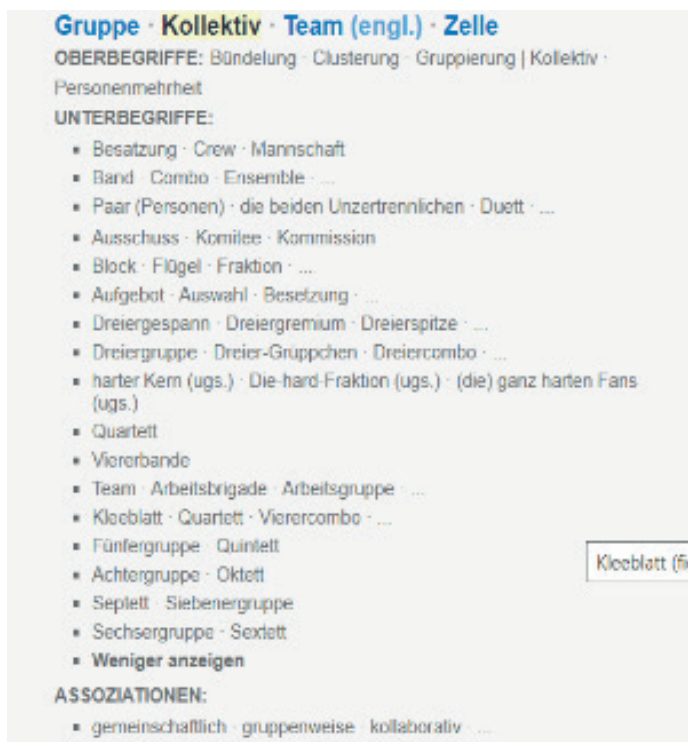
Fig. 1. Screenshot of the lexical-sematic cluster for lexeme *Kollektiv* generated by means of the OpenThesaurus tool from the Digital dictionary of the German languagehttps://www. openthesaurus.de/synonyme/Kollektiv; date accessed: 08.10.2021.

Asbasic synonymic items, four key lexemes come out: *Kollektiv – Gruppe* (a group) – *Team* (a team) – *Zelle* (a chapter of people). The upper subcluster shows hyperonyms, i.e. the most general words meaning collective behaviour: *Personenmehrheit, Personenbündelung, Clusterung, Gruppierung*. These designations clearly point to the above-mentioned meanings of *Kollektiv*: plurality of actions and uniting individuals in a group. The lower subcluster reveals hyponyms including 17 slots which are visually and graphically divided by intervals. The majority of slots (3, 7, 9-11, 13-17) suggest group names according to the exact number of their members from 2 to 8, mainly used in music. In addition, this subcluster contains lexically and semantically specific slots: (1) a body of people, crew, team: *Besatzung, Crew, Mannschaft*; (2) music band, ensemble, dance orchestra: *Band, Combo, Ensemble*; (4) committee, state commission: *Ausschuss, Komitee, Kommission*; (5) front, wing, political party: *Block, Flügel, Fraktion*; (6) a sufficient number, a powerful body of people, necessary equipment: *Aufgebot, Auswahl, Besetzung* (e.g.: *ein gewaltiges Aufgebot/Kollektiv an Hubschraubern und Sanitätswagen*); (9) a formal or

informal group of people united by interests (fans, politicians, etc.) – lexical items used in colloquial speech: *harter Kerl, die hard-Fraktion, die ganz harten Fans*; (12) a team of co-workers; work crew, staff: *Team, Arbeitsbrigade, Arbeitsgruppe*.

Our study brought the following points to the fore which are in line with the chosen corpus-driven discourse analysis methodology. First, the results obtained in the course of using the toolOpenThesaurus integrated in the dictionary section of DWDS provide no data about the usage of the *Kollektiv* lexeme alternants which correspond to specific slots of the cluster. These only provide data about the potential of the German language semantic system, and to be more precise, its small layer concerning the lexeme *Kollektiv*. The search tool under discussion fails to reveal how lexical-semantic variants of the word are activated in real social practices.

Second, another crucial conclusion rests on the analysis of the cluster: it does not cover any lexemes with evaluative meaning norwords denoting larger social communities like *Gemeinschaft, Nation, Land, Staat*. However, all *nomina collectiva* contain value quantifiers and evaluative meanings (Spitzmüller & Warnke 2011: 141-142). In this regard our analysis points to another explanation. The evaluative semantics of collective nouns such as *Kollektiv* can be seen whentheir usage is regarded in contexts ofsocial interaction by an individual and thesocial class that this individual is enclosed in (voluntarily or involuntarily). In this respect, an analysis of a word's contextualized usage seems to be informative when carried out as corpus-driven relying on the "Digital dictionary" corpus section.

5. *Kollektiv*: word history trajectory

Asnoted above, the meaningful differentiation in the use of *Kollekt* in terms of 'individual' versus 'collective' became obvious after the unification of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic in 1990. At the same time the frequency of the occurrence of this lexical item plunged in the early 1990s. Instead, a word borrowed fromEnglish(*team*) has become more frequently used to denote a group of people. The "Digital dictionary of the German language" shows this. See Fig. 2 and Fig. 3 respectively.
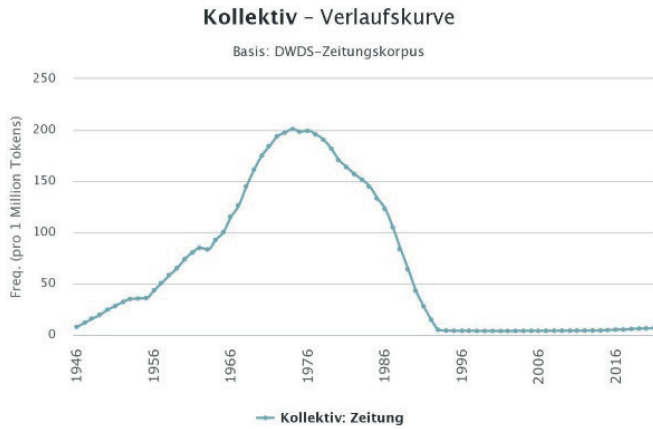
Fig. 2. DWDS word history curve for "collective", https://www.dwds.de/r/plot/?view=1&corpus=-zeitungen&norm=date%2Bclass&smooth=spline&genres=0&grand=1&slice=1&prune=0&window=3&wbase=0&logavg=0&logscale=0&xrange=1946%3A2021&q1=Kollektiv; date accessed 23.04.2021.
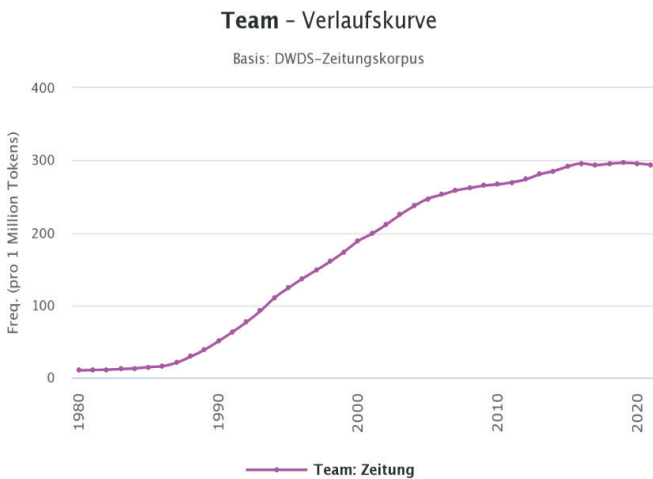

Fig. 3. DWDS word history curve for "Team", https://www.dwds.de/r/plot/?view=1&corpus=zeitungenxl&norm=date%2Bclass&smooth=spline&genres=0&grand=1&slice=1&prune=0&window=3&wbase=0&logavg=0&logscale=0&xrange=1980%3A2022&q1=Team, date accessed 23.04.2021.

There has been somediscussion on the emerging trend ofreplacing the word *Kollektiv* with the word *Team*. The use of the word *Kollektiv* has been considered as ideologically marked since it can refer to a social practice of the past which can be regardedas unattractive and emotionally unpleasant. In this respect a German press headline is

noteworthy which illustrates a typical contrast between the life before and after the unification of Germany:

> "From collective to team. Twenty yearsafter the Fall of the Berlin Wall pharmaceutical business reflects on milestones. How have the changes affected professional satisfaction rate of pharmacists?"[5] (https://www.pharmazeutische-zeitung.de/ausgabe-462009/20-jahre-mauerfall-vom-kollektiv-zum-team/date accessed: 23.04.2022).

In this connection an example derived from the analysed corpora data vividly reflects real-life semantic processes concerning the opposition of these two lexemes both in the language and communication and in the "battle for the right notion". When using the *Kollektiv*lexeme speakers will further reduce its negative meaning by repeatedly employing the borrowed word *Team* in the immediate context,thus making the*Kollektiv*lexeme lose its negative associations. To exemplify such semantic coexistence of the two lexical items *Kollektiv* and *Team* (being part of a compound noun *Teamwork* though) we can cite an extract from the speech delivered by Didier Burkhalter, a Swiss Federal Council member, head of the Home Affairs Department and the Foreign Affairs Department at the ambassadors' conference on 19th August 2013. D. Burkhalter stressed the importance of teamwork regarding it as part of foreign policy:

> (1) In der Regel begegnen wir uns ja meist auf individueller Ebene, etwa im Rahmen meiner bisher mehr als drei Dutzend Reisen als Außenminister und meiner über 200 Treffen mit Amtskollegen und anderen Regierungsmitgliedern. Damit wir mit diesen Reisen und Treffen die Interessen und Werte der Schweiz wirksam fördern können, sind aber jeweils umfassende Vorarbeiten **im Kollektiv** nötig. Außenpolitik ist **Teamwork**, wobei in der heutigen Welt insbesondere Antizipation, Kooperation und Innovation gefragt sind.

As a rule, we usually meet on an individual level, for example during my more than three dozen trips as Foreign Minister and my more than 200 meetings with my counterparts and other members of the government. In order for us to be able to effectively promote the interests and values of Switzerland with these trips and meetings,

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5   Our translation. The original reads: *„Vom Kollektiv zum Team*. Zwanzig Jahre nach dem Mauerfall ziehen Apotheker Bilanz. Was hat die neue Apothekenwelt an beruflicher Zufriedenheit gebracht und was ist auf der Strecke geblieben?" https://www.pharmazeutische-zeitung.de/ausgabe-462009/20-jahre-mauerfall-vom-kollektiv-zum-team/

extensive preliminary work is necessary in the **collective**. Foreign policy is **teamwork**, with anticipation, cooperation and innovation being particularly important in today's world.

6. Data and Analysis

6.1. *Kollektiv*in coronavirus discourse

Both the relative frequency and usage of the lexeme under discussion in the German public discourse have increased since 2000.In 2000 there were 3.74 occurrences of this lexeme per 1 mln word occurrences, whereas in 2021 this number almost doubled compared with the year 2000 and amounted to 6.78 occurrences. As the corpora data suggest, relative frequency in usage of the lexeme *Kollektiv*fell dramatically in the early 1990s. However, since 2020 the lexeme has begun to be used again in thenew context of the coronavirus pandemic to denote the forced uniting of people. A harsh objective reality reminded people of collective responsibility and the need for government control. In order to protect people, their personal interests were made less important and people were actually devoid of the right to take decisions. The government was given a power to make decisions instead of the people, to determine the importance of their interests. It is well known that public views of the coronavirus measures polarized from completely rejecting the collective coronavirus restrictions and organizing protests against the attack on their personal rights and liberties to calling for prudence to collectively overcome the global threat. Our observations of the usage of the *Kollektiv* lexeme and of its 'comeback' inmodern sociocultural practice indicate how various values are expressed and different ideological views as related to the meaning of collectivism are shown. In what follows we consider this in detail.

The analysis procedure allows us to establish that the *Kollektiv* lexeme is part of the aforementioned subcorpora [MASSMEDIA I], [MASSMEDIA II], [WEB] and [MED]. However, it denotes different concepts. Two different roles could be distinguished in terms of (logical) semantics: description (nomination) and evaluation (qualification). We observed that the contexts within which *Kollektiv* occurrences were found could be divided into twosomewhatdistinct groups.The majority of the extracted contexts (151 out of 232 amounting to 65% of the total number of the *Kollektiv* lexeme occurrences into the "Corona-corpus") suggest that the lexical item under discussion is used in denotative meaning having no additional evaluative meaning aspects. However, 81 contexts (35% of

the total occurrences of the *Kollektiv* lexeme in the "Corona-corpus") indicate usage of the lexeme under consideration in meaningful evaluation-based oppositions: "individual" vs. society", "individualism" vs. "collectivism".

6.1.1. *Kollektiv* as description

When used as description, the *Kollektiv* lexeme is widely employed in all the mentioned subcorpora of the pandemic text corpus. In this case this lexical unit means small groups or large sociocultural communities united by some common activity or ideas, interests and goals. The results indicate that the word *Kollektiv* used in denotational meaningmainly denotes small groups of people, whereas the frequency with whichthis lexeme is used to name large sociocultural groups such as nation, community, society, state, country (Nation, Gemeinschaft, Gesellschaft, Staat, Land) is noticeably lower (13 out of 151 contexts). In the examples given here and later, the abbreviation put in brackets refers to the corresponding subcorpus, whereas the figure indicates the number of the text extract in the concordance extracted for the *Kollektiv* lexeme from the "Corona-corpus".

(2) Die Menschheit als **Kollektiv** (humanity as a collective) ([MASSMEDIA II], 234);

(3)**Kollektiv**, d. h. unsere Staaten (collective, i.e. our states) ([MASSMEDIA II], 176);

(4) Was es mit der europäischen „Gemeinschaft" auf sich hat. Eine „Gemeinschaft" von Konkurrenten …, von denen jeder **das Kollektiv** als Instrument für das eigene Fortkommen betrachtet. (What the European "community" is all about. A "community" of competitors…each of whom sees the collective as a vehicle for their own advancement) ([WEB], 133);

(5)Der Staat Israel als jüdisches **Kollektiv** (the State of Israel as a Jewish collective) ([MASSMEDIA II], 73).

By further analysing the contexts of *Kollektiv* used as description, we observe that the pandemic crisis is discussed in the text corpus in terms of its impact on small groups of people within the context offour socially relevant aspects: economy (46 contexts), medicine (39 contexts), art (31 contexts) and citizens' initiatives (22 contexts). It would be expectedfor these spheres of life to betopically prevailingin the text corpus on the

coronavirus pandemic as both small and medium-sized businesses, service sectors, cultural institutions and artists were badly affected by the crisis. The medical spherealso experienced a heavy load when dealing withthe infection. Besides this, the crisis itselftriggered numerous volunteer, humanitarian and other citizens' initiatives. Texts describing the problems faced by businesses during the pandemic crisis more often contain the names of small firms within theservice sector. As for structure and grammar, these names refer to the group of proper nouns-ergonyms and can be found in the following patterns:

Apposition arranged in attributive phrase "common collective noun *Kollektiv* + proper noun-determinative": *das Kollektiv Waldblöße* (the collective Waldblöße) ([MASSMEDIA I], 30);

Determinative compounds with the main element *-Kollektiv*: *das Gastrakollektiv* ([WEB], 69); *ein vierköpfiges queerfeministisches Hebammen*Kollektiv* (a four-person queer feminist midwives collective) ([MASSMEDIA I], 87);

Attribute-substantive groups with the main word *Kollektiv* and grammatically various dependent pre- and postpositive attributes: *das Kollektiv in der Event- und Gastrobranche* (the collective in the events and catering industry) ([MASSMEDIA II], 53); *das alternative Kollektiv von Bestattern und Bestatterinnen* (the alternative collective of undertakers) ([MASSMEDIA I], 86).

A small business is often structured as a self-regulatory partnership or a cooperative society having no inner hierarchy and is regarded as an alternative economy business structure.

(6) Das gehört zu unserem Kollektiv „Quijote Kaffee". Wir sind ein zehnköpfiges Kollektiv.

This belongs to our collective "Quijote Kaffee". We are a ten-strong collective. ([MASSMEDIA I], 94-96).

Medical newspapers and journals ([MED] subcorpus) usethe *Kollektiv* lexeme to denote medical personnel, a typical nomination being *unser Kollektiv* (*our collective*) which is often used to name different groups of patients. These are specified by applying

dependent attributes to *Kollektiv* which serve to specify the denotational meaning of the notion expressed by the main word; for example, *das Sentinel-Kollektiv* / controlled patients([MED], 37); *Kollektive mit deutlich niedriger Prävalenz von COVID-19* / patients with low rate COVID-19 cases ([MED], 60); *das operierte Kollektiv / the operated collective* ([MED], 67); *das bisher größte Kollektiv obduzierter COVID-19-Verstorbener / so far the largest group of patients who died because of coronavirus infection, patients subject to post-mortem examination* ([MED], 81); *das vulnerable Kollektiv / vulnerable patients* ([MED], 189, 219).

As for the texts about art and culture derived from the corpus the major actors weremusic bands, ensembles, small dance orchestras, theatre groups, amateur groups, etc. Linguistically, the majority of names denoting creative groups are presented in two ways. Firstly, by ergonyms using apposition: *das Kollektiv „Culture Cast"* ([MASSMEDIA I], 13); *das Neuköllner Kollektiv „Reflektor"* ([MASSMEDIA I], 40, 41, 42); *das Frankfurter Kollektiv „Hip-Hop-Movement 069"* ([WEB], 195).

Secondly, by using a general name - *das Kollektiv* - specified in the immediate word context by means of repetitive synonyms: *das Kollektiv ← das Orchester* ([MASSMEDIA I], 123); *das Kollektiv ← Clubs* ([MASSMEDIA I], 35).

Finally, let us turn our attention to the contexts whichfocus on the denotational meaning of the *Kollektiv* lexeme coveringcitizens' initiatives. In these texts *Kollektiv* is found to name informal groups which promote and implement different social projects: volunteer – *das Kollektiv Maison-Blanche* ([WEB], 149, 150-154); queer feminist – *das queerfeministische Kollektiv „Kitchen Politics"*.

6.1.2. *Kollektiv* as evaluative qualification

German-speaking social and political media presented in the investigated "Corona-corpus" (subcorpora [MASSMEDIA I] and [MASSMEDIA II]) cover social and political problems in such spheres as economy, employment, and relationships between citizens and the government during the pandemic. These are often given as conversations or discussions among commoners about the government's policy which somehow concerns their private life. In this sense public and political issues in the context of modern online mass media clearlytend to incline to personality-centered everyday discourse. However, the texts extracted from personal websites and webpages of social-minded people, blogs and forums (subcorpus [WEB]) are often given in an extremely politicised way presenting

personal views based on the opposition of two rival ideologies and social life models - individualism and collectivism. Texts in this space mediate an increasing amount of political content and protest against the government's control and imposition of general rules of behaviour.

The results show that 81 contexts contain the word *Kollektiv* used as a means of evaluative attitude to the reported message. This means that this lexical item is somehow employed in discussions or in the communicatively strained opposition of ideas, opinions and ideological stances. These contexts vary according to the scale of opposing or critical opinions (depending on the degree of social confrontation) and/or on the antagonism reflected in them. Regarding increasing conflict sensitive meanings the general picture is as follows.

Firstly, we can distinguish contexts (13 in total) with the lowest degree of social opposition. In texts of this kind subjects of the discourse tend to simulate the search for a balance between personal and shared interests, in the hope of finding appropriate points of contact between the people and the government regarding the pandemic crisis. Such texts are either opinions and considerations about two paradigms and social life models (West and East) or some theoretical speculations on real democracy with some necessary tension between individuals and government bodies as an incentive for their development.

(7) Laut Han liegt dies unter anderem an den konfuzianischen und autoritären Traditionen in Ländern wie Taiwan, Singapur, Südkorea, Japan und China. „Die Bevölkerung vertraut mehr auf den Staat, die Gesellschaft begreift sich mehr als **Kollektiv**. Individualismus ist weniger stark ausgeprägt", schreibt Han.

According to Han, this is partly due to the Confucian and authoritarian traditions in countries such as Taiwan, Singapore, South Korea, Japan and China. "People trust the state more, society sees itself more as a collective. Individualism is less pronounced," Han writes.

(Corona: Geht Tracking vor Datenschutz? Deutsche Welle. 27.03.2020).

(8) Beim Kampf gegen das Virus stehen sich zwei unterschiedliche Weltanschauungen gegenüber. Der Westen legt mehr Wert auf das Individuum und dessen Freiheiten, während China den Einzelnen weniger schätzt und stattdessen das **Kollektiv** achtet.

In the fight against the virus, two different worldviews face each other. The West places more value on the individual and his/her freedom, while China values the individual less and instead respects the collective.

(Corona als Test der Systeme. Tichys Einblick. 21.03.2020).

A significant number of contexts (25 in total) describe restrictions imposed during the period of the pandemic crisis and thesocial, economic, public and political effects of these restrictions. These illustrate a clearly marked opposition and completely different views on the subject.

The writers of the texts make claims based on a general presupposition that (neo) liberalism and the priority of an individual are absolutely positive values, whereas collectivism harms personal privacy and poses a threat as it can easily and unnoticeably evolve into authoritarianism and totalitarianism with total government control over all spheres of people's lives. However, being sensible citizens, they are ready to sacrifice their liberal democratic values when faced with a global threat and to admit the need for solidarity and joint efforts to set confines in order to fight the coronavirus pandemic. Such forced agreement frames following the formula "Say no collectivism, but when in crisis, say yes" can be illustrated by the following typical examples:

(9) Was mich vielmehr im Rahmen der Corona-Krise interessiert, ist folgende Frage: Wie kann es uns gelingen, als **Kollektiv** einen konstruktiven Umgang mit der Angst zu erwerben, als Gesellschaft die beste Version unseres Selbst zu entwickeln und gestärkt aus dieser Krise hervorzugehen, so dass wir im Rückblick eines Tages sagen können: Der Prozess war unfreiwillig, wir mussten an vielen Stellen unsere Komfortzone verlassen und an manchen Stellen wurde es schmerzhaft – aber es hat sich gelohnt.

What interests me more in the context of the Corona crisis is the following question: How can we, as a collective, manage to deal constructively with fear? How can we as a society develop the best version of ourselves and emerge stronger from this crisis, so that looking back one day we can say, 'The process was involuntary, we had to leave our comfort zone in many places and in some places it was painful - but it was worth it.

(So werden wir per Corona-Krise zu einer besseren Gesellschaft. Manager Magazin. 30.04.2020).

(10) Jahrzehntelang war Risikomanagement individuelle Angelegenheit. Jetzt **im Kollektiv zu denken**, fällt manchen schwer, sagt Andeas Reckwitz. Der Einzelne sollte für sich selbst vorsorgen und sich schützen, alles ist eine Frage der Eigenverantwortung. Die nun geforderte Denkweise, die Risiken der anderen zu minimieren, also **im Kollektiv zu denken**, scheint manchen schwerzufallen. Ist die individualisierte Gesellschaft, die um Selbstverwirklichung kreist, zu der Solidarität fähig, die nun nötig ist?

For decades, risk management was an individual matter. Thinking as a collective is difficult for some, says Andeas Reckwitz. Individuals should provide for themselves and protect themselves. It is all a matter of personal responsibility. The way of thinking that is now required, to minimize the risks of others, i.e. to think as a collective, seems to be difficult for some. Is the individualized society that revolves around self-actualization capable of the solidarity that is now needed? (Soziologe über Corona-Maßnahmen: „Es geht immer um die Balance". Tazgezwitscher. 22.03.2020).

Another set of contexts with evaluative meaning of *Kollektiv* (36 in total) can be characterised by open confrontation and disagreement of the writers with the officially conducted government's policy. The lexeme under consideration is used there to name historically discredited social life models. Weaknesses of collectivism are activated through the use of *Kollektiv*: authority, pressure exerted upon individuals, ignoring personality, imposed levelling approach, government control over all spheres of life.

(11) An der Verwendung des Solidaritätsbegriffs lässt sich also detailliert nachvollziehen, wie Sicherheit diskursiv, aber auch politisch funktioniert: als Generator imaginierter bedrohter **Kollektive**, als Technik des Regierens und als Rhetorik der Drohung. Dies ist angesichts der begrifflichen Prägung der „Solidarität" bemerkenswert, tauchte der Begriff in tradierten Kontexten vor allem doch als Inklusions- und Kampfbegriff auf. … Zum anderen evoziert der Appell an Solidarität auch die Vorstellung eines **Kollektivs**, in dessen Namen Verzicht geübt werden soll. Praktiken des Verzichts gelten dann zugleich als Beweise der Zugehörigkeit.

The use of the concept of solidarity makes it possible to understand in detail how security works both discursively and politically: as a generator of imagined threatened collectives, as a technique of governance and as rhetoric of threat. This is remarkable in view of the conceptual coinage of "solidarity", as the term appeared in traditional contexts above all as a term for inclusion and combat. ... On the other hand, the appeal for solidarity

also evokes the idea of a collective in whose name renunciation is to be practiced. Practices of renunciation are then also valid as proof of belonging. [Thorsten Bonacker. Solidarität als Sicherheitsformel. Soziopolis, 08.04.2020].

(12) Der staatliche Zugriff auf den eigenen Körper wird normalerweise kritisch gesehen. In der Krise jedoch wird die Einordnung ins **Kollektiv** praktiziert.

State access to one's own body is usually viewed critically. In the crisis, however, the classification into the collective is practised.

(Datensammlung und Corona-Apps: Der Körper als Nachweis. Tazgezwitscher. 26.04.2020).

Apart from being used in a negative evaluative meaning, the *Kollektiv* lexeme is found to be employed with an opposite axiological polarity, namely in a positive evaluative meaning (7 contexts in total). The foregoing examples serve as illustrations of the *Kollektiv* lexeme activatingsuch aspects as benefits of collectivism, joint opposition to the pandemic crisis and the need to jointly act in the context of social restrictions:

(13) Masseninfektionen, Ausgangsbeschränkungen und eine abgrundtiefe Wirtschaftskrise sind Bedrohungen für **das Kollektiv**. Es bräuchte deshalb eine gemeinschaftliche Antwort und Momente der Zusammengehörigkeit.

Mass infections, exit restrictions and an abysmal economic crisis are threats to the collective. It would therefore require a collective response and moments of being together.

(Robert Treichler: Ehe wir alle durchdrehen. profil.at. 21.11.2020).

(14) Meckseper: Ja, die Pandemie deckt ja verstärkt die Schwachstellen unserer westlichen Gesellschaften auf – wie beispielsweise ganze Bevölkerungsschichten zunehmend populistisch beeinflusst werden und vermehrt auf alte und neue Feindbilder zurückgreifen. Auf diese Weise erodiert **das Kollektiv**, das für Demokratien so wichtig ist.

Meckseper: Yes, the pandemic is increasingly revealing the weaknesses of our western societies - how, for example, entire sections of the population are increasingly being influenced *by* populism and are increasingly resorting to old and new enemy images. In

this way, the collective that is so important to democracies is eroding. (Corona in den USA: „Die New Yorker wurden unsichtbar". Der Spiegel. 17.05.2020).

So, we have seen in the "Corona corpus" that the majority of the extracted contexts (151 out of 232 derived from corpus) reveal the use of *Kollektiv* in a denotative meaning and have no additional evaluative meanings. The termis used to name small groups of people and larger social groups such as community, society, state, and is employed to refer to pandemic impact in socially relevant spheres – economy, medicine, culture and citizens' initiatives and activities. It names groups of people in the business and service sectors, medical personnel, patients, music band, theatre groups, and different citizens' initiatives. However, 81 contexts demonstrate negative and positive deontics of this word and enter such semantic oppositions as "individual-society", "individualism-collectivism". By using *Kollektiv* the speakers are engaged in critical discussion or ideological dispute about the pandemic context. Ideologically loaded in terms of acceptable or unacceptable values the *Kollektiv* lexeme allows the discourse actors to express evaluative attitude to the reported text. In most contexts (74 contexts out of81 in total) *Kollektiv* is activated to refer to weaknesses of this concept, authority, pressure upon individuals and ignoring of personality. In 7 contexts it highlights the benefits of joint opposition to the pandemic crisis and the need of mutual support.

6.2. *Kollektiv* in Political speeches corpus

The analysis of the corpus of the political speeches delivered in German-speaking countries and regionsrevealed 40 occurrences of the *Kollektiv* lexeme in the "Political Speeches" corpus. Two extracted texts were not used in the analysis as they refer to the errors from automated text data processing.In the 38 occurrences analyzed we revealed 21 contexts with evaluative meanings and 17 contexts with non-evaluative meanings. We suggest three types of contextual usage of the *Kollektiv* lexeme: neutral nomination of large and small social groups; negative nomination of a large social community; positive nomination of a social community.

Let us consider these types of contextualized use in more detail.

1. The lexeme is used as description to nominate small and large social groups. In example (15) collective is a music band, and in example (16) collective is a contextually formed group of three ombudsmen.

(15) Diesen Versuch immer wieder zu unternehmen, trägt etwas zur Zukunftsfähigkeit unseres Landes bei. Denn wir wissen heute, welch segensreiche Wirkung Musizieren, Musik in dem Ensemble, **dem Kollektiv**, aber auch als einzelner Solist hat. (Christian Wulff. Festakt anlässlich des 200. Geburtstages von Franz Liszt. 22.10.2011).

By making this effort again and again we contribute to the future viability of our country. We know today of the beneficial effect of music, music of the band, of **the collective.** But we also realize how important an individual artist is. [Christian Wolf. The 200th anniversary of Ferencz Liszt's birth ceremony. 22.10.2011*].

(16) Im Besonderen möchte ich den beiden scheidenden Volksanwälten Terezija Stoisits und Peter Kostelka danken. Ich denke, sie haben, so wie auch die verbleibende Volksanwältin Gertrude Brinek, sehr, sehr gute Arbeit geleistet, jeder in seinem Fachbereich und auch **als Kollektiv** bestens ihre Aufgabe erfüllt. Also herzlichen Dank an alle drei … (Karlheinz Kopf. Rede in der 199. Sitzung des Nationalrates zur Erstattung eines Gesamtvorschlages für die Wahl der Mitglieder der Volksanwaltschaft. 25.04.2013).

I would like to thank both leaving ombudsmen Terezija Stoisits and Peter Kostelka in particular. I think, together with the remaining ombudsman Gertrude Brinek, they did a really good job. Each did their best in their own specialist area and as awhole **collective** as well. My sincere thanks go to allthree of them… (Karlheinz Kopf. Speech delivered in the 199th session of the National Council devoted to the Ombudsmen Council election proposals. 25.04.2013).

Similarly, the lexeme is employed in descriptive meaning when naming large social communities, for example:

(12) Wir können uns den Schutz der Umwelt etwas kosten lassen. Diese Verantwortung gegenüber der Umwelt muss jetzt auch die Weltgemeinschaft **als Kollektiv** wahrnehmen [Doris Leuthard. Ansprache von Bundesrat Doris Leuthard am Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 13.07.2011].

We can afford to pay something to protect the environment. The world community as a **collective** should also assume responsibility for the environment. [Doris Leuthard. Speech by federal counsellor Doris Leuthard in Massachusetts Institute of Technology. 13.07.2011].

2. The lexeme has a positive evaluative meaning when namingcommunities, social groups of people. It was found in four contexts of the political speeches derived from the corpus. For example, an excerpt of the speech by Hans Stöckli, the president of the Swiss Council of States (example 17), and of the speech by Arno Kompacher, the government head of the autonomous province South Tyrol (example 18), a German-speaking region of Italy.

(17) Wir stehen an einem Ort großer Symbolkraft. Von diesem Hügel aus blicken wir auf die Berner Allmend: auf ein Gemeindegut, das einst **ein Kollektiv** nutzte. Es hält uns vor Augen, was in der jetzigen Krise gilt: Wir schließen uns zusammen, wir treffen miteinander Vorsorge, wir rücken das Gemeinsame in den Vordergrund.

We are now in a place of great symbolic power. From this hill there is a view of the Bernese Allmend - a communal property that was once used by a **community**. It reminds us of what is really of great importance in today's crisis: we are joining forces, we are taking precautions together, we are focussing on what we have in common.

(18) Genau so vielfältig wie unsere Vereinswelt, ist deren Tätigkeit. Alle zeichnen sich dadurch aus, dass der Gemeinsinn im Mittelpunkt steht, Einzelpersonen dazu animiert werden, einen Beitrag für **das Kollektiv** zu leisten und Gemeinschaft gestärkt wird. Insbesondere tragen die Vereine zum gesellschaftlichen Leben bei, halten Fraktionen, Dörfer und Gemeinden lebendig.

Our associations are just as diverse as our activities. All of them are characterized by a focus on community spirit encouraging individuals to contribute to the collective and thus strengthening the community. In particular, the associations contribute to social life and keep fractions, villages and communities alive.

3. The lexeme has a negative evaluative meaning when naminglarge social communities. It mainly enterscontexts demonstrating the opposition of two ideologies – liberalism associated with western democracy models and collectivism related to countries in Eastern Europe and in former Germany (21 out of 40 contexts). It is reasonable to note that most of the utterances in such contexts contain criticism of what is called collectivism. This will be exemplified in what follows.

(19) In diesem Sinne verlangt Gerechtigkeit, Gleiches gleich und Ungleiches ungleich zu behandeln also etwas anderes als Gleichmacherei. Es geht um Chancengerechtigkeit,

die auf den Einzelnen abstellt und nicht auf **das Kollektiv**. Sie soll jedem die Möglichkeit geben, sich in gleicher Freiheit nach jeweiligen Neigungen und Fähigkeiten entfalten zu können – eigenverantwortlich, aber eben auch immer verantwortlich gegenüber den anderen [Rede von Bundeskanzlerin Dr. Angela Merkel bei der Festveranstaltung „70 Jahre Soziale Marktwirtschaft". 15.06.2018].

In this sense, justice requires treating equals equally and unequals unequally, something other than egalitarianism. It is about equal opportunities that focus on the individual and not on the **collective**. It should give everyone the opportunity to develop in the same freedom according to their respective inclinations and abilities – based on their own responsibility, but also being always responsible towards the others. [Speech by Federal Chancellor Dr. Angela Merkel at the celebration "70 years of the social market economy". 15.06.2018].

(20) Der Unterschied ist nur, werte Kollegen von der SPÖ (Abg. Wittmann: Sie haben die Arbeitnehmer verraten! Das nimmt Ihnen niemand weg!), dass der Betriebsrat eben nicht mehr seine Macht und seine Kontrollfunktion ausüben kann. (Ah-Rufe bei der FPÖ und Zwischenrufe bei der SPÖ.) Das ist der Unterschied. (Beifall bei Abgeordneten der FPÖ.)… Es geht Ihnen nämlich auch darum, dass nicht mehr **das Kollektiv** über das Wohl des Einzelnen entscheidet, sondern der Einzelne selbst entscheidet. Eigenverantwortung und Freiheit, das sind Fremdwörter für Sie, ich weiß es (Beifall bei der FPÖ) [Johann Gudenus. Rede in der 33. Sitzung des Nationalrates zur Dringlichen Anfrage der Abgeordneten Josef Muchitsch. 29.06.2018]

The only difference, dear colleagues from the Social Democratic Party of Austria/SDPA (Deputy Wittmann: You betrayed the employees! Nobody will forgive you that!), is that the Council can no longer exercise its power and control. (Shouts of 'ah' from the Free Democratic Party of Austria/FDPA and heckling from SDPA). That's the difference. (Applause from deputies of FDPA). It seems to offend you that the **collective** no longer decides on the well-being of the individual, but that the individual decides for himself. Personal responsibility and freedom are foreign words to you, I know it (applause from FDPA). [Johann Gudenus. Speech at the 33rd session of the National Council on the urgent question from deputy Josef Muchitsch. 29.06.2018].

Within this type of negative evaluative use of the *Kollektiv* lexeme we can distinguish a subtype, namely metonymy, replacing the name of a group of people with the name of a

social behaviour model. Such use of the lexeme under consideration has been found in 10 contexts of the corpus. The results indicate that in political communication contexts the *Kollektiv* lexeme often refers tocollectivism as a collectivist model of social behaviour. Consider the following examples:

(21) Damit hat Reiner Kunze kürzest möglich die sogenannte „Ethik" aller Diktaturen und Menschheitsbeglücker auf den Begriff gebracht. Ob es nun heißt „Du bist nichts, dein Volk ist alles", oder ob das sogenannte **„Kollektiv"** dazu dient, den sogennanten „neuen Menschen" hervorzubringen: immer wird zugunsten eines abstrakten Ideals oder einer Utopie der Einzelne in seiner Individualität missachtet. Ja, die Individualität - und damit die persönliche Freiheit - soll letztlich ausgelöscht werden [Horst Köhler. Laudatio von Bundespräsident Horst Köhler auf Reiner Kunze aus Anlass der Verleihung des Memminger Freiheitspreises. 20.03.2009].

Reiner Kunze thus quickly uncovered the truth about the so-called "ethics" of all dictatorships and those who make humanity happy. Whether it means "You are nothing, your people is everything" or whether the so-called "collective" serves to bring forth the so-called "new man": the individual is always disregarded in favour of an abstract ideal or a utopia in his individuality. Yes, individuality - and with it personal freedom - should ultimately be destroyed [Horst Köhler. Solemn speech by Federal President on the occasion of the presentation of the Memminger Freedom Prize. 20.03.2009].

In the aboveexcerpt of the speech by Horst Köhler collectivism ideology is called "the ethics of all dictatorships". Liberalism supported by the politician is not presented in a general way. Only its most significant features are mentioned: individuality, personal freedom. We can thus assume that liberalism opponents could call it "the ethics of individualism". Horst Köhler further specifies what he means by "the ethics of all dictatorships" using metonymic nomination *Kollektiv*. It is a typical case of metonymy when a person (a group of people) replaces an object or a meaning implied by thatperson. Thus, *Kollektiv* is used in Horst Köhler's speech as a contextual antonym of liberalism, and it means an ideological viewpoint of representatives of a social group rather than the group itself. It also questionswhether their moral ethic principles are viable.

Speeches on opposition between two social and political ideologies delivered by Frank-Walter Steinmeier, former Federal Foreign Minister, President of Germany (22)

andGuido Westerwelle, former Chairman of the Free Democratic Party of Germany and German Foreign Minister(23) can serve as illustrative examples.

(22) Die Bundesrepublik, aus der ich stamme, geprägt vom Westen und der liberalen Marktwirtschaft, und die DDR, ein sozialistischer Staat, der zum sowjetisch geprägten Ostblock gehörte. An der Berliner Mauer standen sich zwei Ideologien gegenüber: die eine, die sich eher um das Ideal der Freiheit drehte, und die andere, die sozialistische, bei der das Ideal der Gleichheit, **das Kollektiv**, im Zentrum stehen sollte. Nach dem Mauerfall wurde in Deutschland natürlich intensiv diskutiert, wie diese beiden Hälften zusammenwachsen sollten. [Rede von Außenminister Steinmeier zur Eröffnung des Studiengangs „Deutsches und Europäisches Recht" an der Rechtshochschule Hanoi. 31.10.2016].

The Federal Republic of Germany I come from, shaped by the West and the liberal market economy, and the GDR, a socialist state that belonged to the Soviet-style Eastern Bloc. Two ideologies faced each other at the Berlin Wall: one that revolved more around the ideal of freedom, and the other, socialist, in which the ideal of equality, **the collective**, should be at the centre. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, there were of course extensive discussions in Germany as to how these two halves should grow together [Speech by Foreign Minister Steinmeier at the opening of the "German and European Law" Hanoi. 31.10. 2016].

(23) Wenn wir in Europa getragen werden wollen von den Bürgerinnen und Bürgern, dann müssen wir kenntlich machen, dass uns Werte verbinden. Nämlich die Werte der Aufklärung, wo der einzelne etwas zählt und nicht nur **das Kollektiv**. Wo die Persönlichkeit des Einzelnen etwas bedeutet und nicht nur irgendeine staatliche Ordnung [Rede von Außenminister Guido Westerwelle zum WDR-Europaforum. 15.05.2013].

If we in Europe want to be supported by citizens, then we must clearly state that we are united by values. These are the values of the Enlightenment, where the individual, and not just the **collective**, has a certain value, and where the personality of the individual means something, and is not just some state system [Speech by Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle at the European Forum of the West German Broadcasting Company (WDR). 15.05.2013].

The speech by Frank-Walter Steinmeier (example 22) explicitly marks the conflict of rival ideologies (*standen sich zwei Ideologien gegenüber/ Two ideologies faced each other at*

the Berlin Wall) as the opposition of two types of political, social and economic structures: the liberal market economy of the Federal Republic of Germany and the socialist ideology of the German Democratic Republic. Frank-Walter Steinmeier translates this opponency to the opposition of value-based ideals: the ideal of freedom vs. the ideal of equality. Guido Westerwelle's speech (example 23) presents liberalism as values of enlightenment (*die Werte der Aufklärung*), a qualification which is activated when reading it. It offers a hint on the authoritarian character of collectivism. A representative and proponent of European liberalism, Westerwelle,who between 2001 and 2011 was the leader of a liberal party of united Europe, namely, the Free Democratic Party of Germany (Freie Demokratische Partei), names distinguishing features of the European liberalism model ("*europäisches Lebensmodell"*) in his next speech (see example 24) and contrasts it with opposing collectivist model.

(24) Es gibt ein europäisches Lebensmodell, auf das wir stolz sein können. Dazu gehört, dass Freiheit und Sicherheit in Balance gehalten werden, dass der Einzelne etwas zählt und nicht nur **das Kollektiv**, dass wir nicht nur materielle, sondern auch postmaterielle Werte schätzen, nämlich individuelle Freiheit, soziale Sicherheit, Freiheit von Angst, kulturelle Vielfalt und eine lebenswerte Umwelt [Regierungserklärung von Außenminister Guido Westerwelle: „Europas Weg aus der Krise: Wachstum durch Wettbewerbsfähigkeit". 11.05.2012].

There is a European social way of life that we can be proud of. This includes keeping freedom and security in balance, that the individual counts and not just the **collective**, that we value not only material but also post-material values, namely personal freedom, social security, freedom from fear, cultural diversity and a comfortable environment to live in [Government declaration by Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle: "Europe's way out of the crisis: growth through competitiveness".11.05.2012].

Implicit comparison of the two social political systems in example (24) is activated by means of negation and restriction *not just (nicht nur)* used together with *Kollektiv*. As the notions of liberalism and collectivism form a privative opposition in political discourse, then denying one of them automatically confirms the other. In this case the meaning of *not just the collective (nicht nur das Kollektiv)* can be interpreted in the following way: if the European model presupposes not only collectivism, its ideological opposite implies only collectivism in the sense of its natural hostility to human nature.

To sum up this part of the conducted research, it was found that the *Kollektiv* lexeme enters the German political discourse as a keyword and is used bypolitical discourse agents as a marker of a social behaviour model. Politicians employed the word *Kollektiv* indiscussions about values both with positive and negative deontics. In the course of political speaking axiologically negative or axiologically positive polarity is activated by the speakers depending on their political and ideological views. Negative evaluative meaning of the utterances containing the *Kollektiv* lexeme is activated in the contexts involving opposition between liberal democracy values and collectivism ideas. The analysis revealed, among others, semantic transformations in the meaning which occur as a result of metonymic replacement of a group of people by a typical social behaviour model, namely collectivism. As for positive deontics of the *Kollektiv* lexeme which stress the benefits of collectivism in social life, these can be found in 4 contexts of the investigated corpus. Besides this, the analysisrevealed a descriptive use of the *Kollektiv* lexeme and the notion named by it (17 contexts). *Kollektiv* in such contexts expresses no rivalry and clash of ideologies and serves to denote small (community, music band, collective of artists, politicians, etc.) and large (society, cultural community, nation, country, state) social groups. Thus we may observedeontic competition in the word meaning, and this reflects not only ideological diversity between political parties or in a political spectrum located from the center to the far left and right, but it also opens up the perspective to social diversity and polyphony and to salient lexicalizations in discourse. However, the demarcation lines do not always run clearly between a pro and a contra party for the keyword.

The frequency in use of the *Kollektiv* lexeme in both subcorpora, used as description and evaluative qualification, is summarized inTable 1.

Table 1. Frequency of the lexeme *Kollektiv*

Type of contextual usage	Corona Corpus	Political speeches Corpus
Descriptive/neutral meaning	151	17
Positive meaning	7	4
Negative meaning	74	17

7. Conclusion

The corpus tools allowed us to connect linguistic representations of the *Kollektiv* notion with real sociocultural contexts of the German public and political speeches. The

major points covered by this paper may be summarized as follows. The corpus-driven research suggests the methodological and empirical validation to the study of certain lexemes as keywords. Keywords are characterized above all by the fact that they are linked to socially and politically relevant facts and make reference to public dispute about them. Their use in public and political discourse and the evaluation, positive or negative, made with them, affects thelexical semantics and pragmatics of the keywords. Keywords allow us to observe a competition for meaning, firstly, for the descriptive meaning of the lexeme and secondly, for the deontic meaning, i. e. the revaluation, aswas previously indicated by Klein (1991). The semantics of the *Kollektiv* lexeme contain two meaningful and axiological poles: a positive axiological one reflecting such concepts as mutual assistance and support, solidarity, coexistence with others, and a negative pole bearing such aspects as forced labour, uniting people together, being forced and controlled by others. Associative contextual links of the lexeme under consideration also appear to be multilayer. On the one hand, these relate to universal values and benefits of collectivism: mutual assistance, solidarity, effective cooperation when coping with difficulties, mutual support, sympathy. The beneficial aspects relate to a positive sphere of moral and ethical evaluation and govern the positive deontics. On the other hand, such features of collectivism as authority, pressure, disregard of a person's individual characteristics, imposed levelling approach activate negative deontic aspects of the *Kollektiv* lexeme meaning.

What makes this linguistic unit attractive for analysis is semantic dynamics which can be traced invarious communicative contexts. *Kollektiv* appears to become a linguistic form widely used in a particular period and under particular social conditions as a means of communication in ideologically-marked discussions about values and socially appropriate models of what is right and proper. *Kollektiv*once took a central position in the German language reflecting and expressing realities in the society with the only state ideology which promoted 'proper' and 'positive' values. Outside this social model (or when the latter no longer exists) this linguistic unit brought into focus and fixed such meanings as the forced, institutionally controlled, uniting of people into a team in order to solve tasks.

We assume that the characterization as a keyword depends on the relevance of the discourse in question. Since 2020 the coronavirus pandemic has constituted a kind of emergency resulting in a shift of values and ideas about what is right and proper. Restrictions of personal freedom have been introduced in a social space. Alternatively,

solidarity in order to save human life has come to the fore which can surely explain the measures taken in asituation where peopleare united together against acommon hazard. In times of social upheaval, which also creates insecurity and helplessness in many people, sympathy values for the collective can also increase . The *Kollektiv* lexeme has sparked a different meaning in such social embeddedness. Axiologically negative and positive polarity in the meaning has manifested itself more clearly and sharply.

The results obtained are apparently informative in two ways, from two perspectives. In the perspective of discourse analysis, we can observe that a keyword relevance and what might be called its semantic and pragmatic trajectory is discursively determined. At the same time ananalysis of the frequency of occurrence of keywords and their use providesperspective to the discourse itself in so far as, based on the salient lexicalizations central to the discourse, we can characterize the socio-cultural practice.

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