EÖTVÖS LORÁND UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF LAW

DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

ELTE | LAW

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THE LANGUAGE OF GERMAN AND HUNGARIAN NATIONAL SOCIALISTS

ABSTRACT OF PHD DISSERTATION

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BUDAPEST, 2024

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1. Research questions

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine the vocabulary of Hungarian National Socialists between 1930 and 1945. This examination is conducted with two specific aims. The first is to organise and interpret those keywords that encapsulated this political force's views on social reality into a sort of dictionary. The second is to compare the political vocabulary of German and Hungarian National Socialists.

The objective of this study is to address the following questions during the examined period:

1. What are the keywords that encapsulate the views of Hungarian National Socialists?

2. What were the denotations and connotations of these keywords?

3. Are there similarities in the vocabulary of Hungarian and German National Socialists?

4. Can the keywords of the German National Socialist language be found in the vocabulary of Hungarian National Socialists?

In addition to answering the specific research questions, several personal goals motivated the writing of my dissertation. In my view, a scientific work should have four characteristics: it should operate within a theoretical framework; it should have relevance to Hungary; it should be placeable within international discourse; and it should have aspects and objectives along which the research can be further expanded.

With regard to the theoretical framework, the dissertation is firmly anchored in the methodology of political vocabulary research. Despite the fact that numerous distinguished figures in the social sciences in our country are engaged in interpretive or discursive political science, and as a result of their efforts, we are aware of the various methods associated with this approach, in Hungary, in contrast to many other European countries, there has not been a comprehensive, historically informed examination of political vocabulary over an extended period of time. In Germany, linguists have completed the lexical processing of political languages from various historical periods, including the Weimar Republic, the Third Reich, the subsequent two Germanies, and the vocabulary used during "die Wende" transition in 1989.[1] However, there is no such scientific activity in Hungary. As a researcher, I aim to address this gap in the literature and consider my dissertation to be the first step in that direction. In light of the above, the

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[1] NIEHR, Thomas – Kilian, Jörg – Wengeler, Martin (Hrsg.) (2017): *Handbuch Sprache und Politik in 3 Bänden*. Band 1. Bremen: Hemper Verlag.; KÄMPER, Heidrun – SCHMIDT, Hartmut (1998): *Das 20. Jahrhundert: Sprachgeschichte – Zeitgeschichte*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter

dissertation aims to introduce the concept and method of politolinguistics to the domestic scientific audience, which may prove suitable for conducting vocabulary-oriented research.

(2) In light of the fact that the thesis is concerned with the vocabulary of Hungarian National Socialists, it is pertinent to consider the Hungarian context. Furthermore, it is my intention that the thesis will make a contribution to the academic discourse on the Hungarian National Socialists. The dictionary that I intend to compile in my dissertation – which collects the most relevant keywords and interprets them in their original context – provides a new analytical framework for the interpretation of National Socialist texts. Such an approach can assist researchers engaged in the study of Hungarian National Socialism in their examination of the sources from this period.

(3) The international relevance of the research is evidenced by the inclusion of the language of the Third Reich. The study of the language of Nazism is not confined to the boundaries of Germany; rather, it constitutes an international discourse on a number of current, controversial issues that continue to persist in the present day. The majority of the debates focus on the question of whether it is possible to speak of a language in its own right, or whether the discussion pertains to the utilisation of language during the National Socialist period. A comparative study, based on my review of the available literature, has the potential to yield significant insights into this debate. A comparative approach allows for an examination of the impact of the German National Socialist language on the political landscape of another country. This enables a deeper understanding of the capacity and influence of the German National Socialist language and the political role of the Third Reich, while also offering a novel perspective on the autonomy of the National Socialist language.

(4) It is also pertinent to consider the potential for further research that extends beyond the confines of the dissertation. The temporal scope of the analysis is limited by the confines of the available data. The dissertation does not address the anti-Semitic and far-right discourses and the racist political forces associated with them that emerged as early as the nineteenth century, nor does it consider the context of the 1920s. Furthermore, it would be beneficial to consider parliamentary speeches in addition to press articles, as this could provide valuable insights that complement the written press, offering a deeper understanding of the nuances in the use of keywords. It may prove beneficial in the future to incorporate propaganda products into the analysis, such as posters, appeals, films, plays, books, pamphlets, and small booklets. It is my contention that this paper can serve as an excellent point of departure for undertaking these

analyses, as it tests the selected methodology and, through the keywords collected, can serve as the foundation for a future addition.

2. Methodological framework

The research is conducted in accordance with the principles of constructivism as a methodology of political science. In this context, the approach is inductive, whereby specific findings are used to draw general conclusions. Given the interdisciplinary nature of the field of analysis, encompassing historical, linguistic, Germanic and political science aspects, it is important to note that the objective of this thesis is to contribute new insights to the field of political science. It is possible that the final conclusions of the thesis may be controversial in other disciplines; therefore, it is important to emphasise the value of a political science reading of the thesis. In my research, I will employ the methodology of political linguistics, a sub-discipline situated at the nexus of political science and linguistics. This approach is concerned with the language utilized in political contexts, with a particular focus on elucidating the pivotal expressions and symbols that are conveyed through this linguistic medium.

The very title of the essay indicates that it will address the issue of two distinct political languages. As will be discussed subsequently, the language of the German National Socialists is a well-researched topic, with a substantial body of literature available. Nevertheless, a comparable empirical investigation based on primary sources is required in order to gain insight into the language of the Hungarian National Socialists. Prior to establishing the research model, three fundamental inquiries required elucidation:

1. The initial question that must be addressed is that of the speaker's identity. To whom does the vocabulary under examination belong?

2. On what temporal scale is the vocabulary under study situated?

3. In what context? It is necessary to ascertain the source of the vocabulary in question and to determine which texts are available for study.

(1) During the interwar period, a number of new political movements emerged in Hungary, among which an anti-fascist, socialist political force with nationalist views emerged. Although the aspirations of this movement had already manifested themselves in the 1920s, it became a significant political force in the aftermath of the global economic crisis of 1929–1933. Additionally, they sought inspiration from the Italian Fascists and the German Nazis, yet failed to establish a unified political movement. This new force is collectively known as the National

Socialists.[2] Notwithstanding the existence of alternative designations[3] for this political entity within the context of Hungarian history, the dissertation employs the designation 'Hungarian National Socialists', as proposed by Rudolf Paksa in his typology.[4] The history of the Hungarian far-right has been extensively studied by numerous eminent experts, with considerable research conducted at a detailed level. The objective of the dissertation is not to provide a comprehensive account of the history of Hungarian National Socialism and the political forces associated with it. Instead, it is limited to a review of the fundamental claims necessary to answer the research questions. In contrast to their German and Italian counterparts, the Hungarian National Socialists did not constitute a unified political entity. Instead, there were competing National Socialist parties on the Hungarian political scene over time. In accordance with Paksa's typology, the dissertation eschews the use of the term 'fascist' as a generic designation. Instead, it is employed solely in reference to those who espoused the Italian model. Those who demonstrated affinity for Zoltán Böszörmény's party are designated as 'Scythe-Cross' while those who subscribed to Szálasi's Hungarist Movement are termed 'hungarist'. The term 'National Socialist' can be considered a collective term.[5]

This leads to the question of whether we can speak of a unified vocabulary of national socialists, or whether the individual vocabularies of each party competed with each other. The overwhelming majority of political vocabulary is inextricably linked to ideological language.[6] This is evidenced by the fact that the keywords used in politics are, in and of themselves, imbued with ideological content. It is therefore necessary to ascertain whether the Hungarian National Socialists were unified in their ideological commitments. In order to demonstrate the coherence of Hungarian National Socialist ideology, Zoltán Paksy analysed the most pertinent texts produced by the parties during the 1930s and concluded that the Hungarian National Socialists

[2] PAKSA, Rudolf (2013): *Magyar nemzetiszocialisták*. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó 7.
[3] GYURGYÁK, János (2012): *Magyar fajvédők*. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó; GYURGYÁK, János (2007): *Ezzé lett magyar hazátok – A magyar nemzeteszme és nacionalizmus története*. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó; GYURGYÁK, János (2001): *A zsidókérdés Magyarországon*. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó; VONYÓ, József (2021): *Jobboldali radikálisok Magyarországon 1919–1944*. Budapest: Kronosz Kiadó; LACKÓ, Miklós (1966): *Nyilasok, nemzetiszocialisták 1935–1944*. Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó; ORMOS, Mária (2004): A szélsőjobboldaliságról. *Rubicon* 2004/11, 107–117.; ORMOS, Mária (1987): *Nácizmus – fasizmus*. Budapest: Magvető Kiadó; PAKSY, Zoltán (2013): *Nyilas Mozgalom Magyarországon 1932–1939*. Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó; ROMSICS, Ignác (2004): A magyar arisztokrácia és a szélsőjobboldal a Horthy-korszakban. *Rubicon* 2004/11, 56–61.; SZILÁGYI, Ákos (1998): Radikalizmus, jobb és bal. In: FEITL, István (Szerk.) (1998): *Jobboldali radikalizmusok tegnap és ma*. Tanulmányok. Második, bővített kiadás. 18–25.
[4] PAKSA (2013) 18.
[5] PAKSA, Rudolf (2011): *A magyar szélsőjobboldali elit az 1930-as évek elejétől 1945-ig*. Doktori disszertáció. Budapest: ELTE BTK. 179.; VONYÓ (2021) 9.
[6] DIECKMANN, Walther (1969): *Sprache in der Politik. Einführung in die Pragmatik und Semantik der politischen Sprache*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Verlag

shared a number of fundamental tenets. These include anti-market, anti-capitalism, collectivism, nationalist and racialist views, anti-Semitism, and Christianity.[7] In accordance with this assertion, a unified analysis of the vocabulary employed by the Hungarian National Socialists is therefore warranted.

(2) A further crucial issue that informs my research is the temporal scope of the study. Furthermore, the dissertation draws upon the findings[8] of Rudolf Paska and Zoltán Paksy to examine the activities of the Hungarian National Socialists between the years 1930 and 1945. The two authors concur that by the latter part of the 1920s, far-right movements in Hungary had become marginalised and subsequently underwent a process of reorganisation, influenced by the economic downturn of the Great Depression and the developments within German domestic politics.[9] In the late 1920s and early 1930s, a multitude of political parties emerged, of which the National Socialist Hungarian Workers' Party, led by Böszörményi, proved the most successful. Furthermore, during this period, these parties were able to gain national popularity and develop a social base for the first time. The conclusion of the Second World War and the collapse of the Szálasi administration (28 March 1945) provide a rationale for the conclusion of the period under study in 1945. Furthermore, the relevance of this timeframe for comparison is supported by the fact that research results on the German National Socialist vocabulary are available for this period.

(3) It is also essential to provide details of the sources used in the research. It is not feasible to assess the vocabulary of a specific political system with the use of a single source, just as it is impractical to examine a multitude of texts of varying genres simultaneously. This thesis has elected to examine press organs. One of the principal reasons for this is that, from a scientific standpoint, press organs are those that are most reliably accessible, provide a long-term basis for analysis and facilitate the examination of the messages conveyed by speakers. Furthermore, press organs encompass political speeches and parliamentary addresses, thereby extending the range of communication genres that can be subjected to analysis. The initial objective was, therefore, to collate a corpus of texts from the newspapers of the Hungarian National Socialists,

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[7] PAKSY, Zoltán (2008): A nemzetiszocialista pártok ideológiája Magyarországon az 1930-as években. *Történelmi Szemle*. 2008. 50. évf. 40. sz. 479–505., PAKSY, Zoltán (2013): *Nyilas Mozgalom Magyarországon 1932–1939*. Budapest: Gondolat Kiadó 115–130.

[8] PAKSA, Rudolf (2007): Szélsőjobboldali pártprogramok a Horthy-korszakban. *Kommentár*. 2007/5. 68–75.; PAKSA, Rudolf (2009): Szélsőjobboldali mozgalmak az 1930-as években. In: ROMSICS, Ignác (2009): *A magyar jobboldali hagyomány 1900–1948*. Budapest: Osiris Kiadó. 274–304.; PAKSA (2013); PAKSY, Zoltán (2009): A nemzetiszocialista mozgalmak megszerveződése, párt- és regionális struktúrája Magyarországon az 1930-as években. *Múltunk*. 2009/3. 202–237.

[9] PAKSY (2009) 211. oldal; PAKSA (2013) 16.

comprising a selection of articles that are representative and structured in time. A comprehensive catalogue of the Hungarian National Socialist press was compiled by Rudolf Paksa[10] and subsequently compared with the press organs available and accessible in the Arcanum online database. Ultimately, a total of 12 press organs were included in the analysis.:

Title	Access
Pesti Újság	1941
Virradat	1938–1941; 1943–1944
Uj Magyar Munkás	1940
Magyar Jövő	1930
Függetlenség	1933–1935; 1939–1944
Esti Ujság	1938–1944
Magyarság	1930–1944
Magyar Futár	1941–1944
Uj Magyarság	1938–1945
Nemzeti Ujság	1930–1944
Uj Nemzedék	1930–1944
Előörs – Szabadság	1930–1939

Figure 1: Hungarian National Socialist newspapers that were included in the research and are available in the Arcanum online database.

Paksa's comprehensive study of the Hungarian National Socialist press revealed that from the early 1930s onwards, the Hungarian National Socialists had established a press apparatus that provided a platform for the dissemination of their ideologies and programmes. The political thinking of the intellectual backdrop of this political force appeared in press organs in the form of various opinion editorial,[11] which lends support to the assumption that these texts are a suitable source for vocabulary research. The selected press organs span the period under investigation and self-identify as openly National Socialist newspapers. A further advantage is that the 12 press organs available encompass a range of publications, including both regional (*Magyar Jövő*) and national (*Magyarság*) dailies, as well as weekly (*Virradat*) and illustrated weekly (*Magyar Futár*) editions. In any case, the findings of a vocabulary survey are constrained by the corpus of texts, since the results will be valid for this corpus as well. To

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[10] PAKSA (2013) 342–354. A katalógust továbbá kiegészítettem az alábbi munkák eredményeivel: SIPOS, Balázs (2011): *Sajtó és hatalom a Horthy-korszakban*. Budapest: Argumentum; SIPOS, Balázs (2004): *A politikai újságírás mint hivatás*. Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó; BUZINKAY, Géza (2016): *A magyar sajtó és újságírás története a kezdetektől a rendszerváltásig*. Budapest: Wolters Kluwer; PAÁL, Vince (2015): *A sajtószabadság története Magyarországon. 1914–1989*. Budapest: Wolters Kluwer. MÁRKUS, László (1977): Az ellenforradalmi korszak sajtója (1919–1944). In: MÁRKUS, László (Szerk.) (1977): A magyar sajtó története. (A MÚOSz Újságíró Iskola kézikönyvei) Budapest. 168–170.
[11] PAKSA (2011) 182.

circumvent this issue, all 12 available press products have been included in the study. A total of 350 articles were used to collect and interpret the keywords, 395 articles were used to map the vocabulary of Hungarian National Socialists, and at least twice as many articles were used to identify texts whose context could be used to decipher the meaning of the term. The research results demonstrated that the number of items provided was sufficient to answer the research questions and that the data set could be used to explore the vocabulary of Hungarian National Socialists.

3. Summary of the chapters

Once the three primary questions (Who? When? Where?) have been addressed, a model can be constructed to facilitate the research process. In order to respond to the research questions, a five-step research programme has been established as follows:

1. The initial step is to identify the keywords to be investigated using secondary literature sources. Subsequently, additional keywords will be identified from primary sources.

2. The interpretation of keywords in their original context.

3. The keywords are then organised in a dictionary.

4. The mapping of the specificities of the Hungarian National Socialist language.

5. A comparative analysis of the German and Hungarian National Socialist languages.

It is important to acknowledge that the constructivist approach is contingent upon the researcher's interpretation, which is shaped by their subjective understanding of the subject matter under investigation. This approach is also defined by the assumption that the object of study is situated within a constructed social reality, just as the researcher cannot escape the role of being a member of society. Consequently, constructivist research is generally not characterised by methodological rigour. Nevertheless, it is worthwhile to set up a delimited research model in order to enable the researcher to deal with the narrowed object of study and to produce relevant and valid findings. Furthermore, a deliberate methodical approach is necessary in order to address the highly sensitive subject matter of this thesis, which may potentially be offensive to many. In light of the aforementioned considerations, I wish to express my complete dissociation from the tenets of both German and Hungarian National Socialist ideology. As a researcher, however, I concur with János Gyurgyák that we must endeavour to "understand, interpret and present other views fairly, preferably from within, even

if they are in stark contrast" to our own perspective.[12] I would like to ensure that this endeavour is underpinned by an awareness of the methodological issues involved.

Following the *Introduction*, the dissertation is structured into four principal sections. One of the chapters is devoted to methodological considerations pertaining to politolinguistics. The subsequent section comprises a chapter on the language of German National Socialism. The subsequent section comprises a chapter that examines the vocabulary employed by Hungarian National Socialists. The final section comprises a comparative analysis of the two vocabularies. In conclusion, the thesis presents *Summary* of the findings, which addresses the research questions outlined in the introduction.

The principal objective of *Chapter 2* is to demonstrate the suitability of the selected research methodology. Consequently, the chapter addresses the language-centred conception of politics and presents the intricate system of politolinguistics. The theoretical background of the ideology-related vocabulary is of particular importance for the research, and thus the models[13] that are necessary for the exploration of the vocabulary of Hungarian National Socialists will be presented in detail in this chapter. (1) The first model is that of Heiko Girnth, who posits that the elements of ideological vocabulary can be described by the combination of three meaning components: denotative, evaluative and deontic meaning components.[14] Accordingly, a keyword can be classified into a category of conceptual nature, its properties determined, and whether it conveys a 'should' or 'should not' statement established.[15] (2) The second model is that of Armin Burkhardt, who, in typifying keywords, takes Dieckmann's claim that these words „build bipolar vocabulary structures"[16] as a point of departure. In a similar vein, Burkhardt constructed a typology of political vocabulary, comprising the following categories: Fahnenwörter[17]–Stigmawörter,[18] Hochwertwörter[19]–Unwertwörter.[20]

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[12] GYURGYÁK (2012) 7.

[13] GIRNTH, Heiko (2002): *Sprache und Sprachverwendung in der Politik. Eine Einführung in die linguistische Analyse öffentlich-politischer Kommunikation*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag. 51–55.; BURKHARDT, Armin (1998): Deutsche Sprachgeschichte und politische Geschichte. In: BESCH, Werner – BETTEN, Anne – REICHMANN, Oskar – SONDEREGGER, Stefan (Hrsg.) (1998): *Sprachgeschichte. Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und ihrer Erforschung*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter 103.

[14] GIRNTH (2002) 51.

[15] GIRNTH (2002) 51.

[16] DIECKMANN, Walther (1969): *Sprache in der Politik. Einführung in die Pragmatik und Semantik der politischen Sprache*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Verlag 103.

[17] Keywords that are associated with a party's or group's profile and used by a party as a means of positive self presentation.

[18] Words that entail negative evaluations of the issue in question and that denounce the competing perspective on it and try to make it look euphemistic.

[19] Keywords that relate to positiv elyevaluated concepts.

[20] Keywords referring to concepts that are consensually evaluated as negative.

(3) Ultimately, in the third model, Girnth[21] addressed symbols within the political lexicon, which are designed to encapsulate intricate realities in a streamlined manner. As a result of their ability to encapsulate expansive meanings in a concise manner, they are employed by political actors. In the case of symbols, he distinguished between Miranda and anti-Miranda from an evaluative standpoint, and between keywords and stigmas in terms of their utilisation.

The *third Chapter* of my thesis presents an analysis of the language employed by the German National Socialist movement. The text employs a dual approach. Initially, it traces the evolution of the literature. Subsequently, it provides a synopsis of the findings of previous research, thereby offering an overview of the characteristics of the German National Socialist vocabulary. Furthermore, it analyses not only the principal terms but also the stylistic features that characterise the vocabulary. In conclusion, the analysis identifies the linguistic tools employed by the German National Socialists to shape their vocabulary, as proposed by Senya Müller's model.[22]

The *fourth Chapter* is dedicated to an examination of the lexicon employed by the Hungarian National Socialists. In order to identify the keywords, I have drawn on already existing literature on the Hungarian National Socialists as a starting point.[23] The texts in question do not focus on the vocabulary of this particular political force; rather, they seek to elucidate and describe the ideology and political programmes associated with it. In many instances, however, they cite slogans or the political programmes that underpin a given term. It is advised that these terms be initially examined in the selected press sources, after which new terms may be identified as the articles are read. In constructing a dictionary of pivotal terminology employed by the Hungarian National Socialists, I have adopted Schmitz-Berning's model[24] as my point of reference. This model has been effectively limited to the study of public and official communication during the National Socialist period. Moreover, it has been demonstrated to be an appropriate approach to the presentation of terms in a given context and action, as well as in as many cases as possible. Accordingly, in assembling the dictionary presented in the thesis, I have sought to contextualise the keywords, thereby elucidating their meanings and incorporating a multitude of sources. The articles included in this analysis were selected based on the following criteria: (1) the authors

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[21] GIRNTH (2002) 55.
[22] MÜLLER, Senya (1994): *Sprachwörterbücher im Nationalsozialismus. Die ideologische Beeinflussung von Duden, Sprach-Brockhaus und anderen Nachschlagewerken während des "Dritten Reichs".* Stuttgart: M und P, Verlag für Wissenschaft und Forschung. 40.
[23] PAKSA (2007); PAKSA (2009); PAKSA (2013); PAKSY (2008); PAKSY (2009); GYURGYÁK (2012); GYURGYÁK (2007); ROMSICS, Ignác (1998): *Trianon és a magyar politikai gondolkodás.* Budapest: Osiris Kiadó.; PAKSA, Rudolf (2012): Vezér és próféta: Szálasi-kultusz a hungarista mozgalomban. *Kommentár.* 7:5 73–83.
[24] SCHMITZ-BERNING, Cornelia (2007): *Vokabular des Nationalsozialismus.* Berlin: de Gruyter

of the articles were clearly identified as Hungarian National Socialists,[25] and (2) the articles were published in newspapers that were identified as National Socialist press products.

Following the identification of the principal keywords associated with the Hungarian National Socialists, it became possible to map the vocabulary system of this political movement in accordance with the politolinguistic models previously outlined.

Ultimately, *Chapter 5* conducted a comparative analysis of the vocabularies employed by Hungarian and German National Socialists from three distinct perspectives. The study commenced with an examination of the keywords, subsequently analysing the stylistic features that are distinctive to each language. In conclusion, the typology proposed by Cornelia Berning[26] was considered, which sought to elucidate the underlying principles that determine the inclusion of a word in either vocabulary.

In conclusion, the thesis will present a *Summary* chapter, in which the research questions posed in the introduction will be addressed and an overview of the subsequent findings provided.

4. Findings

(1) One of the primary objectives of my dissertation was to identify and define the keywords utilized by Hungarian National Socialists between the years 1930 and 1945. In composing her dictionary of the National Socialist period, Schmitz-Berning has, on the one hand, successfully limited herself to the study of public and official communication in the National Socialist period. Furthermore, this approach has also proved to be an effective means of presenting the terms in a given action and context, and in as many cases as possible. This enables the reader to ascertain and assess the content and function of the slogans in the context created by the texts extracted from the press. From a methodological standpoint, the 12 press organs selected and available were deemed suitable for the purposes of conducting the research. A sufficient number of articles were available for each year of the selected time period, thereby enabling the interpretation of the content of each keyword over an extended temporal span. In order to facilitate the interpretation of the keywords, 350 articles were cited, with at least twice as many articles undergoing examination. It is notable that the texts of the Hungarian National Socialists exhibit a relatively low proportion of definitions of specific terms. Consequently, in addition to the aforementioned quotations, dozens of articles were examined that ultimately did not meet

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[25] PAKSA (2011) 91–145., 218–295.
[26] BERNING, Cornelia (1960): Die Sprache des Nationalsozialismus. *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*. 16: 71–118. (74.)

the criteria for inclusion in the thesis due to their lack of quotability. The newspaper articles used enabled the inclusion of the expressions of a number of national socialist figures in the analysis, thus facilitating an examination of the occurrence and meaning of keywords across a broad spectrum. This thesis is based on the findings of Rudolf Paksa and Zoltán Paksy and is predicated on the assumption that the term 'Hungarian National Socialists' is an accurate designation for the period under study. Notwithstanding the existence of a multiplicity of competing movements, it is possible to speak of a Hungarian National Socialist ideology. These two statements were subsequently validated during the course of the research. A review of the press articles associated with the various national socialist movements revealed the consistent use of a uniform set of keywords by this political bloc. This suggests that, in the competition for linguistic dominance, they were not in opposition to one another, but were able to act in concert against their adversaries. The presence of asymmetric counter-terms among the keywords indicates that the various movements identified themselves as an ideological unit in the political sphere. The ability to categorise themselves as *Christian*, *early Christian*, *true-born* or *racial Hungarian* enabled them to name their own identity. Furthermore, they were able to identify their opponents, characterising them as enemy or foreigners. These adversaries were frequently classified as *Jewish, freemason, liberal, capitalist, Bolshevik, or Untermensch*. Moreover, the keywords displayed a considerable degree of ideological polysemy.[27] The National Socialist movement imbued words that held significant meaning in other ideologies (*democracy, socialism, fascism, humanism, individualism*) with a distinct and recognisable meaning of their own, thereby creating a unique lexicon.

It is nevertheless worthy of note that the Hungarist Movement, associated with Ferenc Szálasi, was the only one to utilise keywords that were not employed by other National Socialist movements. Moreover, these terms were even referenced in a negative context in certain articles. This does not, however, indicate that the Szálasi political movement possessed a distinct vocabulary. While they employed the core National Socialist terminology, they also incorporated terms that were evidently linked to it. These elements of vocabulary attained significance during the period when Ferenc Szálasi assumed control.

Christianity	Antisemitism
– keresztény őrségváltás (Christian change of guard) – keresztény tőke (Christian capital) – keresztény gondolat (Christian idea) – őskeresztény (Early Christian) – keresztény erkölcs (Christian morality)	– zsidóság (Jewry) – judeo-marxizmus (Judeo-Marxism) – zsidókérdés (Jewish question) – világzsidóság (World Jewry) – zsidó megszálás (Jewish occupation) – zsidó plutokrácia (Jewish plutocracy)

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[27] DIECKMANN (1969) 75.

– keresztény (Christian) – keresztény újjászületés (Christian rebirth) – mártír (Martyr) – üldöztetés (Persecution) – vértanúság, önfeláldozás (Martyrdom, self-sacrifice) – keresztény honfoglalás (Christian conquest)	– zsidó invázió (Jewish invasion) – zsidó tőke (Jewish capital) – zsidó bankokrácia (Jewish bankocracy) – elzsidósodás (Judaization) – nemzetközi zsidóság (International Jewry) – zsidó betegség (Jewish disease) – zsidószellemű (Jewish-spirited) – zsidó ügynökök (Jewish agents) – talmudista (Talmudist) – zsidó harácsolás (Jewish scrounging) – népnyúzó (People oppressor) – zsidókérdés megoldása (Solution to the Jewish question)
Enemy	**Racism**
– szabadkőműves (Freemason) – demokrácia (Democracy) – liberalizmus (Liberalism) – kapitalizmus (Capitalism) – individuális önzés (Individual sefishness) – álhumanizmus (Pseudo-humanism) – bolsevizmus (Bolshevism) – Untermensch (Untermensch) – kamatrabszolgaság (Interest slavery)	– eugenika (Eugenics) – magyar faj (Hungarian race) – fajmagyar (racial Hungarian) – törzsökös magyarság (true-boen Hungarians) – nemzettest (nation's body)
Revisionism	**Heroism/Archaism**
– Szent István birodalma (The empire of Saint Stephen) – Szentistváni gondolat (Saint Stephen's idea) – Szent Korona tana (Doctrine of the Holy Crown) – ezeréves határ (Thousand-year-old border) – trianoni bilincs (Shackles of Trianon) – ősi magyar alkotmányosság (Ancient Hungarian constitutionality) – birodalmi gondolat (Imperial idea) – újrarendezés (Rearrangement) – felszabadulás órája (Hour of liberation)	– védőbástya (Bastion) – történelmi küldetés (Historical mission) – történelmi szerep (Historical role) – európai hivatás (European vocation) – keresztes háború (Crusade) – történelmi nép (Historical people) – Szent István (Saint Stephen) – keresztény lovagiasság (Christian chivalry) – Árpád-ház (House of Árpád) – magyar paraszt (Hungarian peasant) – földreform (Land reform) – magyar feltámadás (Hungarian resurrection)
Fight	**Hungarism**
– végső győzelem (Final victory) – totális háború (Total war) – megsemmisítő győzelem (Decisive victory) – katlanba zárás (Encirclement) – roham (Assault) – megtorló intézkedés (Retaliatory measures) – elsöprő erő (Overwhelming force) – fanatikus (fanatic) – villámháború (Blitzkrieg) – fegyvertárs (Comrade-in-arms)	– Inkább hős egy pillanatig, mint rabszolga egy életen át! (Better a hero for a moment than a slave for a lifetime!) – Hungária Egyesült Földek (United Lands of Hungary) – Kárpát-Duna Nagy-Haza (Greater Carpathian-Danube Homeland) – eszmevalóság (Ideological reality) – vezető testvér (Leading brother) – testvér (brother) – nemzetvezető (Nationleader) – talajgyökeres és honképes (Rooted and homeland-worthy) – munkaállam (Work-state) – Pax Hungarica (Pax Hungarica) – élettér (Lebensraum/Life-space) – nagytér (Großraum/Greater space) – Nagypéntek nélkül nincs feltámadás! (Without Good Friday, there is no resurrection!) – Kitartás! (Endurance!)

Figure 2: Thematic categorisation of keywords associated with Hungarian National Socialism.

(2) The slogans presented in this dissertation represent a non-exhaustive list, which, consequently, offers only a limited perspective on the language use of the Hungarian National Socialists. In order to address this limitation, my dissertation has endeavoured to examine the vocabulary in question with greater depth, employing supplementary models and a distinct analytical lens.

The question thus arises as to how one might determine whether or not a given word belongs to the vocabulary of the National Socialists. In accordance with Berning's model, three principal categories of Hungarian National Socialist vocabulary can be identified.[28] It can be stated that all three groups of words are, to a greater or lesser extent, ideologically aligned with National Socialism. In the case of neologisms (1), a clear link can be established between linguistic signs and the ideological reality that exists outside the language. However, this is not the case for the frequently repeated expressions (3). The latter can also be considered part of the vernacular and of public discourse, just as they can be referred to as the vocabulary of various political tendencies. Furthermore, reinterpretations and revaluations (2) frequently exhibit ideological polysemy. The following table provides a concise overview of the linguistic categories that constituted the vocabulary of Hungarian National Socialists.

Criteria	Linguistic tools		Example
Neologisms	(1) Words that can be associated with party organisation, arrangements, arrangements	(A) Function words	Hungarian Institute of National Biology (Magyar Nemzetbiológiai Intézet)
		(B) Words with a propagandistic function, often with euphemistic content	Work-state (munkaállam)
	(2) Ideological terms		Blood reality (vérvalóság)
Semantic modification of existing words	(1) Revaluation	(A) Giving positive words a negative connotation	Democracy (demokrácia)
		(B) Giving negative words a positive connotation	Fanatic (fanatikus)
	(2) Reinterpretation	Using existing words for one's own purposes	Socialism (szocializmus)
	(3) Extension of meaning	Words are given additional meaning	Crusade (keresztes háború)
Quantitative aspect	Words that are frequently used		Christian (keresztény)

Figure 3: Types of words in the vocabulary of Hungarian National Socialists.

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[28] BERNING (1960) 74. oldal

The vocabulary of the Hungarian National Socialists was also characterised by a number of different styles, which were present simultaneously in a single key expression. The aforementioned styles are as follows: archaism/political romanticism, euphemism, nominal style, superlative, and collective singular. It is evident that no single concept can be identified as a definitive indicator of the boundaries between different styles. It is also important to note that there is no keyword by which a style cannot be identified. In light of the aforementioned evidence, it can be concluded that Hungarian National Socialism was characterised by a simultaneous presence of (a) emotional and rational elements, (b) violent and moral aspects, (c) vulgar and politically romantic qualities, and (d) simple and grandiose characteristics.

(3) Prior to undertaking a comparison of the vocabulary employed by German and Hungarian National Socialists, it was first necessary to explore the structure, qualities and characteristics of the vocabulary used by Hungarian National Socialists. In addition to the aforementioned keywords, the thesis identified a number of other words that are part of the political vocabulary but are not considered keywords. Nevertheless, three preliminary findings must be recorded prior to comparison.

(a) The range of users of the two vocabularies differs, as do the types of speakers. In the Third Reich, the speaker is the ruling party itself. The leader of Germany is Adolf Hitler, and the primary press product for delivering the message is the Völkischer Beobachter. In Hungary, however, apart from the period of the Szálasi government, the National Socialists were not the dominant political force. It should be noted, however, that there were politicians in the government of the day who held National Socialist views. Nevertheless, this is not of significant importance in terms of vocabulary. It should be noted that in our country, the National Socialists did not constitute a single political party. Rather, they were at one time competing movements, all of which can be classified under the collective name of National Socialist. It is similarly inaccurate to suggest that the National Socialists had a unified press organ through which they could publish messages in a clear and consistent manner, as was the case with their German counterparts. Adolf Hitler established a comprehensive linguistic system that permeated all aspects of life; however, the acquisition of political authority proved to be a prerequisite for its implementation. This is why the Hungarian National Socialists were unable to make a significant impact.

(b) Although the Hungarian National Socialists are understood to be several political forces, their vocabulary can be considered together. The research has revealed that while on certain political issues these parties were not united (e.g. land reform or the way to implement the

Christian change of guard, the means to solve the Jewish question, etc.), on the ideological level there are only minor differences. As a consequence, important keywords in the ideological language can be identified. The only exception to this is the political camp of the Hungarist ideology, which, as we have seen, has created its own vocabulary in line with its ideology, in addition to the existing national socialist vocabulary.

(c) It follows from the above that the Hungarian National Socialists were not able to create a complex political vocabulary as the Germans were able to do. The Hungarian vocabulary is most characterised by the identification of keywords and the filling of them with meaning according to their own interpretation. Neologisms were, however, present in low numbers, just as the Hungarian national socialists did not turn to different linguistic solutions in the same numbers as the German national socialists (extensive use of formers and prefixes). The exception to this were the Hungarists, who created and used the new words already described above.

In order to present a comprehensive analysis of the characteristics of the Hungarian National Socialist vocabulary, a total of 395 articles were utilised. This allowed for a comparison between the Hungarian and German National Socialist vocabularies. The findings of my research indicate that the two political vocabularies exhibit similarities in the following aspects: (1) the meaning of keywords and their connection to prominent discourses, (2) the styles characteristic of the vocabulary, and (3) the most important features of the vocabulary.

The following table provides a summary of the keywords identified in both Hungarian and German National Socialist vocabularies, without claiming to be exhaustive.

Keyword within the field of Hungarian terminology	Keyword within the field of German terminology
ANTISEMITISM, RACISM	
Világzsidóság (world jewry)	Weltjudentum
Nemzetközi zsidóság (international jewry)	internationales Judentum
Zsidó kérdés (Jewish question)	Judenfrage
Zsidó betegség (Jewish disease)	Judenkrankheit
Zsidó világösszeesküvés (world Jewish conspiracy)	Weltverschwörung
Parazita, élősködő (parasite)	Parasit
Uralkodó faj (ruling race)	Herrenrasse
Zsidókérdés megoldása (solution to the Jewish question)	Endlösung der Judenfrage
Zsidó kizsákmányolás (Jewish exploitation)	jüdische Ausbeutung
Kamatrabszolgaság (interest slavery)	Zinsknechtschaft
Kufárkodás (shrewdness)	Schacherei
Vérgyalázás, vérfertőzés (incest)	Blutschande
Vérmérgezés (blood poisoning)	Blutvergiftung
Kártevő (pest)	Schädling
Ösztön (instinct)	Instinkt

Magyar rög és a magyar vér (Hungarian clot and Hungarian blood	Blut und Boden
Élettér (Life-space)	Lebensraum
Nagytér (Greater space)	Großraum
CHRISTIANITY	
Fanatikus (fanatic)	fanatisch
Mártír (martyr)	Märtyrer
Vértanú (martyr)	Blutzeuge
Próféta (prophet)	Prophet
Feltámadás (resurrection)	Auferstehung
Vak hit/bizalom (blind faith)	blindes Glauben
Ezeréves birodalom (thousand-year-old empire)	tausendjähriges Reich
Üldöztetés (persecution)	Verfolgung
Újjászületés (rebirth)	Wiedergeburt
ARCHAISM, HEROISM	
Küldetés (mission)	Sendung
Európa védőbástyája (Eurpe's bastion)	europäische Festung
Vérszerződés (blood contract)	Blutvertrag
Fegyvertárs (comrade-in-arms)	Waffengemeinschaft
Keresztes háború (crusade)	Kreuzzug
Keresztény lovagiasság (Christian chivalry)	Ritterlichkeit
Hős (hero)	Held
FIGHT	
Roham (assault)	Sturm
Front (front)	Front
Csata (battle)	Schlacht
Ököl (fist)	Faust
Menetel (march)	Marschiren
Mobilizál (mobilise)	Mobilisieren
Katlanba zár (encirclement)	Einkesselung
Végső győzelem (final victory)	Endsieg
Totális háború (total war)	Totaler Krieg
Villámháború (Blitzkrieg)	Blitzkrieg
Megtorló intézkedés (retaliatory measures)	Vergeltungsschlacht
Átütő erő (breakthrough force)	Durchschlagskraft
Pótanyag (surrogate)	Ersatzstoff, Austauschwort, Ausweichstoff

Figure 4: Words that appear in both the Hungarian and German National Socialist vocabularies.

The comparison reveals that the two vocabularies contain not only identical words but also words associated with discourses that played a central role in both countries. While numerous terms, including *harc* (fight), *csata* (battle), *mártir* (martyr), and *vertnú* (martyr), are integral to the Hungarian vocabulary in their own right, their specific roles were shaped by both the related discourses and the context in which they were used. Nevertheless, there are instances where the Hungarian vocabulary directly reflects the German neologisms, as evidenced by the translations of *totális háború* (total war), *végső győzelem* (final victory), *megtorló intézkedés* (retributive measures), *élettér* (Lebensraum/life-space), and *nagytér* (Großraum/greater space). The deployment of these lexemes most clearly demonstrates the influence of the German National Socialist language on the Hungarian vocabulary.

A comparison of the two vocabularies reveals both similarities and differences in terms of their stylistic characteristics. Both vocabularies demonstrate the utilisation of euphemisms, superlatives, nominal style and collective singulars. Nevertheless, discrepancies can be identified in terms of the extent and manner in which these stylistic features are employed. To illustrate, the German language is distinguished by its frequent use of compound nouns, whereas the Hungarian language is characterised by a prevalence of adjectival structures. The German National Socialists frequently employed the use of acronyms and abbreviations, which served to obfuscate the true meaning of the terms in question. Moreover, they frequently employed grammatical tools, such as derivation or prefixes, to create new words. Furthermore, it is notable that the use of slogans was considerably more prevalent in Nazi Germany than in Hungary. The use of the collective singular is a defining characteristic of the language of German National Socialism, which was not adopted to the same extent by their Hungarian counterparts.

An analysis conducted in accordance with Berning's model indicates that both vocabularies are structured along a similar logical framework. On the one hand, neologisms can be distinguished which either emerge in response to a new and necessary social function or political programme (e.g. *winter relief / work-state*),[29] or are specifically related to National Socialist ideology (e.g. *Blood and Soil / blood reality*).[30] Moreover, there are instances where words that had previously existed acquired new value or meaning when incorporated into the National Socialist vocabulary. In some cases, they also acquired supplementary meanings. This group of words is characterised by the presentation of terms with previously negative connotations in a positive light in National Socialist communication (e.g. *fanatic / ruthless*),[31] or conversely, the attribution of negative content to words with positive meanings (e.g. *humanism / democracy*).[32] Moreover, National Socialists often ascribed novel meanings (e.g. *socialism*)[33] or additional meanings (e.g. *blood / crusade*)[34] to established terms. With regard to this aspect of the comparison, the distinction between the two languages lies in the fact that the German National Socialists' vocabulary comprises a greater number of neologisms, which were subsequently adopted with enthusiasm by their Hungarian counterparts in Hungary.

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[29] *Winterhilfswerk / munkaállam*
[30] *Blut und Boden / vérvalóság*
[31] *fanatisch / kíméletlen*
[32] *Humanismus / demokrácia*
[33] *Sozialismus*
[34] *Blut / keresztes háború*

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