8   A DIFFICULT TERM IN CONTEXT: THE CASE OF FRENCH *STO*

Annette Gerstenberg

Oral history and (socio-)linguistics have profoundly different approaches and as a result, the textual data gained differ in many aspects. However, facing the challenge of combining sources from these two disciplines is very rewarding. Reading and hearing interviews with contemporary witnesses to historical events can sharpen the tools of discourse analysis; awareness of historical discourse can raise our understanding of how individuals deal with topics embedded in collective memory and how they encode their experiences linguistically. Furthermore, in this chapter, we illustrate the core research questions applicable to these different types of corpus: while oral history resources are designed to reconstruct the meaning and the sense attributed to historical events by different individuals and social groups, linguistic audio data allow for analysis of the details and the process of formulation (see section 1).

In order to illustrate the possibilities that such an integrated approach offers, we analyze the linguistic corpus LangAge, which is comprised of biographical interviews with French men and women aged between 70 and 94 (in 2005) concerning how the historical topic of Forced Labor is dealt with. We then compare our findings with the French section of the large oral history project Zwangsarbeit / Forced Labor 1939–1945. The French section is made up of interviews with 19 participants (aged between 81 and 86 at the time of the interviews in 2006) who were forced to work in the program *Service du Travail Obligatoire*, as it was called in French. We present these two resources considering the participants, the interview methods and the resulting types of interaction. We then look at the different methods of exploitation, based on the conventions of transcription, digitization, and word-audio-video alignment (see section 2).

Using the example of the historical term *Forced Labor* with the special meaning of the French term *Service du Travail Obligatoire* (hereafter STO), we show how the historical dimension, the reference to a collective discourse, and the speaker's role as (contemporary) witness can be combined with the analysis of the context, taking the oral processing of spoken language seriously. We formulate our research question exploring how the historical term *Service du Travail Obligatoire* / STO is used in the interviews, and what meaning can be attributed to it in the different linguistic contexts; additionally, we compare the co-occurrences appearing in our data with keyword-in-context searches in French newspaper archives. Comparing extracts from both resources, we show how the denotation of the historical term is specified and at the same time how individual evaluations emerge in discourse (see section 3).

Portelli (1997: 6) observes that "the issue of what is private and what is public in a person's narrative is often uncertain, especially if we are after the elusive theme of the history of private life". We draw our conclusions suggesting that oral history sources and corpus linguistics methods, allowing for the comparison of different witnesses, can help shed new light on these uncertainties (section 4).

Introduction: Oral History and Linguistics

Both in oral history and in linguistics (corpus linguistics, sociolinguistics and discourse analysis), the building of archives and databases forms the basis for systematic and detailed analysis. The mutual benefit of sharing resources and experiences has recently attracted new attention (Roller 2015; for earlier approaches see Löffler 1988; Schiffrin 2003). We follow this approach and specify what we hold to be preconditions, in both theoretical and methodological perspectives. Then we focus on the semantics of historical terms in order to introduce our research question.

Oral history meets linguistics: preliminary remarks

The title of the Freiburg workshop, organized in 2015 by Katja Roller, one of the editors of the present volume, uses the metaphor of an encounter which, by its very definition, takes place between different sides—in a certain sense, they are opposed to each other.

The role of the interviewee in oral history is that of a witness, and the interviews are thematically-oriented, in a more or less broad sense, depending on the subject of the inquiry. Oral history focuses on meaning as it emerges in the strategies and dynamics of individuals dealing with historical experiences. The systematic and comparative evaluation of these strategies and dynamics helps to discover their regularities and patterns ("Erfahrungsgeschichte"; Niethammer 1985: 433). The shaping of theories built on oral history samples is a process of continuous control of one's own assumptions (Thonfeld 2009: 61). Oral history is also, in a very cautious way, focused on the reconstruction of facts: this is one of the results of the Slavery and Forced Labor Project. While originally the focus was on the reconstruction of ways to deal with traumatic experiences and their long-term effects, the evaluation of testimonies' narratives revealed the precision of remembered facts (Plato 2007: 279–280). The linguistic disposition and its properties are considered seriously in some oral history approaches, paying attention to the dialogic structure of the interviews (Bories-Sawala 1996, vol. 1: 87). In addition, the very formulation process has attracted the attention of the historian:

> Between the fluid textual experiments and the frozen formulaic material, the 'archived' discourse breaks through and floats like a moving island, the tip of

an iceberg. In order to understand how the narrative is shaped, we must not limit ourselves to these moments of fulfilment; we need to consider also the formulaic materials, the apparently formless connecting and supporting matter, and the dialogic directive role of the historian (Portelli 1997: 5).

Still, the evaluation of these linguistic details remains, in oral history, one detail among others. On the one hand, in linguistic approaches to the data of spoken language, the formulation process and the way language is used are at the center of interest. So, the facts or the historical credibility of what is said are, generally speaking, less important. It seems not by chance that in her discussion and application of historical experiences as the subject of discourse analysis, Schiffrin (2003: 84) slightly shifts from *oral history* to *oral histories*; in this linguistic view, the strategies of storytelling are more important than the reconstruction of historical processes. In another field of discourse analysis, Interactional Sociolinguistics (IS), social/cultural issues are at the center of interest insofar as they "tend to arise in today's social environment" (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 2007: 483). Potentially, we are at the crossroads of individual, daily communicative exchanges and the production of meaning in the larger context of communities, where the social practices allow for analyzing "conventions and ideologies of interpersonal relations" (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 2007: 483). But usually, the (re)construction of meaning is done on the basis of a small part of speech which is analyzed with a fine-grained tool set that includes universal or language-specific traits of spoken language (see Koch and Oesterreicher 2011): details such as prosodic traits (pauses, loudness, lengthening of syllables; see Morel and Danon-Boileau 1998), the way in which speakers start and stop speaking, and how communicative exchange is organized (turn taking; see Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974).

In the gathering of sociolinguistic data, the subject matter is mostly of minor interest, as it is simply a vehicle to make the interlocutor talk in the most spontaneous way possible. The aim is to create a relaxed atmosphere where the speaker is involved, with the result that no "attention [is] paid to speech" (according to the classical definition of "style" provided in Labov 1972: 188).

Forced Labor / *STO* as a historical term

Taking the example of *Forced Labor*, French *travail forcé*, in the special context of STO, we are dealing with a linguistic sign representing, in public discourse, Vichy France under German occupation and the totalitarian structures affecting private life in a systematic way.

The first group of French men forced to replace the workforce in industrial production (including military production, against the Geneva Convention), agriculture and handcraft and to fill the gap left by Germans serving as soldiers in the war, was comprised of about 1.5 million prisoners of war (Bories-Sawala 1996: 215–244). Start-

ing in June 1942, French prisoners of war were repatriated, after negotiations between Fritz Sauckel and Pierre Laval, in an exchange of one prisoner for three civilian 'volunteers'. This program was called 'relief', in French *la relève* (Bories-Sawala 1996: 265; Durand 2011: chapter 2.1). The negotiated exchange rate, however, was not upheld by the Germans, as fewer prisoners were sent home than was promised and those with higher qualifications were made to stay in Germany (Paxton 1997: 423).

The German recruitment offices for French civilians opened in 1940; intensive propagandistic activity accompanied the efforts to "invite" qualified specialists, craftsmen and technicians to work in Germany and to contribute to the *relève* 'relief'. Placed on colorful posters, slogans addressed national solidarity ('You have the keys to the camps, French workers, you will free the prisoners—working in Germany!' *Vous avez la clef des camps / travailleurs français / vous libérez les prisonniers / en travaillant en Allemagne*) or promised personal benefit ('Hard days are over, Daddy earns money in Germany', *Finis les mauvais jours! Papa / gagne de l'argent / en Allemagne!*). In the France of 1942/1943, the historic hostility towards its adversary Germany was counterbalanced by the possibility of earning money and, at the same time, liberating French prisoners of war and thus fulfilling a patriotic service. At the same time, the negative connotation of (obligatory) service for the enemy was mitigated by the use of slogans in active voice, and the complex compound was put into terms of common usage. One example is the verb phrase *travailler en Allemagne* 'work in Germany' (Figure 1; cf. Savoie Archives, chapter 10).

As the number of volunteers recruited was not sufficient to fill the huge gaps in the German Labor market, the Forced Labor program was launched in 1942 by the Council of Ministers (*Conseil des ministres*), named *Service Obligatoire du Travail* (Le Petit Parisien, February 16th 1943, p. 1). This name would have

Fig. 1
'If you want to earn more money… come and work in Germany!' Propaganda of Vichy regime, undated (Affiche de propagande en faveur de la Relève, 1941/1942, André Deran, Musée Carnavalet Paris).
ullstein bild - Roger-Viollet.

been morphologically more convincing, as it is an 'Obligatory Service' of work, not a service of 'Obligatory Work'. But the related acronym S.O.T. evoked the French adjective *sot* 'stupid', and therefore the name *Service du Travail Obligatoire* and the acronym STO were chosen (Bories-Sawala 1996: n. 286; Harbulot 2003: 269). This law, issued in February 1943 by the Vichy government, required young men older than 20 (age groups 1940, 1941, 1942) to take part in Forced Labor for two years (Journal Officiel, *Loi du 16 février 1943 Portant institution du Service du Travail Obligatoire*). The French Resistance, the *Maquis*, established networks to hide and organize the 'rejectionists', in French *réfractaires,* who refused to perform STO (Paxton 1997: 425). But the risk of non-participation did not only concern individuals; if conscripted young men did not participate, members of their families were held responsible.

On the level of the lexicon, *Service du Travail Obligatoire*, STO, 'Forced Labor' is a term with a precise definition, referring to the historical period in which it was valid, the legal responsibilities, the labor to be done in Germany, the age groups of the young French men concerned, and so on. The double mention of 'duty' (*service, obligatoire*) and the acronym STO fitted well into Nazi terminology, where acronyms played an important role (one of the first observations made concerning LTI; see Klemperer 1949: 15 who coined the sarcastic abbreviation for *Lingua Tertii Imperii*, the 'Language of the Third Reich'). More or less morphologically transparent, they could then enter into common usage (determinologization, Fraas 1997: 437).

The official propaganda with its euphemistic slogans may have contributed to the complex reasons why people forced to participate in STO had a hard time when they returned to France. Only in the 1980s did a revision of the Vichy regime and related topics—like STO—begin (Bories-Sawala 1996: 245). Still, related conflicts were visible until fairly recently, especially during the *querelle du titre*, which was the debate on what to call the forced laborers and if they could be called *déportés* 'deportees'. This debate put into sharp contrast the members of the national organization of deportees, i.e. the former members of STO, with the survivors of concentration camps (Spina 2012: 19). Witnesses in oral history projects report that they were confronted with serious doubts concerning the forced character of STO (Thonfeld 2014: 77). The experience from the French oral history collection documented in FORCED LABOR shows that the number of refusals from potential participants was "far greater than in other projects"; the initiators observed "a memory tainted by shame, a memory of guilt and, finally, a painful memory":

the collective memory of that period in history has overlooked it, placing it on the dark side of the anti-heroes, or at best of those who had made (or been forced into?) the wrong choice or, more precisely, had failed to choose the right path (Granet-Abisset 2010: 115; 122).

In recent Paris demonstrations (23 June 2016), the slogan *Bientôt le STO* was used, meant to draw public attention to the pejoration of conditions of employment (Blog LSP). In this use, one could recognize a feeling of solidarity with the victims of the historical STO, but at the same time a cynical belittlement. In any case, the slogan manifests the presence of the term in public discourse.

Research question: historical terms at the crossroads

Being a legal term, the denotational meaning and the legal impact of STO are clearly defined. On the level of connotation, the picture is less clear. Speaker connotations can express a position between two extremely different poles: on the one hand, the concepts of cooperation or even collaboration with Germans can be evoked, with the idea of distance and betrayal, or, on the other hand, the meaning of 'victim', or even 'deportee', with the idea of solidarity and empathy.

When individuals talk about STO, they have to deal with the challenge of making sense of this difficult term. Fragments of historical knowledge, the experiences of family members, public discourse and current debates are activated in many different ways. So, as Stubbs (2001: 147) states, "[s]peakers usually do not express themselves 'in their own words' but in words which are endlessly recycled in their speech community". On the other hand, in a single communicative situation and regarding individuals with their very own points of view, meaning and evaluations are emerging in current discourse, and denotations as well as connotations are specified in the individual interaction (Gerstenberg 2009: 155).

In the following, we propose an approach which, in our view, can help to bridge the gap illustrated above between the more holistic oral history approach to linguistic data and the very detailed, local and interactional perspective that dominates in linguistic research on spoken language. We will have a closer look at the use of STO as a historical term. This lexical item has a precise propositional meaning and is found in numerous encyclopedia entries. Following Blank (1997: 29), terms or keywords (German *Begriffe*) are not part of the "normal lexicon" with its usage-based evolutions. The observation that STO is not part of the "normal lexicon" is confirmed by the simple fact that it has no entry in the standard dictionaries of contemporary French. The term STO is mentioned in the French definition of *réfractaire*: 'participant of resistance movement who refused to perform Forced Labor' ("Résistant (1941–1944) qui refusait le travail obligatoire en Allemagne pendant l'Occupation", PRob s.v. *réfractaire*).

In the case of non-terminological words, unconscious and collective dynamics shape new meanings (Burkhardt 1991: 16–17). In contrast, individual texts and authors as well as highly intentional directions of semantic change must be taken into consideration in order to reconstruct the different meanings of cultural and political terms in the course of history (Gerstenberg 2010). The linguistic domain of research on historical keywords focuses, in different traditions, on socio-historical contexts,

mentalities or on the performative aspect of political language ("Begriffsgeschichte",
Bödeker 2002).

We hold that there is a continuum between the widespread use of historically
loaded words and intellectual debates on the precise, legally relevant understanding
of the very same words. Taking the case of STO, we see that people talked about it with
families and friends, in everyday discourse, when relating to wartime experiences
(while not necessarily reporting details about STO, see above), but this term was also
the subject of ardent academic and journalistic debates on the subject of STO being a
deportation. In this continuum, we see the LangAge corpus nearer to the common
usage than the French texts found in the Forced Labor archive.

Data

In the LangAge corpus, wartime witnesses tell their life stories and occasionally
report episodes of STO; only one case was based on personal experiencing STO. In
Forced Labor, participants are invited as witnesses, as experts, to talk about their
own experiences, to reveal their own points of view, and to report on dates and facts,
conditions and responsibilities. Some of them are members of associations of former
STO and make explicit reference to the debates and terminological discussions men-
tioned above.

Transcription standards differ between oral history, where the main target is to
give and facilitate access to the propositional meaning, and linguistics, where the
form and the linear process of formulation are significant as well, and the transcrip-
tion includes repetitions, interruptions, interjections and pauses, without using punc-
tuation. Still, in both databases, aligned audio (video) files are available.

LangAge corpus

The data from the LangAge corpus stem from a collection of interviews put together
in order to perform research on the sociolinguistics of later life. The first series of data
for LangAge was collected in 2005 from French speakers in Orléans (and surround-
ing area). Interviews were conducted and recorded on audio tape; the mean length
of these interviews is 45 minutes. The data were orthographically transcribed and
aligned to the digital audio tapes (for further information, see LangAge). The French
regional center of Orléans, some 100 km south of Paris, is the site of a major sociolin-
guistic project (Orléans-Corpus, Étude Sociolinguistique à Orléans/ESLO: Baude and
Dugua 2011), an advantage for research in age-related issues.

The interview style took the form of an open questionnaire comprising biograph-
ical topics such as family, school, experiences in wartime and under the German
occupation of Orléans 1940–1944, professional activity, May 1968—and some points

concerning lifestyle and opinions in their current life stage. The interview technique is based on the principles of narrative interview (Schütze 1983), encouraging the inter-locutors to use a monologue form of free, self-directed, spontaneous and personal speech; the interviewer's role was to suggest topics and listen attentively. Participants were contacted with the explicit mention of oral history topics, so they took part with the motivation of sharing historical experiences with the German interviewer. The 48 older participants of LangAge 2005 were born between 1911 and 1935. In some cases, personal experiences with STO, either interviewees' own episodes or narratives of family members, were reported.

From what has been said above, it is clear that the LangAge interviews are oral history data in a very broad sense; the thematic focus is much larger than in interview settings originating from historical surveys.

The Forced Labor project

Under the label of Zwangsarbeit Archiv, a huge collection of oral history data has been put together at Freie Universität Berlin (see Pagenstecher and Tausendfreund 2013; Pagenstecher 2017). French interviews originate from the French project AAM-RDI Grenoble (Granet-Abisset 2010: 115). Some witnesses told interviewers that prior to the interview they had not talked about their experiences and had not even shown their families the diaries they kept during the STO (Granet-Abisset 2010: 116).

The interviews were conducted in 2006 by two French historians; all are more than one hour in duration (1h20–4h46, mean length 2h26) and are thematically centered on the interviewees' experiences of STO in Germany. The 18 men and one woman were born between 1920 and 1925, most were in the 1921/1922 age groups, and most were lower middle or working class. The oral history interviews of the Forced Labor project are video- and/or audiotaped and aligned to the video-/ or audio-files. They are prepared for historical research with thematic annotation, normalized orthographic transcriptions and German translations.

What kind of interaction is reflected in oral history interview data?

In his discussion of "interview as text vs. interview as interaction", Deppermann (2013: [6]) summarizes criticism concerning the "non-naturalness" and the low "ecologi-cal validity" of interview data which distinguishes situational factors from everyday routines and behavior. Ecological validity is restricted not only because of the non-occurrence of interviews outside of the elicited research context, but also because of the communicative exchange's organization: in everyday talk, the length of state-ments is restricted; biographical background, in everyday life, is never revealed to strangers without explicit feedback, Deppermann argues (2013: [6]). He proposes an analytic approach based on the precise sequences of answers and the questions or

utterances of the interviewer, and of the fine structure of the utterances, the phonetic realizations, potentially meaningful in terms of regional identity, and the formulation process with its hesitations, pauses and false starts (Deppermann 2013: [25]; see also Mondada 2001). In what follows, this view on interview as interaction will be the starting point. In the analysis of data extracts, different levels will be examined: the wider context, the interactional dimension, and the oral realization with a closer look on the linguistic traits. But at the same time we want to underline the observation that the pure fact that interviews do not happen in the participants' daily lives does not make them less natural. Following our observations of the interview situations, most of the interviewees seemed to show a certain familiarity and a natural attitude in telling their life stories.

The oral telling of life stories is a very human trait, and biographical storytelling, even in the form of a monologue, without feedback, is not as rare as one might think—as everyday experiences on trains or in doctors' waiting rooms reveal. The preparing of inner stories or of "endophasic" discourse (without an interlocutor, without phonic realization; Bergounioux 2004: 28) can emerge silently as a more or less urgent need develops to explain one's own point of view. These silent activities can include writing diaries, keeping secret notebooks, and explaining a complex situation to somebody who is not there. Furthermore, listening to other people's stories evokes one's own experiences and makes new stories come into existence ("A particular telling inspires distinct and only partially overlapping narratives, as interlocutors link the telling to their particular lived and imagined involvements in the world", Ochs and Capps 1996: 21).

Sketching these elements of inner monologues, we want to argue that the monologues stimulated in oral history interviews may never have been told before, but are still nothing less than natural or authentic. The opportunity to relate a life story without restricting oneself to the snippets that family and friends happen to endure is, in terms of ecology (see above and Mühlhäusler 2010), a kind of habitat for highly sensitive material.

Historical Terms in Context: *STO*

In the LangAge questionnaire, no question directly concerned Forced Labor. When participants talked about it, it was in the context of related topics like resistance or military service, or memories of friends and siblings. Consequently, the topic was self-introduced and spontaneously developed.

In the statistical analysis, we used the indicator of keyness[1] in order to compare

---

1   Keyness was measured using Log-likelihood. AntConc, Laurence Anthony, ‹www.laurence-anthony.net/software.html›. For lexical statistics, we used the transcripts of only the witnesses, a corpus of more than 13 500 types in about 322 500 tokens. The statistical keyword analysis

the content of both textual resources. The keyness analysis identifies lexical items which show significant differences between the different linguistic corpora taken into consideration. In our case, it turned out that together with some function words, the nouns *camp* 'camp' (443 vs. 45), *russes* 'Russians' (308 vs. 15), *usine* 'factory' (348 vs. 53), and *prisonniers* 'prisoners' (292 vs. 38) show the greatest keyness difference between Forced Labor and a LangAge sample of equal size. The term STO (83 vs.12) is less frequent than these nouns and did not appear in the upper ranks of most the important keyness items.

Even it's less frequent, the usage of STO is worth to have a closer look at: in the French texts of Forced Labor, there is one form not present in LangAge, that is, the use of STO designating 'a person doing Forced Labor'. In these occurrences, the plural form and the indefinite article are used: *(nous,) les STO* (15), *des STO* (5), *un STO* (1). This use of STO is a regular process of word formation and a regular process of semantic change, and more specifically of metonymic change: where a noun designating an institution is used to refer to the person working there. The semantic trait HUMAN ([+HUM]) allows for new morphosyntactic features. While STO 'institution' is exclusively used with the definite article, and has no plural form, the new form which has the semantic trait [+HUM] allows for indefinite use and plural forms: 'a/the person; (the) persons doing Forced Labor'. This usage is not attested in LangAge.

In order to have more evidence for this observation, we searched for more discourse contexts. In the catalogue of the French National Library (BnF), six books, published between 1991 and 2013, use *un STO* 'a man having done Forced Labor' on the cover, and three books published between 2007 and 2014 have *les STO* in the title. All of them take the perspective of the young men and their painful experiences. This quite recent perspective is confirmed by the rare occurrences of *un/des/les STO* when searching the sites of the biggest French newspapers, including blogs and discussion forums: only 11 examples with STO meaning 'a person who was obliged to do Forced Labor' could be found, as opposed to nearly four hundred occurrences of STO with the meaning 'the institution of Forced Labor'.[2]

A difficult term

In LangAge, the very term STO and the full compound *Service du Travail Obligatoire* seem to be, for some participants, quite hard to find. So, in interview extract A018m76 (4), the participant first looks for the right word and then builds the pleonastic noun

---

is an indicator of a text's content, its "aboutness" (Baker et al. 2008: 278) of a text.

2 We used the six biggest (by outreach) daily newspapers, according to ACPM: *Le Figaro*, *Le Monde*, *Les Échos*, *La Croix*, *La Libération*, not taking into account newspapers without any occurence of *STO* (*L'Équipe Édition Générale*, *Aujourd'hui en France*). As all of the websites of all six newspapers were searched, forums and blogs were also included. The dozens of hits for *le STO* ('the STO') make it clear that there is still ongoing discussion about related subjects.

phrase STO *obligatoire*. This is an indicator that the content of the acronym is bleached, i.e., the O is no longer transparent as the short form of *obligatoire*. As we have seen above (1.2), the noun phrase *service obligatoire* would have been more logical; so one of the participants somewhat corrects the use, first speaking of *service obligatoire*, then actively remembering the correct term and quoting it (A015f78, 4)—or not recalling it (A009m80, 5; A013f83, 4). Even in FORCED LABOR[3], whose participants are former members of STO, the logically more adequate variant *Service Obligatoire* is sometimes used: 'we heard about it in in the small newspapers that were published at the time, about Forced Labor' (*on en entendait parler dans les petits journaux qui paraissaient à l'époque, du service obligatoire du travail*; za074).

The fact that the compound is morphologically not very convincing may contribute to the use of a paraphrase, with the verb phrase 'work in Germany', *travailler en Allemagne* (A009m80, 4; A045m80, 3; A013f83, 4; A025f84, 3; *travailler dans les usines allemandes* 'work in German factories': A031m85).

In FORCED LABOR, the verb phrase *travailler en Allemagne* is often used as a citation, in order to underline the offensive atmosphere where Forced Labor was understood as a voluntary service. This usage is critically mentioned by the participants: 'no, but in my case, the integration [repatriation] was fine, but well there were always people criticizing me for having gone to work in Germany' (*non mais moi l'intégration s'est assez bien faite mais enfin il y en a toujours qui ont critiqué parce que l'on est allé travailler en Allemagne*, za077; see other similar occurrences of *travailler en Allemagne* FORCED LABOR, in za074, and also by the interviewer M. B.).

Semantics

The extracts from LANGAGE also shed some light on the semantic field that is made up of different groups of young men under the German occupation as partisans, prisoners of war, and people fulfilling the STO. For some of the participants, no difference is made between STO and prisoners (A015f78, 3); as the enumeration of 'those put on a train, conscripted, brought away' (A014m83) shows, the different kinds of obligation (deportation, forced Labor) are all placed at the same level. By contrast, concerning the destiny of men in STO vs. prisoners of war, the difference is clearly marked by one participant who makes clear that 'those people' (*ceux-là*), creating a deictic distance, usually came back; they were held apart from the battlefields of World War II (A024f84, 10). In many different contexts, also in FORCED LABOR, a clear difference is made between 'deportees' and men participating in STO—and sometimes, the dif-

---

3   Quoting from FORCED LABOR, we use the ID in the form za000 as indicated in the interview metadata. For full text research and access to more indications of identity, the quoted extracts can, after registration, easily be retrieved at the website indicated below. We use the transcriptions of FORCED LABOR, and the audio files, completing and adapting the transcription according to the standards presented in appendix 5.3.

ference is negotiated: Witness: 'there was only us, the deportees'. Guest: 'you weren't deportees'. Witness: 'we were not political deportees, sᴛᴏ, that's all'. (témoin: *on était les seuls autant dire à être déporté*. Participant: *vous étiez pas déportés* […] témoin: *on était pas déporté politique / sᴛᴏ c'est tout*, za080). So, while the participant first spontaneously expresses the idea of being deported, he immediately accepts that he was "only" obliged to participate in Forced Labor.

In another interview, the researcher makes clear that there is a difference between sᴛᴏ and (political) deportees: AMGA (interviewer): 'no, this was in other in other se() in other geographic places where there really were political deportees they came to work but not as in your case': (AMGA (interviewer): *non c'est dans d'autres dans d'autres se() dans d'autres endroits géographiques où il y avait vraiment des déportés politiques qui venaient travailler mais c'était pas votre cas*, za091).

The use of active vs. passive voice and the related semantic roles seem to be an indicator of the extent of empathy with the young men doing their sᴛᴏ. In LᴀɴɢAɢᴇ, the active voice is compatible with the idea of choice: when a person leaves (A018m76, 4; A024f84), one can suppose a certain responsibility for this act. In contrast, the awareness that the young men were *forced* to participate in sᴛᴏ is expressed in the passive voice; so when the brother of one participant or the participant himself 'was recruited' or a husband 'was called', this is reported in the passive voice (A045m80: 3; A004m83: 3; A013f83, 4). The semantic role of patient, i.e., the direct object of the action, is also attributed in the case where *the sᴛᴏ* forces young men to do it (A031m85, 8: 'the Forced Labor who summoned young French to work in German factories'). This participant, a priest, reports a strong sense of compassion for the young men threatened by recruitment for Forced Labor.

In Fᴏʀᴄᴇᴅ Lᴀʙᴏʀ, a similar understanding is realized when the interviewer corrects herself in order to avoid the active voice when asking a question: J. M. (interviewer): 'no, the fact that you uhm the fact that you left that you had to go to Germany, I think …' (J. M. (interviewer): *on le hum le fait que vous partiez que vous deviez partir en Allemagne* […] *j'imagine* …, za085). This is an adaptation to the content of the witnesses' reports, all of them making clear that it was not by choice that they participated in the Forced Labor.

Interaction

In LᴀɴɢAɢᴇ, the level of interaction between French participants and the German interviewer is explicitly present when participants comment on the term sᴛᴏ, highlighting its historical character (*à l'époque* 'at that time') or *on appelait ça* 'it was called' (A013f83, 3), *ce qu'on appelait* 'what was called' (A31m85; A35f87). This diachronic marker can be combined with an attempt to make sure that the interviewer knew it (A009m80, 5; A013f83, 2). The additional use of the German term *Zwangsarbeiter* (he pronounces the compound as *Zwangarbeiter*, without the epenthetic -s-), together

with a question tag, creates a common ground for the German interviewer and the interviewee (A004m83: 3); in this case, the use of the historical term becomes explicitly a resource of interaction. Such comments or "diachronic glossings" on a term that is, in the eye of the speaker, outdated, are quite frequent in the interviews of LANGAGE. They have several functions (Gerstenberg 2011: 138–147): they are clearly hearer-orientated, implemented to solve potential problems of understanding for the German interviewer. At the same time, the speaker positions him/herself as one who is familiar with the historical term and its signification, maybe forgotten today; he is "being a witness", an activity of membership categorization in the sense of Schegloff (2007).

In FORCED LABOR, the participants make similar diachronic remarks. With *ce qu'on appelait* 'what was called', one witness introduces words that, in his view, are worth being explicated. In this way, he highlights the historical character of 'small vehicles' (*camionettes*), the 'prohibited zone' established by the German occupiers (*zone interdite*), 'internal networks' (*groupes d'entreaide*), and the 'basic school degree' (*le certificat de premier ordre*, all from za074). The interviewee R.C. uses the expression twice: with 'Pétain parcels', filled with tinned food, cigarettes and books (*colis Pétain*), and with a 'Catholic Club' (*cercle catholique*, za076). Six more occurrences of *ce qu'on appelait* are used in FORCED LABOR by the interviewee R.S. (za089), each time glossing institutions for young people of the Vichy regime, but also of civilian formation: the 'school of prefecture' *(école de la préfecture*, twice), a higher degree preparing future teachers (*brevet supérieur*), professional schools (*les écoles professionnelles*), an institution where future craftsmen were formed (*artisanat*), additional classes (*cours complémentaires*), the Youth Workcamps (*Chantiers de Jeunesse*, Pécout 2012), and another time when searching for a term he ultimately does not recall.

In FORCED LABOR, not only the participants but also the interviewer J.M. use the phrase *ce qu'on appelait* to introduce historical terms. Some functions are shared by the interviewer and interviewees; for example in an interviewer's search for the French equivalent of the German *bunker*, the following was recorded: 'these were the bunkers which was ca() the bunkers which was called uhm [pau] the shelters' (*c'était les bunkers ce qu'on les bunkers ce qu'on appelait les euh les abris les bunkers*, za089). Similarly, she looks for 'and what relationships did you have with the the the mh the deportees what were the political deportees called?' (*et quels rapports vous aviez avec les les mh les déportés ce qu'on appelait les déportés politiques?*, za090).

The marking of the phrase 'black market' is more specific for her role as interviewer; in this case, there is a double marker: *ce qu'on appelle entre guillemets le marché noir* (za089). The interviewer uses the present tense, and adds 'in quotation marks'. Another case with the double marking of a historical term is 'were you aware of what was called la Relève, that is …' (*est-ce que vous étiez au courant euh de ce qu'on appelait la Relève c'est-à-dire …*, za076). This use is different from what the interviewees do; the interviewer avoids the historical term, reducing the own statement of historical

knowledge and thus letting the interviewee take on the role of expert. In this case, the diachronic marker can be considered a politeness strategy (Brown and Levinson 1987: 146).

Concluding Remarks

The linguistic details of spoken language and the features of a term in context indicate on what levels oral history data can be used to show how different facets of meaning emerge and how they are used as a resource in the interaction of interviewee and interviewer. The examples cited also illustrate the crucial role of the details of formulations reflected in a detailed transcription and/or in the aligned audio/video files.

Comparing the 19 participants of Forced Labor, invited to specifically talk about Forced Labor, and 11 from LangAge, talking spontaneously and in other biographic contexts, about Forced Labor, we found differences suggesting that the use of the term sto differs in many ways depending on individual personal experiences.

The details of linguistic use are, in this regard, significant, as the euphemism *travailler en Allemagne* 'work in Germany' was used by the majority of former stos as a quotation, while the co-occurrence was automatic and spontaneous in LangAge. This euphemistic paraphrase for sto was originally a propaganda slogan. No participant in LangAge commented on this fact when using it, while participants in Forced Labor made critical remarks on missing the connotation of obligation expressed in this term.

Both groups have difficulties pronouncing the full compound *Service du Travail Obligatoire*; this can be due to the morphologically odd formation (see 3.1), unconsciously corrected by the speakers. When using verbs for 'go to sto', the semantic roles of patient (passive voice or direct object) were used by the speakers who had experienced sto ('I was recruited') and interviewees sharing their point of view, while the active voice 'leave for sto' was used by contemporaneous speakers without their own direct experiences.

On the level of interaction, the roles of witness and interviewee are activated in many details; we had a closer look at the use of historical terms and the different functions of the marker 'what it's called' introducing them.

Comparing the two corpora gives one the opportunity to compare witnesses and other contemporaries whose speech patterns reflect collective usage. As the number of available speakers is limited, we looked for more evidence in online press archives, including their blogs and discussion forums. It turned out that the observed usage pattern of Forced Labor, i.e. sto designating a person and not just the institution, was indeed a highly exclusive pattern of the witnesses of Forced Labor. In conclusion, the semantic trait human on sto appears when we listen to those who experienced it.

References

Sources

LangAge
   http://www.langage-corpora.org
   Further details and corpus construction: Gerstenberg 2011.

Forced Labor, French Interviews
   http://www.zwangsarbeit-archiv.de/
   AAMRDI Grenoble Association des Amis du Musée de la Résistance et de la
   Déportation de l'Isère (Association Friends of the Resistance and Deportation
   Museum sère), Grenoble
   Responsable and 1st Interviewer: Anne-Marie Granet-Abisset, 2nd Interviewer:
   Julia Montredon

Cited Works

ACPM = L'Alliance pour les chiffres de la presse et des médias, chiffres / classement
   presso quotidienne nationale 2015.
   http://www.acpm.fr/Chiffres/Diffusion/La-Presse-Payante/Presse-Quotidienne-
   Nationale [09.10.2016]
Baker, Paul, Costas Gabrielatos, Majid Khosravinik, Michal Krzyzanowski, Tony
   McEnery, and Ruth Wodak 2008. A Useful Methodological Synergy? Combining
   Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to Examine Discourses of Ref-
   ugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press. *Discourse and Society* 19(3): 273–306.
Baude, Olivier, and Céline Dugua 2011. (Re)faire le corpus d'Orléans quarante ans
   après : 'quoi de neuf, linguiste?'. *Corpus* 10: 99–118.
Bergounioux, Gabriel 2004. *Le moyen de parler*. Lagrasse: Verdier.
Blank, Andreas 1997. Prinzipien des lexikalischen Bedeutungswandels am Beispiel der
   romanischen Sprachen. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
Blog LSP = Blog Langue Sauce Piquante. *Bientôt le STO?*
   http://correcteurs.blog.lemonde.fr/2016/06/26/bientot-le-sto/ [09.10.2016]
Bödeker, Hans E. 2002. Ausprägungen der historischen Semantik: Begriffsgeschichte,
   Diskursgeschichte, Metapherngeschichte. In *Begriffsgeschichte, Diskursgeschichte,
   Metapherngeschichte*, H. E. Bödeker (ed.), 7–27. Göttingen: Wallstein.
Bories-Sawala, Helga 1996. Franzosen im 'Reichseinsatz': Deportation, Zwangsarbeit,
   Alltag. Erfahrungen und Erinnerungen von Kriegsgefangenen und Zivilarbeitern.
   3 vol. Frankfurt am Main: Lang.
Brown, Penelope, and Stephen C. Levinson 1987. *Politeness*: *Some Universals in Lan-
   guage Usage*, 17th edn. Cambridge: University Press.

Burkhardt, Armin 1991. Vom Nutzen und Nachteil der Pragmatik für die diachrone Semantik. In *Diachrone Semantik und Pragmatik. Untersuchungen zur Erklärung und Beschreibung des Sprachwandels*. D. Busse (ed.), 7–36. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Deppermann, Arnulf 2013. Interview als Text vs. Interview als Interaktion. *FQS Forum: Qualitative Sozialforschung Social Research* 14(3).

Durand, Yves 2011. La France dans la deuxième guerre mondiale 1939–1945. Paris: Armand Colin.

Fraas, Claudia 1997. Lexikalisch-semantische Eigenschaften von Fachsprachen. In *Fachsprachen. Ein internationales Handbuch zur Fachsprachenforschung und Terminologiewissenschaft*. HSK 14.1 L. Hoffmann, H. Kalverkämper, W. and H. Ernst (eds.), 428–438. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Gerstenberg, Annette 2009. The Multifaceted Category of 'Generation': Elderly French Men and Women Talking about May '68. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 200: 153–170.

— 2010. Die Historizität von Bedingungen und Verfahren der Bedeutungsveränderung am Beispiel früher romanischer Entlehnungs- und Verwendungskontexte von lat. AMNESTIA. *Romanische Forschungen* 122: 457–483.

— 2011. Generation und Sprachprofile im höheren Lebensalter: Untersuchungen zum Französischen auf der Basis eines Korpus biographischer Interviews. Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann.

Granet-Abisset, Anne-Marie 2010. The French Experience: STO, a Memory to Collect, a History to Write. In *Hitler's Slaves. Life Stories of Forced Labourers in Nazi-occupied Europe*. A. v. Plato, A. Leh, and Ch. Thonfeld (eds.), 113–123. New York: Berghahn Books.

Gumperz, John J., and Jenny Cook-Gumperz 2007. A Postscript: Style and Identity in Interactional Sociolinguistics. In *Style and Social Identities*: *Alternative Approaches to Linguistic Heterogeneity*. P. Auer (ed.), 477–501. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Harbulot, Jean-Pierre 2003. *Le Service du Travail Obligatoire*: *La région de Nancy face aux exigences allemandes*. Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy.

Klemperer, Victor 1949. *LTI. Notizbuch eines Philologen*. Berlin: Aufbau.

Koch, Peter, and Wulf Oesterreicher 2011. *Gesprochene Sprache in der Romania*: *Französisch, Italienisch, Spanisch*, 2nd ed. Berlin: de Gruyter.

Labov, William 1972. The Study of Language in its Social Context. In *Sociolinguistics*: *Selected readings*. J. B. Pride and J. Holmes (eds.), 180–202. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.

Löffler, Heinrich 1988. Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung aus germanistischer Sicht. In *Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung*. J. v. Ungern-Sternberg and H. Reinau (eds.), 100–110. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Mondada, Lorenza 2001. L'entretien comme événement interactionnel. In *L'espace urbain en méthodes*. M. Grosjean and J.-P. Thibaud (eds.), 197–214. Marseille: Parenthèses.

Morel, Mary-Annick, and Laurent Danon-Boileau 1998. *Grammaire de l'intonation*: *L'exemple du français oral*. Paris: Ophrys.

Mühlhäusler, Peter 2010. Ecology of Languages. In *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics*, 2nd ed., R. B. Kaplan (ed.), 1–17. New York (NY): Oxford University Press.

Niethammer, Lutz 1985. Frage – Antworten – Fragen. Methodische Erfahrungen und Erwägungen zur Oral History. In *Lebensgeschichte und Sozialstruktur im Ruhrgebiet 1930–1960*, Band 3: '*Wir kriegen jetzt andere Zeiten*'. *Auf der Suche nach der Erfahrung des Volkes in nachfaschistischen Ländern*. L. Niethammer and A. v. Plato (eds.), 392–445. Bonn: Dietz.

Ochs, Elinor, and Lisa Capps 1996. Narrating the Self. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25(1): 19–43.

Pagenstecher, Cord 2017. Testimonies in Digital Environments. (De-)contextualizing Interviews with Holocaust Survivor Anita Lasker-Wallfisch. (in preparation)

Pagenstecher, Cord, and Doris Tausendfreund 2013. Das Online-Archiv 'Zwangsarbeit 1939–1945. In *Erinnern an Zwangsarbeit. Zeitzeugen-Interviews in der digitalen Welt*. N. Apostolopoulos and C. Pagenstecher (eds.), 71–96. Berlin: Metropol.

Paxton, Robert O. 1997. La France de Vichy 1940–1944 [orig. engl. Vichy France, Old Guard and New Order, 1940–1944, 1972]. Paris: Le Seuil.

Pécout, Christophe 2012. Pour une autre histoire des Chantiers de la Jeunesse (1940–1944). *Vingtième Siècle. Revue d'histoire* 116(4): 97.

Plato, Alexander v. 2007. 'Es war moderne Sklaverei'. Erste Ergebnisse des lebensgeschichtlichen Dokumentationsprojekts zur Sklaven- und Zwangsarbeit. *BIOS* 20(2): 251–290.

Portelli, Alessandro 1997. *The Battle of Valle Giulia*: *The Art of Dialogue in Oral History*. Madison (WI): University of Wisconsin Press.

PRob = Robert, Paul 2016. *Le Petit Robert de la langue française*. Paris: Dictionnaires Le Robert (online).

Roller, Katja 2015. Towards the 'Oral' in Oral History: Using Historical Narratives in Linguistics. *Oral History* 43(1): 73–84.

Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel A. Schegloff, and Gail Jefferson 1974. A Simplest Systematic for the Organization of Turn-taking for Conversation. *Language* 50: 696–735.

Savoie Archives 2005–2009, Conseil général de la Savoie, Archives départementales de la Savoie, Exposition en ligne 'La Savoie des Ombres 1939–1945' http://www.savoie.fr/archives73/expo_savoie_des_ombres/ [08.09.2016] Chapitre 10 'Au secours de l'Allemagne' http://www.savoie.fr/archives73/expo_savoie_des_ombres/pano10/pages/02-01-STOA_1.html› [08.09.2016]

Schegloff, Emanuel A. 2007. A Tutorial on Membership Categorization. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39(3): 462–482.

Schiffrin, Deborah 2003. Linguistics and History. Oral History as Discourse. In *Linguistics, Language, and the Real World: Discourse and Beyond; Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 2001*. D. Tannen and J. E. Alatis (eds.), 84–113. Washington: Georgetown University Press.

Schütze, Fritz 1983. Biographieforschung und narratives Interview. *Neue Praxis* 3: 283–293.

Spina, Raphaël 2012. *La France et les Français devant le service du travail obligatoire (1942–1945)*. Cachan: École normale supérieure de Cachan – ENS Cachan.

Stubbs, Michael 2001. *Words and Phrases. Corpus Studies of Lexical Semantics*. Malden (MA): Blackwell.

Thonfeld, Christoph 2009. Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Research-Elicited Data for Longitudinal Analysis. The Case of Oral History Data on World War II Forced Labourers. *Historical Social Research* 34(3).

— 2014. *Rehabilitierte Erinnerungen?: Individuelle Erfahrungsverarbeitungen und kollektive Repräsentationen von NS-Zwangsarbeit im internationalen Vergleich*. Essen: Klartext.

Transcripts[4]

The transcription is orthographic and reflects the traits of spoken language, for example interjections, repetitions, uncompleted sentences or words. No punctuation is added, with the exception of '?' for raising intonation in questions without a question word.

If possible, segmentation uses syntactic units. When cited in the text, we mark new lines with a slash. Other conventions include:

(word)   reconstructed, incomprehensible
wo()   interrupted
[pau]   event such as *pau* 'pause'

A018m76

```
 1 j'avais comme voisins et amis des des garçons beaucoup
   plus âgés que moi qui étaient euh fils d'un professeur
   du du collège et qui était vraiment euh un grand ami
 2 bon ils sont morts tous les trois (enfin) les deux fils
   et le père
```

---

4   Codes refer to LANGAGE speaker anonymization as applied in Gerstenberg 2011, see the appendix there for additional metadata. The LangAge transcription guide is used, see LANGAGE.

   3 bon le père c'est normal mais les deux c'est moins
     normal bon
   4 et euh l'un allait être ah ben l'un est parti au au
     était est parti au STO obligatoire
   5 et et il est parti euh dans une usine euh d'aviation
     près de Vienne
   6 et et et il est revenu euh atteint d'une maladie
     articulaire et a été rapatrié par euh par l'occupant
   7 et là bon il a il a vécu au ralenti
   8 et le frère pour y échapper euh on l'a euh c'est nous
     qui nous l'avons fait cacher en d'abord dans le Morvan
   1 I had as neighbours and friends some guys much older
     than me who were the sons of a college professor and
     who was really a great friend
   2 well they all died all three of them the two sons
     and the father
   3 well the father, this is natural, but the two [sons,
     A.G.] *this is less normal, well*
   4 and one of them went uhm well one of them left was
     left for Forced Labor [he uses the acronym, A.G.]
     forced
   5 and he left for an aviation factory near Vienna
   6 and he came back sick with a joint disease and was
     repatriated by the occupier
   7 and then he lived somewhat slower
   8 and the brother well we took care of hiding him first
     in the Morvan region

A015f78

   9 [à l'arrivée des Américains, A.G.] un grand soulage-
     ment on faisait pas la fête parce que un grand soul-
     agement
  10 mais Paris n'était pas encore libéré
  11 et puis tous nos prisonniers étaient encore là-bas
     tous les hommes qui travaillaient le service obliga-
     toire du travail obligatoire
  12 donc on pouvait pas rire encore
  13 c'était euh un soulagement énorme
  14 mais c'était pas euh je peux pas dire que c'était
     complet hein

 9 [When the US soldiers arrived, A.G.] *a big relief*
   not yet a party but a big relief
10 *but Paris was not yet liberated*
11 *and then all our prisoners were still down there all*
   the men working in the Forced Labor the Service of
   Forced Labor
12 *but we were not able to laugh*
13 *it was an enormous relief*
14 *but it was not uhm I cannot say that it was over*

A009m80

 1 la classe quarante-cinq a été dispensée de service
   militaire
 2 c'était la fin de la enfin la guerre se terminait donc
   euh
 3 par contre il y en a de de de jeunes enfin
 4 (vous savez) si j'avais été convoqué au bureau de à
   l'époque de l'occupation au bureau d'embauche euh
   allemand pour aller travailler en Allemagne
 5 vous avez entendu parler de tra() du Service-Obliga-
   toire euh travail en Allemagne à l' époque
 6 et il y a beaucoup de jeunes qui sont partis qui ont
   été convoqués qui ont été requis en quelque sorte
   pour aller travailler là-bas
 7 c'était le ce qu'on appelait le STO Service-Tra-
   vail-Obligatoire
 8 donc j'ai été convoqué
 9 mais on m'a pas pris parce que j'étais boulanger
10 enfin j'ai pas j'y suis pas allé
 1 *the age-group of 45 was exempted from military ser-*
   vice
 2 *it was the this was the end of, well, the war was*
   over, so
 3 *but there were these young men*
 4 *(you know), yes, I was called to the office of – at*
   that time – the German recruitment office, to work in
   Germany
 5 *you have heard talking about Forced Labor uhm work*
   in Germany at that time
 6 *and many young men left they had been called or*

```
     somewhat recruited to work down there
  7 it was what was called the STO Forced Labor
  8 so I was called
  9 but I was not taken, I was a baker
 10 so I did not I didn't go there
```

A045m80

```
  1 dans ma famille il y avait pas de résistants [pau] non
  2 ben ma famille était assez réduite puisque je
    n'avais qu'un mon frère qui avait trois ans plus que
    moi qui était qui était lui instituteur aussi [tou]
    [pau] et qui était déjà instituteur lui
  3 il était [pau] et il a été réquisitionné pour aller
    travailler en Allemagne Service du Travail Obliga-
    toire
  4 et il se saurait sans doute caché pour ne pas y aller
  5 mais il savait que si lui il n'y allait pas c'est
    moi qui allais être pris à sa place [pau] puisque
    j'avais vingt ans
  6 j'avais dix-neuf ans en quarante-quatre
  7 donc euh il a préféré y aller
  8 il a passé euh depuis deux ans je crois en Allemagne
  9 il a écrit ses mémoires d'ailleurs [tss] de [pau] de
    Service de Travail Obligatoire
```
```
  1 in my family there were no partisans, no
  2 well, my family was quite small because I had only
    my brother who was three years older than me and who
    was who was also a teacher he was already a teacher
  3 he was and he was recruited to go and work in Ger-
    many Forced Labor
  4 and without any doubt he would have hidden himself
    in order not to go there
  5 but he knew that if he didn't go there, I would have
    been taken in his place, [pau] because I was twenty
    years
  6 I was nineteen years old in 44
  7 so uhm he preferred to go there
  8 he stayed there two years, I think, in Germany
  9 by the way, he has written a diary of Forced Labor
```

A013f83

1 et on même on a eu chez nous euh un certain temps un
  un policier qui habitait Paris qui était justement
  réfractaire euh qui était résistant
2 et re() on appelait ça aussi je sais pas si vous
  savez le STO
3 réfractaire euh service euh obligatoire S-T-O service
  comment que c'était [ins] STO service obligatoire en
  Allemagne ça voulait dire ça hein
4 mon mari d'ailleurs euh a été aussi appelé pour
  aller travailler en Allemagne
5 mais c'est pareil il n'y est pas allé
6 il s'est sauvé dans la dans la forêt lui
7 il habitait dans la Marne
*1 and we had for a while a a policeman who lived in
  Paris who had actually escaped uhm who was partisan*
2 and this was called I don't know if you know that STO
*3 rejectionist uhm labor uhm forced STO labor how was
  it [ins] STO Forced Labour in Germany, that's what
  it meant, you see*
4 and also my husband was called to work in Germany
5 but the same thing, he didn't go there
6 he saved himself in the forest
7 he lived in the Marne region

A014m83

1 j'étais dans une classe euh j() d'un âge où on a eu
  euh [pau] beaucoup euh de de problèmes de euh de du
  Service du Travail Obligatoire de comment dirais-je
  de de réquisition à
2 c'est ce que je disais toujours
3 on avait une définition
4 à mon âge on savait jamais le soir si on couchait
  dans notre lit hein
5 on pouvait être embarqués
6 on pouvait être réquisitionnés
7 on pouvait être emmenés
8 y a beaucoup qui ont été obligés d'aller travailler
  sur les côtes de euh de l'Atlantique le mur de l'

```
   Atlantique vous en entendu parler les murs de l'At-
   lantique hein
```
1 *I was the age-group that had many problems with*
  Forced Labor, with forced recruitment
2 *I used to say*
3 *we had a definition*
4 *when I was young, we never knew if, in the evening,*
  we would sleep in our own bed
5 *we could have been put on a train*
6 *we could have been conscripted*
7 *we could have been taken away*
8 *many of us were forced to work at the Atlantic Coast*
  the Atlantic Wall you have heard about that the
  Atlantic Wall

A004m83

```
1 et puis j'ai commencé d(es) études de droit
2 et puis il y a eu la guerre
3 et étant donné que j'étais (né) en mille-neuf-cent-
  vingt-deux j'ai donc été euh euh requis pour le
  service du travail obligatoire Zwangarbeiter [uses
  the German word, A.G.]
  [INT: mhm]
4 voyez bon
```
1 *and then I started to study law*
2 *and then the war began*
3 *and as I was [born] in 1922, I was recruited for*
  Forced Labor Zwangarbeiter [sic, German]
4 *you see, ok*

A024f84

```
1 il y en a [de prisonniers, A.G.] qui se sont évadés
2 il y en a d'autres qui ont fait tout le temps
3 par contre j'ai un ami qui était qui était tué était
  tué il faut le dire comme ça
4 parce que il était il faisait il était pas prison-
  nier lui
5 il était parti au titre du STO savez ce que c'est
6 et puis ils avaient des permissions
```

```
   [INT: mhm mhm]
 7 et puis il y en a un de leur groupe qui n'est pas
   reparti alors bon
 8 il a fallu qu'il se paie fallu qu'il y ait quelqu'un
   qui paie pour lui quoi
 9 ça c'était pas très bien de la part de celui qui
   était pas reparti hein
10 parce que ils étaient détenu X la guerre
11 mais ceux-là en principe ils revenaient
12 parce que ils étaient pour le travail [pau]
13 à part ça les prisonniers ben il y en a qui sont
   restés il y en a qui [pau]
```

 1 *some of them [of the prisoners, A.G.] escaped*
 2 *some of them stayed there all the time*
 3 *and then I had a friend who has who was killed must*
   call it like that
 4 *because he was he made he was not a prisoner*
 5 *he had left with STO you know what it means*
 6 *and then they had permissions/holidays XXX*
 7 *and then one of their group did not return, well*
 8 *and this must be paid someone had to pay for him*
 9 *this was not nice on the part of the person who did*
   not come back
10 *because they did not have to go to war*
11 *but generally these men they came back*
12 *because it was for work*
13 *after that from the prisoners, some of them stayed,*
   some of them ...

A025f84

```
 1 non non non non il y a pas eu de de fait de résis-
   tance du moins dans ma famille hein
 2 si mon beau-père
 3 mon mon mari mon mari qui était parti qui a qui
   a pas voulu faire le STO qui a passé la ligne de
   démarcation justement pour pouvoir fuir hein fuir le
   le STO tra() travailler en Allemagne
 4 il n'a pas voulu y aller puisqu'il est mon beau-père
   était militaire
 5 il a passé la zone libre et s'est retrouvé dans le
```

　　centre de la France
 1 *no, no, no, no, there was no fact of resistance at least in my family, you see*
 2 *oh yes, my father-in-law*
 3 *my my husband who had left who did not want to do the STO who had crossed the demarcation line, indeed in order to have the possibility to escape, you see, to escape the STO, working in Germany*
 4 *he didn't want to go there because he is my father-in-law was a military man*
 5 *he crossed the free zone and found himself in the centre of France*

A031m85

 1 et alors euh évidemment euh j'ai ensuite vécu la guerre un petit peu dans plusieurs endroits de la France
 2 car j'étais devenu prêtre
 3 et j'étais ce qu'ce qu'on appelait Les Chantiers de Jeunesse
 4 et j'étais aumônier [pau] de jeunesse
 5 ça a duré un an
 6 c'est une période pour moi très riche parce que il y avait là des jeunes un peu désemparés par la guerre hein
 7 euh sous la menace de ce qu'on appelait le STO
 8 c'était le Service de Travail Obligatoire qui convoquait des jeunes gens français pour travailler dans les usines allemandes
 9 donc ces jeunes étaient un peu désemparés
10 et ils avaient bien sûr grande confiance dans le prêtre
11 et là-aussi je je je j'ai eu des des des des des amitiés ah oui
 1 *And then obviously I stayed in different places during the war time*
 2 *because I had become a priest*
 3 *and I was what was called Youth Workcamp*
 4 *and I was a priest for the young people*
 5 *during one year*

 6 *this was for me a time quite rich in experiences*
   because the young men were distressed due to the war
 7 *under the threat of what was called STO*
 8 *that is, the Forced Labor who summoned young French*
   to work in German factories
 9 *so, the young men were quite distressed*
10 *and they had a huge confidence in the priest*
11 *and at this point I had many friendships, certainly*

A035f87

 1 ah non aucun aucun [résistant en famille, A.G.]
 2 euh il y a un de mes frères mon frère prêtre juste-
   ment qui aurait pu partir au ce au ce qu'on appelait
   le STO le Service euh Travail Obligatoire
 3 et alors lui il a été dans le Sud de la France faire
   des ce qu'on appelait des Chantiers de Jeunesse
 4 et alors c'était pour s'occuper des jeunes
 5 et quand il est revenu après la guerre en quaran-
   te-cinq il a vu le pont de la Loire
 6 et le pont de la Loire qui était effondré par enfin
   qui était par terre quoi
 7 alors ça lui a fait un drôle d'effet
 1 *oh no, nobody* [was partisan, A.G.]
 2 *one of my brothers could have gone with what was*
   called the STO uhm Service Forced Labor [the prepo-
   sition *du "of the"* is missing, A.G.]
 3 *and then he was in southern France in order to do*
   what they called the Youth Workcamp
 4 *and this was to take care of the younger ones*
 5 *and when he came back after the war in 45, he saw*
   the Loire bridge
 6 *and the Loire bridge was destroyed by well it fell*
   down
 7 *and this had a strange effect on him*