Secret Language Use of Criminals: Their Implications to Legislative Institutions, Police, and Public Social Practices

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It has always been very important throughout the centuries for legislative institutions and police organizations to watch over different media and genres as instruments of conspiracy of criminals, members of organized crime, and terroristic groups in order to recognize conspiracy contents and to evaluate them systematically (intelligence work). With the help of special methods-design, it is possible to analyze the functions and strategies of this specific sometimes open or undercover used languages of Rotwelsch, Argot, Fenya, terrorist and Jihadi groups. A very significant example is the history of Jihadi Internet as a cyber-planning tool: single websites (until 2001), expansion and professionalization (2001–2007) and severe surveillance, distrust and new social media (after 2008 especially because of 9/11). Since it has become clear that the National Security Agency (NSA) conducts severe intelligence research in the field of E-mail-traffic and chats, the demand of crypto-programs has grown. It is better in this situation to return to face-to-face-communication. Legislative institutions and police have to study these functions and strategies in order to practice the best fitting counter-action against crime and terrorism.

Keywords: Rotwelsch, Fenya, (secret) languages of terrorists and Jihadi groups

Introduction

The relations between criminal elements at one side and executive and legislative institutions on the other side have been and will be antagonistic. Therefore, it is understandable that criminals try to camouflage their communication of conspiracy using media which will not be under close and systematic surveillance of institutions of state like (secret) police and secret service(s). During the centuries it has been essential for legislative institutions and police organizations to watch over different media and genres used as instruments of conspiracy of criminals, members of organized crime, and terroristic groups in order to recognize conspiracy contents and to evaluate them systematically (intelligence work). Therefore this competition between both sides based on the principle of action and re-action is determined also by the history of media. A significant example is the history of Jihadi Internet as a cyber-planning tool: single websites (until 2001), expansion and professionalization (2001–2007) and severe surveillance, distrust and new social media (after 2008 especially because of 9/11). Since it has become clear that the National Security Agency (NSA) conducts severe intelligence research in the field of E-mail-traffic and chats, the demand of crypto-programs has grown. It is better in this situation to return to face-to-face-communication. Legislative institutions and police have to study these functions and strategies in order to practice the best fitting counter-action against crime and terrorism.

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professionalization (2001–2007) and severe surveillance, distrust and new social media (after 2008 especially because of 9/11). Since it has become clear that the National Security Agency (USA) makes severe intelligence research in the field of E-mail-traffic and chats, the demand of crypto-programs (Wrixon, 2005) has grown. But it is also not clear if the NSA has the keys to the crypto-programs. So it is better for criminal elements in this situation to return to face-to-face-communication. Some case studies of secret languages\(^3\) like Rotwelsch and Argot\(^4\) as elements of language varieties, sociolects and group languages, special languages, and secret languages\(^5\) (Blake, 2010) should illustrate the principle of action and reaction. Also the functions of secret languages\(^6\), the counter-strategies of institutions of state like (secret) police and secret service(s) should be discussed. Some lessons learned for executive and judicative institutions and organizations should be fixed. The social functions\(^7\) of secret languages are inclusive (internal group cohesion) as well exclusive (external group profiling) (Siewert, 2003, p. 16; Dudeck, 2013, p. 240). Argot aims to build a group but also to exclude others (D’Arcangelis, 2006, p. 19). At one side, criminals are just speaking Argot/secret language between their own group (in-group language) and on the other side their language should not be understandable for outsiders (Timroth, 1983, p. 33; Siewert, 2003, p. 15). This is therefore a language, whose vocabulary is just known by insiders. In order to achieve the aimed function of secret language some specific contrastive linguistic rules of

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\(^3\) Secret languages could be considered as negative acts of identity, which are used deliberately to exclude outsiders. They are not supposed to be known to outsiders, hence their form is predicted to be negative like something not comprehensible to them. This is definitely a negative act of identity. If their chief function has to be a secret language, then any means of achieving this negative act of identity should be utilized (Croft, 2003, p. 65). Eble (2004, p. 262) is using Slang and Argot synonymously. She defines slang as a part of continuum of words and expressions that serve the social and personal functions more than its ideational function. She stresses the fact that no standard set of technical terms with precise definitions distinguishes among overlapping lexical phenomena such as slang, argot, jargon, colloquialism, vulgarity, secret verbal codes, and nonstandard grammatical forms. Bosworth (1976, p. 150) defines a secret language always as a jargon, and in some case, a jargon may also be a secret language. Characteristic features of secret languages see Siewert (2003, pp.16-18).

\(^4\) Arabic Argots are mostly spoken by closed groups like vagrants, trading people, manual workers and religious minorities but also Koranic pupils and Muslim brotherhoods. Concerning the two last groups Argot serves functionally as internal group cohesion but mainly as camouflage of concepts which are not in accordance with their social and religious status (Wolfer, 2007, p. VIII). Holy, religious language of minorities serves as lexical reservoir of secret languages against other religious majorities (Wolfer, 2007, pp. 164-165). Words of Argot are used after some time in colloquial language. They will be changed if concealment is not more guaranteed (Wolfer, 2007, p. 5; Lindemann, 2007, p. 1). Argot serves as a special lexicon of concealment, which is not static but dynamic and therefore variable. Argot owns a special vocabulary which is produced by different methods of word form changes and semantic variations (Wolfer, 2007, pp. 4-5). The lexicon of Argot can be produced by phonological changes like emphatization and palatalization, morphological changes like roots expansion, adding of elements, reductions, substitution, metathesis, and derivation, semantic changes like metaphors, description or paraphrase, antiphrase, synecdoches, shifts inmeaning, and onomatopoeie (Wolfer, 2007, p. 5; Lesia, 1964, pp. 7-13).

\(^5\) Arabic secret languages can be divided into three groups: Argots, Ludlings, Substitute Languages and Mixed Languages. The concept of Ludlings is a combination of latinwords, ludus (game) and, lingua (language) (Laycock, 1972, pp. 61, 94). Laycock (1972, p. 61) defines Ludlings as results of a transformation or a series of transformations acting regularly on an ordinary language or text, with the intent of altering the form but not the content of the original message, for purposes of concealment or comic effect. Ludlings have six sub-groups: affixes, metathesis, substitution, derivation, spelling, and language of numbers (Wolfer, 2007, pp. VIII, 4). Ludlings are produced by systematic and regulated twisting of colloquial language (Wolfer, 2007, p. 4). These alterations are mostly done at the morphologic level in which words are changed systematically by adding, leaving out, changing and moving around of phonetic elements (Crystal, 1998, p. 59). Mixed Languages are combinations mostly of lexicon of one language with grammar of another language. The process of producing mixed languages is called „language intertwining” of bilingual groups (Bakker & Muysken, 1995, p. 42). The origin of Mixed Languages goes back to lexical re-orientation and selective replication (Matras, 2003, p. 155). They have following sub-groups: Plain Mixed Languages, Conventionalized Mixed Languages, Inherited Special Lexicons, Special Lexicon of (mixed) Foreign Origin and Argot Lexicons of Foreign Origin (Wolfer, 2007, pp.7-8). Substitute Languages are e.g., languages produced bydrums and whistles (Wolfer, 2007, p. 4). Bagemihl (1988, p. 4) stresses that the difficult task of organizing secret languages into a meaningful typology has in the past been hampered by a focus on the sociolinguistic functions of such systems rather than their formal properties as well as by a lack of standard terminology.

\(^6\) Aspects of a typology of secret communication see Weidacher (2012, pp. 23ff).

\(^7\) Wolfer (2007, p. 3) adds also humor, play, esoteric arts and religion to these functions.
avoidance have to be created which should be used accordingly to the situation and possibility: (1) sound-and
syllable-metastasis, (2) syllable-breaking broadening, (3) exchange of the basic morpheme and additionally
morphological alienation, and (4) alienation of specific lexical areas by lexemes and morphemes of strange
languages (Siewert, 2003, pp. 16-17).

**Case Studies of Secret Languages and Lessons Learned**

**Rotwelsch**

Rotwelsch or Gaunersprache⁸ (from the German *Gauner* (N.N., 2013; Günther, 2001) “criminal” (crook)
and *Sprache* “language”) is a secret language (cryptolect), a cant or thieves’ argot⁹, spoken by covert groups
mainly in southern Germany¹⁰ and Switzerland. Rotwelsch¹¹ was formerly common among travelling
craftspeople, crooks, prostitutes and vagants (Girtler, 2010). Because of several reasons Rotwelsch¹² is also a
secret language: Vagants¹³ have always been a special surveillance-target group of police. So it has always
been the best protection against police and to have an advantage over police to use a language, which could not
be understood by the police. So they have a very understandable longing for linguistic darkening (Siewert, 2003,
p. 15). Language serves for the transferring information. But there are special situations where there should
transmitted information, which should be decoded correctly only by specific recipients (Schulze, 2009). Secret
languages have four functions: (1) protection of information, (2) defence against dangers, (3) intention of
defection, and (4) integration (Honnen, 2000, p. 14). Rotwelsch did have not only the function of protection
and identification but also an instrument for deception. It has been used in case of danger of espionage. So it
becomes clear that Rotwelsch has had basically the function of highest possible secrecy. The fact of living
under poor conditions on the margin of society has been the basis of solidarity between speakers of Rotwelsch.
This solidarity has created the precondition of the creation of a group-specific sociolect (Jütte, 1995, Sp. 1057 u.
2044-2045, 1988, pp. 47ff; Cirkic, 2006, pp. 21-22). There has also been the function of secrecy of information,
as an instrument for deception and camouflage and as an indicator of group membership (Siewert, 2003, pp.
15ff). Beside the language-part of Rotwelsch, there also exists a signs- or symbol-part called Zinken¹⁴ (Frielings,
n.d., pp. 3-4; see Appendix A and B). The language is built on a strong substratum of German, but contains
numerous words from other languages, notably from various German dialects, including Yiddish (Stern, 2000),
as well as from Romany languages (Matras, 1998, pp. 193ff), notably Sintitikes. There are also significant
influences from Judaeo-Latin, the ancient Jewish language of the Roman Empire (Rundsberg, 2012, pp. 431ff).
Rotwelsch has also played a great role in the development of the Yenicene language (Matras, 2013, pp. 383-384;
D’Arcangelis, 2004, 2006; Efing, 2005). In form and development, it closely parallels the commercial speech

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⁸ Gaunersprache see Girtler (1996, pp. 29, 127ff).
⁹ The development of Rotwelsch from 13th to 16th century see Schüßler (2001, pp. 387ff).
¹⁰ Map of Rotwelsch-dialects see Siewert (1996, pp. 282ff).
¹¹ Research has been made by Prof. Friedrich Kluge (1901) in the subject of special and secret languages about hundred years ago.
Since the 1990s, there is a very busy Rotwelsch-research group around PD Dr. Klaus Siewert (2016, in print, published July 20th) at
University of Munster. Since some years this group has enlarged its perspective in direction to the subject of European Secret and
Special languages (Efing & Leschber, 2009; Vorwort & Leschber, 2006, pp. 134-145). Lexicon of Rotwelsch see Wolf (1993).
¹² To language-name Rotwelsch see Lühr (1996, pp. 15ff).
¹³ The lexicon of Argot includes often loanwords of special lexicons or languages of different vagant groups in contact with a
very similar way of life. Bosworth (1976, p. 155) remarks that the extreme ease with which jargons admit loanwords reflects
partly the fluidity and speed of change within the jargons themselves, and the mobility of participating groups like soldiers,
beggars, strolling players etc.
¹⁴ Gaunerzinken of Rotwelsch see http://www.code-knacker.de/gaunerzinken.pdf; Streicher, 1928; Barnitzke, 2013, pp. 53-55;
see also Appendix A and B (B = translation of the text of A).
("shopkeeper language") of German-speaking regions.

Because of the development of vocabulary as a mean of conveying information about goods and transactions, Rotwelsch has no terms for abstractions. For example, it has no direct translations for the seasons such as spring and autumn. Instead, it uses Bibberling (literally, “shivering”) and Hitzing (literally, “heat”) in place of season names. Current variants of Rotwelsch (Lühr & Matzel, 1990, pp. 42ff) can still be heard among travelling craftspeople and funfair show people as well as among vagants and beggars. Also, in some southwestern and western locals in Germany, where travelling people were settled, many Rotwelsch terms have entered the vocabulary of the vernacular, for instance in the municipalities of Schillingsfürst and Schopfloch. A couple of Rotwelsch words have entered the colloquial language, such as „türmen“ (Müller, 2012, pp. 227-228) and „malochen“ (Römer, 2014, p. 93), other words like “aufmucken”, “Bau”, and “berappen”. “Baldowern” or “ausbaldowern” is very common in Berlin dialect; “Bombe” is still used in German prison jargon. The Manisch dialect of the German city of Gießen is still used, although was only spoken fluently by approximately 700–750 people in 1976. The end of the secret language „Rotwelsch“ has been caused by a German teacher called Baumhauer, who has written a book titled with „Baumhausers Stromergespräche“ at the end of 18th century. Baumhauer revealed because of his big insider-knowledge motivated by the police.\textsuperscript{15} A lot of publications to the same topic followed. Therefore, Rotwelsch has lost its most important characteristic: the status of a secret language (Frielings, n.d., p. 4). There has also been a change from mainly oral to written status of Rotwelsch.

**Fenya**

Fenya or fenka is a Russian cant language used among criminals. Originally, it was a crypto language of ofenyas or ofenes, old Russian peddlers, and had a number of other names. There are no convincing explanations about the origins of the words “ofenya” and “fenya”. In modern Russian language, it is also referred to blatnoy language, where “blatnoy” is a slang expression for “criminal”. It is also widely used in “thieves’ songs”. The grammar is Russian; the vocabulary has changed over time. The original fenya consisted of broken Russian words borrowed from Greek and other foreign languages. Fenya included usual Russian words in unusual meanings. The vocabulary changed over time, with notable infusion of words of Yiddish origin. Timroth (1983, p. 20) describes on basis of the studies of Lichacev (1935) some characteristics of Russian crooks language: (1) a simplified morphology and syntax, (2) a tendency to amorphy, (3) the flexion of words relatively weak marked, and (4) the semantics of words completely confused and not stabilized. There are three specific ways of creation of words: (1) Numbers are analogically expressed by the hierarchy of playing cards or units of money or other objects. There is a tendency to replace general or abstract concepts through specific or concrete concepts. (2) Parts of the body are considered as a mechanism. (3) Human beings and objects are represented by names of animals. There is also the tendency to communicate verbally with hints but also nonverbally by gestures instead of taboo-words\textsuperscript{16} like theft, armed attack, revolver, and prostitution (Timroth, 1983, p. 40). Dictionaries of fenya have been primarily produced for criminal investigation departments. Scientists needed a special approval in order to work with these

\textsuperscript{15} Lexicons of crooks language have been used by Hungarian police just for internal use in order to get criminals successfully under arrest (Kis, 2002, p. 165).

\textsuperscript{16} Dudeck (2013, pp. 223-240) describes the forms of communication and tactics of concealing like visual concealing, silence, taboo of naming, borders of communication and concealment himself. His main aspects of theory see Dudeck (2013, p. 240). Between extremes of silent leaving out of information and lying wrong information there are a lot of forms of Camouflage, Secret Languages and diversionary manoeuvres. The forms of concealment, strategy and tactics of information policy are seldom improvisation. There exists mostly a handed down arsenal of known, practiced and legitimate forms of concealment (Dudeck, 2013, p. 235). The concept of „hidden transcripts“ (Scott, 1990) is still valid for post-socialistic Russia (Dudeck, 2013, pp. 237-238).
books (Timroth, 1983, p. 70). During the times of the Soviet Union fenya penetrated into common spoken Russian and can therefore no longer be considered cryptic, although it is still commonly associated with those who have connections to the Russian criminal culture or who have spent a significant amount of time imprisoned. Some explanations for this phenomenon are suggested. Firstly, a significant part of the population, not necessarily criminals went through labor camps, and massive indiscriminate amnesties after the death of Stalin resulted in a penetration of the subculture of convicts into everyday life in the form of a shock wave—particularly many writers, poets, and journalists who had been arrested began to use fenya in their work after release. Secondly, another reason comes from the fact that criminal life was romanticized in popular culture: For example, in the form of “blatnaya song”, see Shanson. Few “common” Russians possess a complete or even complex understanding of fenya and fewer still—for various reasons—will admit it. Fenya influences Russian culture in different ways. In particular, a whole subgenre of Russian humour exists, in which a known tale, such as Romeo and Juliet or a popular Russian fairy tale is cast into fenya. The downfall of the Soviet Union and the appearance of New Russians introduced new changes into fenya, notably assigning new meanings and accents to common words. But fenya is still a secret language. Surely some words of fenya became a part of public language use. But whenever members of Russian organized crime (OC) called Russian-Mafia or „thieves in law“ „vory v zakone“ (Osterloh, 2004, p. 6) are talking to each other in their professional jargon or slang (Osterloh, 2004, p. 6), they are using words, which could only be understood by insiders and not by common Russian native speakers. Fenya is also influenced by geographic regions and time (Dorn, 2002, p. 2).

Language of Terrorism and Jihadi Groups

Terrorists (Lindemann, 2007; Mielke, 2008) and jihadi groups are communicating sometimes openly but mostly concealed (Drommel, 2011a; Illinger, 2011; Dönges, 2009; Pennebaker & Chung, 2007). In case of
data with the USA in order to fight against terrorism and organized crime (Sippel, 2014, pp. 26-27). Suspension of ,,Safe Harbour“-Agreement and Terrorist Finance Tracking Program but also clear rules concerning the exchange of US-Secret Services activities (Schilling, 2014, p. 96). There are some suggestions of EU-politicians against NSA-activities like p. 14). In Germany there are deficits of reality and Anti-Americanism which does not like to consider the real reasons of Bundesnachrichtendienst (BND) have cooperated with NSA and have profited from doing so (Schilling, 2014, p. 96; Gusy, 2014, p. 193). In 2010 in the super computers of the USA, who is pressed to build new Computer centres in Utah (Rosenbach & Stark, 2014, p. 11; Schilling, 2014, p. 96). For each human being on earth there exists an electronic file stored by NSA (Bendrath, 2014, p. 25). In the year 2014, for each Austrian citizen there are on average about 500 to 2,000 records (Ennöckl, 2014, p. 3). There have been projects like Prism and Tempora of NSA and GCHQ (Government Communications Headquarters) which have caused some troubles with other states and governments (Jobs, 2014, p. 46). The NSA is investing 250 million USD each year in order to weaken security systems. It is also clear that there will be no perfect source code. So it is necessary to surveillance the whole supply chain and security and data protection are actually always very important (Baumgartner, 2014, p. 21).

At one side: a state, who is not able to protect the security of its citizens, according to the paradigm of Hobbes, is no state anyway (Weidemann, 2014, p. 4). John Locke demands of Leviathan (the state) that there have to be rules and limitations in order to protect the citizens against a despotic state (Weidemann, 2014, p. 4). There exists surely a field of tension between security and liberty (Weidemann, 2014, p. 8). Will the “digital Panoptikum“ (Ennöckl, 2014, p. 2) with reference to „Panopticon“ (Bentham, 2011; Bozovic, 1995, pp. 31ff) as metaphor for dangers of modern information society—also like “1984“ (Orwell, 1949) with his Big Brother is watching you—become true? It should be critically remarked that politicians are discussing the question of private sphere in digital world from the perspective of security aspects. But citizens should take care of the fact that winning more security goes hand in hand with losing private sphere (Lanier, 2014, p. 85). Protection of private sphere in Austria see Ennöckl (2014) and in the USA see Warren and Brandeis (1890) with the very fundamental right to be let alone (Warren & Brandeis, 1890, p. 193). Privacy and data protection are also a precautionary measure against an allmighty Leviathan and other protagonists (Bendrath, 2014, p. 22). At the other side and to understand also the US-position: The first US-President George Washington said that nothing is more necessary than secret knowledge in order to thwart the plans of the enemy but nothing is more difficult to get than this secret knowledge (Schaper, 2014, p. 2). So it is necessary to find the famous needle in a haystack. Because of the new global threats there is a clear necessity for the global player USA to complete information-collecting (Schilling, 2014, p. 97). NSA is using Deep Packet Inspection (DPI)-equipment in order to select and therefore divide interesting data packages from uninteresting ones (Bendrath, 2014, p. 24). It has been never a secret that German security authorities and Bundesnachrichtendienst (BND) have cooperated with NSA and have profited from doing so (Schilling, 2014, p. 96; Gusy, 2014, p. 14). In Germany there are deficits of reality and Anti-Americanism which does not like to consider the real reasons of US-Secret Services activities (Schilling, 2014, p. 96). There are some suggestions of EU-politicians against NSA-activities like suspension of „Safe Harbour“-Agreement and Terrorist Finance Tracking Program but also clear rules concerning the exchange of data with the USA in order to fight against terrorism and organized crime (Sippel, 2014, pp. 26-27).

22 There are also other counter-measures like in Austria (Austrian Strategy for Cyber security) and European Union (European Cyber security-Strategy) (Christian & Mund, 2014, p. 10). The Internet celebrated as the most important instrument of distribution of democracy has become stage of the biggest surveillance program in human history. Four quadrillion data have been stored 2010 in the super computers of the USA, who is pressed to build new Computer centres in Utah (Rosenbach & Stark, 2014, p. 11; Schilling, 2014, p. 96). For each human being on earth there exists an electronic file stored by NSA (Bendrath, 2014, p. 25). In the year 2014, for each Austrian citizen there are on average about 500 to 2,000 records (Ennöckl, 2014, p. 3). There have been projects like Prism and Tempora of NSA and GCHQ (Government Communications Headquarters) which have caused some troubles with other states and governments (Jobs, 2014, p. 46). The NSA is investing 250 million USD each year in order to weaken security systems. It is also clear that there will be no perfect source code. So it is necessary to surveillance the whole supply chain and security and data protection are actually always very important (Baumgartner, 2014, p. 21).

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BKA makes research in the Internet\textsuperscript{24} to recognize relevant contents and analyze them systematically (BMI, 2011, p. 1).

**Conclusion and Forward Look**

With the help of special methods-design (Critical Genre Analysis (Bhatia, 2012), Computer-Mediated Discourse Analysis (Herring), Critical Metaphor Analysis, and Language Profiling Analysis (Drommel, 2011a, 2011b)) it is possible to analyze the functions (exclusive, inclusive, signals, and camouflage function) and strategies (propaganda, recruiting, ideological training, and internal communication) of this specific sometimes open or undercover used languages of Rotwelsch, Argot, Fenja, terrorist and Jihadi groups. So it is possible to get an indicator of the change from a secret language to public language use. Legislative institutions and the police have to study these functions and strategies in order to practice the best fitting counter-action against crime and terrorism. But more Humint (Human Intelligence\textsuperscript{25}) (Jobs, 2014, p. 43)—not only technical-digital-resources\textsuperscript{26}, has to be installed to fight criminals, OC, terrorist and jihadi-groups with surely very sophisticated forms of technical surveillance, recording, passing forward, and grading (Bendrath, 2014) have to be installed also. There are still questions to be answered: What will be the balance between surveillance by the state and protection of privacy or is it a zero-sum-game? Is there away to escape out of the dilemma? How can secret services regain trust of citizens? Which role should play effective parliamentary control (Öztürk, 2014, p. 1)? Another question also has to be answered: What is more important for us: Private life or effective fight against crime or will there be a compromise (Singh, 2014, p. 13)? How can Big Data (Analytics) and Security optimized (Baumgartner, 2014, p. 8)? Why is it interesting and productive for pedagogics and foreign language didactics to make research in the field of secret languages? The following answer in case of Rotwelsch will try to give a better understanding of the subject: A lot of people do not know that every days in colloquial language used words like e.g., „pennen” (sleeping) or „Kohldampf” (hunger) have their etymological origin in Rotwelsch-based based special languages called „Rotwelsch-dialects”, which are spoken only seldom since the end of WWII in Germany and have influenced teenage and modern subculture slangs (Efing & Leschber, 2009, p. 5). So it is very important to go back to the roots of words and to do research in the special fields of (secret) languages in order to understand better the sociolinguistic and pragmatic frame conditions of language use. (Comparative) linguistics also can support with her specialized theoretical and methodological knowledge the fight against criminals, organized crime and terrorism.

\textsuperscript{24} Secret Language in Internet see also Efing (2012, pp. 159ff).

\textsuperscript{25} Napoleon Bonaparte has said once that one spy on the right place compensates 20,000 soldiers in the battle line (Jobs, 2014, p. 44).

\textsuperscript{26} Pentland (2014, pp. 84ff) criticizes that NSA is collecting her complete knowledge in one huge big pile. So it has been easy for Edward Snowden, one of the most important whistleblowers of the USA (Greenwald, 2014, p. 12) to get access to „Big Data” of NSA (Hanser, 2014, p. 3). The NSA is able nowadays to record the whole communications of six countries for one month (Bendrath, 2014, p. 25). Devlin (2014, pp. 624-626) declares that collecting of „Big Data” like „Dataveillance” (Clarke, 1988, pp. 498ff) cannot fulfill its declared purpose. The patterns and correlations of „Big Data” stay coincidentally, if we do not understand the basic connections between data (Mainzer, 2014, p. 698). Bergen et al., 2014 draw the conclusion that the overall problem for U.S. counterterrorism officials is not that they need vaster amounts of information from the bulk surveillance programs, but they do not sufficiently understand or widely share the information they already possess that was derived from conventional law enforcement and intelligence techniques. The Snowden scandal has shown that there is obviously a tendency in secret services to exceed their legal limits, thereby jeopardizing their reputation with own governments and citizens alike (Krausz, 2014, p. 99). Sixty percent of terrorism-suspicious people have been identified because of traditional investigatory methods and routine work of police (Weidemann, 2014, p. 6; similar see Clarke et al., 2013, pp. 1ff).
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**Appendix A**

![Gaunerzinker](http://www.arabistik.uni-bayreuth.de/de/download/Wolfer_2007_Arabische_Geheimsprachen.pdf)
Appendix B

„Gaunierzinken“

Insignificant signs on the wall of flats and houses are warning next thieves because of possible dangers or they are provoking attention if there is something to come for.

Standing after some examples.

**Segment 1 (top-down)**

Preparation to theft (good object)
very good house
grand scale house
good willed house
not dwelled house

There are living women with mild hearts
lonely living women
just visited house (have already stolen)

**Segment 2 (top-down)**

nothing of interest
dog
dog in yard
authority member
active policemen

avoid this community
danger or always inhabited
good welcome if speaking about God