

Humour or hatespeech: auto- and hetero-stereotypes linked to the concepts of *Alman* and *Kana(c)ke* in Kiezdeutsch

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Abstract

This paper examines the auto- and hetero-stereotypes¹ about immigrants (*Kanaks*) and Germans (*Almans*) contained in the so-called *Alman*-jokes and, in a wider sense, other humorous manifestations of stereotypes linked to the slur concepts of *Alman* and *Kana(c)ke* in German social media. The research is empirically grounded, both qualitatively and quantitatively, in a 3-billion-word corpus that has been annotated at both the morphological, syntactic and semantic levels to facilitate informed corpus inspection, pattern identification and statistics. We discuss the types of humorous constructions and word formations encountered, as well as the linguistic mechanisms and vehicles of possible hate speech linked to slur-based stereotyping. Theoretical aspects and identified stereotypes are illustrated with over 100 authentic joke examples from the corpus, as well as an exhaustive lexical overview of *Alman/Kanak* compounding and derivation processes. Finally, qualitative findings are backed up with collocation statistics, sentiment analysis and word vector distances from a machine-learned word embedding model.

1 Introduction

Stereotypes are essential to the mechanisms of both verbal humour and hate speech (HS). In the former, they help draw on utterance-external background assumptions to feed incongruence effects, in the latter they facilitate othering and (demeaning) generalizations. When directed at ethnic minorities, slurs are used to package or trigger purported group features through stereotypical association and/or by lexically incorporating material referring to physical appearance, behavior, predilections or food. Not least in a freedom-of-speech setting, it is an interesting question whether the use of slurs and ethnic stereotypes in jokes, word plays, puns etc. per necessity carries an element of HS, with ensuing social constraints over-ruling "freedom-of-humour" (Hietalahti et al. 2016), or whether discriminatory attitudes and funniness can be kept separate in the minds of speaker and listener. Here, we adopt the latter view in our discussion of German/immigrant auto-and hetero-stereotypes expressed in humorous linguistic terms. Using Twitter and Facebook examples from a large (3-billion-word) German social media corpus (cf. Bick 2020a), compiled for the XPEROHS hate speech project (cf. Baumgarten et al. 2019), we suggest that a distinction should be made between **form** (surprise, incongruity, repetition,

¹ Here defined as generalized, fixed and over-simplified notions held about other ethnic, religious or social groups (hetero-stereotypes) or about the corresponding self-group (auto-stereotypes).

register, word formation), **function** (intent, speech acts, social embedding) and overt or implied **content** (stereotypes, views, presuppositions) of humorous utterances, and arguing that these three levels, while intertwined and interacting, ultimately correspond to three different levels of perception, with humour manifesting primarily on the first, hate speech (but also group bonding and entertainment) on the second, and stereotypes on the third.

There is some support for this approach in the relevant literature. Thus, Anderson (2015) addresses the humour-HS dichotomy by differentiating between *racist* and (merely) **racial** humour, asking if the inclusion of racial slurs in humour automatically makes it unfunny. In the same vein, Smuts (2010) doubts that finding a joke funny requires endorsing the stereotypes it expresses, and takes a consequentialist view, i. e. that humour is (only) wrong when it has harmful consequences. Koch (2015) raises the question whether a joke as a type can be considered morally flawed irrespective of its tokens and concludes that (offensive) jokes as types are ethically neutral, concluding that (a) endorsing a joke's proposition is not necessary to find it funny, and (b) a joke seen as a speech act can't be immoral as such (type) because that would require (impossible) proof that *all* of its realizations (tokens) are necessarily immoral, irrespective of context and intent. Technau (2013), finally, sees humour as a complex phenomenon with intertwined levels of meaning, where the linguistic taboos enforced by the Political Correctness-movement may have the counter-effect of inciting their provocative use in non-pejorative (humorous) contexts.

In order to shed light on these issues and investigate the (humorous/HS) use of ethnic stereotypes in our corpus, we focus on the slur demonyms *Alman* (Turkish for 'German') and *Kanacke* (pejorative for 'foreigner')². As will be discussed in section 7, there is statistical support in the corpus for the derogatory status of both terms (cf. Bick 2021), with *Kanacke* ranking higher on a negative polarity axis than *Alman*, although both appear to be far milder than the religious slur *Musel* ('Muslim'). Exploiting the grammatical annotation of the corpus (cf. Bick 2020a), we also identified, for both words, a plethora of derogatory derivations and compounds. These included generic 4-letter affixations (*Scheiß-/Kack-/Drecksalzzman* or *Almanscheisse/-kacke/-shit*), but also culturally more specific references to prostitution (*Almanhurensohn*, *Hurensohnalman*, *Almanbastard*, *Almanpicos* (*piç* = 'Bastard')) or lack of virility (*Almancu[c]k*).

When used in a humorous fashion, however, in particular when contrasting joke constructions (a1–2), the terms cover a much wider, and less negative, range of sentiments, including sarcasm, mild pejoration (*Almanitis im Endstadium*) and even ironic (*Alman-of-Color*, a1) or positive auto-stereotyping (a3). It is such humorous usage we will focus on here. Obviously, the same stereotype may manifest both as a single-word pun (*Bioalman*) or as a complete joke (a1). The fact that the contrasting jokes often contain both a hetero- and an auto-stereotype, not only adds to their funniness, but also mitigates any demeaning or othering effect by exaggerating both ways.

- (a1) *Nigas und kanacken geben sich anabolen und almans kaufen sich haferflocken*
 'Nigas and kanacks take steroids, almans buy oat cereals'

² These translations follow the definitions provided in the German online dictionary DWDS, but usage and meaning may vary somewhat across the language community.

- (a2) *alman sehen nach friseurbesuch aus wie kanaken vor*
 ‘after going to the hairdresser’s, almans look like kanaks before going there’
- (a3) *willst du hochzeit oder almanmässig mit 20 personen*
 ‘do you want a [real] wedding or a la Alman with 20 people’

Linguistic clues, both lexical and grammatical) place such usage within the Kiezdeutsch variety of German³ (cf. Freywald et al. 2011), a youth sociolect spoken in immigrant neighbourhoods by Turkish, Arab and other ethnicities. Thus, the examples (a1–3) differ from standard German not only by using words like *alman* or *niga*), and the verb *sich geben* (‘give oneself’) instead of *nehmen* (‘take’ [steroids]), but also at the grammatical level, in the absence of singular articles (*friseurbesuch*, *hochzeit*), lower-casing of nouns and the replacement of an irregular plural form (*Anabolika*) with a (wrong) regular ending (*anabolen*). Interestingly, Kiezdeutsch is also being appropriated by young Germans identifying with the same community (cf. Wiese 2013) – a fact that may explain the polarity shift for in-group and out-group designators, and the apparent co-existence of humorous effects and derogatory content triggers in the same communication unit.

The structure of this paper separates, as mentioned above, the three linguistic levels of form, function, and content: We will start by discussing for, i. e. the terms *Alman* and *Kanacke* as such, their definitions and morphological linguistics (section 2). After this, we will show how humour and stereotyping are intertwined in the special genre of *Alman* jokes. First, in section 3 and 4, we will keep the stereotype aspect in the background and attempt a (form) classification of joke types for this genre. Next, in section 5, we will focus on content and apply the opposite perspective, listing the stereotypes found behind the humour. Section 6 will apply a function angle and discuss possible evidence of hate speech. Finally, section 7 will provide some statistical evidence for the identified stereotypes.

2 The words *Alman* and *Kanak*: definitions and usage

The term *Alman*, literally meaning ‘German’ in Turkish, entered the German language with the advent of Turkish the *Gastarbeiter* minority in Germany, invited to boost the German labor force. Rather than filling temporary positions, most stayed in the country, giving rise to a large minority of Turkish immigrants and their descendants. Although often used in a derogatory context, *Alman* is not necessarily a slur per se. In current usage, its meaning space encompasses not only ethnic Germans (b1), but also the concept of *Deutschländer*, meaning ‘a person of Turkish descent’ not any longer perceived as properly Turkish. In the latter sense, *Alman* is always negative (b2).

- (b1) *Almans sind ja nicht unbedingt Deutsche, sondern halt so richtige almans.*
 ‘Of course, Almans are not all Germans, but precisely typical Almans’
- (b2) *Ich kann nichts dafür, dass meine Großeltern 50 Jahre früher als Flüchtlinge gekommen sind. Deswegen muss ich mich nicht als Alman beschimpfen lassen.*
 ‘It isn’t my fault that my grandparents came 50 years earlier than the refugees. That’s no excuse for insulting me as an Alman.’

The word *Kana(c)ke* was originally taken from Hawaiian (meaning ‘person’) and used by British plantation colonists to denote Oceanian indigenous workers. German borrowed the term

³ Also called Ghetto slang, Kanak Sprach, Kanakisch, Türkendeutsch or Ausländerdeutsch.

with a derogatory, and much wider meaning, today applying primarily to immigrants from the Middle East and North Africa (cf. Heine 2016). The 81,000 instances in our corpus exhibit a great deal of orthographical variation, involving lower casing (40%), k/ck-alteration (almost evenly matched) and e-drop (*Kanak*, *Kanack*). For the latter, the normal *-en* plural is replaced with *-s* or a rather un-German *-x*, phonetically contracting *k* and *s* (*kanaks*, *kanax*). Rarer forms have letter gemination for *n*, *k* or *a*. Female forms account for about 2% of the corpus hits (*kanakinnen* or even gendered *Kanak:innen*). By comparison, the lexeme *Alman*, plural *Almans*, with 116,000 occurrences, has a more fixed orthography, albeit with a similarly high percentage of lower-casing. Female forms (*Almaninnen*, *Alman:innen*) are extremely rare.

Today, the use of *Alman* and *Kanak* is not restricted to German-speaking ethnic Turks and ethnic Germans, respectively. Rather, both have invaded the language space of the other. In particular they occur in the Kiezdeutsch⁴sociolect (cf. Freywald et al. 2011), spoken in immigrant neighborhoods by a melting pot of immigrant ethnicities, including e. g. Arabs, but also young Germans identifying with that community. Over the last 10–20 years, the concept of *Alman* has also morphed into an important vehicle of irony, including self-targeting irony. As such, it provides an interesting window into various stereotypes about both Germans (*Almans*) and immigrants (*Kanaks*). Transcending simple ad-hoc irony, this has even led to an established genre of *Alman* jokes with a fixed narrative pattern. In this setting, and as an auto-stereotype, even the words *Kana(c)ke*⁵ or *Niga*, otherwise strong slurs and quite derogatory, can morph into ironic or neutral territory.⁶ Though we will here focus on humour, this development is not limited to jokes, but part of a wider development. For instance, it also manifests in pop culture, particularly in the phenomenon of “Deutschrap” (Tien Vu 2021). It is an interesting question whether this development simply reflects an existing cultural divide with a disadvantaged minority, or rather a new, positive sense of identity on the part of the minority, as well as increasing integration. Thus, on the one hand, the new sociolect can still be linked to a negative out-group picture (cf. Wiese 2011), and activation of associated negative stereotypes can compromise school performance of in-group members (cf. Martiny et al. 2014). On the other hand, the use of *Alman* and *Kanak* in our corpus data, as well as the stereotypes linked to them, suggest increased self-assertion, with an inverted angle on the in-group/out-group relation, with Germans (*Almans*) in the role of outsider.

Both *Alman* and *Kanake* support the full range of German word formation: derivation, affixing and compounding. For instance, we find the derivation *almanisieren* (almanize), and the Turkish toponym *Almanya* (‘Germany’) spawns the synonyms *Almanland*, *Almanien*, *Almansland*, *Almanesien* and the islamization pun *Almanistan*. Prototypical *Alman* behavior is described with adjectives such as *almanhaft*, *almanesisch*, *almanisch*, *almannisch*, *almanig*, *almanisiert*, *almanesk*, *almanmässig*, *almansch*, *almanesque* etc., or nouns denoting “almanhood”: *Almanismus*, *Almantum*, *Almanistik*, *Almankeit*, *Almanität*, *Almanness*. Also, German infixing of the

⁴ Also called *Ghettoslang*, *Straßendeutsch*, *Kanak Sprach*, *Kanakisch*, *Türkendeutsch*, *Türkenslang* or *Ausländerdeutsch*

⁵ The usage difference has left orthographical traces, with *Kanacke* often becoming *Kanak* in Kiezdeutsch.

⁶ The ironic potential of the term is stressed by Mandel (2008: 2), who sees it as having been “transformed into an indirect moniker of subaltern power”, not least due to the work of writer-rapper Feridun Zaimoğlu.

participle morpheme *ge-* and the infinitive marker *zu*, is supported between prefixes and verb stems, as in *angealman* ('having been insulted in an Alman way') or *rumzualmanen* ('doing or saying meaningless things in an Alman way').

The corpus also exhibits a great deal of ordinary German productive compounding, with a fair share of derogatives, demonstrating that hateful speech is not a one-way street, but also used by the minority against the majority. Thus, most ordinary derogatory affixes are used: *Alman-scheisse/-kackel/-shit* or *Scheiß-/Kack-/Drecksalman* ('dirt[y]/shit[ty] Alman'). Naturally, *Alman* also combines with the most common simplex slur directed at Germans, *Hurensohn* ('son-of-a-bitch'): *Almanhurensohn*, *Hurensohnalman*). The related *Bastard* is used in a similar way (*Almanbastard*, *Almanpicos* (*piç* – Turkish: 'bastard')). Other terms have a sexual connotation (*Almanfotze* ('cunt'), *Almanschwuchtel* ('she-faggot')) or are based on animals perceived as dirty (*Almanköter/-hund* ['dog'], *Almansau* ('pig'), *Almanratte* ('rat')). Superlatives like *Über-/Uberalman*, *Superalman*, *Ultraalman*, *Premiumalman*, *Oberalman* ('Alman-in-chief'), *Alphaalman*, *Vollblutalman* ('thoroughbred Alman') and *Protoalman* illustrate that *Alman* is not just an ethnicity term, but also a feature concept that can be intensity-graded.

Specific stereotypes about Germans enter into *Almannazi/Nazialman* and *Faschoalman* (history: 'nazis'), *Kartoffelalman/Almankartoffeln* (food: 'potatoes'), *Schweinefresser-Alman* (forbidden food: 'pig eater') and *Lauchalman/Almanlauch* (body: 'leek', i. e. long and thin). More generically, compounds about diminished manhood (*Almancuck* – Turkish: 'sissy') or intellect (*Almandepp* ('idiot'), *Vollalman* ('complete alman'), *Alman-Otto* (likely a reference to the expression *Otto Normalverbraucher* – 'Otto the average [German] consumer'). More neutrally, compounds can denote things typically Alman, e. g. *Almanstäbchen* ('cashier desk divider'), *Almanwurst* ('sausage with pig meat'), *Almandudler* (word play about a soft drink), and societal conditions, e. g. *Quotenalman* ('affirmative action Alman', about minimum ethnic representation in schools). Last not least the term is used in humoristic word creation, e. g. *Bioalman* (all Germans are eco-fanatics⁷), *Alpenalman/Bergalman* ('Austrian') and *Alman-o-meter* ('a measuring tool for Alman-ness') or word plays like *Almankalypse now* ('Alman + a reference to the film *Apocalypse Now*'). At a reflective meta-level, we find words like *Almanbashing/-shaming* and *Schuld kult-Alman* ('guilt-obsessed Alman', about German historical guilt-feeling).

Given the larger spelling variation, the morphological productivity for *Kanake* is even larger, with almost 6000 (!) different compound and derivation lemmas. Apart from more grammatical derivations like *kanakisch/kanakig/kanakenhaft* ('Kanak-like'), there are many derogatory compounds (e. g. *Kanakenpack* ('Kanak rabble'), *Kanakenfotze/-thot* ('Kanak slut'), *Kanakenbrut* ('Kanak brood'), *Kanakenplage* ('Kanak plague'), *Kanakenmüll* ('Kanak trash')), but also interesting stereotype carriers such as *Kanakenbart* ('Kanak beard'), *Kanakenfriseur* ('Kanak hair dresser'), *Kanakenpfeife* ('shisha, water pipe'), *Kanakenbrot* ('Kanak pita bread'), *Kanakenprollauto* ('Kanak prole car'). References to a diffuse 'Kanak country/place' (*Kana[c|k]kistan*, *Kanakenland*, *Kanakatolien* [pun: Anatolia], *Kanakenkiez*) usually occur in negative contexts.

⁷ The prefix *bio-* means 'organic' or 'eco-' and is frequently used in connection with, e. g., consumer products.

3 *Alman* joke schemes

Alman-Kanak jokes have developed into a genre of their own, and work by contrasting one against the other, or by picturing either from the perspective of the other, in an exaggerated way, often involving direct comparisons and contrasting.⁸ But while the humorous effect is achieved by black-and-white exaggeration and stereotyping, part of the jokes' appeal is that they are anchored in real-life examples and common preconceptions, allowing the listener/reader to identify with the joke's setting. It is important to stress that these jokes may contain both negative and positive stereotypes and also provide the minority *kanaks* to get back at the majority *almans*. Since the jokes are largely created within the Kiezdeutsch community, they provide interesting insights in both hetero- and auto- stereotyping at the same time. It is noteworthy that the share of humour-containing posts among the ca. 180,000 *Alman/Kanak*-hits in the corpus is quite high, especially if the spelling *Kanacke* is excluded and if even more so when restricted to stereotype-laden topics such as food and cars. Thus, an inspection of a sequential search for the lemma pattern *Alman|Kanak?k*.⁹ sub-queried for the semantic tag <V(ground)?> (vehicles) suggested that over 90% of the ca. 3900 search hits exhibited one or other element of humour.

3.1 What-is-the-difference jokes

As indicated above, the tone and sentiment of *Alman* jokes is quite different from the kind of demeaning and discriminating humour that can be found in anti-minority jokes created by hateful members of the majority. To provide some kind of baseline for non-*Alman*, "ordinary" minority jokes, the general joke scheme "What is the difference between ..." can be used. As the examples show, this general scheme goes all the way from negative stereotyping (c1–2, targeting two minorities at the same time) to outright HS (c3–4).

- (c1) *Was ist der Unterschied zwischen einem Türken und einem Bayern ? – Der Türke kann besser deutsch 😊 😊*
 'What is the difference between a Turk and a Bavarian? – The Turk speaks better German'
- (c2) *Was ist der Unterschied zwischen einem Türken und einem Ossi ? – Den Türken kannst du nur 1x verarschen.*
 'What is the difference between a Turk and an East-German – You can take the fool the Turk [fuck with the Turk] only once.'
- (c3) *Was ist der Unterschied zwischen einem Schwarzen und einer Pizza ? – Ne Pizza kann eine Familie ernähren*
 'What is the difference between a black person and a pizza? – The pizza can feed a family.'
- (c4) *Was ist der Unterschied zwischen einer Ratte und einem Türken??? – Vor der Ratte sind Brems-spuren!!!*
 'What is the difference between a rat and a Turk??? – There are braking marks in front of the rat.'

⁸ To identify candidates for contrasting jokes in the corpus, the afore-mentioned technique of chained searches is quite effective. Here, a *Kanack* search is performed on top of an *Alman* search or vice-versa. In the most common joke scheme, both terms are in the plural and subjects, allowing for further, tag-based search constraints.

⁹ This search pattern is a so-called "regular expression", where the vertical bar joins alternative lemmas in brackets. (.*) means one or more letters, and a question mark means 0 or 1 occurrences of a given letter.

3.2 Simple juxtaposition


Interestingly, the “What is the difference” joke scheme is not used in Alman jokes at all. Rather, contrasting is achieved through a juxtaposition scheme. Three different constructions are used, the most common being simple juxtaposition: (1) *Almans are/do/like X ... (while) kanaks are/do/like Y*.

- (d1) *Kanaken immer halbe Klasse miternährt während Almans mit Geodreieck und Parabel Brötchen genau ausmessen damit keiner zu viel bekommt*
 ‘Kanaks always feed half the class, while Almans measure rolls with a ruler so nobody gets too much.’

Usually, the contrasting scheme involves typical everyday situations presented in exaggerated or ironical form, often exploiting auto- or hetero-stereotypes. Sometimes the topic is introduced as an opening NP or small clause:

- (d2) *alman zum einzellkind: möchtest du heut abend lasagne oder schnitzel? – kanaken zum 12. sohn: willst du jetzt essen oder schläge?*
 ‘Almans to single child: would you like lasagne or schnitzel for dinner? – kanaks to 12th son: will you eat or have a spanking?’

Rather than comparing an *Alman* setting with a *Kanak* setting, the contrasting scheme can also be modified to compare inter-group situations with in-group situations:

- (d3) *kanacke zum kanacken: k1: ich hab deine schwester gefickt – k2: du hurensohn ich bring dich um – kanacke zum alman: k1: ich hab dein schwester gefickt – almann: habt ihr auch verhütet?*

 ‘kanak to kanak: k1: I fucked your sister – k2: you son-of-a-bitch, I kill you – kanak to alman: k1: I fucked your sister – alman: have you used protection?’

Not always the opposition pair is *Alman* vs. *Kanack* – sometimes an Alman joke exploits other contrasts, like the political CS (counter-speech) joke in (d4).

- (d4) *Linksextreme zünden Autos an, Rechtsextreme Ausländer. Almans finden Linke schlimmer weil sie Autos besitzen aber keine Ausländer*
 ‘Left-wing extremists burn cars, right-wing extremists burn foreigners. Almans think left-wingers are worse, because Almans own cars, but no foreigners.’

3.3 Wenn... and Wie... jokes

The second construction is (2) *Wenn Almans, ... wenn Kanak, ...* (‘When Almans... Kanaks...’):

- (e1) *wenn ausländer betrogen werden liegt die fotze im krankenhaus aber wenn almans betrogen werden fragen sie ganz höflich : „schatz wieso hast du das getan war das ein ausrutscher?“*
 ‘when a foreigner is cheated on, that bitch is in the hospital, but when Almans are cheated upon, they politely ask: “Honey why have you done that, was that a one-time slip?”’

A third juxtaposition construction is (3) *Wie Almans... Wie Kanaks...* (‘How Almans... Kanaks...’):

- (e2) *wie almans kanakenwörter aussprechen: - schüsch – maschalle r – waller | wie kanaken almanwörter aussprechen: Rindfleischetikettierungsüber..... überw..... üüüüüübeeeeerrrwaaaaa junge vallah was das für scheiße amk diese wort ist halbe buch wer kann das lesen amk*
 ‘how almans pronounce kanak words: shush – mashaller – waller | how kanaks pronounce alman words: beef-labeling-monii...moniitooor... boy vallah what that shit amk [*amina koyim* – Turkish: ‘in-your-cunt’] this word is half book who can read that amk’

On the backdrop of the established contrasting joke scheme, type (2) and (3) *Alman/Kanak* jokes may also be employed in a more one-sided fashion, where one stereotype is emphasized while the contrasting one is backgrounded, implicit or even left out. This is particularly true of the *Wie...* (‘How...’) construction. In these cases, the joke text is often combined with a picture, or followed by an http link to visual content necessary to complete the joke. The multi-modal combination is so frequent that it can be considered part of the joke scheme.

- (e3) *Wenn dein alman Freund den du zum essen eingeladen hast auf tam Kanake tun will und 10 türkische Peperonis auf einmal ist*
 ‘When the Alman friend you’ve invited for dinner, tries to act like Kanak and eats 10 Turkish hot peppers in one mouthful.’
- (e4) *wie almans um die ecke gucken wenn sie irgendwo arabisch hören*
 ‘How Almans look over their shoulder whenever they here Arabic somewhere.’
- (e5) *wie kanackenmütter sich entschuldigen: obststeller*
 ‘How Kanak mothers apologize: Fruit plate.’

As the absence of “What is the difference” jokes indicates, *Alman* jokes almost always honor the described juxtaposition scheme and rarely exploit pre-established German joke schemes. It should therefore be stressed that the above *Wie...* and *Wenn...* constructions are not questions. Rather, they are realized with German subclause word order, with the finite verb last. The subclause *Wie...* constructions should not be confused with the established German “What do you call a ...?” joke scheme, which is a true question. The corpus contained only one example of this construction, an almost untranslatable pun involving the *Kartoffel* (‘potato’) slur for Germans and the root *Pell-*, which is used both for skin-cooked potatoes that have to be peeled on the plate and for sun-burnt skin coming off in flakes days later.

- (e6) *Wie nennt man einen Alman mit altem Sonnenbrand? – Pellkartoffel.*
 ‘What do you call an Alman with an old sunburn? – boiled-in-the-skin-potato.’

4 Unstructured humour

4.1 Puns, word formation and grammar

Alongside fixed constructions, we also find other vehicles of humour in the corpus involving *Almans* and *Kanaks*. Thus, the medical *-itis* suffix in *Almanitis* (x1) evokes an inflammation, suggesting in a humorous fashion that the discussion (about head scarves) is exaggerated (‘inflamed’). *Alman-of-Color* (x2) is a word formation modeled on and alluding to PoC (person-of-color) and WoC (woman-of-color). The coining creates a humorous connotation clash with the expectation that all Almans are white, subtly suggesting that one’s opinions and sense of nationality are not linked to skin color. The example contains a further, smiley-hedged, humorous clash, targeting Merkel, who is described conflictingly as both *Mutti* (‘Mummy’ = ‘good’) and *nazi* (= ‘bad’).

- (f1) #Kopftuchdebatte ist **Almanitis** im Endstadium.
‘#headscarf-debate is final-stage almanitis’
- (f2) *Ich als marginalisierter **Alman of Color** sage: Alles Nazis, auch Mutti.* 😏
‘As a marginalized Alman-of-Color I say: They are all nazis, Mummy, too 😏’

Word fusion puns achieve a humorous effect when the reader’s/listener’s brain resolves the “riddle”, but they are also a potent method for implying and generalizing the connectedness of two concepts. For instance, *Kanakistan* raises the specter of a diffuse “country of origin” that is less civilized and undemocratic, and *Kanakatolien* similarly depicts and generalizes Anatolia as a main source of (rural) kanaks. The term *Almansplaining* (Alman+explaining) ironizes about the (criticized and belittling) way in which Almans appropriate the racism discourse on behalf of the immigrants.

The word coining *Alman-o-meter* alludes that Alman-hood is a measurable (negative) feature, suggesting that people can be more, or less ‘Alman’ depending on how (stupidly) they behave. The core motor of the involved humour is grammatical – turning a noun into an adjective and an all-or nothing semantic category (nationality/ethnicity) into a trait like height or intelligence. This is also supported by humorous “superlatives” like *Überalman*, *Premiumalman*, *Protoalman* or the ironical *Ehrenalman* (‘honorary Alman’) and *Vorzeigalman* (‘showcase Alman’).

The attribute use of *Alman* is also found in a special construction, where the adjective reading is forced syntactically by an ad-adjectival quantifier *wie* (‘how’) – not to be confused with the modal “wie...” jokes discussed earlier. Using an ethnopaulism as a quantifiable feature can have an element of linguistic humour (surprise, category clash), but if it isn’t backed up by other humorous elements, the effect is weak (g1) and easily outweighed by hateful content (g2–3).

- (g1) *Schuhspanner, wie Alman kann man sein?*
‘A shoe tree, how Alman can one be.’
- (g2) *wie alman kann man sein um ne warnweste beim fahrradfahren anzuziehen vallah wenn kanaks im m 3er bmw kommen wirst du noch eher umgefahren wenn du sowas anhast*
‘How Alman can you be to wear a warning [reflective] vest on a bicycle vallah when the kanaks come in [their] BMW-3 you will be run over even faster when wearing that kind of thing.’
- (g3) #Hitzewelle auf Platz 1 in den dt. Trends? – wie Alman ist das bitte? – da haben wir mal keinen total verregneten Sommer und wieder wird nur geweint. Scheiß Kartoffeln.
‘#Heat wave No. 1 in German trends? How Alman is that please? – so we for once we don’t have a rainy summer and still they whine. Fucking potatoes.’

4.2 Irony

Like the general Alman joke scheme, puns and many other forms of humour, irony works by juxtaposing two contrasting sets of message contents, providing the brain with a pleasure release (fun) when it resolves (understands) the message clash. In the process, one layer of meaning is colored and enhanced by the other, an effect that can be further compounded by exaggeration. In the case of irony, a surface message clashes with and enhances a hidden, opposite interpretation.

In our corpus, irony is used by both the (Kanak) minority (h1–2, h5) and the (Alman) majority (h3–4), often in a defense/countering tweet. Thus, h1 takes pride in utterance that deemed HS

by an Alman, ridiculing the accusation through irony (Almans have no right to talk about HS). Similarly, h2 counters an accusation of anti-Alman discrimination with irony, implying that it is Almans who are the real discriminators.

- (h1) *das ist endlich meine Streetcred Auszeichnung 🏆 wenn ich von nem Alman wegen Hatespeech angezeigt werde 😏*
 ‘This is finally my Streetcred award 🏆 when I get denounced for hate speech by an Alman 😏’
- (h2) *Diese armen Armen Almanis 😞 sie werden so diskriminiert*
 ‘Those poor Almanis 😞 they are sooo being discriminated against.’

On the other hand, the supposedly German tweeters in h3–4 use irony to defend their accusations of sexual assault (h3) and anti-Semitism (h4) on the part of the (Muslim) immigrants, at the same time hedging against the counter accusation that German women bear all the fault by behaving provocatively (h3) and that Germans have (historically) no right to talk about anti-semitism.

- (h3) *Ich dacha, die zügellosen Almanweiber seien Schuld 😏*
 ‘And I thought it was the fault of those uninhibited Alman women-PEJ 😏’
- (h4) *Jaaaa ... – Aber wenn er nicht von Almans kommt ist es ja auch kein RICHTIGER Antisemitismus. 😏*
 ‘Weeell – But if it doesn’t come from an Alman, naturally it can’t be REAL antisemitism 😏’

Finally, we also find self-irony, as in h5, where a foreigner points out that mobbing is human nature and found in all cultures, presumably¹⁰ defending an Alman who complained about being mobbed (by Kanaks), against a counter tweet that Almans are the real mobbers (cf. h4).

- (h5) *nur almans kennen die mechanismen von mobbing, wir ausländer wachsen in raumkapseln auf <3*
 ‘only Almans know how to mob, we foreigners grow up in [isolated] space capsules <3’

5 The stereotypes behind the humour

5.1 Direct versus indirect stereotyping

Stereotypes can be defined as generalized, fixed and over-simplified notions. When applied to people, they may govern one ethnic or cultural groups assumptions about another such group in an indiscriminate way and project presumed group traits on all individual members without further evidence, facilitating othering, discrimination and – if directed at a minority target in demeaning terms – hate speech. In this vein, slurs function as crystallization points for stereotypes, and the majority of the contextualizable occurrences of *Alman* in our corpus can be linked to stereotypes. Sometimes, stereotypes may even be overtly marked as such, either lexically, as in (x1) where *Almanding* (‘Alman thing’) calls the stereotype of all Germans being hobby-politicians, or syntactically, as in the afore-mentioned attributive *how Alman [is that/x ...?]*.

¹⁰ The original in-reply-to tweets are sometimes unrecoverable because Twitter has deleted a tweet or an account on the basis of their HS policy.

- (i2) *Sich über irgend ne Mulle beim Frühstückfernsehen aufzuregen ist auch so ein Almanding*
 ‘Getting upset about some woman-slang on breakfast tv is also one of these Alman things.’

In the majority of cases, however, stereotypes are expressed indirectly, implied by a humorous anecdote or comparison. Thus, (x2) vents the common stereotype of Germans loving rules and bureaucracy, beyond all reason and common sense.

- (i2) *wenn Krieg ausbrechen würde Almans würden ersma Anzeige wegen Ruhestörung und Sachbeschädigung erstatten* 😞 😞
 ‘If there was a war, Almans’ first reaction would be a [police] complaint about noise and property damage 😞 😞’

5.2 Overt Generalizations

Stereotyping is often linked to certain linguistic constructions. Thus, the inherent generalization may be made explicit at the surface level by linguistic means, such as plural, demonstratives (‘these’) or quantifiers (‘all’). Also, since stereotypes are by definition simplistic and often used for othering or delimiting group identities, they thrive in a contrastive setting. The latter is inductive to humour (j1–2), including the joke constructions discussed in the last chapter, and almost by default combine hetero- with auto-stereotypes. Thus, (j1) appropriates the stereotype of Turkish and Arab mothers spoiling their (male) children, and the Porsche-lover image in (j2) is a variation on the macho auto-stereotype cultivated by Kanak men.

- (j1) *Durch Corona leben almans mit helikopter und hypochonder müttern wie Kanaken seit Anbeginn der Zeit*
 ‘Because of Corona Almans [now] live with helicopter and hypochondriac mothers – like Kanaks since the beginning of time.’
- (j2) *Eine tenure Kaffeemaschine bei almans ist wie ein porsche bei kanacken*
 ‘For an Alman an expensive coffee machine is what a Porsche is for a Kanak.’

Corpus searches for surface generalizations (k1–4) of the type *[all|these] Almans/Kanaks are ...*, however, rarely contain irony (k3) or humour (k4). Many simply vent stereotypical accusations (k1) or even (plain) hate speech (k2).

- (k1) *Diese almans sind als rassisten geboren*
 ‘These almans are born racist.’
- (k2) *Alle Kanaken sind toxisch aber Kanakinnen kommen damit klar weil die selbst toxisch sind*
 ‘All Kanaks are toxic but Kanak women can handle it because they are toxic themselves.’
- (k3) *alle almans sind anscheinend als islamexperten geboren na klar*
 ‘All Almans seem to be born Islam experts, sure thing.’
- (k4) *Almans sind so lange KommunistInnen bis es darum geht, ihren Netflix Account mit anderen zu teilen.*
 ‘Almans are communists, until it gets to sharing their Netflix account.’

5.3 An inventory of stereotypes

Table 1 lists some of the most frequent humour-embedded hetero- and auto-stereotypes found in the corpus. Given that the repertory of *Alman* jokes primarily represents a humorous minority perspective on German majority, *hetero-* here refers to *Almans*, and *auto-* to *Kanaks*. That said, individual jokes may well enact the opposite perspective. Also, when listing inter-cultural

stereotypes, it should be noted that some have a much larger bearing on inter-group sentiment and behavior than others. Thus, personality stereotypes about character and morals will have a bigger impact than preference stereotypes about food and music.

Almans (hetero-stereotype)	Kanaks (auto-stereotype)
small, nuclear family	large, extended family
laissez-faire upbringing	strict upbringing
free sex	severe morals
sexy, promiscuous females	sexy, macho males
rich and penny-pinching	poor and generous
bureaucratic, theoretical	actions, gut feeling
high-brow talking	slang code
performance-ambitious	knows how to enjoy life
eco-freaks, vegans, NGOs	down-to-earth

Table 1: *Alman/Kanak hetero- and auto-stereotypes*

In addition, there were many examples of what could be called **preference** stereotypes for both Almans [A] and Kanaks [K], e. g. regarding food (A: cheese and jam, mashed potatoes and fish sticks, K: pita bread, melon), cars (A: VW Passat, K: C-Class Merc), hair (A: bad hair, K: stylish hair) or clothing (A: Socks in sandals, check shirts, hiking clothes and rucksack, bicycle helmet, K: Adidas shoes, Alpha jackets, jogging trousers, Nike cap).

5.4 Sex and gender stereotypes

Sex and gender stereotypes, both male and female, play a central role in our Alman/Kanak corpus data. A positive Kanak auto-stereotype of strong, macho men is contrasted with the hetero-stereotype of the weaker, softer *Bio-Alman*, the former on steroids, the latter on müsli cereals (a1), one with a tough attitude towards [back] pain, the other in need of medication (11).

- (11) *Almans: Voltaplex – Kanaken: komm und lauf auf mein Rücken*
 ‘Almans: Painkillers – Kanaks: come walk on my back.’

It is part and parcel of these joke-wrapped stereotypes that they often come with a healthy shot of self-irony, as in (12) that apart from accusing Almans of prejudice also portrays Kanak physical prowess as swagger. Another example of self-irony is (13), where a Turkish tweeter takes on the cousin-marrying hetero-stereotype, combining the tweet with a male-gaze picture.

- (12) *Wenn Leute ne Schlägerei sehen – Almans: Schreien ganz laut und oft „Hey“, Gehen auf Kanaken egal ob schuldig oder nich, Oma ruft die 110 – Kanacken: Machen einen auf McGregor weil 1x Probetraining MMA, 20 Highkicks ohne jemand zu treffen, Sagen dann trz. „Hab gekämpft wie Löwe.“*
 ‘When people see a brawl – Almans: Shout often and loud “Hey”, confront the Kanaks, guilty or not, Grandma calls 911 – Kanaks: Do a McGregor because 1x try-it-out training MMA [mixed martial arts], 20 high kicks without hitting anybody. They still say: “I Fought like a lion”.’

- (13) *wie kanaken ihre cousine ansehen die gerade 14 geworden ist*
 ‘How Kanaks look at their cousin [female], who just turned 14.’

Stereotyping of Kanack women is complex and interwoven with family and cultural stereotypes, involving for instance the concepts of honour and purity. Also, the female stereotypes have a male bias.¹¹ For instance, men are assigned stewardship of women, or ironically – ownership (14), which is matched by a libertarian stereotype for Almans (joke 15).

- (14) *Bitte denke sie daran ihre persönlichen Gegenstände mitzunehmen – Kanaken packen als erstes Frau an der Leine 🤪🤪🤪*
 ‘Please remember to take you personal belongings – Kanaks start by taking their women on a leash.’

- (15) *kanacke zum kanacken: - k1: ich hab deine schwester gefickt – k2: du hurensohn ich bring dich um – kanacke zum alman: - k1: ich hab dein schwester gefickt – almann: habt ihr auch verhütet? 🤪*
 ‘Kanak to Kanak: – k1: I fucked your sister – k2: you son-of-a-bitch I kill you – Kanak to Alman: - k1: I fucked your sister – Alman: have you used contraception?’

Interestingly, the stereotype of the chaste Kanak girl is seen as exactly that – just a stereotype, by a meta-stereotype holding that Kanak girls are much like Alman girls but keep up a social façade for the family’s sake (16–7).

- (16) *Kanakinnen machen vor Kanaken auf stabile Moslems, die jeden Tag cay trinken und türkische Serien schauen, aber können bei Alman Geburtstagen jeden Schlager mitsingen*
 ‘For other Kanaks, Kanak girls pretend to be solid Muslims, who drink cay [tea] every day and watch Turkish serials, but at an Alman birthday party they can sing along on every song.’
- (17) *Almans: Cousine wird jeden Tag von 10 Typen geknallt und jeder weiß es – Kanaken: Cousine wird jeden Tag von 10 Typen geknallt und keiner weiß es*
 ‘Almans: cousin [female] gets laid by 10 guys every day, and everybody knows it – Kanaks: cousin [female] is fucked by 10 guys every day, and nobody knows it.’

In humorous direct comparisons of Alman and Kanak gender roles, we also find positive Alman hetero-stereotypes tempting Kanaks across the ethnic divide. Here, Kanak virility is outmatched by Alman wealth (18), and Alman girls are portrayed as economically and sexually contributing (19).

- (18) *ich schheöre sie angelt sich immer die vorort almans mit segelschuhen und polo shirt digga die Bringen die einf 5 sterne urlaub an ihrer stelle auch keinen kanaken daten der noch im kinderzimmer wohnt und man sich nur im auto treffen kann*
 ‘I swear she always goes for the suburb Almans with yachting shoes and polo shirt bro they simply give her 5-star holiday I wouldn’t date a Kanak either who still lives in a child’s room and you can only meet in a car.’
- (19) *Kanacken Mädchen : putzt nicht zuhause, verdient kein Geld, gibt göt weil Kahba – Alman Mädchen: putzt nicht zuhause, verdient aber Geld womit die Putzfrau bezahlt, gibt kein göt weil Mumu besser ist – Heiratet alle Alman Girl glaubt mir*

¹¹ As far as various clues allow to make a gender distinction, the vast majority of the minority-produced Alman/Kanak posts in the corpus appear to originate from male writers. This is particularly obvious, where sex or gender roles come into the picture. The discussed kanak auto-stereotypes therefore primarily reflect a male optics of immigrant minorities, which therefore may not provide the complete picture of **female** auto-stereotypes.

‘Kanak girl: doesn’t clean the house, doesn’t earn money, gives göt [ass] because kahba [slut] – Alman girl: doesn’t clean the house, but earns money to pay a cleaning lady, doesn’t give göt [ass], because Mumu [pussy] is better – you all marry an Alman girl, believe me.’

5.5 Family and social coherence stereotypes

Kanak family and social structure is stereotyped as extended (m1), traditional and patriarchal. Gender stereotypes paint morals-defending, punishing fathers (m2) and over-protective mothers (j1). The patriarchate stereotype also implies that sons, as patriarchs-in-spe, are prioritized over girls (m3).

- (m1) *wir kanaken sind rudeltiere, ich muss leute rufen*
‘We kanaks are flock animals, I need to get my friends.’
- (m2) *Was Almans sich Tätowieren – Name von Kindern, Geburtstag vom Hund (...) Was Kanaken sich Tätowieren – nichts wenn Baba die mit Tattoo sieht ällhämduallah dann kommt der Gürtel*
‘Alman tattoos: children’s names, dog’s birthday (...) Kanak tattoos: nothing, if Baba [father] sees you with a tattoo, ällhämduallah you get the belt [beating].’
- (m3) *wenn kanakenjungs sauer auf ihre eltern sind: riesiger streit man denkt gleich kommt nato einsatz, gehen raus kommen erst nach 3 tagen wieder, nachbarn rufen polizei – wenn kanakenweiber sauer auf ihre eltern sind: essen 3 tage nichts und denken es juckt ihren vater*
‘When Kanak boy are angry with their parents: big quarrel you think NATO will come, leave and only come back 3 days later, neighbours call police – when Kanak girls are angry with their parents: eat nothing for 3 days and think their father gives a damn.’

By comparison, Alman families are stereotyped as smaller (nuclear), richer and more open. Thus, jokes (d2) and (m4) take an ironic view on differences in wealth, family patterns and children’s status at the same time, not to forget food stereotypes hinted at in both. While Kanaks can rely on their social network, Almans have to resort to impersonal public services instead (m4).

- (m4) *wenn Besuch übernachtet | almans: schön eingerichtetes Gästezimmer, morgens frische Brötchen, Handtücher und frische Wäsche zum Duschen | kanacks: kinder arden aus Zimmer gejagt, morgens Pide von gestern getoastet, fetter Onkel schwitzt Bett voll und verstopft Klo*
‘When guest stay overnight | almans: nice guest room, newly-baked rolls for breakfast and fresh towels for the shower | kanaks: children [pl.!] thrown out of their room, yesterday’s pide [‘bread’] toasted for breakfast, fat uncle sweat-marks the bed and shits the toilet blocked.’

The macho gender and patriarch family stereotypes also carry over as general social stereotypes for Kanaks, including the stereotype of a social-honor culture (e1) and physical violence (m5). Almans are portrayed contrastively as too soft on infidelity (e1) or as physical underdogs in the school hierarchy (m5). As both k5 and various other school, language and spelling jokes depict Almans as better-performing in the educational system, one aspect of cultivating an image of physical and macho strength is that it balances out the auto-stereotype. Also, social standing is simply seen as more important for Kanaks than bookish success (m6).

- (m5) *almans und kanaken wenn sie vertrag gemacht haben dass kanake immer hausaufgaben abschreiben darf und alman dafür keine schläge kassiert*
‘Almans and Kanaks when they have made a treaty that Kanak may always copy [Alman’s] home assignments and, for that, Alman won’t get beaten up.’

- (m6) *Erfolg bei Almans: 1,0 Abi | Erfolg bei Kanacken: Meros Lieder 10h vorher und überall damit rum pushen*
 ‘Success for almans: all-A grades | success for kanaks: Mero’s song 10 hrs in advance and show them off.’

5.6 Money, work, and social status

Some socio-economical differences between ethnic Germans and (Middle Eastern and African) immigrants are well-documented even in official statistics, but the stereotypes embedded in Alman jokes paint a more multi-faceted picture, addressing topics such as work ethos and avarice vs. generosity (d1) alongside the more measurable wealth (18, n3) and employment aspects (n2 joke). The quintessential Alman/Kanak money stereotype (expressed in n1) makes a distinction between having money and pretending to:

- (n1) *Kanak ästhetik: arm sein aber reich aussehen – alman ästhetik: Reich sein aber arm aussehen*
 ‘Kanak esthetics: be poor but look rich – Alman aesthetics: be rich but look poor.’
- (n2) *Almans sammeln briefmarken der stabile kanacke sammelt jobabsagen*
 ‘Almans collect stamps, the stable Kanak collects job turndowns.’

Joke (n3) combines the wealth comparison with stereotypes about typical holidays, with Turkish immigrants spending their free time helping family in Turkey with work and German chocolate.

- (n3) *Urlaub Almans: - teure Skiurlaub – jede Ferien weil reich wie Dagobert Duck – Mallorca zweite Zuhause | Ausländer: 6 Wochen in unterentwickelte Dorf Heu wie Esel schleppen -20 kg Nussbeiser Gepäck -in Alanya auf geile Russinnen feiern*
 ‘Alman holiday – expensive ski holidays all the time because rich like Dagobert Duck – second home on Mallorca | Foreigner: carry hay like donkey for 6 weeks in underdeveloped village – 20 kg Nussbeisser luggage – lascivate about hot Russian chicks in Alanya.’

Alman avarice is a common joke topic. Thus (n4) suggests that money is more important for Almans than other people’s health and (n5) makes fun of the egoistic and proverbial toilet paper hoarding that took place in the early days of the pandemic.

- (n4) *kanacke und alman rennen zum arzt – arzt: was ist passiert?? – kanacke: hab 10cent ausversehen geschluckt – arzt: oh und der andere? – alman: das geld gehört mir!*
 ‘Kanak and Alman at the clinic – doctor: what happened?? – Kanak: I swallowed a 10-cent coin – doctor: Oh, and your friend? – Alman: It was my money!’
- (n5) *... almans sind gar nicht in quarantäne wegen corona sondern weil die klopapier nicht mit Anderen teilen wollen*
 ‘Almans are not in quarantine because of Covid, but because they don’t want to share their toilet paper with others.’

Again, self-irony is easy to find. Thus, (n6) holds that Kanak generosity is relative, and may be governed by the macho gender role, where a (poor) Kanak is prepared to spend money on his (Alman) girlfriend, but not on his (subordinate) little sister.

- (n6) *Kanaken gehen mit Alman Freundin Zypern-Urlaub & zahlen alles aber feiern wenn kleine Schwester Fischbrötchen will*
 ‘Kanaks go to Cyprus for a holiday with their Alman girlfriend & pay everything but get all stingy if their little sister wants a fish bun.’

5.7 Cultural stereotypes and lifestyle

This is the most diverse group of stereotypes found, as Alman jokes cover a wide variety of cultural differences, preferences, and taboos¹², some of which will be treated in the separate sections below (e. g. clothing and food). A widely shared stereotype sees Kanaks as relaxed, improvising and enjoying themselves wherever possible (cf. the wedding joke a3), while Almans are associated with rules, order, work, hygiene, and the pursuit of saving the planet through exaggerated grass root activities. (o1) humoristically illustrates the clash of Alman hyper-rationality with Kanak gut feeling.

- (o1) *Sportwetten – Almans: betreiben wochenlange Analyse, recherchieren auf jeder Seite, gucken wann die Spieler zuletzt Geschlechtsverkehr hatten | Kanaken: Bruder vallah fener die können das Ding machen*
 ‘Sports betting – Almans: week-long analysis, research all aspects, when did the players last have sex | Kanaks: Bro vallah fener (FC¹³) could swing it.’

When the two approaches to life compete for the same resource (‘sunbeds’ in o2), Kanak shrewdness and disregard for petty rules trump Alman meticulousness. A self-ironic add-on to this joke is (o3).

- (o2) *Alman im Urlaub: 1. um 6 Uhr aufstehen, 2. Handtuch auf Liege platzieren, 3. spazieren gehen, 4. Handtuch suchen – Kanacken: 1. um 15 Uhr aufstehen, 2. schöne Schattenplatz suchen, 3. Handtuch von Alman wegschmeißen und sich auf Liege chillen*
 ‘Alman on vacation: 1. get up at 6 a. m., 2. place towel on sunbed, 3. go for a walk, 4. search towel, Kanaks: 1. get up at 3 p. m., 2. find a nice place in the shade, 3. throw away the Alman towel and chill on sunbed.’
- (o3) *In Frankfurt reservieren Kanaks Parkplatz mit Körper wie almans in Hotel mit Handtuch ihre Liege*
 ‘In Frankfurt Kanaks block parking spots with their bodies like Almans do with sun bed towels at the hotel.’

For the rules and order stereotype, punctuality is a case in point (o4). The bus driver joke (o5), while also touching on Alman order shouting and Kanak nepotism, expands this stereotype by claiming that should a Kanak achieve punctuality, it will be by breaking another rule (here: the speed limit).

- (o4) *Öffnungszeiten beim Amt 8–12 Uhr Alman : 8 uhr da, zieht Nr & wartet – Kanacke: 11:55 versuchen sich vor zu drängeln*
 ‘Public office opening hours 8–12 hrs – Alman: shows up at 8, draws a number & waits – Kanak: 11:55 hrs, tries to jump the queue.’
- (o5) *Die einzigen Busfahrer die pünktlich sind sind die almanfahrer die 8mal brüllt das hinten frei ist und der Kanake der 140kmh fährt und dir mit 20 Jahren kinderticket verkauft*

¹² Cultural taboos need not be religiously motivated like the well-known food-taboos. Rather they may be about simple cultural not-to’s, such as not taking off your shoes in-doors: *Wenn Almans bei dir in der Wohnung einfach mit Schuhen rumlaufen.* 😊 (‘When Almans just walk around your flat without taking their shoes off.’).

¹³ Fenerbahçe FC, one of the most famous football clubs in Turkey.

‘The only bus drivers that are on time are the Alman lady driver who shouts 8x please move to the back, and the Kanak [driver] who hits 140 km/h and sells a children’s ticket to 20-year-olds.’

After the rules and order stereotype group, the second most prominent one is that of the *Bio-Alman* complicating life by saving the planet and knowing better. (g2) and (o6) provocatively bundle this stereotype with other stereotypes, about transportation (Kanaks love fast cars) and clothing (Almans dress ridiculously).

- (o6) *lieber alman, das CO2 was du mit deinem kack fahrrad und neon farbigen klamotten ein-sparst holt der kanak mit seinem 2000 Baujahr X5 wieder ein, also hör auf dich so albern zu kleiden und bei wind und wetter den verkehr mit deinem rad zu behindern*
 ‘Dear Alman, the CO2 that you save with you bicycle and neon clothes the Kanak compensates with his year-2000 BMW-X5, so stop dressing silly and disrupting traffic in everz weather with your bike.’

Another common stereotype is German fear of dirt and infection and their belief that immigrants are a source of both (o7).

- (o7) *Wenn Kanaken Obst essen – Kaufen es und zerfetzen es direkt – Wenn Almans Obst essen – Karl Gerhard Theodor Gustav Liebling wasch bitte den Apfel nochmal vorher ab man weiß ja nie welcher drekiger Kümmel Türke den vorher mit drekigen Händen berührt hat. Danke*
 ‘When kanaks eat fruit: buy it and tear it apart at once – when almans eat fruit: K. G. Th. G. darling wash the apple once more, you never know which dirty “caraway Turk” has touched it with his dirty hands.’

In addition to the dirt prejudice in (o7), there are other negative hetero-stereotypes about Kanaks, in particular about stealing and being prone to violence. Both are found in overt hate speech, and notwithstanding the humorous construction their use in Alman jokes (o8, stealing) and (o9, lying/cheating and violence) probably reflects a hetero- rather than an auto-stereotype,¹⁴ and is likely linked to negative sentiment. (o8) illustrates a common method of encoding target ethnicity through prototypical names, in this case Turkish (female *Aische* and male *Jügsel* and *Mammut*).

- (o8) *Wenn du als Alman allein in Kanakendisco gehst weil du in Aische verliebt bist und Jügsel u Mammut dir schon Geld und Handy abgenommen haben.*
 ‘When you, as an Alman, are visiting a Kanak disco all by yourself, because you have fallen for Aische, and Jügsel and Mammut already have taken your money and cell phone.’
- (o9) *alman vs kanacke bei Ching chang chong – Kanacke: Bruder ich nehme Stein ich schwöre auf meine Mutter – Kanacke nimmt Schere, alman nimmt Stein. Kanacke nimmt echten Stein und macht alman kaputt.*
 ‘Alman vs. Kanack, rock paper scissors – Kanak: Bro, I take stone, I swear by my mother – Kanak takes scissors, Alman takes stone. Kanak takes real stone and squashes Alman.’

Education issues play an important role in the immigration and minority discourse. A shared stereotype is that first-generation immigrants, in the case of Turks especially from rural areas in Anatolia, are less educated than the average German and in general have problems with

¹⁴ Linguistic clues for non-Kanak authorship are that both quotes use correct spelling and grammar, and that (o9) prefers *Kanacke* (with *ck*) over *Kanak*.

academic language, compounded by the perceived ludicrous complexities of the German language (cf. e2). Tweets (o10) and (o11) are humorous, but demeaning Alman (hetero-) versions of this stereotype, the first suggesting that the situation is worse for women, the other adding a linked prejudice about unemployment.

- (o10) *wenn kanakinnen zum Ersten mal ein buch öffnen*
 ‘When Kanak women open a book, for the first time’
- (o11) *wenn kanakenvater versucht bruef vom arbeitsamt zu entschlüsseln*
 ‘When father Kanak tries to decode a letter from the job centre’

On the other hand, stereotypes like the one about the prototypical dentist assistant being a Kanak girl (o12) show that the situation is perceived as very different for second generation immigrants.

- (o12) *so könnte deutschland aussehen wenn kanakinnen keine ausbildung zur zahnarzthelferin machen dürften*
 ‘This is what Germany would look like if Kanak girls were not allowed to train as dentist assistants.’

5.8 Body and clothing stereotypes

Both body features (e. g. skin colour or hair) and clothing (e. g. religious head scarves, hijab, burka) are sensitive target traits in slurs and other hate speech in the corpus, but usage examples go not beyond stereotyped humour in the examined Alman jokes – possibly because the majority of Kanak features are used in shared or auto-stereotypes. Thus, the tenor of the Kanak body image is positive, especially for men (strength, virility, well-groomed and -dressed), as seen in the hairdresser joke (a2). The hair stereotype includes beards (p1) and body hair such as eyebrows, the latter being one factor in the girls’ age stereotype (p2).

- (p1) *Warum dürfen almans eigentlich bart tragen yaaa ist doch ein kanackending 🤪*
 ‘Why is it that Almans are allowed to wear beards yaaa supposed to be a Kanak thing.’
- (p2) *Alman Mädchen sind 22 aber sehen mit ihren dünnen Lippen und zwei augenbrauenhaaren aus wie 14 und kanacken mächen sind 14 aber sehen mit ihren Augenbrauen und übermalten Lippen aus wie 22*
 ‘Alman girls are 22 but look 14 with their thin lips and two eyebrow hairs, and Kanak girls are 14 but look 22 with their [thick] eyebrows and painted lips.’

In the skin colour joke (p3), colour sentiment is inverted, the Alman preference stereotype holding that brown (tanned) is beautiful.

- (p3) *almans sind neidisch auf Bananen, weil die schneller braun werden*
 ‘Almans envy bananas because those get brown faster.’

Clothing auto-stereotypes, too, favour Kanaks, who are pictured as well-dressed and brand-conscious, as opposed to Almans, who just don’t care and use cheap or no-name products (p4).

- (p4) *wie almans in ersac gehen: no name rucksack, casio uhr, deichmann schuhe, h&m tshirt – wie stabile jugo (wie ich) in ersac geht: lacoste rucksack, stabile uhr mit ersacer uhrwerk, ultra boost, ersace shirt*

‘How Almans go to school: no-name backpack, Casio watch, Deichmann shoes, H&M t-shirt – how stable yugos (like me) go to school: Lacoste backpack, solid Swiss watch, Ultraboost [shoes], Versace shirt)’

The afore-mentioned stereotype of the *Bio-Alman* with an exaggerated love for nature and the planet also connects with the health-related exercise (hiking, yoga etc.), food (e. g. müsli, a1) and also clothing, such as health sandals and hiking backpacks. It is part of the stereotype that such clothing is used in an unfashionable way, with socks in the sandals and hyper-correct, weight-balanced use of rucksacks. Note also the self-ironical reference to the Western all-Muslims-are-religious stereotype in (p5).

- (p5) *Wie soll ich an Gott glauben wenn almans immer noch mit Socken in Sandalen rumlaufen*
 ‘How can I believe in God when Almans still wear socks in their sandals?’
- (p6) *Wahrer Alman wer Frontgurt von Rucksack zumacht*
 ‘Real Alman who fastens front belt of backpack.’

5.9 Other preference stereotypes

The body of Alman jokes also contains a plethora of smaller stereotypes about what Almans and Kanaks like and don’t like. Notable topics apart from clothing are food (e3, q2–3) and cars. Food stereotypes are even found in slur formation, e. g. *Lauch* (‘leek’) or *Kartoffel* (‘potato’). The puns (e6) and (q1) are good examples of how the latter, otherwise often found with negative sentiment (real HS or g3), can be “unslurred”.

- (q1) *almans sind immer kartoffeln aber manche sind süsskartoffeln*
 ‘Almans are always potatoes, but some are sweet potatoes.’
- (q2) *Almans bunkern sich Toilettenpapier kanakas Bunkern sucuk und pastirma*
 ‘Almans hoard toilet paper, Kanaks sucuk [sausages] and pastirma [seasoned beef].’
- (q3) *Mache mir Almanessen Nr 1: Kartoffelpürree mit Rahmspinat und Fischstäbchen*
 ‘Cooking the number 1 Alman dinner: mashed potatoes with spinach and fish fingers.’

The COVID joke (q2) ironically paints Kanak dependence on certain cultural foods as still more rational than Alman fear of not being able to use toilet paper – a practice that is seen in many cultures as less clean than using water. (q4) is about the small differences, pointing out that while both Almans and Kanaks bring lunch sandwiches, they package them differently. A large part of the joke effect resides in the use of the adjective *stabil* (‘stable’), a code-word for ‘well-integrated [foreigner]’. Implying that even if a Kanak does everything right, brings boxed lunches and uses tin foil like the Germans, he is doomed to do so in a subtly different and out-of-place manner, still flagging him as foreign.

- (q4) *nein nicht wie almans mit butterbrote in tupperdose sondern wie stabile kanaks mit alufolie wo komma denn hin mit brotdose*
 ‘No not like Almans with sandwiches in Tupperware box but like stable Kanaks with tin foil where would we end up with a lunch box.’

Car preferences statistically correlate with social class and education and also turn up in Alman joke. Cars are depicted as important for both cultures, but for different reasons. The stereotype (q5) is that Kanaks like fast cars (e. g. Porsche, j2, or BMW, q5), matching their macho image, while Almans appreciate cars and other machines for either being practical (e. g. VW or possibly Audi, but not quattro, q7), wealth-displaying (e. g. Mercedes) or technically advanced

(coffee machine, j2). The pun about *bleibende Eindrücke* ('lasting impressions') in (q6) suggests that possession and newness is important for Almans, while use (fast driving and social [bragging] use) is essential for Kanaks (q5).

(q5) *almans beim autofahren: konzentrieren sich extrem, fahren volkswagen, halten sich an geschwindigkeit – kanaken beim autofahren: rauchen shisha im kofferraum, knallen deine schwester beim fahren, fahren 3er bmw auf 72 monatsraten, fahren 150 in 30er zone mit arm aus fenster*

'Almans driving: extreme concentration, drive VW, respect speed limit – Kanaks driving: smoke shisha in the boot, fuck your sister when driving, drive BMW-3 on 72 monthly instalments, go 150 km/h in 30-zone with arm out of the window.'

(q6) *Almans hassen bleibende Eindrücke am Auto.* 🤩 😊

'Almans hate lasting impressions in their car.'

The car stereotype is felt as so identity-defining that car preferences allow conclusions about current or future identities (q7).

(q7) *Kanacken die Audi wollen: Entweder Verbrecher weil quattro oder zukünftiger Geschäftsmann*

'Kanaks who want Audi: Either criminal because quattro or future businessman.'

5.10 Meta-stereotypes and stereotype meta-jokes

A meta-stereotype is a complex form of stereotype, where one social group has a pre-conceived idea about how they are viewed by members of another group. In our Alman corpus, such meta-stereotypes manifest as humorous references to typical inter-group behavior. A prevalent stereotype is that Almans are afraid of Kanaks and expect them to steal (r1–2) or use violence (e4).

(r1) *die [almans] reden mit dir aber halten portemonnaie fest*

'They [Almans] talk to you but hold on to their purses.'

(r2) *kennt ihr dass wenn almans ihre taschen extra noch fester halten wenn ihr euch in der s-bahn neben sie setzt*

'Do you know the feeling when Almans cling on to their bags extra-tight when you sit down next to them in the city train.'

In an attack on Alman hypocrisy, (r3) puts these fears in perspective by pointing out that the real danger of violence stems from (racist) Alman mobs.

(r3) *Almans haben Angst, dass sie im Zug neben Kanaken sitzen müssen, Kanaken haben Angst, dass eine Gruppe Almans sie aus dem fahrenden Zug wirft.*

'Almans fear that they have to sit next to Kanaks on the train, Kanaks fear that a group of Almans will throw them out of the moving train.'

Alman hypocrisy is also involved in a stereotype seeing Almans as politically über-correct in a false effort not to discriminate against foreigners (r4), while really caring less about Kanaks than about dogs (r5) and socializing only with Kanaks that have already been almanized (r6).

(r4) *der alman mit den neonnikes lässt jeden kanak im supermarkt in der schlange vor der landsmann mit den 2 dosen bier muss aber warten*

'The Alman with the neon-nikes cedes his queue-spot to every Kanak in the supermarket, but the compatriote with the 2 cans of beer has to wait.'

- (r5) *Almans können dir 46 Hunderassen aufzählen aber können sich nicht einen Kanaken Namen merken*
 ‘Almans can list 46 dog races but can’t remember a single Kanak name.’
- (r6) *Die tuen immer auf offen aber chillen nur mit kanaken die alman sind*
 ‘They [Almans] always pretend to be open-minded, but hang out only with Kanaks that are [really] Alman.’

In a contrasting setting, with assumed comparable levels of “petty racism”, the (r7) version of this stereotype, delivered in a classical Alman joke scheme, holds that Kanaks at least are less hypocritical, and open about their real feelings.

- (r7) *kanake zu alman: du bist bisschen rassist – alman: bist du blöd? ich bin zu 1/16 italiener und außerdem hab ich türkische freunde – alman zu kanake: du bist bisschen rassist – kanake: ja und dikka ich hass die huensöhne halt*
 ‘Kanak to Alman: you are a bit racist – Alman: are you crazy? I am 1/16 Italian, and in addition I have Turkish friends – Alman to Kanak: you are a bit racist – Kanak: yes and bro I simply hate those sons-of-bitches.’

The clearcut distinction between auto- and hetero-stereotypes may give place to an identity conflict when second-generation, German-speaking members of the immigrant community are met with both and struggle to reconcile the two. Thus, in their study of immigrant identity in Germany, Berry et al. (2006) found that 40% of immigrant youth of Turkish descent had a mixed German-Turkish identity with a diffuse (marginalization) acculturation profile. In the corpus, this is reflected by examples of explicit “neither-nor” auto-stereotyping (s1–2). In (s2) the tweeter clashes with three different cultural stereotypes – snobbism (Alman), bad grammar (Kanak) and avarice (Jews), and in (r6) the contradiction between being Kanak and Alman at the same time is what fuels the tweet’s humour.

- (s1) *In Duisburg bin ich der Alman unter meinen Freunden, in Darmstadt bin ich der Kanake von dem alle Abstand halten*
 ‘In Duisburg I’m the Alman among my friends, in Darmstadt I’m the Kanak everybody avoids.’
- (s2) *Bin zu vulgär für alman bubble kann zu gut deutsch für Kanaken bubble und geb zu viel Geld an Freunde für Yahudi bubble*
 ‘I’m too vulgar for the Alman gang, speak German too well for the Kanak gang, and spend too much money on friends for the Jewish gang.’

Another meta-angle on contrasting stereotyping can be observed in jokes implying that both sides enjoy the same things (s3) or that perceived attitude differences translate into just that – translation (s4). With a similar message, the joke (s5) exploits the idea/prejudice that Bavarians are not real Germans to cancel out the – by comparison small – difference between Almans and Kanaks.

- (s3) *Almans machen Nahrungkaufen zum Familienfest Kanaks auch*
 ‘Almans turn grocery shopping into a family outing – Kanaks, too.’
- (s4) *Alman Eltern: wächst Geld von Bäumen oder wat – Kanaken Eltern: parami siçiorus?*
 ‘Alman parents: do you think money grows on trees, or what? – Kanak parents: parami siçiorus?’
- (s5) *Kannacke oder alman ist egal hauptsache nicht aus bayern*
 ‘Kanak or Alman doesn’t matter, the important thing is not from Bavaria.’

Given the fact that Islam is a major issue in the overall minority discourse, and that the prototypical non-EU immigrant in Germany (today) is from a Muslim country (Statista Research Department 2022), it is an interesting statistical fact that Alman/Kanak jokes only very rarely involve religion as a topic. The only exception are jokes about Kanak girls feigning devoutness while secretly having fun and going out just like Alman girls (16–7). One possible explanation is that the Turkish minority contributes more to Alman jokes than the Arab minority, that Turks are more secular, and that Turkish immigration in Germany predates Arab immigration, leaving more time for assimilation. Another explanation could of course be that the topic is regarded as too sensitive for jokes. The latter interpretation finds support in joke (t1) that ironizes about the über-correct Almans trying not to hurt Kanaks' supposed religious feelings. Also, a sequential corpus search for *Alman/Kana(c)k(e)* with a sub-query for religious key words (e. g. *Islam, Moschee, Kopftuch, Ramadan* etc.) suggests that the topic, while relatively rare, is not absent in the corpus (it amounts to 1% of the *Alman/Kana(c)k(e)* hits), and that only very few hits contained an element of humour.

- (t1) *immer wenn almans mir haribo anbieten sagen die „da ist aber gelatine drinne haha“ – ja ich weiß du hurensohn jetzt gib*
 ‘Whenever Almans offer me Haribo [sweets] they say “but it contains [pork-based] gelatine” hahaha – yes I know you son-of-a-bitch now give it to me already.’

6 Slur uses of *Alman*: Hate speech or not?

6.1 Outright hate speech

Being a well-known ethnic slur, the word *Kanacke* may obviously occur in real hatespeech, fulfilling the conditions of publicly targeting a minority based on protected traits. In this regard, our social media corpus confirms the general trend towards online HS against minorities noted by e. g. Foxman/Wolf (2013). It is an interesting question, however, if the otherwise somewhat milder term *Alman*, when used as a slur with aggressive, derogatory intent,¹⁵ can amount to HS. A good example, complete with linguistically marked othering (*ihr/euch* – ‘your/you’) and ‘you X’-constructions (cf. D’Avis/eibauer 2013), is u1:

- (u1) ***Ihr Almans seidt am Ende, ihr Opfas wir machen euch platt. Ihr sterbt aus, weil ihr keine Kinder habt. Kirchen werden zu unseren Moscheen. Ihr seid bald nich mehr da.***
 ‘You almans are finished, you losers we wipe you out. You die out because you don’t have children. Churches will be mosques. You’ll soon be gone.’

As Jaki/De Smedt (2019) point out in their work on right-wing German HS on Twitter, the main concern about online HS is not that it is illegal (it rarely is), but that it is an indicator of society’s

¹⁵ One way of extracting HS candidates from the corpus is to search for sentences, where HS keywords, negative emojis or derogatory prefixes co-occur with the terms *Alman*. The Corpuseye interface supports this by allowing chained searches, where the first search is treated as a bag-of-words search (for HS terms) to create an on-the-fly mini-corpus that the second (main) search then operates on. However, to avoid the possible bias involved in pre-selecting HS terms, we also inspected long lists of less constrained *Alman* concordances in order to locate more complex and less lexical examples of HS, like (11b), where the immediate left-hand context of *Alman* is positive (*geil* (‘hot’)), and the negative right-hand context, *khab* (‘hore’), is a Turkish term difficult to come up with beforehand.

polarization (2019: 8). When targeting *Almans*, the hate is directed by a minority at the (German) majority and thus cannot fulfil the legal definition of HS. But it is definitely still a (often neglected) symptom of societal polarization, and for a victim it would **feel**¹⁶ like hatespeech. Also, in certain “ghetto” neighborhoods, where Germans are a minority, it might mean peer group exclusion and arguably even constitute discrimination and HS in the official sense. Many corpus examples of such “counter hate speech” (CHS) are sexual (u2–3) and serve the stereotype of loose German morals in a misogynous fashion. When used hatefully, the slur aspect of the word *Alman* is emphasized by combining it with general, non-ethnic insult words. The most common is *Hurensohn* (‘son-of-a-bitch’, u4), but we also find non-German insults in otherwise German sentences, e. g. Arabic *kahb* (‘whore’) or Turkish *piço* (‘sissie’, u5)¹⁷. Ordinary syntactic instruments of HS, such as generalization (*alle Almans* – ‘all Amans’, u4) and othering (*diese almanpicos* – ‘these Alman sissies’, u5) are also used.

- (u2) *Oha geile alman kahb mit Hund gesehen würde aber eher Hund ficken als sie lel*
‘Oha seen hot alman hore with dog, but would rather fuck dog than her lel.’
- (u3) *mädchen im dirndl gesichtet hoffentlich kriegst du lungenentzündung scheiss alman*
‘Seen a girl in a dirndl¹⁸, I hope you get pneumonia fucking Alman.’
- (u4) *warum sind fast alle almans hurensöhne wirklich ies chond voll geiles land aber diese almans verkacken alles*
‘Why are almost all almans sons-of-bitches, really Germany totally cool country but these almans fuck it all up.’
- (u5) *brudah vallah dise almanpicos denken so puizei kann was machen und so aber nein hahahah di sind halt dum wie schwein hahahahaha von schwein esen zu schwein geworden hahaha rihtig dum almanpicos*
‘Bro these alman sissies think police can do something but no haha they are just stupid like pig haha eat pig become pig haha really stupid alman sissies.’
- (u6) *almans sind weiterentwicklung von schweine, schweine können nicht schwitzen ies chon 🤪*
‘Almans are a newer model of pigs, pigs can’t sweat – they [Almans] can 🤪.’

With the exception of (u1), all of the above examples (i. e. u2–5) can be said to contain an element of humour and may even be marked as such with an interjection (*lel*, u1 or *hahahah*, u5). But only the ironic angle in u4 somewhat reduces the hateful effect: If Germany is a nice country, and since Germans are what makes the country Germany, they can’t really be that bad. In u2–3, the misogynous humorous element, achieved by an unexpected continuation (girl → fuck a dog, clothing → pneumonia) may serve a sense of (male) in-group inclusiveness between speaker and listener. In (u5), where the in-group inclusiveness is explicit (*brudah vallah*), and in (u6), the Muslim pig taboo is exploited. It is debatable if this amounts to HS in the full, legal sense, as *pig* is just an ordinary insult in German, and not related to a protected group-trait.¹⁹

¹⁶ Human Rights Watch, for instance, includes the minority target condition in their definition of HS as “any form of expression regarded as offensive to racial, ethnic and religious groups and other discrete minorities, and to women” (Bell 2009).

¹⁷ Other German-directed insult words in the corpus are the ethnopaualism *lauch* (‘leek’), the intended ethnopaualism *nazi* and the general *cuck/çük* (‘dick’).

¹⁸ Close-fitting bodice featuring a low neckline.

¹⁹ In any case, official HS definitions usually include a minority target condition, which is not fulfilled here, since Germans do not qualify as an attackable minority in the first place.

But then again, it doesn't have to, as the hatefulness is going to be appreciated by the addressed in-group reader, not the insultee. Whatever the verdict on HS, the humorous effect is a bit strained in both (u5) and (u6), and not of a kind that would do much to alleviate the hateful impression on the insultee, possibly because it lacks the two-way stereotyping and self-irony typical of many Alman jokes.

6.2 Defensive othering

Another type of verbal attacks against Almans, while presenting the same stereotypes introduced in section 5.5., does not qualify as either HS or humour, but rather as a kind of defensive othering, exhibiting typical linguistic surface markers such as *ihr/euch* ('you') and *wir/uns* ('we'/'us') in combination with out-group/in-group identifiers (*you almans*, *we kanaks*). Excerpts (v1) and (v2), defending the patriarchate and Kanak family values, show how such othering is different from both HS and ordinary counter-speech (CS). Unlike the latter, it is not vented by well-meaning members of the (discriminating) majority, but rather by the minority itself. Also, a kind of counterattack (counter-othering) is used rather than the normal CS method of pitching positive views against negative ones. Here, the discourse is cross-group, while most CS occurs within the majority itself, faction-to-faction, with a risk of inciting even more HS from the scolded faction, as claimed by Ernst et al. (2017) for comments on CS YouTube videos perceived as propaganda.

- (v1) *wir kanaken haben halt respekt vor ältere personen natürlich gibt özil erdogan die hand ... weil ER der präsidant seiner wurzeln ist | ihr almans beleidigt euren eigenen vater und zeigt euch gegenseitig an | da ist der unterschied*
 'We Kanaks respect elders, of course Özil shakes hands with Erdogan ... because HE is president of his origins | you almans insult you own father and denounce each other | that is the difference.'
- (v2) *Wenn du behauptest das meine Familie Mafia ist dann hast du richtig gelitten ich bin gerne Mafia wenn ich mit der Familie gleich gestellt bin sowas wie Loyalität, Stolz und Zusammenhalt kennt ihr Almans nicht*
 'If you say that my family is mafia you are a real moron, I don't mind being mafia if that is what family is, things like loyalty, pride and solidarity you Almans don't know.'

To add another layer of countering, hateful defensive tweets can also be found on the Alman side, counter-attacking the minority for counter-attacking the majority. Thus, (v3) harnesses a demeaning animal metaphor in its defense against Alman jokes.

- (v3) *Kanaken witzeln über „Almans“ wobei ihre Vaterländer gegen das, was die Deutschen bereits geleistet haben, wie Schimpansengehege wirken*
 'Kanakaks make jokes about "Almans" while their home countries, compared with what Germans have already achieved, look like Chimpanzee pens.'

7 Statistical evidence

The primary goal of this paper is to provide an exhaustive qualitative overview of the stereotypes and vehicles of humour found in Alman/Kanak-jokes. However, to provide a kind of comparative quantitative grounding for the semantics of the two terms, as well as associated sentiment and concepts, we will also provide some results from statistical analysis.

Thus, associated attributes can be identified through mutual-information (MI) analysis, where adjectival dependents²⁰ of a target term are ordered for relative frequency. For *Alman*, this method yields reinforcing adjectives (*groß* ('big'), *inner* ('internal'), *echt* ('authentic'), *krass* ('total'), *typisch* ('typical'), *richtig* ('real')) in the top ranks, as well as a clear overweight of negative adjectives for valuation (*drecks* ('dirty' [slur]), *unlustig* ('unamusing'), *nervig* ('irritating'), *übel* ('mean'), *blöd* ('idiotic')) as well as body and personality traits (*weiß* ('white'), *hässlich* ('ugly'), *dumm* ('stupid'), *besoffen* ('drunk'), *schwul* ('gay'), *fett* ('fat'), *spießig* ('bourgeois')). There were also a number of socio-political associations (*link* ('left-wing'), *privilegiert* ('privileged'), *rassistisch* ('racist')). The pair *böse* ('evil') and *lieb* ('kind') was also found, but inspection showed that they occurred with non-literal meanings, the latter in addressing constructions, the former in irony.

The corresponding results for *Kana(c)k(e)* are quite different. First of all, the reinforcing adjectives are absent or low-ranking, suggesting a more nominal usage for *Kana(c)k(e)*, as opposed to a (partially) qualifying/measurable usage for *Alman* (as also seen in the *how Alman can you be* joke scheme). Second, negative valuation and trait adjectives are balanced with positive ones, e. g. *hübsch/schön/gutaussehend* ('pretty/beautiful/good-looking') and the sexual *geil* ('horny') vs. *hässlich/fett* ('ugly/fat'), *süß* ('cute') vs. *eklig/ekelhaft* ('disgusting'). Also, the attributes are more bodily (e. g. *behaart* ('hairy')), and the concrete/abstract ratio is higher. The differences can be explained by the positive, if sometimes ironical, auto-stereotypes of the Kanak tweeters also seen in our qualitative analysis. On the flip side, we find *asozial* ('anti-social') with a top-rank and *ungebildet* ('uneducated') with a lower rank, as well as *eifersüchtig* ('jealous'), *homophob* ('homophobic') and *aggressiv* ('aggressive'), likely originating in negative Alman hetero-stereotypes aiming at not least gender roles. Interestingly, rather than the *Alman*-reinforcing adjectives, there is something like the opposite – a couple of medium-ranking non-authenticity adjectives, *fake* and *almanisiert* ('almanized'), and the somewhat related, ironical *stabil* ('stable'), a kind of code-word for a well-integrated foreigner.

Apart from specific associated attributes, general sentiment can also be quantified. One method is to look at word pairs like *strong/weak* or *nice/mean*, exploiting the adjective polarity tags in the annotated corpus, which for quality adjectives (e. g., semantic classes like 'approve', 'like', 'quality', 'skill', 'power', 'psyche') can be interpreted as sentiment polarity markers (rather than just antonyms). The +/- sentiment ratios arrived at with this method in (cf. Bick 2021) are 0.63 for *Alman* and 0.74 for *Kanacke*, indicating negative sentiment for both, as opposed to 1.06 for *Deutscher* ('German') and 1.64 for the mixed set of ethnicity and nationality nouns. Results also showed that, in absolute terms, the negative sentiment for *Kanacke* is much more pronounced than for either *Alman*, *Deutscher* or the nationality bundle, because *Kanacke* is three times as likely to have a modifying adjective in the first place.

As a third, complementary quantitative window into the semantics of our Alman/Kanak data, we used word embeddings. In this approach, words are assigned vectors in a multi-dimensional space with hundreds or thousands of dimensions represented by other word co-occurring in the same sentence. In the resulting model, vector distances can be interpreted as word similarities.

²⁰ Using other relations in the dependency trees, predicative constructions or appositions can be used the same way.

To perform the necessary computations, we used the word2vec neural-net method (cf. Mikolov et al. 2013) and the TensorFlow suite (cf. Abadi et al. 2016) on a post-processed version of the corpus, where function words had been removed, and all content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives) replaced with their lemmas. In addition, emojis/emoticons were included in the model, exploiting existing corpus annotation that lumps emotions into 9 super-categories with custom-made lemmas such as *emo-angry* or *emo-happy*.

The emoji vectors provided by the model can be used as an alternative approach to sentiment analysis (cf. Bick 2020b), interpreting vector-similarity with positive emojis as positive sentiment, and negative emojis as negative sentiment. Thus, with data from an *Alman/Kanak*-filtered subcorpus, the vector similarity scores for *emo-love* and *emo-angry*, respectively, confirmed the impression from qualitative analysis that *Alman* is less negative than *Kanacke* and that both are no match for the more demeaning slurs *Musel* ('Muslim') and *Nafri* ('North-African'). Thus, the *emo-love* scores were only 31 and 34 for the latter, but 40 and 36 for the former, while the *emo-angry* scores were 40 and 29 for *Musel/Nafri*, but only 26 for *Alman/Kanacke*. In addition, animal insult emojis, e. g. *pig-face*, had a stronger association with *Musel* and *Nafri*, and also with general insult words, such as *Arschloch* ('asshole'), than with *Alman/Kanacke*. Finally, there were some differences between the spelling variants *Kanacke* and c-less *Kanak(e)*, with milder scores for the latter (e. g. for the oncoming-fist and middle-finger emojis), matching the assumption that the c-less, less "German-looking" spelling is more linked to auto-stereotypes, which tend to be more positive than hetero-stereotype.

As the term *Kana(c)ke* is a referentially ambiguous ethnopaulism, we also used word embeddings to examine, which ethnicities are closest to its (statistical) meaning in the corpus. For *Kanacke*, the vector similarity score was 61.3 for *Nafri* ('North-African') and 57.3 for *Türke* ('Turk'), but only around 30 for other nationality or ethnicity terms, e. g., *Araber* ('Arab') or *Syrer* ('Syrian'). For the auto-stereotype spelling *Kanake*, overall results were similar, but the slur term *Nafri* scored lower (57.9) than the neutral nationality term *Türke* (58.1). Similarity scores for the religion term *Moslem* ('Muslim') and the slur *Musel* were lower, 37.9 and 52.0 for *Kanacke*, and 39.4 and 49.3 for the less "slurry" spelling *Kanake*, respectively, indicating that religion is linked to the concept of *Kana(c)ke*, but less central than ethnicity.

Finally, word embedding vectors can also be used for a rough quantitative control of the stereotypes discussed in section 5. Though less transparent and less linguistically safe than the attribute dependencies discussed above, the method has the advantage of being able to compare and link any word class with any other, using shared contexts.²¹ Thus, we can find or check related concepts rather than (just) collocates. In order to be able to use the method, we have to use central keywords rather than entire stereotypes. Also, when interpreting table 2,²² one has

²¹ An important caveat is that doesn't literally mean sameness or similarity, but rather distributional equivalence. Thus, antonyms or class words like colours may share the same contexts and get flagged as similar. Also, negation and truth operators are ignored in this approach, and while usually smoothed away by large numbers, these inaccuracies call for critical interpretation of results and a matching qualitative analysis.

²² Because of computational time and space constraints, the scores were computed with a model trained on a subcorpus filtered for *Alman* and *Kanak*. Therefore, other concepts cannot be compared with each other, only with

to take into account that similarity scores will naturally be higher for nouns, especially human nouns, than for verbs or adjectives, simply because *Alman* and *Kanak* themselves are human nouns.

	Alman (mostly hetero-stereotype)	Kanacke (hetero-stereotype)	Kanake (auto-stereotype)
<i>Macho</i>	26.1	30.1	28.5
<i>Ehre</i> ('honour')	34.0	38.5	37.7
<i>Sex</i>	23.6	29.0	29.1
<i>Bruder</i> ('brother')	53.8	62.6	62.9
<i>Schwester</i> ('sister')	43.5	50.4	51.1
<i>Vater</i> ('father')	47.1	50.6	52.4
<i>Mutter</i> ('mother')	51.2	51.8	53.5
<i>BMW</i>	45.6	50.5	48.7
<i>Mercedes</i>	42.1	48.6	47.9
<i>Volkswagen</i>	22.9	17.7	17.7
<i>schlagen</i> ('beat')	23.3	30.0	29.9
<i>lügen</i> ('lie')	14.9	22.3	23.7
<i>stehlen</i> ('steal')	17.1	18.1	17.1
<i>lernen</i> ('learn')	31.6	24.3	28.3
<i>Umwelt</i> ('environment')	20.4	14.1	14.8
<i>vegetarisch</i> ('vegetarian')	34.9	25.7	28.2
<i>Rassist</i> ('racist')	31.3	22.1	23.4
<i>Abitur</i> ('graduation')	45.7	51.3	53.3
<i>Prüfung</i> ('exam')	24.7	29.2	30.9

Table 2: word embedding vector similarities for *Alman/Kanak* stereotype keywords

As can be seen, the scores in table 2 broadly support the stereotypes found in the qualitative analysis (section 5). Thus, the chosen keywords for the gender stereotype of a (Kanak) macho patriarchy, *Macho*, *Ehre* and *Sex* all fit better with *Kanak* than *Alman*, as do the family relation words (brother, sister, father, mother) in block 2 of the table, an interesting difference being that the macho gender fit is better for the hetero-stereotype spelling *Kanacke* (with <ck>), while the link to (and supposedly importance of) family relations is stronger for the auto-stereotype spelling *Kanak* (without <c>). Even the arguably less important Kanak preference fast cars could be confirmed by the method, with the BMW and Mercedes vectors aligning better with *Kana(c)ke* than with *Alman*. The fourth block contains three verbal keywords, *schlagen* ('beat'), *lügen* ('lie') and *stehlen* ('steal'), all relating to negative prejudices held by Germans against Kanaks, under the stereotype heading of the violent and criminal foreigner. These, too, appear

Alman and *Kanak*. To find scores for e. g. *Moslem* ('Muslim') or *Immigrant* ('immigrant'), the model would have to be retrained on a subcorpus including these words in the filter, on a random sample or on the entire corpus.

to be confirmed by vector distances. However, a closer inspection suggests that only the first trait (violence) is fully supported as a heterostereotype (prejudice). The numbers for the third, stealing, are too low and close to be significant, and the scores for the second (lying), linked more to *Kanake* than *Kanacke*, might be diluted by humorous tweets about young Kanaks circumventing parental moral decrees to enjoy life and be with their friends and sex partners.

On the German side, the stereotype of the vegetarian Eco-freak and *Bio-Alman* is reinforced (keywords *Umwelt* ('environment') and *vegetarisch* ('vegetarian')), but also the negative stereotype of the hereditary racist (*Rassist*). The most difficult stereotype pair to confirm were the education stereotypes of the bookish and well-performing Alman and the homework-copying, language-disadvantaged, laissez-faire Kanak student. Thus, while word embedding of the verb *lernen* (learn) clearly support this stereotype pair, word vectors for *Abitur* ('graduation') and *Prüfung* ('exam') align better with *Kanak* than *Alman*. However, the link is strong for both groups, especially for *Abitur*, and stronger for *Kanake* (without <c>) than for *Kanacke*. Like for the verb *lügen*, the explanation may thus simply be that exams figure prominently in the discourse of the young Kiezdeutsch tweeters, and may be even more important for the group most challenged by the exam (Kanaks). In any case, vector similarities for the **word** 'exam' cannot be expected to provide information about exam **performance** or (bookish-stereotypical) preparedness for it.

8 Conclusion

Exploiting the humouristically condensed, exaggerated and, not least, contrastive depiction of Germans and immigrants found in *Alman* joke constructions and word formations, we have identified a number of stereotype bundles referring to Germans and immigrants, especially of Turkish and Middle-Eastern descent, covering both auto- and hetero-stereotypes prevalent in the Kiezdeutsch sociolect community, as well as some stereotyping, especially Kanak hetero-stereotypes, found in some German tweets from outside the community, adopting the same genre of jokes. We have shown that sometimes the term *Alman* is used in hate speech, too, just as the more well-known German slur *Kana(c)ke*, but also that the vast majority of humorous usage, while heavily stereotyped, does not involve hate speech as such, and employs both terms with a milder and more ironical stance, not least because the contrastive *Alman/Kanak* joke schemes per necessity involve auto-stereotyping.

However, we find it ultimately impossible to settle the question of form-function interaction, i. e. to which degree the mere presence of linguistic traits of humour in the more offensive jokes can cancel out or alleviate a perceived hateful message on the part of the reader. In any case, this question can probably not be answered within the confines of legal definitions of hate speech, as these tend to involve the condition of a protected **minority** trait, which covers only *Kanaks*, not the heterostereotyping of *Almans*. To shed light on the subjective effects of stereotyping humour on both of the involved target groups, and to complement our corpus-based findings, future research should draw on empirical methods such as interviews and/or the recording of bio-signals.

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