

HATE SPEECH COMPOUNDS IN THE GERMAN IMMIGRATION DISCOURSE ON TWITTER

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Abstract: *This paper examines the use of derogatory prefixes and productive compounding as linguistic vehicles of hate speech in German Twitter, with a special focus on ethnic and religious minorities, on the background of the European immigration crisis. The linguistic mechanisms discussed focus on both morphology and semantics and include slur expansion, stereotype-based pseudo-slurs, fusion words, narrative encoding and the use of metaphor, among others. Specifically, we identify and document five main stereotypes for recent Muslim immigrants, as well as the main derogatory narration metaphors used in the German immigration discourse (e.g. disease, disaster, war). We discuss and classify over 500 individual lexical examples and tweet fragments, showing how pejorative word elements (e.g. animal tropes) are amalgamated with target group connotators to achieve various desired effects, both denotative and connotative, as well as humour-based techniques such as puns, irony and understatement. The work is based on an unabridged, grammatically and semantically annotated 2 billion word Twitter corpus, harvested between 2017 and 2019.*

Keywords: Hate speech; Twitter; German immigration crisis; German morphology; Compounding; Corpus Linguistics; Stereotypes



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1 Introduction

In this paper, we will examine the role of word formation as a vehicle of derogation, slur creation and discriminatory narration in German, as seen in hateful discourse on social media in the context of the European immigration crisis. All findings are based on the corpus-linguistic exploration of a large, annotated Twitter data set, harvested over a 3-year period. The focus of this empirical work is three-fold, spanning research topics from both linguistics and hatespeech studies. First, we will investigate the morphology and semantics of creative compounding in derogatory discourse, while also addressing prefixation, derivation and word fusion (sections 2-4). Second, we will see how these mechanisms are combined with higher-level linguistic strategies such as the use of tropes, metaphor, irony or understatement to achieve, modulate or ameliorate hateful effects in discriminatory discourse (sections 5-7 and 10-12). Finally, at a third level, we will discuss relevant narratives and stereotypes encoded in relevant compounds found in our data. Specifically, we will provide an inventory of (a) the main (negative) metaphor bundles used to channel the immigration narrative (section 8), and (b) the main (negative) stereotypes linked to Muslim immigrants (section 9).

2 The linguistics of hatespeech

Pejorative processes by which hate speech (HS) translates negative, discriminatory stereotypes held in the mind into spoken or written form can be found at all linguistic levels. Thus, Meibauer (2013, pp. 4–5) lists morphology (pejorative affixes, e.g. ‘*scheiß-*’ [shit]), pejorative syntactic constructions (e.g. othering, generalizations, e.g. ‘*you people*’) and semantics at the word or sentence levels, e.g. lexicalized slurs, such as ‘*nigger*’, or implicatures, e.g. through co-ordination: ‘*was that a wild animal or a Muslim?*’. In addition, pejoration can be modulated through prosodic means (i.e. derogatory tone or increased volume), and it can manifest at the pragmatic and sociolinguistic levels, e.g. through group-based meaning conventions, such as ‘*Gutbürger*’ (do-gooder) for a too-woke leftist or ‘*Goldstück*’ (gold nugget) to denote an arriving (unwelcome) immigrant. Out of these, pejorative processes at the morphological and lexico-semantic levels are arguably the most language-dependent, and will here be examined from a German perspective. Like other Germanic languages (with the exception of English), German is morphologically productive in hateful discourse, employing derogatory prefixes and evocative compounding. In particular, this can be seen in the less restrained and more immediate form of communication found in online social media, with a side-effect of obstructing word-based automatic censorship. Interestingly, German pejorative expressive compounds appear to be more frequent than meliorative ones, and expressive compounds are more frequent in aggressive discourse (Korecky-Kröll & Dressler, 2022).

The compounds found in hate speech can be interpreted as condensed versions of constructions that would otherwise be found at higher linguistic levels (predications, metaphors, implicatures). Also, as Jaki & De Smedt (2019, p. 14) point out, compounds, like adjective-noun combinations, can implement and expose dehumanization and stereotyping mechanisms in hate speech by linguistically linking a (human) target to a derogatory word, e.g. ‘*Steinzeitmoslem*’ (stone-age Muslim). This qualifies compounds for lexically based HS detection on par with e.g. the NP head-dependent patterns used for English by Njagi et al. (2015), where the NPs had to contain both (a) an opinion- or metaphor-bearing element and (b) a theme relation to a HS target (religion, race or nation), e.g. ‘*Muslim pig*’. That safe linguistic links between (a) and (b), syntactic or morphological (e.g. compounding), are important for automatic HS detection also follows from Malmasi & Zampieri’s (2019) finding that unigrams¹ work

¹ character-4- and -5-grams also performed well, in fact slightly better than unigrams, possibly because they captured important pejorative or target morphemes.

better than bigrams, trigrams and skipgrams, arguably because the latter do not guarantee a direct word relation and get "diluted" by accidental adjacency. The specific importance of compounds for HS in German is also stressed by Sorrentino (2024) who points out that almost all items of the German *Unworte des Jahres* list ('hate words of the year') are compounds, e.g. '*Volksverräter*' (nation traitor, 2016), '*Corona-Diktatur*' (COVID-19 dictatorship, 2020).

This paper examines the above-mentioned morphological processes in German online hate speech, using corpus-linguistic methodology². based on a large (3.7 billion words), grammatically annotated corpus of Twitter posts (Bick 2020). The data were harvested over a 2.5-year period 2017–2019 in the context of the XPEROHS project (Baumgarten et al. 2019), with a special focus on the refugee crisis, immigration, Islam and nationalist discourse³. A Constraint Grammar (CG) parser (GerGram⁴) was - in addition to general morphsyntactic and semantic mark-up - used to identify, lemmatize and analyse *compounds*. The annotation-enriched version of the data allowed us to harvest compounds in different ways, inspecting them in grammatically specified contexts and a frequency-ordered fashion. For instance, compounds could be filtered for part-of-speech (POS) or co-occurrence with certain keywords typical of the minority discourse. Productive compounds, i.e. compounds not already in the parser lexicon, can be assumed to be more period-typical than the ones already lexicalized, and could be identified thanks to special tags for heuristicity and confidence. In order to identify pejorative material, we exploited sentiment tags (<Q->) linked either (a) to context words (bag-of-words, neighboring or dependency-linked) or (b) to a compound-constituting morpheme.

As expected, there was an abundance of derogatory prefixation of minority terms (e.g. '*Drecks-*' ["dirt"], '*Scheiss-*' ["shit"] etc.) and ad-hoc slurs, built by integrating a pre-existing derogatory term into a compound, typically as the second part: '*Sandneger*' ("sand nigger"), '*Asylschmarotzer*' ("asylum parasite"), '*Muslimaschlampe*' (Muslim hore), '*Linksfaschos*' ("left-wing fascist"). Stereotypes were often expressed as negatively connotated first parts, creating slur-like expressions even without a "real" slur part: '*Lügenmoslem*' ("lying Muslim"), '*Steinzeitmoslem*' ("stone-age Muslim"), '*Pädemoslem*' ("pedophile Muslim"). Sometimes compounds imply whole narratives, such as the planned-invasion [conspiracy] theory ('*Völkerpumpe*' – "peoples pump", '*Transfernomenaden*' – "transfer nomads") or the lying-media manipulation theory ('*Nannymedien*' – "nanny media", '*Meinungsterror*' – "opinion terror"). Even further densification is found in fusion words ('*Krimmigrant*' – "criminal immigrant") or orthographical puns ('*Islam*').

3 Pejorative word formation

Following Finkbeiner et al. (2016), three main mechanisms for pejorative word formation can be distinguished: (1) pejorative modifiers (e.g. *Scheiß-*, *Drecks-*), (2) pejorative noun heads (e.g. *-pack*, *-zicke*), with a special sub-group of name heads (e.g. *-Heini*, *-Uschi*), and (3) pejorative derivation, involving either prefixes (e.g. *ge-*) or suffixes (e.g. *-erei*, *-ling*). To these, one could add (4) co-

2 The corpus-linguistic method addresses linguistic research questions in an empirical fashion, using large data sets (called corpora) of written or spoken language, optimally enriched with structured meta- and grammatical information. Corpus findings usually rely on a specialized query language and user interface, as well as statistical tools, prioritizing either quantitative evaluation or qualitative inspection or an iterative combination of both. In our case, we used the *CorpusEye* tool (<https://corp.visl.dk>).

3 This HS target group is arguably the one most affected by HS, at least for the area, genre and time period discussed here. Thus, Paasch-Colberg et al. (2022), distinguishing between hate speech proper on the one hand and "mere" offensive language on the other, found that online German hate speech was directed mostly at the target group of immigrants and refugees, while offensive language was predominantly aimed at politicians.

4 <https://edu.visl.dk/visl/de/parsing/automatic/>

pejoration, where a derogatory word is built from parts that would be neutral, or even positive, in isolation (e.g. *Volksposten*, *Allahmänner*). Also, first parts are not always modifiers, but can also be (5) “syntactic” complements of the second part (e.g. *Islamistenfreund*). Obviously, compound parts can all be negative (e.g. *Lügenbande*, *Muslimaschlampe*), but sometimes they are also intentionally constructed as clashes between elements of opposite sentiment polarity (e.g. *Wahrlüge*, *Mitteextremist*).

3.1 Pejorative prefixes, modifiers and complements (first parts)

In German, a number of “4-letter words” can be used as pejorative prefixes for nouns (*Scheiß-/Kack-* [shit], *Drecks-/Mist-* [dirt] or the English *Fuck-*). These prefixes are not specific in terms of either pejoration or target group, and also combine with non-hum nouns (e.g. *Drecksland* [dirt-country]). However, more neutral prefixes can acquire derogatory meaning in-context. For instance *pseudo/schein-* [pseudo-] is pejorative when used to raise doubts about the legitimacy of refugees (*Pseudoflüchtling*) or scientists (*Scheinwissenschaftler*). Also, there are lots of corpus cases, where specific nouns are used as pejorative prefixes, e.g. *Rassisten-Omi* (racist grandma) or the right-wing terms *Lügenkanzlerin* [lying chancellor = Merkel], *Verräterpartei* [traitor party = SPD] and *Schundregierung* [trash government]. While these prefixing nouns still combine with a wide range of noun heads, they contribute not just pejoration to the compound, but also quite specific attributes, such as ‘criminal’ (a), ‘lying’ (b), ‘problematic’ (c) or ‘muslim’ (d).

(a) *Die EU ist ein Gaunerverein* [The EU is a gang of **bandits**]

(b) *Lügenmessias als Außenminister und eine heilige unfehlbare Gottkanzlerin* [a **lying** messiah as foreign minister and a holy infallible God chanceloress]

(c) *Ok, und welche Kulturvielfalt dann vollislamisierte Problemkiese in Deutschland für dich genau?* [Ok, and what kind of multiculturalism (are) completely islamized **problem** ghettos in Germany for you, exactly]

(d) *ich hoffe die Unterwürfigkeit der Frauen in den Muselländern wird über den religiösen Spinnereien der Allahmänner siegen.* [I hope the oppressed women in the **Moorish** countries will win over the religious nonsense of the Allah males]

Not always first parts in noun compounds are attributive. For instance, an *Islamistenfreund* normally doesn't mean a friend who is an islamist, but rather ‘friend-of-islamists’. In these cases, the semantics of the second part is important for the interpretation as a slur, and cannot be exchanged like in attributive prefixing. Thus *Islamistenfeind* [enemy-of-islamists] would not work as a slur.

One of the most common derogatory nouns in the corpus is *Nazi*. As a prefix, it is used in hatespeech (HS) or counterspeech (CS) slurs directed at right-wing extremists (*Nazischwein*, *Nazipolizist*, *Nazibraut*, *Nazienkel*, *Nazi-Omi*, *Nazi-Opa*), but it also occurs in counter-counterspeech (CCS), e.g. *Nazikeule* [nazi club = mobbing].

Sometimes, nouns with a negative connotation get abbreviated when used as first part in a derogatory compound. Thus, *Pädo-* [pedophile] is used in HS by both sides of the immigration discourse: *Pädopartei* [pedo-party = the Greens], *Pädonazi* [pedophile nazi], *pädo-links* [left-wing in a pedophile way].

3.2 Pejorative heads (second parts)

In the second mechanism of pejorative noun compounding, it is the head noun rather than the modifier that is negative. With few exceptions (*-art*, *-ding*), heads cannot be semantically transparent, and one would therefore expect the second, pejorative part of the compound to carry more of the word's meaning

than the first part. For the head *-fascist* [fascist] this is the case for *Neofascist* (2376 occurrences), *Austrofascist* [Austrian fascist, 140] or *Kryptofascist* [cryptofascist, 105].

3.2.1 Topic pejoration

Interestingly, however, the word seems to lose its original meaning in most compounds, functioning as a modifier instead ('in a fascist [here: dictatorship-likel] way'), for how the person stands with regard to the first part, which goes from morphotactic dependent to semantic topic. In fact, the most frequent uses are compounds where the first part would be more or less incompatible with the original meaning of 'fascist': *Linksfascist* [left-wing fascist, 11010 occurrences], *Islam(o)fascist* [781] or even *Ökofascist* [Eco-fascist, 2578] and *Rot-/ Grün-/ Global-/ Klima-/ Meinungsfascist* [red/ green/ globalization/ climate-fascist], with about 400 examples each, or even *Gutmenschenfascist* [11]. In these cases, in semantic terms, head and modifier swap roles and the morphotactic head *fascist* works more like the pejorative prefixes in 2.1. A similar process is at work in (a) for the compound head *nazi*.

- (a) *Man sollte bei dem Wetter und generell das tragen, worin man sich wohlfühlt. Scheißegal, was irgendwelche **Geschmacksnazis** entscheiden.* [In this weather, you should wear clothes that feel comfortable. No fucking matter what some of these **taste nazis** say]

3.2.2 Ethnic slur creation: Ethnopaualisms

Investigating ethnic slurs was one of the main objectives when creating the XPEROHS corpus, and in many cases, these words turned out to be compounds. In a typical construction, pejorative features are assigned to the target ethnicity as attribute-value pairs, where attribute and value are encoded as head and modifier, respectively. The slur *Kümmeltürke* [caraway Turk], for instance, builds on the generalizing assumption that a lot of Turkish food contains caraway. Neither of the compound elements is negative by itself, but the implied generalization alone is already "slurry". Usage, convention and associated sentiments decide the severeness of the slur. Four main semantic fields were found in the corpus for this type of slur: food (a), body traits (b), clothing (c) and culture (d). An example of a rarer type is origin e.

- (a) *Knoblauch|fresser, Bananen|fresser, Schweine|fresser, Döner|fresser* [garlic/banana/pig/kebab eater]
- (b1) *Schwarz|kopf* [blackhead]
- (b2) *Sommersprossen|hurensohn* [freckled son-of-prostitute]
- (b3) *Milben|bärte zurück in den Orient!* [mite beards back into the orient]
- (b4) *Diese Milben|bärte 🐘 und Eselficker schänden eine Kirche.* [these mite beards and donkey fuckers violate a church]
- (c1) *Kopftuch|muslima/-islamist* [headscarf muslim/islamist]
- (c2) *Kopftuch|trulla/-weib/-schlampe* [headscarf bitch/shrew/slut]
- (c3) *Kopftuch|trägerin/-mädchen/-frau* [headscarf weare/girl/woman]
- (d1) *Religions|trottel* [religious jackass]
- (d2) *Is scho wieder jabantag oder was ihr #manga|missgeburten* [is it Japan day again or what you #manga freaks]
- (d3) *hau rein als wärs I rechts|alman* [punch him/it like he/it were a right-wing alman]
- (e1) *ungebildeter Wüsten-Macho* [uneducated dezert macho]

(e2) *Schluchten|scheißer* [ravine shitter]

In the food-based expressions, the second part (*-fresser*) is pejorative as such, because it means “eating like an animal”, but it is unspecific, and the ethnicity link is established by the first part: Africans eat bananas, Germans porc and Turks kebab and garlic. (b2), (c1-2), (d1-3), (e1-2) have also pejorative second parts⁵, but only in (c1) and (d3) they are specific of the target group. (b1) is an example for a conventionalized slur without individually negative elements, but the similar *headscarf* constructions (c3) are not (yet) slurs – here, pejorative second parts (c1-2) are needed. (e2), a conventionalized slur for an Austrian, outside the minority topic, illustrates that the target group reference is not necessarily transparent to all speakers of German.

3.2.3 Non-ethnic derogatory attribution

As can be seen from € and the first slur in the “mobbing complaint” (a), slurs do not necessarily contain a morphological element or a specific feature association to indicate the target. Like many pejorative prefixes, some slurs (e.g. *Idiot* [moron], *Arsch* [ass]) can be used against everybody, and only context can decide if it is used in ethnic or political HS or just to be abusive against somebody who spilled coffee on your keyboard. In (a), co-ordinated slurs resolve the target group (*AfD*... → right-winger), in (c) it is an adjective (*links*... → left-winger). (b) is the most complicated insinuation – the target-neutral slur is contextualized by the name of the German capital, Berlin, likely a reference to the government.

(a) ... wurde ich als **Sonderschulabbrecher** , kleiner Rechter , *AfD*-Arschkriecher , Faschist und (natürlich) Nazi deklariert [... I was called special-needs-school dropout, AfD-asslicker, fascist and (of course) nazi]

(b) *Berlin muss ein Deppenmagnet sein* [Berlin must be a dork magnet]

€ *Niedlich wie sich diese linksfaschistischen Zivilversager auf die Hühnerbrust hauen.* [cute how these left-wing-fascist civilian failures beat their chicken breast]

Most target-neutral slur compounds fall under 4-5 topic headings: stupidity (d), sexual honour €, body defects (f) and impurity (g), as well as animals (cf. chapter 9) perceived as stupid or unclean. Combinations are possible, as in *Drecksschwein* [dirt-pig] (g) or the derogatory reference to the German voter in (d4), where both a stupidity-adjective (d3) and a stupidity-animal are used. Especially the stupidity attributes are also used in indirect slurs, e.g. targeting a tweet author (d6) or a population collective (d5). Stupidity slurs can also be indirect in the sense that either the stupidity attribute (*Dorf* [village] → stupid) or the target marker (*Reichs*- [3rd Reich] → nazi) are implied rather than explicit (d2).

(d1) *Dumpfbacke* [dullcheek], *Dummdödel* [stupid fool], *Dummschnitte* [stupid slice], *Nullchecker* [zero checker], *Dosentrottel* [can dork], *Doofnuss* [village nut]

(d2) *Dorfnazi* [village nazi], *Reichsdepp* [empire idiot]

(d3) *hirnfrei* [brainfree], *hirnamputiert* [brain-amputated]

(d4) *treudoofe(s) Stimmvieh/Schlachtschafe/Schäfchen* [naive-stupid voting cattle/butcher's sheep/sheeplet]

(d5) *Dummland/Doofland* [foolcountry], *Dummvolk* [foolnation]

(d6) *Trotteltweet* [idiot's tweet]

€ *Hurensohn* [son-of-hooker], *Hurentochter* [daughter-of-hooker], *Fickarsch* [fuck-ass]

⁵ *Alman* [German] in (d3) is not as negative as the others (Bick 2020, forthcoming)

(f) *Krüppelfresse* [handicap-face], *Fickfresse* [fuckface], *Vollspast* [total spacko]

(g) *Schmutzkübel* [dirt bucket], *Drecksschwein* [dirt-pig], *Kackbratze* [shit-hag], *Arschmade* [ass-maggot], *menschenverachtende Arschkekse* [misanthropic ass-cookie], *Stinkstiefel* [smellyboot]

Though in principle target-neutral, some expressions can turn into code language, and acquire a quite specific meaning in HS, not least if used as hashtags. Thus, the terms in (d5) unequivocally refer to Germany and the Germans in right-wing immigration HS.

3.3 Pejorative derivation/affixation

In addition to the fully/exclusively pejorative (noun) prefixes discussed in 2.1., a number of other German affixes, mostly suffixes, can occur in pejorative word formation of nouns, fulfilling Dammel & Quindt's (2016) conditions (for evaluative derivation) of being productive, base- and context-independent and in systematic opposition to other, non-evaluative derivations. The most negative are the Orwell-inspired *-sprech* [speak] (a) and – when used productively – the country suffix *-stan* (b). The former is used about in-group jargon, the latter conjures up the image of an under-developed, undemocratic Muslim country. But non-negative exceptions exist, e.g. the last example in (b), country-izing the safe and cozy space of home and crocheted toy animals.

(a) *rechter Neusprech* [right-wing newspeak], *Nazisprech*, *Gendersprech*, *Hasssprech* [hatespeak], *Grünsprech* [greenspeak], *Schönsprech* [nicespeak = euphemy], *Dummsprech* [stupid speak = nonsense], *Merkelsprech* [Merkelspeak], *Doppelsprech* [doublespeak]

(b) Absurdistan, Germanistan [islamized Germany], Islamistan [pun: islamist-land], Merkel(i)stan, Idiotistan, Buntistan [Multikultiland], Flauschistan [Fluffyland]

The three person suffixes (c-e) are not safely derogatory. Thus, *-er* € is quite transparent and needs to inherit negativity from a pejorative root. *-ling* (b) and in particular *-ler* (c) have more pejorative compounds. As a tendency, older, fixed derivations (e.g. *Lehrling* [apprentice]) seem to be less negative than new, productive usage. For *-ling*, almost all cases with an adjective-only root (d1) are pejorative, *Hübschling* [cutie] being an exception.. (d2) are HS examples and carry specific narratives, e.g. the flood disaster metaphor in the pun *Flutling* [“mass-fugee”].

(c) € *Flüchtlingsgewinnler* [refugee profiteer], *Querfrontler* [~ bipartisan authoritarian], *frauenschlagende Frömmeler* [women-beating bigots], *Durchschummler* [social parasite]

(d1) *Widerling* [sleazebag], *Perversling* [pervert], *Naivling* [simpleton], *Fiesling* [meanie], *Wüstling* [brute], *Finsterling* [sinister person]

(d2) *Merklinge* (Merkel-pun), *Systemling* [system slave], *Flutling* [mass-fugee]

€ *-er* (can inherit pej from root): *Grapscher* [molester], *Pöbler* [canaille], *Rempler* [jostling]

Finally, the plural suffix *-letten* [small ones] can be used in slur creation. The core meaning of diminution is seen in *Stiefeletten* (bootlets), *Adiletten* (Adidas sneakers), *Pantoletten* (small slippers), but can be transferred to people: *Erdoletten* [Erdogan puppets], *Schwulettten* [gaylets], *Burschiletten* [goonies], the latter being a slur used for (marching) nazi followers.

Ge- is an example of an ordinary prefix used in pejoration. Specifically, this is the case for words denoting human groups and actions. Thus, in the corpus, the group slurs *Gesindel* and *Gesocks* [rabble] in (f1), used for all kinds of HS targets, are far more common than the neutral *Gebrüder* [brothers] and *Gefolge* [entourage]. De-verbal pejoration (f2) is almost always pejorative for *ge-*.

(f1) *Gesocks/Gesochse* [rabble], *Gesindel* [vermin]

(f2) *Rumgeflenne* [whining], *Twitter-Gemotze* [Twitter-nagging], *Burka-Gedöns* [Burka-fuss], *Faschogedöns* [fascist hullabaloo]

A special case of prefixation are supposedly transparent (non-pejorative) intensifiers used with pejorative roots. While *Riesen-* [giant] (g1) is truly transparent, it is rarely used with human roots (*Riesenarschloch* being an exception). *Ober-* [top] (g2) and *über-* [uber-] (g3), on the other hand, can have an effect beyond intensification. Thus, *Muslim* is not, and *Sozi* not necessarily, negative. However, with *Ober-* or *Über-* they acquire a pejorative flair.

(g1) *Riesenschweinerei* [giant mess], *Riesenarschloch* [giant asshole]

(g2) *Oberhetzer*, *Obermuslim*, *Oberspinner*, *Obersozi* [top rabble-rouser / muslim / wacko / socialist]

(g3) *Übermuslim*, *Übergutmensch*, *Übermoralist* [Über-muslim / do-goodie / moralist]

3.4 Co-pejoration

Not all pejorative compounds have a clear "negativity culprit". Sometimes, the effect is caused by pragmatic processes such as context, conventions specific to a given discourse or sender/receiver-specific negative associations. Word-internally, pejoration can result from the interplay of two otherwise neutral parts (a). In the pun *Volkspfosten* [nationalist moron], the second part (*Pfosten* [post/pole]) is negative only because it is also used in *Vollpfosten* [idiot], an already lexicalized slur, and the first part, *Volk* [people/nation], only works as a slur target if the receiver can associate it with right-wing nationalist terminology. *Dönermord* [kebab murder] is another complex pejoration example, referring to a series of nationalist murders of small immigrant business owners, e.g. kebab take-ways. The press-coined term ended up discriminating not the murderers, but the victims by contemptuously generalizing them as kebab eaters. An adjectival example of co-pejoration is the construction *x-frei* (without x), that can become discriminating if the first part is a minority term (b1), or create a pejorative attribute from a positive first part (b2). In (c), co-pejoration works by creating a clash between a first part normally evoking positive sentiment, and a negative second part. The process conjures up the image of something that shouldn't exist – a charitable organization that smuggles people, a middle-ground extremist, a true lie or neglecting children in a wealthy way (*Wohlstandsverwahrlosung*, [wealth neglect]). With the exception of the latter, the examples in (c) are right-wing code terms attacking and contorting mainstream plus words and concepts in a linguistic fashion. For instance, terror morphs from refugee reason to refugee attribute. The implied narrative is one of conspiracy, manipulating the truth (*Wahrlüge* [truth lie]), hidden objectives (*NGO-Schlepper* [NGO people smuggler]) and a dictatorial political elite (*Mittextremist* [center extremist]).

(a) *Volks|pfosten* [nationalist idiot], *Döner|morde* [kebab murders], *Allah|männer* [Allah males]

(b1) *juden|frei*, *asylanten|frei*, *rechts|frei* [free of Jews/asylum-seekers/right-wingers]

(b2) *dummes sinn|freies grünes Geschwätz* [stupid free-of-meaning green babble]

(b) *NGO-Schlepper* [NGO people smuggler], *Mitte|extremist* [center extremist], *Wahr|lüge* [truth lie], *Flüchtlings|terror* [refugee terror], *Wohlstands|verwahrlosung* [wealth neglect]

3.5 Non-noun compounds: Adjectives and verbs

Pejorative compounding also works with adjectives, and – to a lesser degree – with verbs. Thus, *sau-*, *scheiß-* and *kack-* can be used as prefixes in adjectives. However, with adjectives, they also work as just intensifiers, or – with the term used by Korecky-Kröll & Dressler (2022) – morphopragmatic semiprefixations, allowing the occasional positive root without pejoration (e.g. *saustark/-cool/-lustig*

[very strong/cool/funny). In this way, they can behave like intensifiers without a pejorative etymology (e.g. *super-*, *mega-* and *ober* [“upper” → very]).

There are no pejorative suffixes for German adjectives, but some negative 2nd-part adjectives take a facultative (a-b) or obligatory € valency pre-complement. The terms *versifft* [filthy] and *verseucht* [infested] (b) are always pejorative, in a lexical way. Compounds with *-feindlich* [hostile/phobic] (a), on the other hand, could – in terms of meaning – be either negative or positive, depending on your political affiliations. However, functionally these words are also always pejorative, more so if used for people or values, and are used only by people who perceive the compound root as positive. For instance, a speaker with a negative view on Israel or the German constitution would not say *israelfeindlich* or *verfassungsfeindlich*, but prefer *israelkritisch* and *verfassungskritisch* [critical of Israel / the constitution]. The suffix-like adjective *-hörig* [enthralled by ...] needs a complement, either as a separate dative word, or as a compound part (c1). It is productively used in the corpus with various politician names or human group nouns (parties, companies, countries).

(a1) *verfassungs-/bürger-/deutschenfeindlich* [inimical to the constitution/citizens/Germans], *freiheitsfeindlich* [against freedom]

(a2) *Quoten sind leistungsfeindlich* [(minority) quotas (affirmative action) is detrimental to performance]

(f) *linksgrünversiffte Gutmenschen* [left-green-filthy do-goodies], *linksverseucht* [leftist-infested], *systemversifftes Betrügerschwein* [system-smeared swindlerpig]

(c1) *Lobby-/Merkel-/Mohammed-Islamhörig* [enthralled by ...]

(c2) *zukunftsblind* [future-blind], *rechtsblind* [right-wing-blind]

Another type of pejorative adjective compounds, while also drawing on negative second parts, adds topic/target modifiers (d). A very simple recipe is taking a slur adjective like *pädophil* or *kriminell*, and add *links-* [leftist] to it. Structurally, this should work just as well for *rechts-* [right-wing]. Yet there are very few examples with *rechts-* in the corpus, indicating that this particular pattern is code language used right-against-left rather than vice-versa.

(d1) *linkspädophil*, *-kriminell*, *-faschistisch*, *-dumm* [leftist pedophile/ criminal/ fascist /stupid]

(d2) *autorassistischer Asylantenwahn* [auto-racist asylum-seeker hysteria]

Pejoration can also be achieved by chaining two adjectives, at least one of them negative. In these cases, unlike regular pejoration prefixes, the first part can add content as well as negative sentiment €. This ADJ+ADJ construction is otherwise rare in German and blends modification with coordination (‘stupid + German’ or ‘German in a stupid way’?)

(e1) *die dummd Deutsche Linke* [the stupid-German Left]

(e2) *verqueres altlinkes Verschwörungszeug* [confused ancient-leftist conspiracy stuff]

The last example (f) is a rare case of adjective compounding without a negative element. The effect is achieved by negating a good thing (facts) in a temporal fashion with the prefix *post-*. The image is one of ‘people not caring about the truth any more’ and is directed, often as counterspeech, against what is perceived as fake news or unfounded rhetoric.

(g) *postfaktischer Populismus* [post-truth populism]

4 Word fusion: Puns and the terminology of hate

In the immigration discourse, both sides make use of a special form of compounding, fusion compounds, where the first part of one word is combined with the second part of (or all of) another word, usually attributing the first word to the second. For instance, *Krim(m)igrant* is built from the adjective *kriminell* [criminal] and the noun (*Im*)*migrant*, resulting in a slur, where the negative attribute linguistically and conceptually has become an inherent part of the target – arguably more so than with a separate pejorative adjective (*krimineller Migrant* [criminal migrant]). Slurs of this type (a) function as code language for the groups using them, and are often turned into hashtags in Twitter. In addition, fusion compounds are also used to coin words for new cultural concepts such as *Burkini* (Burka + Bikini).

(c) *Negrant* (*Neger*+*Migrant*) [Negro migrant], *Nafri* (*Nord*+*Afrikaner*) [North African], *Fakefugee* (*fake*+*refugee*), *Rapefugee* (*rape*+*refugee*), *Pegitioten* (*Pegida*+*Idioten*) [Pegida idiots], *Ziofaschos* [Zionist fascists]

A similar blending mechanism is used in pun creation, exploiting word similarities at the phonetic or graphical level. Puns can be quite pejorative (b-c), and also make good candidates for code language terms or hashtags. They do need, however, an element of humor. The expression *sozialtot und tinderjährig* [socially dead and Tinder-aged/minor-aged (*minderjährig*)] fulfills this condition, while the hashtag *Egaylity* is not humorous and therefore more an “infix” fusion word than a pun. Structurally, puns rely on word ambiguity or word similarity in terms of either pronunciation (b) or spelling (c).

(b1) *Sprenggläubiger* (*Strenggläubiger*) [detonation believer – orthodox believer], *Seenotschlepper* (*Seenotretter*) [sea people smuggler – sea rescuer], *Murksel* (*Murks* [mess] & *Merkel*), *Allahfisten* (*Salafisten*)

(b2) *Die Kameratten der NPD stellen den Saalschutz der Afdi's* [The comrades/rats (Kameraden+Ratten) of the NPD provide venue protection for the AfD'ers]

(b3) *Islamistan* [Islam-land], *Antifant* [Antifa activist]

(d) ©*Islamisierung, Israel*

The similarity/ambiguity condition does not need to hold for the whole word, but also works with partial matches. In the written puns ©, for instance, a 2-letter overlap with IS (ISIS), if marked by uppercase, is enough to create a blended image of islamization being an ISIS project, or accusing Israel of state terrorism. In (b3), an endings morpheme (*-istan*, *-ant*) is enough to create the desired effect, creating a conceptual bridge between islam and a backward-country stereotype (*-istan*) or between the Antifa [antifascism] movement and immigrants (*-ant*).

5 Right-wing terminology: Code word creation

The German anti-immigrant rhetoric on Twitter is ripe with newly-created jargon. In part, the mechanism is the same as in other areas – new terms or loanwords can carry more specific meanings and also contribute to a sense of linguistic communality. Another reason, however, is the need for euphemisms – “virgin” HS terms – as a kind of code language, where a word will superficially look inconspicuous, but still carry pejorative meaning for the initiated. Such code words impress less uncivilized and also help evade automatic or even human HS censorship and the risk of twitter account

suspension⁶. Some of these terms are intentional misspellings (e.g. *pöse* = *böse* [evil]), others – e.g. *MUFL* [underage un-accompanied refugee] and *Goldstück(chen)* [gold nugget] – are simply taken from bureaucratic jargon or politician quotes, and *used* pejoratively. But since it is difficult to coin entirely new simplex words and still fill them with meaning, most of these jargon terms are in fact compounds, including puns or fusion words (e.g. *Nafri*, *Krimigrant*, cp. Chapter 3), or abbreviations (e.g. *Fl.* = *Flüchtling* [refugee], *isl.* = *islamisch* [Islamic], *abkn** = *abknallen* [shoot and kill]).

Compounds of any kind, be it fusion words or regular compounds, are good candidates for code words for two reasons. First, they build a desired sentiment or attribute into the word itself, rather than having to rely on usage convention only. Second, compounds are by definition productive, and it is easier to reserve specific connotations for a newly-coined word than for an existing one. Many code compounds are “camouflaged” slurs without a visible (lexicalized) slur element. Some (a) add *-er* or *-ung* derivations of negative verbs to compound with first parts perceived as positive (e.g. Germany, Germans, integration), but in some, like the famous *Gutmenschen* (b), there is only a little sarcasm or irony to mark pejoration. The term is used in right-wing counterspeech and attacks the perceived moral superiority claimed by the political mainstream. Once established, such terms can themselves become reference points for new compounds – in this case by replacing the adjective *gut* (good) with the ironical *besser* (better) or the antonymical *schlecht* (bad). In addition to camouflage and expressivity, code words and lexical innovation in general, and not least compounds, may help the anti-immigrant discourse community maintain identity in a specific German context of legally regulated speech (Nann et al., 2024).

In some cases, code terms draw their pejorative flavour from hinted-at incidents. Thus, the first three examples in I refer to welcoming receptions for refugee trains, the minimum pejoration being one of naivety. The *Grapsch-* (grope) compounds refer to the 2017/2018 New-Year mass molesting of German women by North-African and Arab immigrants in Köln and some other German towns.

(a) *Deutschland|zerstörer* [Germany-destroyer], *Integrations|verweigerer* [integration-refuser], *Christen|hasser* [Christian-hater], *Deutsch|hasser* [German-hater], *Inländerdiskriminierung* [non-foreigner_pun discrimination]

(b) *Gut|menschen* [do-gooders], *Besser|menschen* [do-betters], *Schlecht|menschen* [do-bad’ers], *Islamapologet* [Islam-condoner], *Islam-appeaser*

I *Bahnhofs|klatsch|er* [station applauder], *Teddy(bär)|werfer* [teddy-thrower], *Grapscher|klatscher* [groping applauder], *Grapsch|kanacke* [groping foreigner-slur]

Another, straightforward method for creating code words is using synonyms or near synonyms of an established, more common term. Thus, in (d), the concepts or *nomad* and *wanderer* (a pun on *Ein|wanderer* [immigrant]) are used instead of *migrant*, with a first compound element suggesting welfare scrounging. I illustrates derivation-based creation of code synonyms (Muslim = Islam-person = islamist) used only in pejorative contexts (e2-3). They are not part of everyday language, but automatically understood as pejorative by the like-minded.

(e) *Sozial-/Transfer-/Versorgungsnomade* [social / transfer- / welfare nomade], *Armutswanderer* [poverty “hiker” (migrant)]

⁶ Statistical techniques for identifying euphemisms, e.g. context sharing and cooccurrence networks (Magu & Luo 2018), are hampered by low term frequency, so established single-word euphemisms are easier to catch than a productive range of individually rare compounds.

(e1) *Islam|esianer* [Islamesian]

(e2) *Ich bin gegen #Islam|iten, weil mir da zu viel böses ist* [I am against Islamists, there is too much evil there]

(e3) *Islam|iker auf ewig niederster Bildungsstufe – wie vom Koran diktiert – mit jüdischen Immigranten zu vergleichen.* [Islam-person without education, as dictated by the Quran – comparable to Jewish immigrants]

6 Irony and understatement

Irony is a complex instrument of pejoration, and obviously not as such a hallmark of HS. However, it does get used in HS contexts, either in combination with outright HS terms or as a “civilized” way to share opinions that a like-minded reader will decode as intended HS, but censorship algorithms and legal frameworks will not. Example (a), while containing irony at both the sentence level (*Es ist ein Jammer* [what a shame]) and the lexical (compound) level (*Frauenverstehers* [“woman-understander”, *Araberumarmers* [“Arab-hugger”]), is not, as a whole, HS. Still, the word *Araberumarmers* has a certain HS potential, and might be interpreted as such by right-wing recipients. Example (b), on the other hand, should likely be qualified as explicit HS, because the ironical compound *Intelligenzallergiker* [intelligence allergic] not only implies stupidity in a humorous fashion, but also does so in a direct attack (*du I...* [you]), while insinuating social scrounging in a generalizing way (‘people like you’, ‘you dominate ...’)

(a) *Nicht gewählt : Stegner, der bescheidene Frauen|verstehers, Araber|umarmers und intellektuelle Überflieger. Es ist ein Jammer.* [Not elected: Stegner, the modest woman-understander, Arab-hugger and intellectual out-performer. What a shame.]

(b) *Also Du **Intelligenz|allergiker**, die sprechen von Erwerbs|migranten und damit dürften Leute wie Du nicht gemeint sein. Ihr dominiert doch eher die Harz 4 Statistik.* [Well you intelligence allergic, these ... are talking about work migrants, and that shouldn’t cover people like you. You are more likely to fill up the Harz 4 (minimum social benefit) statistics]

A corpus harvest of ironic compounds I includes another stupidity slur, *Bildungsverweigerers* [“education objector”], with an allusion to *Wehrdienstverweigerers* [conscientious objector], and slurs for both left-wingers (*Berufsempörers* [“serial protestor”]) and right-wingers (*Schnullernazi*, “[baby-]pacifier nazi”), the latter meaning a person afraid of exposing their true, nazi self. (c2) is an ironical take on the failed promise that refugees would serve as a welcome source of skilled-labor (cp. Disaster metaphors 7.2., example (f)).

(c1) *Bildungsverweigerers* [education objector], *Berufsempörers* [perennially outraged], *Schnullernazi* [baby-soother nazi]

(c2) *Fachkräftelawine* [skilled-labor avalanche]

Some pejorative adjective compounds are also ironical (d). Thus, *-frei* [without ..., free of] is usually used with roots evoking negative sentiment in at least the listener (e.g. toxic substances or other dangers: *atomfrei* [nuclear-free], *moslemfrei* [Muslim-free]). In the examples in (d), however, the roots are unequivocally positive (talent, empathy), resulting in humorously pejorative compounds. *Gewöhnungsbedürftig* [in need of getting used to], finally, is an example of understatement, i.e. functionally more negative than the sum of its parts.

(d1) *talent|freie Migranten|prinzessin und Araber|clan|apologetin* [talent-less migrant princess and Arab clan apologetic]

(d2) *sträflich empathie|frei gegenüber Migrantinnen* [criminally empathy-free against immigrant women] (counterspeech)

(d3) *willens|freie Merkeldrohne* [will-less Merkel-drone]

(d4) *gewöhnungs|bedürftig* [needing getting used to]

7 Corpus-specific compounding: hashtags and Twitter handles

Hashtags and Twitter handles (“user names”) need to pack a lot of lexical punch into one word, and are therefore often constructed as compounds. The hashtag examples in (a) are ordinary compounds marking topics in the right-wing immigration agenda. *#Verbrecherstaat* [crime state] and *#Asylmafia* [refugee mafia] combine a pejoration element (*Verbrecher-*, *-mafia*) with a topic element (*-staat*, *Asyl-*). In the “under-specified” *Heidelberg|verbot* [Heidelberg ban], only a town name is given as the topic of a prohibition, but to the initiated the term refers to traditional nazi conventions celebrated *in* that town. *Familienrückzug* [“family repatriation”], finally, is a wordplay with *Familiennachzug* [(refugee) family reunification], and refers to the nationalist agenda of sending all immigrants back to their countries of origin.

- (b) *#Verbrecherstaat* [criminal state], *#Asylmafia* [asylum (seeker) mafia], *#Heidelbergverbot* [Heidelberg ban], *#Familienrückzug* (cf. *Familiennachzug*)

Like in brand and company names, camelcase is sometimes used to mark internal word boundaries in hashtags, see (b) as opposed to (c). Interestingly, the technique is only used for syntactic, not ordinary compound boundaries. Thus, *#SchussInsKnie* [shoot-in-the-knee] in (b3) uses camelcase, but *#Wirtschaftsflüchtling* [economic refugee] in the same tweet doesn’t. Incidentally, (b3) is a good example that even a hashtag in isolation can be HS.

Many of the camelcase hashtags (42%) are English (b1), notwithstanding German text in the tweet, and about 25% start with *#No*. Some are full sentences, typically slogans, rather than NPs. The first example in (b2) is right-wing, the second is a famous Merkel quote.

(b1) *#NoIslam*, *#FuckIslam*, *#MyGermanDream*

(b2) *#EsReicht* [it’s enough], *#WirSchaffenDas* [We can do it]

(b3) *und dann wundern wir uns, wenn sie hungrig übers Mittelmeer schwimmen..!*

#Wirtschaftsflüchtlinge #SchussInsKnie [and still we wonder when they hungrily swim across the Mediterranean..! *#Economic_refugee #KneeShot*]

- (c) *©Niewiederfaschismus* [never again fascism]

Many twitter handles (account names) are meant to be easily recognizable, e.g. politicians’ and artists’ names, parties, media outlets etc. But those that aren’t exhibit a structure similar to that of hashtags, with an obvious overweight of human-denoting compounds. These compounds can contain self-assigned attributes or functions, and some take a pejorative or aggressive stance towards a given topic, e.g. *@Nazifresser* [nazi eater] or *@Volksverpetzer* [people’s rat]. Slogans are also possible, e.g. *@hartaberfair* [harshbutfair], but nominal syntax is preferred over verbal content. *@TurkenGegenErdo* [Turks against Erdogan], for instance, is a typical Twitter name, while hashtags with a similar focus tend to be verbal, e.g. *#StopErdogan*.

8 Immigration metaphors and narratives

Our hypothesis is that compound analysis provides an important window onto the metaphors and narratives found in HS in general, and the immigration discourse in particular. Thus, we assume that metaphors and narratives, once established, are linguistically form-independent, and may manifest at

different levels of linguistic structure – morphological, syntactic or pragmatic. Therefore, ideally, compounds should allow us to identify and document most relevant metaphors, while at the same time being much easier to search and inspect in a corpus than more complex structures. For instance, by searching for compounds annotated as animals, i.e. with animals as second part, and inspecting/counting first parts, it is possible to find correlations (and assume metaphorical attribute transfer) between certain animal image sources and specific minority targets. Pig compounds, for instance, suggest a narrative of uncleanness, while parasites and maggots support a narrative of (social) disease and welfare freeloaders.

Four dominating metaphor bundles were found in the corpus, treating immigration as a disease (7.1.) or natural disaster (7.2.) and the resulting societal processes as war (7.4.) or body processes (7.3.). A pair-wise cross-strengthening of metaphors can be observed for (a) disease & body and (b) war & disaster, with compounds lexically pertaining to one metaphor appearing in sentences using another, e.g. *ein Geschwür am Volkskörper* [an ulceration on the nation's body], or blended compounds such as *Invasions|schwemme* [invasion flood], where the first part hints at war (an invasion) and the second at a natural disaster (a flood), with a polarity clash for the CONTROL feature (positive for the former and negative for the latter).

8.1 The disease and parasite narrative

Likening people or minority groups to diseases or disease agents is arguably one of the most demeaning metaphors imaginable. It is used in both right- and left-wing HS, and not only against (members of) ethnic and religious minorities, but also for politicians and extremists in general, as well as religions, ideologies and concepts (a-b).

(a) *Koran-/ausländer-/links-/naziverseucht* [Quran-/foreigner-/leftist-/nazi-infested], *Islam|infektion* [Islam infection]

(b) *Wir haben eine Gewalt|seuche im Herzen des Islam* [We have a violence epidemic in the heart of Islam]

The wide spread of source-target combinations in disease metaphors can be illustrated by a corpus search for the semantic class tag <sick.*> in combination with a compound analysis tag. Table 1 shows frequency classes for the individual compound combinations (1: 1–4 instances, 2: 5–19, 3: 20–99, 4: 100–999, 5: 1000 or more).

Table 1: compounds with disease metaphors

	Syndrom	(disease) Krankheit	(plague) Seuche	Epidemie	(cancer) Krebs	(ulcer) Geschwür	(pestilence) Pest	(delusion) Wahn	(mania) Manie	Allergie	(fever) Fieber
Muslim/Moslem		1	1					1	1		1
Kana(c)ken (<i>foreigner-slur</i>)	1				1		1				
Migranten (<i>migrants</i>)		2	1	1				3			
Flüchtling[es] (<i>refugee</i>)		1		1			1	4	2	1	1
Islam		1	1		1		2	3		1	
Messer (<i>knife</i>)		1	2	4			3		1	1	1
Vergewaltigungs (<i>rape</i>)			1	3				1			
Merkel	3	1	1		1	1	1	4	2	1	2
Gutmenschen (<i>do-gooder</i>)	2	2	1		1		1	3			
Helfer (<i>helper</i>)	5							2			
Linke/Links (<i>left-wing</i>)	1	1	1		2	1	2	2	1	1	
Sozi (<i>a socialist, lefty</i>)						1		1			
Grüne (<i>The Greens</i>)			2				3				
Rechte/Rechts (<i>right-wing</i>)	1		2				1	2	1		
Nazi	2	1	3		1	1	3	4	2	1	2
AfD (<i>nationalist party</i>)	1	2	3			1	1	1			

As can be seen, about half of all combinations were in fact realized in the corpus. However, not all morphemes are equally productive. The least constrained targets were *Merkel*-, *Linke/Links*- [leftist] and *Nazi*-, which combined with virtually all metaphor sources with the exception of *-epidemie*. Conversely, the least constrained metaphor source term was *-wahn* [delusion], closely followed by *-seuche* [plague]. Though the core meaning of the former best fits concept and ideology targets (e.g. Islam), it is also used, by extension, for people if they are perceived as either carriers (e.g. nazi, Merkel) or objects (e.g. immigrants) of delusional concepts. Another possible explanation for the broad combinability⁷ of the term is its lexical proximity to the word *Wahnsinn* [madness].

The second term, *-seuche* [plague], is semantically a synonym of *-epidemie* [epidemic], but due to different connotations, compound usage is very different. Thus, *-epidemie* correlates highly with first parts (*Messer* [knife], *Vergewaltigung* [rape]) that denote events – here associated with refugees/immigrants as violators. *-seuche*, on the other hand, as well as the related term *-pest*, combine more broadly with both events and people, with the strongest link to *Nazi*- and *AfD*-. All four terms share a narrative of spread and contagion (with e.g. immigrants or extremist views), possibly explaining why they are more common word-building blocks in compound pejoration than symptom terms (*Fieber*, *Geschwür*) or terms for non-contagious diseases (*Krebs* [cancer], *Allergie* [allergy]).

⁷ *-wahn* is also broadly used with political issues, e.g. *Globalisierungswahn* [globalization hype], *Ökowahn* [Eco craze], *Windwahn* [wind turbine madness], but also with many terms specific to the immigration discourse, e.g. *Buntheits-/Multikulti*- [multi-cultural], *Quoten*- [quota-], *Umvolkungs*- [population exchange], *Verhüllungs*- [women-covering]

8.2 Natural disaster and uncontrolled processes

Picturing immigration and the refugee influx as natural disasters stokes two negative sentiments at the same time, fear of destruction and annihilation and helplessness in the face of uncontrollable events. One instrument used in this context, the metaphor of plague, links to the disease narrative (a)

(a) *Islamistenbefall* [islamist infestation], *Migranten-/Kanackenplage* [migrant/foreigner_slur plague], *Migrantenheuschreckenplage* [migrant locust plague]

Other disaster metaphors are war (cp. chapter 7.4.) and the very productive flood metaphor. Here, the societal processes of population movement is likened to a deluge cataclysm sweeping away local culture, genes and identity. In terms of compounds, second-part targets are words like *-flut* [flood], *-welle* [wave], *-schwemme* [glut/flood], *-lawine* [avalanche], *-tsunami*, and first-part targets are a veritable inventory of foreign minority terms (b-e)

(b1) *Migrantenflut*, *Asylflut*, *Gastarbeiterflut* [migrant/ asylum/ guest worker flood], *Migranten-/Migrationsstrom* [migrant/migration torrent]

(b2) *Migrantenflutung*, *Überflutung mit/durch ...* [flooding with migrants]

(c) *Migranten-/Migrations-/Massenmigrations-/Haß-/Niggerwelle* [migrant/ (mass) migration/ hate/ nigger wave]

(d) *Migranten-/Flüchtlings-/Asylanten-/Asyl-/Neger-/Türken-/Afrikaner- Schmarotzerschwemme* [migrant/ refugee/ asylum seeker/ Turk/ African/ parasite glut]

(e) *Flüchtlings-/ Migrantenlawine* [refugee avalanche], *Fachkräftelawine* [skilled labor avalanche] (ironical reference to (f))

Not all first parts are human nouns. Associated processes and concepts are also used (e.g. *Asyl-* [asylum], *Migration-* and *Haß-* [hate]). *Migrantenflutung* (b2) is an exception in the sense that it implies not an uncontrolled process, but rather premeditated, intentional flooding. Conversely, otherwise controlled processes like speech acts can be turned into uncontrolled (and hence unstoppable and dangerous) processes by using the natural disaster metaphor, e.g. *Lügenlawine* in (f).

(f) *die monströse Lügenlawine über illegale Zuwanderung ("alles Fachkräfte, Frauen und Kinder")* [the monstrous avalanche of lies about illegal immigration (they are all skilled workers, women and children)]

8.3 Anatomical metaphors: Society as a body

Another metaphor used in the immigration discourse is the anthropomorphic image of German society and culture, or the German people (*Volk*) as a human body that can live, die, feel, wish and think. Some of the disease metaphors also belong here, picturing society as a body that can have symptoms and be infected (e.g. *Islaminfektion* [Islam infection], *Messerpest* [knife plague]. In terms of corpus evidence, the body metaphor is mostly multi-word (c) and underrepresented in compounds. The only really productive morpheme is *Volks-* (a), with *Volkskörper* being the most frequent term. Because the historical link to nazi-speak, this particular construction is a good marker for the immigration and ethnicity discourse (b), and often involved in HS (b1) and demeaning attacks on individuals (b3).

(a) *Volks|körper* [nation's body], *-stimme* [voice], *-seele* [soul], *-tod* [death], *-wille* [will], *-zorn* [wrath], *-hirn* [brain], *-hand*, *-blut* [blood], *-arsch* [ass], *Volks|schutz|maske* [gas mask]

(b1) *Das sind keine Demonstranten. Das sind Moslem|terroristen. Sowas muß aus dem deutschen Volkskörper entfernt werden!* [These are not protesters. They are Muslim terrorists. Such must be removed from the body of the nation]

(b2) *In ganz Europa steigt der Volks|zorn wegen Flüchtlingen die keine sind.* [All over Europe, the people's wrath is growing because of refugees that aren't (real refugees)]

(b3) *Für mich, ist dieser Mensch, ein Pickel am Volks|arsch, also unnütz!!* [For me this person is a pimple on the nation's arse, ergo useless]

(f) *Deutschland wird Blut weinen* [Germany shall weep blood]

8.4 The war narrative

The last immigration metaphor treated here is the war metaphor. With its depiction of immigrants and refugees as invaders or infiltrators (a), Germans as victims (b) and Europe as a battlefield (c), it naturally supports a number of key mechanisms in HS, among them othering and aggressiveness. At the same time the related disaster metaphor (section 7.2.) is strengthened.

(a) *Migranten-/Moslem-/Flüchtlings-/Islam-/Asylinvasion* [invasion of migrants, Muslims, refugees, islam or asylum seekers], *Invasionsschwemme* [invasion flood], *Masseninfiltration* [mass infiltration], *Migrantenarmee* [migrant army], *Flüchtlingsbekämpfung* [fighting refugees]

(b) *Deutschenvernichtung* [annihilation of Germans], *Heimat-Zerstörung* [homeland destruction]

(c1) *Europainvasion* [invasion of Europe]

(c2) *Kanakenkrieg auf deutschen Straßen* [foreigner_slur on German streets], *Migrantenangriff auf Rentner* [migrant attack on pensioner]

The war metaphor is not restricted to immigration itself, but extends into politics (d1-2) and can even be found in counterspeech €.

(d1) *Gott sei Dank haben wir die Afd als Heimat|armee im Parlament.* [Luckily we have the AfD (party) as a homeland army in parliament]

(d2) *Der IS benutzt die Bevölkerung als Migranten-Waffe um die EU zu destabilisieren.* [ISIS is using the population as a migrant-weapon in order to destabilize the EU]

(g) *Sie verdrehen das Christentum in ein antimuslimisches Abwehrbollwerk.* [They distort Christianity into an anti-Muslim bulwark]\

9 Stereotypes about Muslim immigrants

In order to identify stereotypes about Muslim immigrants, we inspected compounds found in sentences with synonyms for “Muslim” and “Islam”, using a sub-query technique where a first “filter” search creates a Muslim subcorpus on the fly, and the main, second search contains the compound constraints. The resulting hits are compatible with five main stereotypes: Muslims are (1) culturally primitive, (2) religiously extremist, (3) violently criminal, (4) sexually oppressive and (5) exploit the welfare system.

9.1 Muslims are dirty primitives

Many compounds place Muslims or Muslim culture and religion at a “stone age” or medieval level of development perceived as inferior (a1), although some terms (e.g. *Steinzeitdenken* [stone-age thinking]) also appear in general demeaning references to political opponents. The term *Barbaren* is used to evoke the war and disaster metaphors mention earlier (a2).

- (a1) *Steinzeitmoslem/-religion/-islam/-islamist/-ideologi/-land*, *Mittelalterreligion* [medieval religion], *frauenfeindliche Mittelalterkultur* [misogynous medieval culture]
 (a2) *anbrandende Barbarenhorden* [surging waves of barbaric hordes]

Stereotypical attributes of backward Muslim culture are a lack of democracy and an inhumane, honor-based justice system (b).

- (b) *mittelalterliche barbarische Wüstendiktatur* [medieval barbaric desert dictatorship], *Ehrenmord* [honor killing]

9.2 Muslims are indoctrinated religious extremists

One anti-Muslim stereotype generalizes the religious extremism found in militant Islamist movements, attributing it to all Muslims, including the ones fleeing from it. Compounds like © make religion itself the culprit, and *Koranchip* [Quran chip] suggests a zombie-like religious indoctrination of Muslims.

- (d) ©*muslimisches Kampfbeten* [Muslim fight-praying], *Todesfatwa* [death fatwa], *Gewaltsure* [violence surah] and *Hassprediger* [hate preacher]

Example (d) sums up some of the involved pejorative attributes (misogynism, pedophilia and beheadings), and it also calls Islam not a religion, but a sect, adding to the extremist narrative by alluding to sect-related (non-Muslim!) incidents in the collective Western memory and the brain-washing often associated with them.

- (e) *Islam, eine frauenverachtene, kinderfickende, kopabhackende Mördersekte – gehört verboten in Europa!* [Islam, a women-despising, children-fucking, beheading murder sect – needs to be outlawed in Europe]

Adding to the long list of pejorisms in (d), the sentence also uses an interesting pejorative linguistic construction, *gehört + past participle* [must be X'ed]. The expression is almost always linked to negative sentiment, and presents the suggested action in an impersonal way, with an under-specified agent ('one/us/everybody/the government'), making the action a self-evident item on a to-do list. Thus, the most frequent participles found in the corpus right of *gehört* were all negative related to sanctioning crimes: *abgeschafft* [abolished] (16.7%), *verboten* [outlawed] (12.5%), *eingesperrt/weggesperrt* [imprisoned] (6.5%), *bestraft* [punished] (3.8%), *abgewählt/abgesetzt* [removed from office] (3.2%) and *abgeschoben* [deported] (1.6%), while the highest-ranking non-negative lexeme (*geschützt* [protected]) had a relative frequency of only 0.4%.

8.3 Muslims are violent criminals

On the backdrop of 9-11 and a string of other Islamist terrorist attacks and a religion-driven culture perceived as backward (cp. 1 and 2), this stereotype peddles the idea that immigrants and even war-tired refugees have a propensity to violence and crime. € refers to ISIS, Al-Qaeda etc., while (f) generalizes based on "ordinary" criminal incidents with Muslim perpetrators in Germany.

- € *Christenschlächter* [Christian-slayer], *Bombenschmeißerpack* [bomb-throwing rabble]

- (f) *Messermigration* [knife migration], *Migrantenkrawalle* [migrant riots], *messerstechende Asylforderer/Scheinflüchtlinge* [knife-wielding asylum demanders/pseudo-refugees]

The criminality stereotype (g) hits Muslims in Germany by extension – it appears to be a more general prejudice against foreigners. Thus, out of all occurrences of 'kriminell [criminal] + human noun' the top ranking hits were *Ausländer* [foreigner] (12.5%), *Migrant* (10.6%), *Flüchtling* [refugee] (9.4%), *Schlepper(in)/Schleuser* [people-smuggler] (5.5%) and *Asylant/Asyl(be)werber/Asylforderer* [asylum-

seeker] (5.1%). *Moslem* (0.5%), *Muslim* (0.4%) and *Islamist* (0.3%) still rank relatively high, but lower than the general immigrant terms, suggesting that the crime stereotype is not primarily religious.

- (f) *Flüchtlingsmafia* [refugee mafia], *Clankriminalität* [clan criminality], *Glaubensmafia* [believer/faith mafia]

9.4 Muslims are sexual oppressors and deviants

In terms of compounds, this stereotype rarely manifests as slurs, because the relevant second parts, e.g. –*schänder*/-*vergewaltiger* [rapist] are de-verbal and ask for objects as first parts, which would turn perpetrators into victims (**Muslimschänder* [violinator of Muslims]). An exception is *Pädomoslem* [pedophile Muslim], where the attribute resides in the first part of the word. Because of their structure, the deverbal compounds linked to the gender discrimination stereotype (bold in (h)) need to be anchored in context, because they lack a morphological-lexical reference to the (Muslim) target. In context, the lack of a specific reference can also be compensated for by stereotype clustering (i), where less established stereotypes can be anchored by more common ones, e.g. the adjective compound *vormittelalterlich* (stereotype: primitive culture) preparing the ground for *frauenfeindlich* [stereotype: misogynous] or vice versa (i2).

- (g) *Zwangs|verheiratung* [forced marriage], *Zweit|frauen|nachzug* [second-wife add-on immigration]

(i1) *Ich möchte in keiner Gesellschaft leben, wo Menschen für ihr Festhalten an **Kinds|verstümmelung**, **Frauen|schändung**, Pädophilie und **Töchter|verschleppung** nicht nachhaltig und täglich diskriminiert werden.* [I don't want to live in a society where people are not rigorously and daily discriminated against if they adhere to child mutilation, violation of women, pedophilia and daughter abduction.]

(i2) *Grausame Typen aus brutalen frauen|feindlichen Patriarchaten mit vor|mittelalterlicher Gesinnung!* [Cruel types from brutal misogynous patriarchates with a pre-medieval mindset]

9.5 Muslims are a social burden

Like the criminality stereotype, this is a stereotype that muslims share with immigrants/foreigners in general. It is quite productive in word formation, with some terms being target-anchored in their second parts (j1), while others (j2) are more implicit, resorting to code-speak euphemisms (e.g. –*seekers* instead of –*migrants*)

(j1) *Versorgungs|migrant* [welfare migrant], *Schmarotzer|pack* [parasite pack], *Wohlstands|flüchtling* [welfare refugee], *Versorgungs|nomade* [welfare nomad], *Wohlstands|made* [welfare maggot]

(j2) *Versorgungs-/Wohlstands|suchende* [welfare seekers]

Part of the rationale behind the social burden attribute is the assumption that all those barbaric and criminal “importees” (k) have many children, a stereotype that is cross-reinforcing with stereotypes 8.1., 8.2 and 8.4 (primitive, religious and oppressing women).

(k) *importiert Ausbeuter und Gewaltkriminelle (cp. Violence) mit hoher Reproduktionsrate* [imports exploiters and violent criminals with a high reproduction rate]

10 Dehumanization techniques

10.1 Animal tropes

Comparing people to animals is obviously demeaning and dehumanizing, drawing on metaphorical transfer of attributes such as depravity, disagreeableness and stupidity (Haslam & Sun 2001). In our corpus “pejoration animals” were used almost universally for a wide range of target groups. Also, there are almost no (German) linguistic restrictions to a very simple slur recipe: 2-part compounds with a target in the first position and an animal as metaphor source in the second position (table 2)⁸. As with disease metaphors (table 1), about half of all theoretically possible combinations were actually found in the corpus. Pragmatically, the only restriction is that the animal needs to be associated with a property that is viewed negatively in the target culture, i.e. as dirty (pigs, dogs, rats), ridiculous (monkeys), immoral (rats), diseased (maggots, rats) or parasitic (ticks, mosquitoes), stupid (sheep), vile (toad), carrion-eating (vultures, crows), ugly (goats?) or mean (beast).

The most universally used demeaning property is ‘dirty’ – expressed as animal slurs with –*Schwein* [pig] (female: *Sau*). Others, however, are more specific to a given target group. Thus, the parasite metaphor is frequently employed in immigrant-targeting compounds, while –*ratte* [rat] is used most for political opponents seen as treacherous turncoats (*Merkel* and *Antifa* by right-wingers, *Nazi* and *AfD* by leftists). –*affe* [monkey] ranks in nazi- and AfD-compounds, reflecting the moral superiority attitude of the political elite when talking about the far right, which is perceived as subhuman, ridiculous and unintelligent. The latter, on their part, make a specific association between –*made* [maggot] and leftists, and –*bestie* [beast] and refugees, depicting the former as diseased, and the latter as dangerous and barbaric.

8 The table covers most animals found in pejorative compounds, leaving out a few rare ones, e.g. *Sozihuhn* (Socialist chicken), *Naziwurm* [nazi worm] and *Nazifliege* [nazi fly].

Table 2: Build your own slur: compounds with animal metaphors
(frequency classes as in table 1, *=pejorative or slur word)

	-sau (pig)	-kötter-hund, (dog)	(monkey)-affe	(rat)-ratte	-zecke , -mücke (tick) (moskito)	-schmarotzer , -parasit (parasite)	(maggot)-made	(toad)-kröte	(vulture)-geier	(crow)-krähe	(animal)-kreatur	(goat)-ziege	(sheep)-schaf	(beast)-bestie	(brood)-brut
Muslim/Moslem	2b	1a	1	1	1b	3b					1	1		1	2
Musel(manen)* (<i>Muslim</i>)	1a 1b	1c	2	2							1				3
Kana©ken* (<i>foreigner</i>)	3a 3b	1a	1			1a									2
Migranten (<i>migrant</i>)	2b	2a	1	1	4a	2b 2b								1	1
Flüchtling[es] (<i>refugee</i>)	1b	2a	1	1	1a	1b		1					1	3	1
Ausländer (<i>foreigner</i>)	2a 2b	1a	1												1
Asylanten (<i>refugee</i>)	2a 1b														1
Salafisten (<i>Salafist</i>)	2a 1b														1
Merkel (<i>prime minister</i>)	2a 2b	2b	1	3		1a 1b	1	2			3	1	2	1	2
Gutmenschen* (<i>do-gooder</i>)	1a 1b			1	1b						1		1		2
Antifa (<i>militant anti-fascist</i>)	3a 3b		2	3	2b	1b	1	1			1	1			3
Linke/Links (<i>left</i>)	2a 2b	1a	2	2	2b 2b	2a 2b	4	1			1	1	1		2
Sozi (<i>socialist</i>)	2b			1						1					1
Sozial (<i>social</i>)	2b	1a		1	1b	4a 5b	2								
Grün© (<i>Greens</i>)	1a 1b		1	1		1a 1b	1						1		1
Rechte/s (<i>right</i>)	1b		2	1	1b		1								1
Nazi	5a 5b	3a 2b	4	4	1a 1b	1a 1b		3	1	2	1	1	1	2	4
Rassisten (<i>racist</i>)	4a 3b	1a 1b		1											2
AfD (<i>a nationalist party</i>)	1a 2b		3	3					1		1		3		2

In addition to the direct animal name references, this trope is sometimes also evoked by further words found in the same semantic field, such as animal group nouns (a) and animal places (b). Table 2 has one example, *-brut* [brood], which is associated with snakes and spiders and a large number of offspring. It appears with all first parts, but is most frequently used for *Nazi*, *Musel(manen)* [muslim_slur] and *Antifa* [anti-fascists]. Unlike *-brut*, the suffix *-herde* [flock] is not pejorative as such, and only invokes grazing animals, but it reinforces the dehumanization nevertheless, insinuating e.g. naivité and lack of (independent) thinking.

(a1) *Muselmanen|brut* [Muslim_slur brood], *Nazi|brut* [nazi brood], *Flüchtlings|herde* [refugee flock], *moslemisches Ratten|pack* [Muslim mischief of rats], *Gutmenschen|herde* [herd of do-gooders] (a2) *Diese türkische/braune/linke Drecks|brut* [this Turkic/brown/leftist dirt-brood]

(b1) *Islamisten|nest*, *Salafisten|nest*, *Terror|nest*, *islamistische Drecks|nester* [islamist dirt-nests]

(b2) *Jetzt kommen wieder die Schnuller|nazis aus ihren Löchern und fordern exklusiv für sich Toleranz und Gewaltfreiheit*. [Yet again the closet nazis creep forth out of their burrows and demand – exclusively for themselves – tolerance and non-violence.]

Strongly pejorative compounds result when animal first parts are combined with pejorative second parts. In this combination, the animal part has a dual function as dehumanizer and target marker. Thus, *Ziegen-* [goat] and *Kamel-* [camel] (with mild connotations of ugliness and stupidity, respectively) are used to point at Arabs/Muslims in combination with a sex action noun: *Ziegenficker* [goat fucker] and its variations *Ziegenschänder/-besteiger/-belästiger/-wemser*, *Kamelficker* [camel fucker]. The resulting double slurs are arguably worse than a mere cultural reference slur like *Kameltreiber* [cameleer, ~ camel jockey] (c3). Once established, the target-anchored slurs can themselves become pejorative modifiers in new (3-part) compounds ©, with neutral (c1) or likewise pejorative second parts (c2).

(c1) *Ziegenfickerland* [goat fucker country], *Kamelfickerreligion* [camel fucker religion], *Kamelfiggerstaaten* [camel fucker countries]

(c2) *Ziegenficker|bande* [goat fucker gang], *Ziegenfickerabschaum*, *Ziegenficker-Unkultur* [goat fucker un-culture]

(c3) *Ziegenhirtenweltanschauung* [goat herd worldview]

10.2 Other dehumanization techniques

The dehumanization effect seen in animal-based slurs is a partial one, since at the same time the specific animals are linked to negative (human) attributes. A similar, but different, “subhumanization” is at work when using the pejorative suffix *-horde* [horde/mob], describing people as barbaric, not fully conscious and de-individualized (d). Interestingly, the related term *Meute* [pack] is not used with immigrants, but rather for e.g. nazis and journalists, or with milder pejoration for tweeters or party-goers.

(d) *Zuwanderung frauenverachtender Männerhorden* [immigration of women-despising hordes of males], *Nazi-/ Migranten-/ Moslem-/ Flüchtlings-/ Barbaren-/ Ausländerhorde* [horde of nazis, migrants, Muslims, refugees, foreigners, savages]

Other compounds with a subhuman implication are *Untermenschenmusel* [sub-human Muslim_slur], *Muselmissgeburt* [Muslim_slur monstrosity] or the female Muslim stereotype *Gebärmachine* [birth machine].

At the far end of the dehumanization scale are non-animate (thing) tropes. Relatively common are compounds from the semantic field of trash €. The trope has a long history in German and was already used by Engels, in 1849, for Southern Slavs. Interestingly, the related and quite productive slur morpheme *-dreck(s)/-dreck* [dirt/scum] (e2) seems to have much higher affinity to right-wing targets than immigrants, at least when used as a second part.

(e1) *Islamisten|abfall* [islamist trash], *gewalttätiger Menschen|müll* [violence-loving human trash], *illegaler Humanmüll* [illegal human trash]

(e2) *polizeigeschützter Antisemiten|dreck* [police-protected antisemite scum], *Nazi-/Afddreck*, *Faschodreck* [fascist scum]

(e3) *Die Hass und Maulkorb Mauer zu Gunsten der Müll|menschen, die täglich nach Europa und Deutschland strömen*. [That hate and muzzle wall in favor of the trash people that every day pour into Europe and Germany]

11 Conspiracy theories

Part of the code language (chapter 4) used in anti-immigrant HS rhetoric are not just slurs, stereotypes and event references, but rather code *concepts*, referring to and embedded in a number of conspiracy theories. In the German context, two main narratives can be distinguished: The first is the idea of a

grand immigration master-plan (a), with concerted action – by immigrants, the establishment and even NGOs (a2) – aiming to invade Germany and, over time, replace its population (*Volksaustausch*).


(a1) *Volks|austausch|Um|volkung* [population exchange], *Völker|pumpe* [population pump], *Wölfe im Migranten|pelz* [wolf in migrant's clothing], *Zweitfrauen|nachzug* [second wife reunification], *Migranten|eldorado* [migrant paradise], *Umvolkungs|plan* [re-population plan], *Islamisierungskomplott* [islamization plot]

(a2) *NGO-Schiffe sind Schlepperschiffe!* [NGO ships are people smugglers]

The second conspiracy narrative holds that Germany is a surveillance state (*Willkürstaat*) that arbitrarily suppresses dissent (b), with a value monopoly (*Deutungshoheit*) administered by the media and the political elite (c) and a dictatorial government (*Merkeljunta*) that controls, censors and manipulates (*wahrlügen*) information flows (d).

(b) *Gottkanzlerin* [god chanceloress], *Denunziationsmaschine/-staat* [denunciation machine/state], *Zensurminister* [censorship minister], *Merkeljunta*, *Kanzlerdämmerung* [chancellor ragnarok], *Willkürstaat* [despotic state], *Staatsmafia* [state mafia]

© *Ökodiktatur* [eco dictatorship], (*linke*) *Deutungshoheit* [(leftist) prerogative of interpretation], *Meinungsverbot* [opinion ban], *Meinungspolizei* [thought police], *Meinungsfaschismus* [opinion fascism], *Abmahnmafia* [fining mafia]

(d) *Merkelmedien* [Merkel media], *Medienlügen* [media lies], *Nannymedien* [nanny media], *Presselumpen*  [media mob], *Vollpfostenjournalismus* [idiot journalism], *wahrlügen* [truthing lie], *Arschkriecherpresse* [ass-licker press], *Lügenfernsehen* [lying tv], *Lakaienpresse* [lakey press]

12 Counterspeech and counter-hate

The original core idea of counterspeech (CS) was to counter-balance a pejorative discourse with one using positive terms instead (Hudson 2017), but in a wider sense it includes direct responses against HS, engaging the speaker or defending the victims and objecting to false, generalizing claims about them (Buerger & Wright 2019). There is a lot of CS in the corpus, and it, too, uses compound creation as a narrative vehicle. Examples are *Mut|mach-* [lend courage] (a), *Multikulti-* (multi-cultural) and the obvious *Hass-*compounds [hate] (b1). The latter, however, though characteristic of a meta discourse on HS, is not a safe bet – some terms (b2) are in fact more typical of an anti-Muslim context, depicting Islam as a religion of hate.

(a) *Mutmacher(in)* [hope-giver], *Mutmachergeschichte* [-story], *Mutmacher-Veranstaltung* [-event], *Mutmachbuch* [-book]

(b1) *Hassrede*, *Hassverbrechen*, *Hasskommentar/-tirade/-posting/-mail/-predigt/-parole/-propaganda*, *Hasswelle*, *Hasstroll*, *Hassknecht*, *Hassgewalt*, *Hasskultur*, *Hass-Mob*, *Hasspartei* (AfD, FPÖ)

(b2) *Hassprediger*, *Hassland*, *Hasskultur*, *Hassrapper*

In some cases, a kind of terminological interplay can be observed between HS and CS. For instance, *Inländerkriminalität* [non-foreigner crime] refers to hate crimes committed against foreigners (by native Germans) and “answers” the use of *Ausländerkriminalität* [foreigner crime], *Inländerdiskriminierung* [discrimination of non-foreigners/natives], *inländerfeindlich* [native-phobic] etc. used in the anti-immigrant discourse.

In addition to classical CS, two related phenomena can be observed in the corpus at the compound level. One is what could be called counter-hate (CH), waged by mainstreamers against the

extreme right, the other is CS or CH used by the immigrant minority against Germans. Examples for the former are disease- and animal-slurs with *nazi-*, *Rassisten-* [racist] and *AfD-* as first parts (chapters 7.1. and 9.1). The latter is obviously more difficult to trace in a German-language corpus, but some of it is vented by second-generation Turkish and Arab immigrants on Twitter (d). Linguistic markers for corpus searching are Turkish-Arab youth slang terms (Kiezdeutsch, Freywald et al. 2011), not least the word *Alman*, meaning ‘German’ in Turkish. The slur-ness of the term is context-dependent, and it is found in a special category of jokes (Alman-Kanak jokes), that may be self-ironic and may or may not contain CS or CH (Bick 2020).

(d1) *#Kopftuchdebatte ist Almanitis im Endstadium.* [#headscarf-debate is final-stage almanitis]

(d2) *Jetzt unterstützt Betbruder, Unschuldslamm und Chorknabe #Özil offen die Türkennazis von der AKP. Ganz klar unsere Schuld! Das haben die Alman-Kartoffeln mit ihrem islamophoben Rassismus davon.* [Now bigot, innocent lamb and choir boy #Özil openly backs the Turkish nazis in the AKP. Clearly our fault! Serves those Alman-potatoes right with their islamophobic racism]

13 Conclusion

As the lexico-functional analysis of the about 550 pejorative German compounds presented in this chapter has shown, the morphological mechanism of creatively amalgamating (a) pejorative lexemes or morphemes (often dehumanizing animal tropes) with (b) ethnic, religious or other discriminatory connotators is abundantly used in German Twitter to demeaningly target minorities or – for that matter – Germans perceived as supporting them. However, these mechanisms are not exclusive of HS against immigrants, and not least in the polarized context of the German immigration crisis, they are also waged, in a similar fashion, against the opposite side of the political spectrum, both leftist and far right, or even the perceived “dictatorial” government. The hatespeech topic itself is part of this war of words, and some tweets hedge their otherwise demeaning message with irony and understatement or the use of humour (puns or jokes).

An important aspect of HS is generalisation and stereotyping, and compounds can be shown to be effective vehicles for the expression of stereotypes, bonding target group lexemes with perceived properties. Our examples demonstrate that this process goes beyond slur creation and is used to express very specific stereotypes. For Muslim immigrants, the five main stereotypes were (a) dirty primitives, (b) religious extremists, (c) violent criminals, (d) sexual oppressors and (e) social parasites.

Many of the hateful tweets presented here, and even individual, out-of-context compounds, demonstrate the use of metaphor in the construction of certain immigration narratives. Thus, society is pictured as a body with biological functions, affected by the parasitic disease, and immigration as a natural disaster (flood) overwhelming Germany, or Europe as a whole. Also important is the war metaphor, the onslaught of hordes and the need to defend oneself, meshing nicely with conspiracy theories depicting this “attack” as a planned takeover.

Finally, we have identified what could be called discourse-functional uses of productive compounding, one being Twitter hashtags, and another the creation of in-group code words, the former designed to make tweets visible (to the like-minded), the latter to make them *invisible* (to HS censoring).

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