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Multilingual practices of East & South Slavonic German rappers and the political aspects of their lyrics

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Introduction

‘*Seehofer ist ein Opfer, Schmock*’ (‘Seehofer is a loser^{German}, shmok^{Yiddish}’) (CA_2021MWT2_15.txt).¹ In 2021, the German rapper Ćelo commented in his song ‘*GTA dva*’ (‘Grand Theft Auto^{English} two^{Bosnian}’) on the statements of German conservative politician Horst Seehofer regarding the compulsory use of German in private life for all people living in Germany, amongst other xenophobic statements. Ćelo is one of the most commercially successful German rappers, and uses Bosnian and Yiddish

¹ The references are the internal file names, consisting of the artist's pseudonym, the year of the release, the abbreviation for the release title, the ordinal number of the track, and the format of the file. Example: CA_2021MWT2_15.txt - Ćelo & Abdī 2021 Mietwagentape 2 15 txt file. In other cases: A: Antifuchs; CA: Ćelo (& Abdī); CB: Capital Bra; H: Haze; HAI: Haiyti; O and OL: Olexesh.

(apart from German in the quoted line). In 2014, the Bavarian Prime Minister Horst Seehofer expressed the demands of his party, the Christian Social Union of Bavaria (CSU), that multilingual people speak German in public spaces and at home (Szymanski). Seehofer has been Germany's Minister of the Interior, Building, and Community since 2018. He has tried to take targeted action against racism and discrimination within the state apparatus in his new role. Meanwhile, his politically left and intermediate opposition in the Bundestag doubt the actual impact of his work (Segador). As one of the most successful genres of music, rap can be seen as a mirror of the opinions of young people. Significantly, when the musicians themselves are affected by social and political processes, these processes become the subject of their songs. Therefore, lyrics by six German rappers with Slavonic language backgrounds are the focus of the analysis of this article: Antifuchs, Capital Bra, and Olexesh as artists with an East Slavonic background, and Ćelo, Haiyti, and Haze as artists with a South Slavonic background.

In German rap music (*Deutschrap*), multilingualism is a prominent point of interest. Here, not only the factor of multilingualism plays a role, but the general marginalisation of the musical genre, its artists, and its audience since the 1990s, especially in the Turkish-German context: *'German-Turks' liminal and marginal state of being, which has been pathologised as 'being torn between two cultures' for a long time in the discussions of their cultural and identity formations'* (Caglar: 245). Until the early 2010s, the main focus of the debate about the linguistic contact in *Deutschrap*, the use of German language, and the rising phenomena of multilingualism in rap lyrics was in regards to Turkish and Arabic (Chemeta; Dietrich & Seeliger; Loentz; Scharer; Simpson; Zbořilová). Since the beginning of the 2010s, German rappers with a Slavonic background have become ever more popular. The cause of the delay between the popularisation of Turkish in German rap and the mainly East Slavonic languages in German rap is the time of immigration to Germany. While migration from Turkey to (West) Germany started in the 1960s, migration from the former socialist

states of Eastern, Southeastern, and Central Europe began in the 1980s. The gap of 20 years is also reflected in the spread of languages in Deutschrap.

This case study analyses the use of multilingual resources in the lyrics of the six most-listened-to German rappers with East or South Slavonic language backgrounds.² In combination with political and religious aspects of the analysis, the corpus case study focuses on the question:

Which political and religious opinions are represented in the texts?

Methods of corpus linguistics and text clustering help answer this question by compiling a corpus of lyrics and analyzing relevant keywords in context. The texts will then be clustered stylometrically. The review of relevant research literature, the criteria of choosing the artists inclusively, the brief presentation of their language biographies, and the individual steps of the linguistic analysis will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

Review of the relevant research literature

In 2016 Loentz discussed the role of ‘*Kanak Sprak*’, which plays a significant role in Deutschrap.³ The *Kanak Sprak* and its current variation ‘*Kiezdeutsch*’ (‘Hood German’) are referred to as *migrant-specific youth languages* and represent nothing more than the German language with lexical, morphological, and syntactic phenomena which differ from standard language, although there are similar grammar

² East and South Slavonic are the more dominant in Deutschrap in contrast to West Slavonic.

³ The term *Kanake* has at least three meanings: (i) native Polynesia and the South Sea Islands, (ii) colloquial, pejorative, often a swear word for foreigner, foreign worker, especially Turkish people, and (iii) colloquial, pejorative, someone uneducated, simple-minded, a fool. In the article, meanings (ii) and (iii) are relevant. Therefore, *Kanak Sprak* is the code that people use. The term can be understood in a discriminatory and racist way, as it assumes that it is a primitive and incorrect way of using German. In the multilingual communities themselves, the expression can be used ironically as a self-designation (<https://www.dwds.de/wb/Kanake> Last Access: 12 July 2021).

phenomena in German dialects (Canoğlu; Wiese). As a result, the term *migrant-specific* is inappropriate in this context. Chemeta's paper transforms the discourse on multilingualism into a discourse on German rap, language, identity, and politics. He refers to rap lyrics and their function as the 'voice of migrants' (Chemeta 38) and compares German rappers with Hispano- and Afro-American rappers. According to his research, there are parallels between rappers from the US and Germany. A unique role is assigned here to the sub-genre *Gangsta rap and Street Rap* (ibid. 39), in which the question of identity and the use of language is not only a tool of communication and expression, but a symbol of power and a way of identity formation (ibid. 40).

The first German rapper of Slavonic origin whose multilingual behaviour in lyrics was dealt with is Schwesta Ewa (Bifulco & Reuter). The language aspect the authors discussed in the context of sociology, gender, and media studies referred to the Polish title of her first album *Kurwa* (ibid. 70).⁴ Cotgrove (2018) was the first researcher who extensively examined the multilingual practices in Deutschrap in the 21st century in consideration of Slavonic languages. In addition to a detailed description of how multiethnolects in Germany developed under the influence of Turkish and Arabic (ibid. 72), he also takes nine rappers of different origins into account (ibid. 74). One of the nine artists has a Slavonic migration background - Capital Bra. In 2020 Tikhonov's pilot study was focused on German rappers with a Slavonic background. He analysed lyrics by the above-mentioned Schwesta Ewa (SE) and Capital Bra (CB), but added Olexesh (OL) and Krime (KR). The study compared West Slavonic (SE & KR) and East Slavonic influences (CB & OL), and identity models in German rap. Like Cotgrove, Tikhonov concluded that hybrid identities are formed through language behavior. One of the main findings was the frequent

⁴ In addition to the meaning given by the authors - *prostitute* - the Polish lexeme has at least four other meanings - (i) a woman who has many sexual partners, (ii) the expression *Damn!*, (iii) a *woman* [similar to the use of the lexeme *bitch* in English hip hop] (iv) a person who puts greed above morality (<https://sip.pwn.pl/szukaj/kurwa.html> Last Access: 12 July 2021).

contextualization of international politics in the artists' lyrics with Ukrainian and Russian backgrounds, while the rappers with a Polish background were revealed as apolitical and hardly relating to Poland as their homeland. CB sympathizes with Putin, yet at the same time criticizes the war in Ukraine.

The next section describes why these artists were chosen for the analysis, and which aspects of their language biographies are relevant for this case study.

Artist (real name)	Birth info	Time of migration (area of socialisation)	Additional comments
Capital Bra (Wladislaw Balowazki)	* Siberia ⁵ (Russia) in 1994	- the second half of the 1990s: Russia Dnipro, formerly Dnipropetrovsk ⁶ , in Ukraine - the beginning of the 2000s: Dnipro □ Berlin (socialised in the district Lichtenberg- Hohenschön- hausen)	- 1.8% of the district's population is equal to the citizenship of one of the countries of the former Soviet Union (Amt für Statistik Berlin- Brandenburg: 8)
Olexesh (Olexij Kosarev)	* Kyiv (Soviet Ukraine) in 1988	1994: Kyiv □ Darmstadt (socialised in the district Kranichstein)	- on his childhood in Kranichstein: 'Suddenly there were Arabs, Moroccans, Turks, Pakistani, Afghans, all kinds of skin colours. Of course, I wanted to play with them, I was a foreigner myself' (Sternburg 2020: 54)
Antifuchs (Emilia Reichert)	* Taraz ⁷ (Soviet Kazakhstan) in 1989	- 1990/1991: Taraz □ Flensburg (socialised in	- on her use of language: 'My roots

		Flensburg)	somehow are also very fluid. [...] I let it flow into my language usage because that is how I grew up. We have developed our own language, something like ‘Get the тележка’ or ‘Close the холодильник’ [...]’ (Melikov et al. 2021: 0:34:40)
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Ćelo (Erol Husein-ćehajić)	* Frankfurt am Main (West Germany) in 1982	born in Germany (socialised in Frankfurt am Main)	- on his identity: ‘ I felt Bosnian [...] However, I am a hybrid. We are the Bosnians in the diaspora, abroad [...] I only spoke Bosnian in my
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⁵ The exact place of birth is not publicly available.

⁶ The city was renamed in the course of decommunization in 2016.

⁷ One of the Soviet forced relocation regions for Soviet citizens of German origin (Brown; Apendiyev et al.; Sanders))

parents' house,
 my mother
 tongue or
 native
 language. My
 parents also
 have never
 spoken German
 to me. I only
 spoke German
 at school or
 outside with
 friends'
 (Sternburg
 2020: 23-26)

<p>Haze (David Bošnjak)</p>	<p>* Villingen- Schwenningen (Germany) in 1989 or 1990</p>	<p>born in Germany (socialised in Karlsruhe)</p>	<p>- on his identity: 'My parents managed to keep me connected to my homeland. My youth was definitely Croatian. So, we spoke Croatian, we ate Croatian, we went to the Croatian church, I listened to Croatian music at home. Then</p>
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			you came out the door and were suddenly in Germany' (GERMANIA 2017: 0:22:00)
Haiyti (Ronja Zschoche)	* Hamburg (West Germany) in the early 1980s	Born in Germany (socialised in Hamburg & Istria (Croatia))	- on her childhood: 'I have actually had a double life since I was a child. During the summer, I was in Croatia with my father. In winter, I lived with my mother' (Zufic 2019)

Table 1 Artist's language biographies

Methods and data

4.1 Selection of the artists

Eight main criteria are necessary to ensure that the songs have a broad audience, so the semantic values can act as mechanisms of social, political, and cultural influence (Table 2):

Criteria Nu.	Criteria Description
(i)	The artist belongs to the German rap sub-genre Street Rap or Gangsta Rap ⁸ .
(ii)	The artist or one of her/his parents have an East or South Slavonic migration background.
(iii)	The artist is under contract with a major label or a sub-label of a major label.
(iv)	The artist has released at least one album.
(v)	An official account represents the artist on YouTube and Spotify.
(vii)	The artist has at least one video on YouTube with at least 1 million views.
(viii)	The artist has at least one song on Spotify with at least 250,000 streams.

Table 2 Artist's relevance criteria

⁸ Excluded sub-genres are Battle, Conscious, Emo, Entertainment, and Hipster rap, Horrorcore, hybridisation of Pop and Rap, Right-wing and Left-wing rap, R'n'B, Porno rap, and Black metal rap (author's update of the categorization by Ruge 2015).

4.2 Corpus design

The 0.3-version of the **DRaKoSlav (Deutsch Rap Korpus Slavic Edition)** corpus consists of lyrics of 763 songs from official albums, mixtapes, and EPs by the six artists. With regard to the distribution of the lyrics per artist, the corpus is composed as follows:

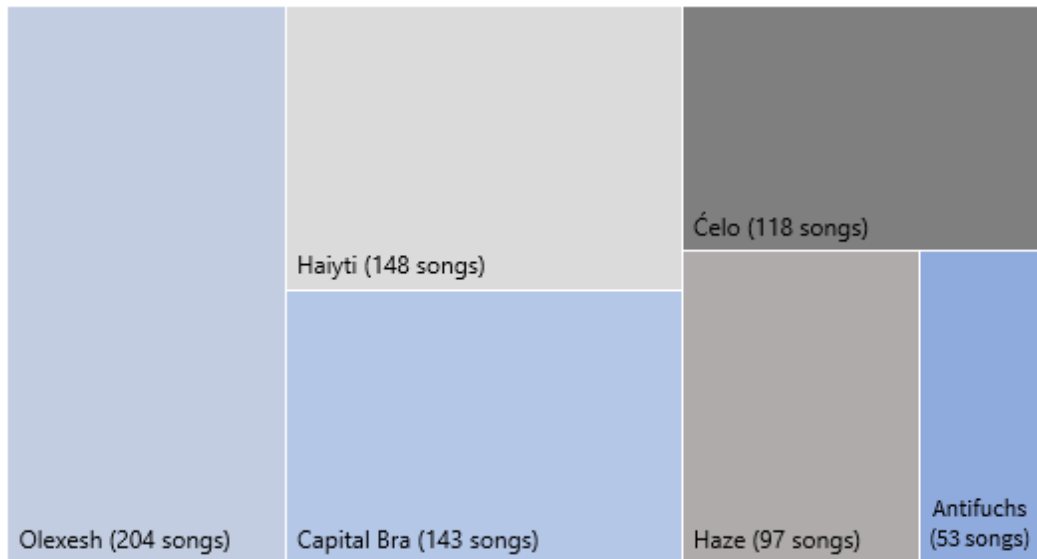


Figure 1 Structure of the DRaKoSlav 0.3 data. @Aleksej Tikhonov

The varying quantity of songs per artist may give the impression of unbalanced data; for example, if the lyrics of 204 songs by Olexesh and 53 songs by Antifuchs are included in the corpus, there is a large contrast. However, the corpus still is representative. DRaKoSlav 0.3. contains lyrics of all songs released under the present artists' pseudonyms since the beginning of their careers in the early 2010s and up to January 2021. This compilation method guarantees the absolute accuracy of the data. In addition, there is a balance between the artists of South Slavic and East Slavic origin. In figure 1, the data from East Slavonic-German artists are represented with blue and 400 songs

(52.4%). The South Slavonic-German data are represented with gray and 363 songs (47.6%). The exact size of the corpus is 379,256 tokens, 307,973 words, and 3436 sentences. The number of the used lemma is 28269, including 4642 unique word forms as non-words or unknown words. The data was annotated as German txt-files on the SketchEngine platform with the RFTagger on the syntactic and morphological level (Schmid & Laws). The assignment of the word forms to certain POS classes is based on the automatic evaluation of the common suffixes and lower and upper-cases. Since the tagger was trained and evaluated on standard language texts, lexicon of the substandard falls into the category of unique word forms or unknown words. These are expressions such as *Bratans* ('Brother_{Russian} + s_{German plural masculine affix nominative}') or *Majka* (Mother_{Bosnian/Croatian}), which are not yet considered standard German, but are still recognised by the tagger as nouns. So, if *Bratans* occurs often enough, is capitalised, and includes the plural masculine inflection affix <-s>, it is counted as a noun following German grammar.

The search in the corpus works in various ways. Users can search for specific word forms, phrases, (sub-)clauses, grammatical categories (tags or combinations of tags), lemmas, or keyword combinations for a specific topic. For example, in the present article, the topic that has to do with everything Jewish or Jews was analysed. The complication is that German spellings of the adjective *jüdisch* (Jewish_{German}) and noun *Jude* (Jew_{German}) differ in capitalization and the umlaut above the letter <u>. Corpus Query Language (CQL) enables the combined and simultaneous search query, including both lemmas:

[word="jüd.* | Jüd.* | jud.* | Jud.*"]. This search query includes all word forms that start with the three letters <J/j>, <u/ü>, and <d> and continue with any number and combination of letters. This method ensures the counting of an adjective even if it is capitalised (at the beginning of the sentence or the line). The same applies to the possible alternative spelling of the noun with a small first letter, which may happen, for example, due to an unintentional mistake in the transliteration of the lyrics. The concordance result presentation on

SketchEngine includes all found keywords with left and right contexts, the tracking of the original song file in the corpus, the absolute number of hits, the relative number of hits in instances per million tokens (i.p.m.), and the percent of the whole corpus. DRaKoSlav 0.3 and its previous versions⁹ are already freely available under certain conditions.¹⁰

4.2 Categories and choice of the keywords

This analysis encompasses 27 keywords in context (KWICs), which show the connection between languages, religions, and politics in the lyrics and socio-political opinions which the artists convey to their audience throughout their songs. The topic areas of (i) Religion, (ii) External Politics, and (iii) Domestic Politics will be explored by selecting the KWICs concerning the following principles to reveal the required information with the methods of corpus linguistics.

Under (i) Religions, the Abrahamic religions (Christianity, Islam, Judaism) are examined here because the three religions are statistically the most frequented religious confessions in the context of the German word Religion under the word profile.¹¹ Lexemes that are related to the three religions are derived from the associations and the collocations from the DWDS corpus (Digital Lexical System of the Academy by the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences (www.dwds.de)) and the

⁹ DRaKoSlav 0.1 (East & West Slavonic) (2019/2020): lyrics from the albums of Capital Bra, Olexesh, Schwesta Ewa & Krime, 137.798 tokens, presented at the Sheffield Postgraduate Conference in Linguistics: Linguistic Variation and Identity 2019, University of Sheffield, published in Tikhonov (2020). DRaKoSlav 0.2 (East & South Slavonic) (2021): lyrics from the albums of Capital Bra, Olexesh, Óelo & Haze, presented at the LTS Conference 2021: Responding to Conflict, Crisis and Change, University of Nottingham.

¹⁰ Many European universities have acquired a license for SketchEngine, which means they have free access to the DRaKoSlav corpus series. In order to get access, interested parties would have to contact me by e-mail. Within a couple of days, they would have full access to the version of the corpus they wish to analyse.

¹¹ <https://www.dwds.de/wb/Religion> Last Access: 12 November 2021

frequent contexts in the analyzed lyrics.

The keywords choice for (ii) External politics is based on the origin countries or regions of the musicians or their parents. In addition, the USA as the global political player and the US President who was in office at the time of the data collection are both part of the analysis. The word "Krieg" (war) is also considered in the analysis as a frequent foreign policy word.

The keywords in (iii) Domestic politics include the name of the country (*Deutschland* (Germany)), the name of the Chancellor (*Merkel*), the name of the German parliament (*Bundestag*), as well as the names of the parties that are represented in the Bundestag. The analysis also includes the word *Politik* (politics) as a semantic generalisation for German domestic politics. In addition, the current social and political issue of *Migration* (migration) is dealt with in the analysis.

After zooming in on the corpus data and analysing single KWICs, the linguistic examination of the lyrics zooms out to inspect relationships between the lyrics, their style, and semantic value. The stylometric clustering is the final step of the case study.

Analysis

5.1 KWICs of *Deutschrap*

The results of the analysis of the 27 KWICs and keyword topics (e.g. political parties) are shown and discussed below in the three categories (i) Religion (9 KWICs), (ii) External Politics (12 KWICs), and (iii) Domestic Politics (6 KWICs).

(i) Religion

Nine lemmas associated with Abrahamic religions appear in their collocations or are conspicuous in the lyrics, as in section 4.2. They are subsequently examined as KWIC in DRaKoSlav 0.3. Their absolute and relative frequency indicated in the corpus will be presented and discussed in this section.

KWIC	Religion	Church	God	Allah	Jesus	Shalom	Jew/Jewish	Israel	Salam
F _{abs} ¹²	0	0	134	5	4	1	2	0	14
F _{rel} ¹³	0	0	353,32	13,18	10,55	2,64	5,28	0	36,91

Table 3 Nine KWICs in the category Religion and their frequencies in DRaKoSlav 0.3

Whilst none of our artists mention the lemmas *religion* and *church*, God is present in the lyrics of every one. The lexeme is always given in a neutral or positive connotation, as with phrases such as ‘*Gott sei Dank*’ (‘Thank God’) (O_2012AA22.txt). The lexeme *God* can also support negative emotions of a statement, as in ‘*Oh mein Gott, was’n çoban!*’ (‘Oh my god, what a çoban!’) (O_2015SC26.txt). Olexesh uses here the Turkish word ‘*çoban*’ (‘farmer’) as a derogatory term. *God* is a high frequent lexeme (56/134 (41.7%) instances) in Capital Bra's lyrics. A typical example of this would be ‘*Gott steht über dem Gesetz*’ (‘God is above the law’) (CB_2020CB9.txt). *Allah* is only mentioned in the lyrics by Ćelo and Haze. A noticeable line by Ćelo is ‘*Mais, ich bin gesund, Ça va? Allaha şükür*’ (‘But^{French} I am healthy^{German}. How are you?^{French} Praise to Allah^{Turkish}’) (CA_2011MWT22.txt), in which he uses three languages. Haze mentions Allah once as interjection ‘*In shā ‘Allāh*’ (‘God willing’) (H_2016GAHH9.txt).

Haze and Haiyti both mention *Jesus*. Haze mentions *Jesus* in a rhetorical question or as an interjection ‘*Wann wird Jesus mich erlösen?*’

¹² Absolute frequency in instances in the corpus

¹³ Relative frequency in instances per million tokens (i.p.m.)

(‘When will Jesus redeem me?’) (H_2020BS12.txt). For Haiyti, the topic is more critical, as the three instances show. An example of this is the statement ‘*Nein, ich glaub’ nicht an Jesus*’ (‘No, I do not believe in Jesus’) (HAI_2020I15.txt). *Jews, Jewish* and *Shalom* are only a topic in Ćelo & Abdi’s lyrics: ‘*Balkan’s Schon seit damals Schmelztiegel der Kulturen: Moslems, Christen, Atheisten und Juden*’ (‘The Balkans have been a melting pot of cultures since then: Muslims, Christians, atheists and Jews’) (CA_2012HHJ15.txt), ‘*No Problems, hab’ jüdische Anwälte*’ (‘No Problems^{English}, I have Jewish lawyers^{German}’) (CA_2012HHJ18.txt), or ‘*mein Steuerberater sagt: Schalom [...]*’ (‘my tax advisor says: Shalom [...]’) (CA_2017D7.txt).

Capital Bra is the only artist using the lexeme *Salam*. In the hook of his song ‘*Allein*’ (‘Alone’), he uses *Salam* 14 times, repeating the same two-line rhyme ‘*Alles, was wir machen, ist haram, // Ich komm’ auf die Bühne: Ya Salam!*’ (‘Everything we do is haram, // I come on stage: Ya Salam!’) (CB_2018ALLEIN9.txt).¹⁴ With these lines, he establishes a direct connection to the Islamic value system by describing his activities as *forbidden* or *sinful*, using the Arabic adjective حرام / *haraam*. In addition, he greets his audience using سلام / *Salaam* (Arabic for *Greetings*).

(ii) External Politics

The section on external politics contains keywords that have to do with the artists' or their parents' countries of origin. Additionally, there are designations of regions or historical states, specifically the Balkans and Yugoslavia, as superordinate geographical, historical, and political concepts of the affiliation of the South Slavic languages relevant for the analysis. Regions with disputed status, such as Palestine and Kosovo, are also part of the present research - Kosovo, because it is a central topic of belonging in post-Yugoslav history; Palestine because it is also an often-discussed narrative in the Deutschrap scene, taken up by

¹⁴ The word hook is used to define the refrain in rap culture.

rappers with a Slavic background too. The keyword set complements the USA as the global player in politics and the names of the politician Donald Trump. The USA and Trump are popular topics in the lyrics because US rap is considered the globally dominant force in Rap music. Donald Trump was criticised for his conservative migration policy in German rap, whilst Vladimir Putin is also a frequent target of the lyrics of Capital Bra (and possibly other rappers). Finally, the word *Krieg* (war) is also examined because it might be relevant not only to the past Yugoslav Wars, but also the present Ukrainian-Russian conflict.

KWIC	F _{abs} ¹⁵	F _{rel} ¹⁶
Balkans	21	55,37
Bosnia	29	76,47
Croatia	9	23,73
Kosovo	5	13,18
Palestine	3	7,91
Putin	60	158,2
Russia	107	282,13
Trump	3	7,91
Ukraine	66	163,48
USA	11	29
War	42	110,74
Yugoslavia	33	87,01

Table 4 Twelve KWICs in the category External Politics and their frequencies in DRaKoSlav 0.3

Lyrics by Ćelo, Capital Bra, and Olexesh include the *Balkans*. The noun *Balkans* and the adjective *Balkanian* have positive connotations in all lyrics. The results for *Bosnia*, *Bosnian*, and *Bosniaks* are similar. The

¹⁵ Absolute frequency in instances in the corpus.

¹⁶ Relative frequency in instances per million tokens (i.p.m.)

mentions are in the lyrics of the same three artists, and they mostly carry positive connotations. The connotation of Croatia is diverse and occurs in lyrics of Capital Bra, Haze, and Olexesh. Capital Bra and Olexesh mention Croatia or something Croatian one time: ‘*Komm' mit miese Kroate (Kuku) // Brech' deine Nase*’ (‘I will come with a reckless Croat (Kuku), // And break your nose’) (CB_2016KUKU15.txt), and ‘*Slawische Bratans geben sich im Sechser Kroatische Voddys*’ (‘Slavonic Bratansdrink Croatian Vodka in the BMW 6 Series’) (OL_2014NED8.txt).¹⁷ The seven remaining instances are from the lyrics of Haze and are positively connotated. Two contexts are particularly noteworthy: ‘*In meiner Gegend hörst du Türkisch und Kroatisch*’ (‘In my hood you hear Turkish and Croatian’) (H_2014KS20.txt) and ‘*Mit Kroaten iz svog kraja*’ (‘With Croats^{German} from my Homeland^{Croatian}’) (H_2016GAHH18.txt). The second excerpt is an example of *translanguaging* (Cotgrove; Garcia & Wei; Mazzaferro; Moore et al.). Haze starts the phrase in German and ends it in Croatian. All line positions build a coherent syntactic structure that can be understood by people with both German *and* Croatian fluencies. As an example of translanguaging, this phrase means that language behaviour questions the hierarchy of languages and their affiliation to concrete states or regions. Translanguaging shows the flexible appearance of human behavior, which tries to invalidate the strict delimitation of languages based on national and political aspects. Instead, it reflects the interplay of various external social and cultural factors that lead to the equal use of several languages in a well-formed syntactic construction in multilingual communication.

The lexeme *Kosovo* and its derivatives in the lyrics by Olexesh and Ćelo. Olexesh's mention of Kosovo relates to the origin of his friends. Ćelo puts Kosovo in the context of his origin and the origin of his social environment: ‘*Rap mit Akzent vom Jugo-Betrugo [...] Baklava, Polska,*

¹⁷ *Bratans* is a frequent loanword from the East Slavonic languages in Deutschrap. It is the plural nominative form of *brother*, but with a German plural flexion affix /-s/ and not an East Slavonic flexion affix /-ы/. The lexeme *Bratan* has not yet been codified for German.

Kosova, Bosna, Herzegowina, Kurdistan, Türkiye ('Rap with a Yugo-accent by Yugo the fraud [...] *Baklava*^{German}, *Polska*^{Polish}, *Kosova*, *Bosna*, *Herzegowina*^{Bosnian}, *Kurdistan*^{German}, *Türkiye*^{Turkish}') (CA_2011MWT13.txt). In another song by Ćelo, Kosovo stands in a political context of regional conflicts when he mentions Mitrovica alongside Kosovo (CA_2014AP3.txt). The city has been divided between Kosovo and Serbia since 1999. A consensual affiliation of the city to a state has not yet been implemented. Similar to the connotation of Kosovo is the connotation of *Palestine* in the corpus. Palestine appears three times - once in Ćelo's and twice in Olexesh's lyrics - but while Olexesh names the origin of his friends in a relatively neutral way, Ćelo refers to historical events, regions and whole continents that he evaluates as places of genocide: '*Genozid in Ruanda, Afrika, Srebrenica, Palästina*' ('Genocide in Rwanda, Africa, Srebrenica, Palestine') (CA_2012HHJ9.txt).

The search query for *Putin* resulted in 60 hits in the corpus in the following distribution:

Artist	Capital Bra	Ćelo	Olexesh
F _{abs}	57	2	1

Table 5 Distribution of Vladimir Putin in DRaKoSlav 0.3

Forty-nine of these hits come from Capital Bra's 2016 song with the same title - '*Vladimir Putin*'. One of the representative contexts from the song is '*Makarov, Kuku Bra // Auf dein Kopf, Kuku Bra // Vladimir Putin, Vladimir Putin*' ('Makarov, Kuku Bro // At your head, Kuku Bro // Vladimir Putin, Vladimir Putin' CB_2016KUKU2.txt). In this quote, Capital Bra portrays Vladimir Putin in the context of power and violence. The connection between the Makarov pistol, mainly used

by the police and secret services in the USSR and post-Soviet countries, which then targets the head of the imaginary antagonist, is part of the hook and thus the song's central message. In combination with other lines depicting the luxurious and dangerous lifestyle of gangsters, the Russian President is portrayed in a positive context as a role model from the perspective of Capital Bra. The corresponding album cover with the title *Kuku Bra* also shows Russian President Vladimir Putin, referring to the photo shooting for Putin's nomination as Person of the Year 2007 by TIME Magazine. However, Capital Bra mentions the politician again in another track on the same album, and the statement is clear '*Putin ist King*' ('Putin is the King') (CB_2016KUKU16.txt). Three out of sixty results are not from Capital Bra's lyrics, with two mentions from Ćelo and one from Olexesh. Ćelo mentions the politician once in a neutral context and again in an ambiguous context: '*Parallel dazu unterzeichnet Putin // Parallel dazu Unschuldige bluten, verhungern und verdursten*' ('At the same time, Putin is signing // At the same time, innocent people are bleeding, starving, and dying of thirst') (CA_2012HHJ9.txt). The possible semantic value could be the relation between documents signed by Putin and the deaths of innocent people. Olexesh also mentions the politician in an ambiguous context: '*Glatze rasiert, wie Putins Mafia*' ('Shaved bald heads, like Putin's mafia') (OL_2016MAK7.txt).

Russia, *Russians*, and *Russian* as an adjective appear in the lyrics of all six artists. In more than half of the results, however, the contexts relate to neutral statements, the social environment, stereotypes, or multi-word expressions, as in the case of Antifuchs: '*Russisches Roulette*' ('Russian Roulette') (A_2018S15.txt), '*Aufgewachsen zwischen 'Digga', kaltem Wind und bisschen platt Russisch fluchenden Verwandten, 'Иду на хуй, сука блядь!*' ('I grew up between 'Homie', cold wind, and relatives who swear a bit flatly in Russian^{German} 'Go fuck yourself, fucking bitch!^{Russian}') (A_2018S1.txt) or '*Ein, zwei, drei, vier Kurze Macht aus ei'm Mann noch kein'n Russen*' ('One, two, three, four shots [of alcohol] do not make a Russian out of a man') (A_2019LWM12.txt). However, some contexts require further discussion. The keyword

spectrum around Russia appears 41 times in the lyrics of Capital Bra, and 31 of 41 contexts are sexist descriptions of women. A frequent term used here is *'Russische Muschi'* ('Russian pussy') (CB_2016KUKU17.txt). In the lyrics of Olexesh, the adjective phrase *'Russki Kanak'* ('Russian Kanak') occurs 24 times. He describes himself using this phrase: *'Ich bin schon länger hier als Ratten Also was, he? Ich bin ein russischer Kanake // Russki Kanak, ja, Russki Kanak, Russki Kanak, ja, Russki Kanak // Ich bin international, mir egal, was du jetzt denkst // Ob ich hier oder da bin, pump es in dei'm Benzer'* ('I've been here longer than rats. So what, huh? I am a Russian Kanak. // Russki Kanak, yes, Russki Kanak, Russki Kanak, yes, Russki Kanak // I am international. I don't care what you think now. // Whether I'm here or there, I pump it [music] in your Benz') (OL_2016MAK3.txt). With this description, Olexesh speaks directly to the fact that he has lived in Germany for a long time and sees himself as multicultural. The term *Russian Kanak* includes his Russian-speaking background and socialisation among children and young people from working-class families with a Turkish or Arabic-speaking background.

The 45th President of the USA, Donald Trump, appears exclusively in the lyrics of Óelo. His statements about the politician are ambivalent, but in this context, he makes a comparison which brings up the subject of the Jews in Deutschrap lyrics again: *'Bei Donald Trump werden Taschen vollgemacht // Tanz der Teufel, Diabolisch à la Dynastie Rothschild'* ('Donald Trump's pockets are full // Dance of the devils, diabolic à la Rothschild dynasty') (CA_2014AP20.txt). In the analysis point (i) *Religion*, Óelo's attitude towards Jews might still be a question of perspective, humour, or interpretation, but in (ii) *External Politics*, the description of the Rothschild family as diabolical and their equalisation with the devil is clear. Óelo uses here an old anti-Semitic ideological pattern of the so-called global Zionism and other anti-Semitic conspiracy theories (Fischer; Rathje; Rosenwald). Since Óelo identifies himself as a Frankfurter, along with Frankfurt being the financial centre of Germany, and at the same time the original place of origin of the Rothschild family, there can be little doubt of Óelo's anti-

Semitic attitude, which he projects through his lyrics. The USA and the adjective American rarely appear in the corpus, but almost exclusively in the negative context. Haiyti only uses it once in a neutral context. Ćelo, Capital Bra, and Olexesh use it more often - 10 out of 11 examples in the corpus come from their lyrics. Ćelo's lyrics say about the US: '*war noch nie in Amerika, BKA, jebiga*' ('has never been to America, Federal Criminal Police Office_{German}, Fuck it_{Bosnian}') (CA_2021MWT2_15.txt). The context becomes unambiguous after adding *Fuck it* in Bosnian at the end of the line.¹⁸ Capital Bra's perspective on the USA is clearer than Ćelo's: '*Terror kommt von Amerika, nicht vom Islam, Bruda*' ('Terrorism comes from America, not from Islam, Brother') (CB_2016KUKU11.txt). Olexesh's lyrics join the semantic tendency: '*USA? нет, проблемы нам не надо*' ('USA?_{English} No, we don't need problems_{Russian}') (OL_2016MAK16.txt). Antifuchs, Ćelo, Capital Bra, Haze, and Olexesh mention *war* in their lyrics. Antifuchs uses the lexeme as a metaphor for personal arguments between two or more people. Ćelo and Olexesh use the word as a metaphor for their business activities in Deutschrap, but at least two times Ćelo addresses acts of war by the United States during Operation Desert Storm in the Gulf War of 1991 as an invasion (CA_2015BC16.txt). Ćelo also addresses the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s: '*Europa Kriegsgebiet, [...] NATO-Draht*' ('Europe_{Bosnian} war zone, [...] NATO razor wire_{German}') (CA_2015BC5.txt). The combination of the name of Europe in the Bosnian language, the description of the area as a war zone, and the mention of NATO razor wire semantically occupy NATO with a negative value in Ćelo's lyrics. Another song from an earlier album of Ćelo confirms his negative assessment of NATO and its activities in the Yugoslavian wars: '*Waffenschieber, NATO-Projektile*' ('Gun pushers, NATO projectiles') (CA_2011MWT6.txt).

Yugoslavia appears in the lyrics of Ćelo (16 contexts), Haze (13 contexts), Olexesh (3 contexts), and Haiyti (1 context). Haiyti uses the name of the Yugo car brand. For Ćelo, the former country in the

¹⁸ The Bosnian phrase *jebiga* can be translated in several ways (*Shit, Fuck* etc.), yet the meaning remains always negative.

Balkans appears in neutral or humorous contexts, except for the personal designation ‘*Jugo-Betrugo*’ (‘Yugo the fraud’) - a derogatory term for people from the former Yugoslavia accused of criminal activities. In Haze's tracks, one result stands out linguistically: ‘*meine Mukke pumpen alte Jugoslawen auf der Bauštela*’ (‘old Yugoslavs pump my music on the construction site’) (H_2016GAHH4.txt). Haze uses the German-Croatian neologism ‘*Bauštela*’ that does not exist in standard Croatian.¹⁹ The artist intends to show the realities of Croatian migrants and their language in Germany through the creative use of language. In the lyrics of Olexesh, one context must be discussed in further detail: ‘*Das geht raus an die Jugos, Russkis, Azzlacks*’ (‘This goes out to the Yugos, Russkis, Azzlacks’) (O_2012AA12.txt). The rapper uses the line to describe his target audience, which equates to his social environment as the name *Azzlacks* has two meanings – liberal people with a migration history and the name of the label of the aforementioned Kurdish-Turkish-German rapper Haftbefehl. Calling Russian speaking people ‘*Russkis*’, Olexesh substantives the Russian adjective ‘*русский*’ (‘Russian’) by adding the German plural noun ending /-s/. Similar linguistic phenomena may also be observed in lyrics by Olexesh (‘*Russki Kanak*’) and Capital Bra (‘*Bratans*’).

Ukraine and derivatives of the state name appear 62 times in the corpus. In the lyrics of Capital Bra, 47 contexts refer to his Ukrainian heritage. In one song, he mentions his use of the voiced alveolar trill [r], which occurs naturally in his oral speech and rapping. In his opinion, it is a feature typical of Ukrainian speech (CB_2018BERL8.txt). Olexesh also speaks about being Ukrainian in 14 mentions. Čelo mentions Ukraine once and refers to one of the countries of origin in his social environment.

(iii) Domestic Politics

In this section, keywords from German institutions, parties, and attitudes towards politics are examined. The keyword *Politik* (politics)

¹⁹ In standard Croatian: *gradilište*.

is a synonym for the current government here. In addition, the Chancellor’s name - Angela Merkel, migration and the contexts in which Germany occurs will be explored.

KWIC	Bundestag	Parties²⁰	Politics	Merkel	Migration	Germany
F_{abs}²¹	3	8	15	2	2	42
F_{rel}²²	7,91	21,09	39,55	5,27	5,27	110,74

Table 6 Six KWICs and keyword divisions (e.g. parties) in the category Domestic Politics and their frequencies in DRaKoSlav 0.3

The institution of the German parliament - the Bundestag - appears three times in the examined lyrics. Čelo and Capital Bra mention the Bundestag in two similar contexts. Both lines can be interpreted as a call to an act of violence: ‘[...] *mach im Bundestag Action mit der Heckler // Schieß auf Rednecks*’ (‘[...] [I] will do action with the Heckler in the Bundestag // [I will] Shoot at rednecks’) (CA_2014AP21.txt), and ‘*Ich komm' mit Dynamit zum Bundestag mit Aktentasche, Ha-Ha // Es macht Bang, Bra [...]*’ (‘I’ll come with a briefcase full of dynamite to the Bundestag, Ha-Ha // It [will] make a bang, bra [...]’) (CB_2019CB5.txt). Čelo's lyrics may contain a warning that someone - presumably himself, as the song's protagonist - will come into the building to shoot white conservative members with a gun made by the German gun manufacturer Heckler & Koch. Capital Bra mentions in his song a bomb

²⁰ AfD: 5 instances; 13,18 i.p.m. + Joschka Fischer (die Grünen): 2 instances; 5,27 i.p.m. + NPD: 1 instance; 2,64 i.p.m.

²¹ Absolute frequency in instances in the corpus.

²² Relative frequency in instances per million tokens (i.p.m.).

in a suitcase which he intends to detonate inside the building. Óelo also mentions the building in another song: *'La Révolution, mit Airmax im Bundestag // Wie Joschka Fischer'* ('La Révolution, with Airmax to the Bundestag // Like Joschka Fischer') (CA_2014AP7.txt). He compares himself with the emeritus politician of the progressive-liberal party of the Greens, the former German Foreign Minister, and Vice-Chancellor Joschka Fischer. Another party mentioned is the AfD - the most conservative party currently represented in the Bundestag. Antifuchs, Óelo, and Capital Bra mention the party five times, and in all contexts, it has negative connotations, e.g., the party is equal to feces (A_2021ZIF5.txt). Experts classify the party as right-wing extremists (Pfahl-Traugher 2019). Capital Bra also mentions the NPD party once in a similar negative context (CB_2016KUKU19.txt). The party is not represented in the Bundestag but is also a well-known right-wing radical party in Germany. Other German parties are not mentioned in the lyrics.

Óelo, Capital Bra, Haze, and Olexesh speak 15 times about *Politik* (Politics). In most contexts, they criticise politicians for their passivity in regards to social injustice or discrimination. Capital Bra also addresses the inaction of German politicians during armed conflicts in eastern Ukraine (CA_2014AP2.txt). Capital Bra is also the only rapper in the corpus to mention German Chancellor Angela Merkel. In one context, he calls her his *'Groupie'* (CB_2019CB6.txt). In another text, however, he threatens her with violence (CB_2018BERL16.txt).

Migration is an issue for two rappers - Antifuchs and Haze. Each of them mentions the word *'Migrationshintergrund'* ('migration background') (A_2021ZIF5.txt & H_2016GAHH22.txt) in a critical context. They show their dissatisfaction with the political division of German citizens into Germans with and without a history of migration.

Óelo, Capital Bra, Haiyti, Haze, and Olexesh all mention Germany in their songs. Most of the contexts are neutral and tell a story about the commercial success across the country. The diversity of the few

politically relevant contexts ranges from nostalgic lines of Haze: *‘Ich will in meine Heimat, Brate, Deutschland macht mich krank’* (‘I want to go to my homeland^{German}, brother^{Croatian}, Germany makes me sick^{German}’) (H_2018DZLP5.txt) to ambiguous statements by Ćelo *‘in Schulen hören’s die Kinder Propaganda wie Göbbels und Himmler, Blitzkrieg, // ich erober’ Deutschland, Abdi bald bekannt als Oberleutnant Führervisage’* (‘in schools, children hear propaganda like from Göbbels and Himmler, Blitzkrieg, // I conquer Germany, Abdi will be soon known as first lieutenant Führer's visage’) (CA_2011MWT12.txt).

5.2 Clustering Deutschrap

In regards to clustering, the linguistic proximity and the distance should be explored statistically. The semi-automated comparison is intended to extract knowledge from the examined data that remained hidden during the qualitative KWIC analysis and its interpretation. The calculation and visualisation of various distance measures applied to DRaKoSlav 0.3 are intended to break down the relationships between the lyrics and the artists, thus enabling the answer to the question:

What influence do the used languages, the cultural, linguistic, and geographical context of the socialisation and social gender have on the lyrics and their style?

In the language biographies in section 3, a tendency was noticed that the artists were socialised in three specific regions of Germany: (i) the North, (ii) the West or (iii) in Berlin. Berlin is geographically in the North-East of Germany, but it can be seen as an independent social and geographical unit because of its status as the capital and the largest city in Germany and the EU with a population of around 3.7 million. The selected artists with either Bosnian or Croatian language backgrounds had in common that they were all born in Germany. In contrast, the Ukrainian-Russian(-Kazakh)-German artists were all not born in Germany. The third aspect is the gender of the artist, for the search was deliberately selected from the two most commercially successful male artists and one commercially most successful female artist. These three

areas are to be questioned with the statistical investigation.

The *stylo* package (Eder et al.) for the statistics software *R* plays a decisive role here. Various distance measures show the stylistic relationship between texts and whether the style or, for example, gender, mother language, the epoch, or other factors play a role in the clustering. Since the texts are clustered most precisely from around 5,000 tokens per file (Eder), the lyrics from each release were combined into one txt-file, so that the clustering data set-up consists of 45 txt-files. In order to make the results unbiased through relying on one statistical analysis only, the lyrics were clustered using three methods – horizontal tree, bootstrap consensus tree, and the bootstrap consensus network. The following horizontal clustering tree is the result of measuring 2-grams of the tokens with Eder’s Delta distance:

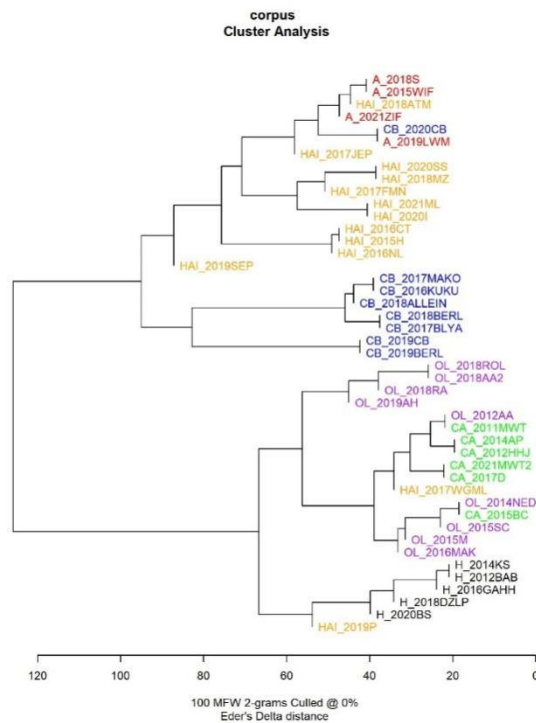


Figure 2 Horizontal clustering tree of the DRaKoSlav 0.3 data @Aleksej Tikhonov'

With a few exceptions, the following tendencies in the clustering are noticeable:

The closeness and the overlap of Haiyti (yellow) and Antifuchs (red)

The almost isolated positioning of Capital Bra (blue) in the middle of the diagram

The closeness and overlap between Célo (green) and Olexesh (purple)

Haze's lyrics (black) are almost isolated on the edge of the diagram

Haiyti's single albums are close to Haze' and Célo's subclusters

The next clustering is the bootstrap consensus tree, in which 2-grams of tokens are also measured, but with the Euclidean distances between the analysed albums.

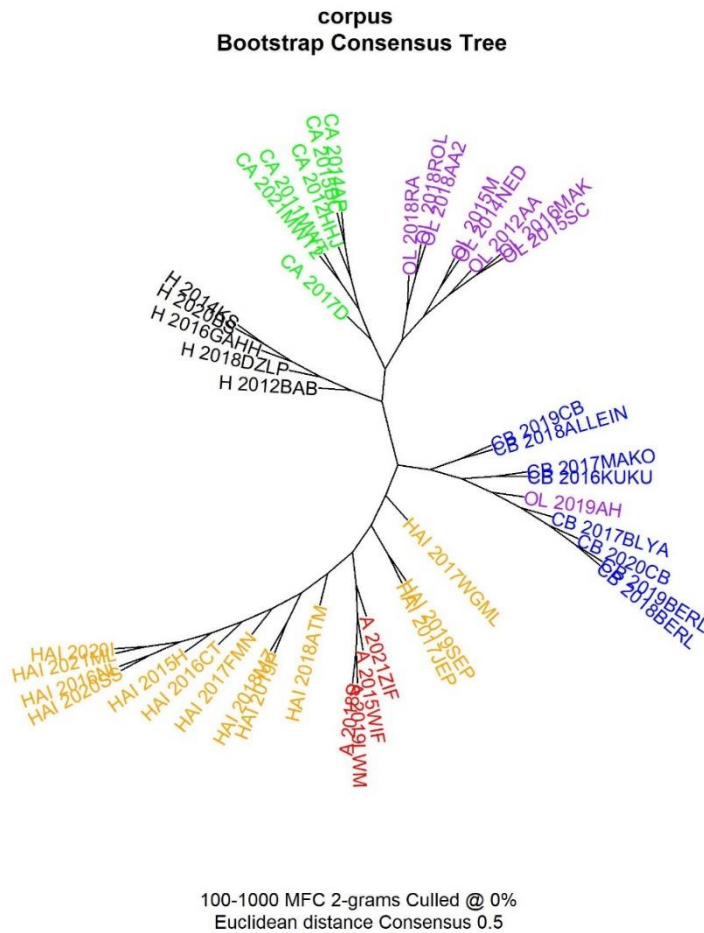


Figure 3 Bootstrap consensus tree of the DRaKoSlav 0.3 data @Aleksej Tikhonov.

Figure 2 confirms most of the observations from Figure 1. In addition, there is a relationship between Olexesh and Capital Bra because Figure 2 features an album by Olexesh from 2019 in the subcluster of Capital Bra. In Figure 1, Olexesh's 2018-2019 albums were also close to Capital Bra's albums. The final step is a bootstrap consensus network. The network is the setup of the 1-grams of the graphemes measured with Eder's delta distance:

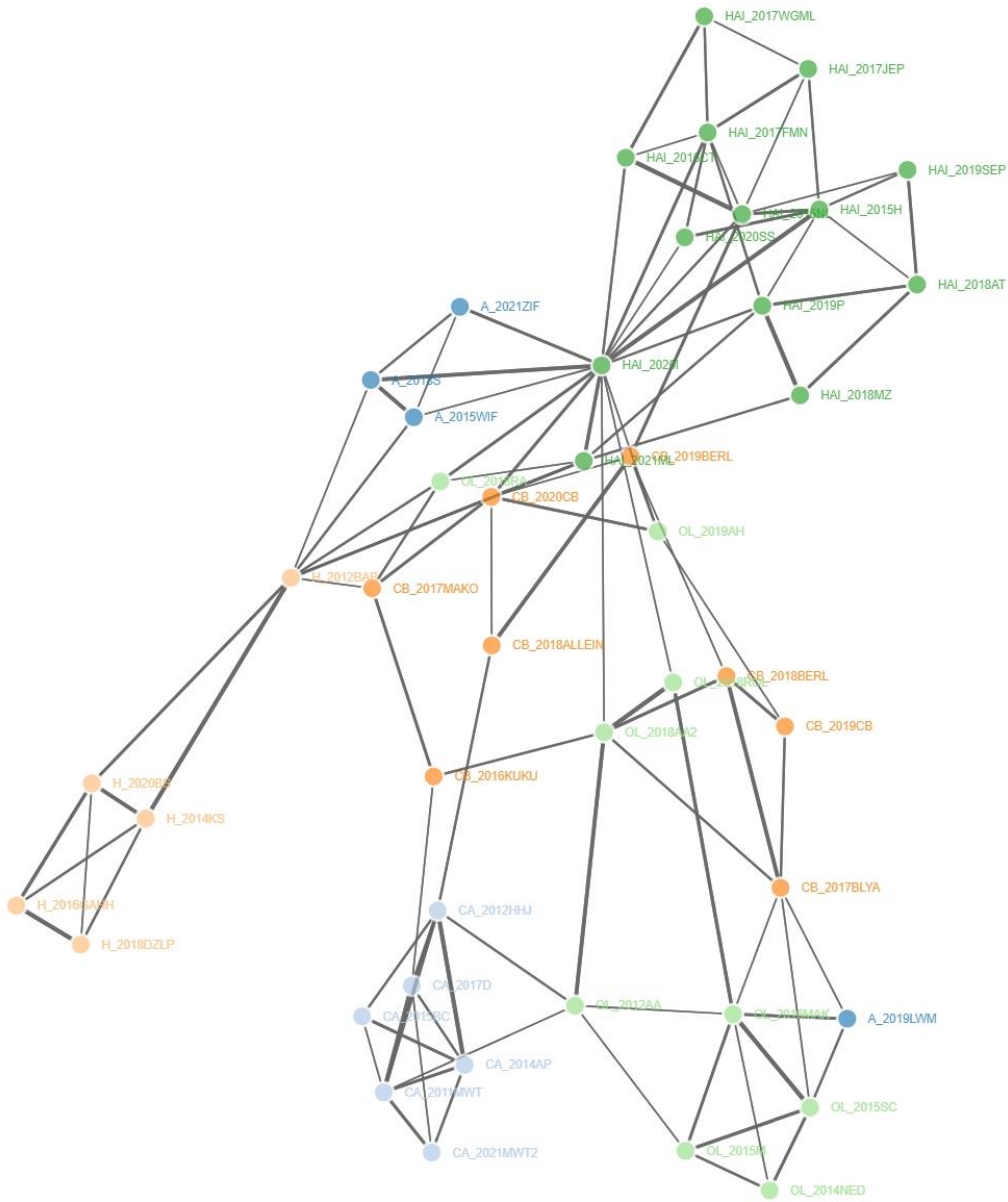


Figure 4 Bootstrap consensus network of the DRaKoSlav 0.3 data @Aleksej Tikhonov.

In Figure 3, the unique position of Haze (light orange) becomes more

evident, whereby his texts are closer to *Ćelo* (sky blue) and *Antifuchs* (dark blue) than, e.g., to *Haiyti* (dark green). The central position of *Capital Bra* (dark orange) in the network and his overlap with other artists (especially with *Olexesh* (light green)) also become more evident here.

Comparing the different vectors of various n-grams and distance measures in all three figures these quantitative tendencies must be combined with qualitative results from the KWIC analysis. In all three clustering analyses, *Capital Bra*'s lyrics showed the shortest distance to the center of the clustering (Figure 2) or formed the center of the clustering (Figures 1 and 3). *Haiyti* and *Haze* formed the two extremes of all three clusterings, although they have a similar linguistic biography. Nevertheless, there is a special closeness between the lyrics by *Haiyti* and *Antifuchs*. The reason for the overlay may be their socialisation in Northern Germany. Likewise, the geographical proximity in Southwest Germany also seems to be a driving factor in why *Ćelo*, *Olexesh*, and *Haze* are not so far from one another statistically. In addition, as *Ćelo* is one of the label bosses for *Olexesh*, this may influence the intertextual dependence between both musicians.

In Figure 3, where the grapheme-combinations are analysed, the lyrics of *Haze* and *Antifuchs* show little distance. The connection here would be the content of their songs. Both have rarely or never made direct statements on political or religious matters. Most of their statements do not refer either to politics directly, nor their parent's country of origin. A frequent topic of their lyrics is social injustice and discrimination. The relationship to their parent's countries of origin is a rare topic that contains nostalgic and ironic contexts. In his lyrics, *Capital Bra* addresses all political and religious topics examined in the study. His political statements include calls for violence against the German government, whilst also insulting German Chancellor Angela Merkel. *Ćelo*'s lyrics include more political contexts than *Capital Bra*'s songs. In fact, he has most of the political and religious contexts in the corpus. In addition to negative criticism of the politics of Germany, the

USA, and NATO, his lyrics contained several radical anti-Semitic passages and threats of violence against the German government. The only positive political aspect in his lyrics was of *die Grünen* (a German liberal eco-party).

The reason for the overlapping of Haiyti and Antifuchs in all three clusterings may be the absence of religious topics, as combined they made hardly any religious references. Haiyti has distanced herself from religion in her lyrics, whilst other rappers have provided numerous religious contexts in theirs (notably in Capital Bra's and Ćelo's lyrics, wherein fear of God and Islam plays a superficial role).

Regarding national or ethnic self-identification, the lyrics mostly did not show any direct statements such as *I am X*, where *X* stands for a specific national affiliation. The exception here is Capital Bra, who often calls himself a Ukrainian or a Russian. Haze and Antifuchs generally identify themselves as migrants, or see this term as a social problem and would like to draw attention to the post-migrant perspective of the society (Gül & Tewes; Huxel et al.). The post-migrant society is a crucial aspect addressed directly or indirectly by all musicians in the corpus. Many of the musicians listed the various countries of origin, languages, or national affiliations in their social environment, or drew attention to them by using terms such as German '*Digga*' ('Homie'), East Slavonic '*Братан/Bratan*' ('Brother'), South Slavonic '*Brate* (Brother)', or the Turkish-German neologism '*Azzlack*' ('liberal person with a history of migration' (Kielblock)) to express their solidarity, friendship, and diversity, and to defend their right of self-identification as Cotgrove also showed (Cotgrove: 85). The decisive milestone in the corpus is the direct connotation of the post-migrant society through the hybrid identity. In 2016, Olexesh referred to himself as '*Ruski Kanak*' for the first time. In many of his songs and interviews, he has also stated that he was born in Kyiv and grew up in Germany near Frankfurt among children with mostly Turkish or Arabic backgrounds. Additionally, he has spoken of his parents' heritage; his father is Belarusian, whilst his mother is Ukrainian. This information results in a new hybrid identity,

which Olexesh himself defines as '*Russki Kanak*'.

Conclusion

In the 2010s, rappers with Slavonic language backgrounds garnered notable success in regards to streaming statistics, thus gaining chart hits in Germany. Furthermore, the most successful rapper in Germany since the year 2019 is Capital Bra, born in Russia and raised in Ukraine and Germany. Artists with East and South Slavonic backgrounds are becoming evermore dominant in the industry. Their lyrics bring not only new linguistic influences into Deutschrap, but also differing political and social views. In this study, the lyrics of the six most famous street and gangsta rappers in Germany with an East or South Slavonic background were examined in order to answer the question - What is the relationship between language(s), religion, and politics in the lyrics of the six most popular German-Slavonic rappers?

The result is that the family's language or country of origin does not play a significant role in the interrelations of the lyrics. The place of birth and the gender of the artists also appear to have no effect on the style of their lyrics, as the clustering has shown. Instead, the areas of socialisation and the professional/social environments are decisive. The lyrics tend to a north German (Haiyti & Antifuchs) and south-west German continuum (Ćelo, Haze, & Olexesh). Capital Bra - from Berlin - uses geographically all-encompassing lyrics, which could be one of the reasons for his popularity. His lyrics include links to different linguistic and religious settings (for example Islam, or lexis from Arabic and Turkish). German culture and language are also a part of this movement, as collaborative songs with German rappers like *Kitschrieg* or *Kontra K* show.

The multilingual language behaviour or translanguaging appears in most cases organic in the lyrics. From a structural point of view, the statements form complete syntactic constructions. In one syntactical construction combined languages could be German & Bosnian, German & Croatian, German & Russian, English & Bosnian, or French & German & Turkish. However, language diversity in the syntactical constructions is not limited to one, two, or three languages, but crosses

language boundaries and produces hybrid text passages in which the hierarchies between so-called prestigious or majority languages (in this case German) are either flat or can be described as not given. In most cases, however, the combination of the languages used in one line corresponds to the pattern *German + A [+ B + C + ...]*. The variables *A*, *B*, *C*, and so on correspond to other languages from the artists' family, professional or social environment.

Nonetheless, the controversy between the German majority society and the call for the establishment of a post-migrant society persists in the lyrics. The demands range from moderate and constructive criticism (Haze & Antifuchs) to direct violent fantasies and threats against privileged and (mostly) white people and their politics (Ćelo & Capital Bra).

The question briefly mentioned in the article is anti-Semitism. Some results (Ćelo) are worrying, and the question arises whether the demonisation of Jews is an artistic practice, provocation, or, in fact, anti-Semitism. The answer to this question requires further study and could not be answered in detail within the scope of this article. By all means, the corpus needs to be expanded to explore the potential problem of anti-Semitism not based on just one or two examples in German rap, but in general. I will pursue this question in the further course of my research into Slavic languages in German rap and call in comparative data from rappers without a Slavic background.

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APPENDICES

List of Abbreviations

A - Antifuchs

CA – Ćelo (& Abdi)

CB – Capital Bra

H – Haze

HAI – Haiyti

O and OL – Olexesh

SE – Schwesta Ewa

KR – Krime

KWIC – Keyword in Context

DRaKoSlav – Deutschrap Korpus Slavonic Edition

AfD – Alternative für Deutschland

NPD – Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands

BKA – Bundeskriminalamt