

Opinionated texts in social media: A proposal for evaluative judgement methodology

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Abstract

The paper reports on a pilot study devoted to the analysis of opinions expressed by Facebook discussants related to the immigration crisis in Europe. Opinions were conceptualised as the subjective expression of evaluation. The data were investigated in line with an original, tripartite typology consisting of 46 criteria of evaluative language coming from distinct scholarly traditions: media studies, linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis. Generally speaking, the proposed templates proved effective when mapped onto social media data; however, as there is a partial overlap of some of the categories used in the pilot study, the number of categories needs to be reduced in the subsequent investigation. The secondary objective of this paper is to present computational tools employed in the study, which, as the study shows,

can enrich research methodology in communication studies, and these comprise the “R” package used for data visualisation and lexical and sentence-based embeddings based on LLM.

Keywords

opinion, social media, evaluative language, incivility

Teksty opiniotwórcze w mediach społecznościowych: Propozycja metodologii analizy języka wartościującego

Abstract

Niniejszy artykuł stanowi raport z badania pilotażowego poświęconego analizie opinii wyrażanych przez dyskutantów na Facebooku na temat kryzysu migracyjnego w Europie. Opinie rozumiane są w tym badaniu jako subiektywne wyrażanie oceny. Dane zostały przeanalizowane według zaproponowanej trójczłonowej typologii składającej się z 46 kryteriów języka oceniającego. Kryteria te pochodzą z różnych tradycji naukowych: medioznawstwa, językoznawstwa i krytycznej analizy dyskursu. Zaproponowane szablony okazały się skuteczne w odniesieniu do danych z mediów społecznościowych; jednakże, ze względu na częściowe nakładanie się niektórych kategorii użytych w badaniu pilotażowym, w dalszych badaniach liczba kategorii musi zostać zmniejszona. Drugim celem tego artykułu jest przedstawienie narzędzi komputerowych użytych w niniejszej analizie. Jak wskazuje zaprezentowana analiza narzędzia te mogą wzbogacić metodologię badań w dziedzinie komunikacji. Zastosowane narzędzia to pakiet „R” używany do wizualizacji danych, biblioteki Python oraz osadzenia (*embeddings*) leksykalne i zdaniowe oparte na LLM.

Słowa kluczowe

opinia, język wartościowania, media społecznościowe, niegrzeczność, imigranci

1. Introduction

The paper aims to propose a trinary, methodological template for exploring how opinions, that is, evaluation and judgement, are encoded in social media discourse. The primary assumption is that opinions are propositions which encode evaluative judgments. The unified template propounded here draws on three distinct scholarly domains that are on the verge of media studies, linguistics, communication studies and social studies, and thus, they allow a comprehensive picture to emerge with details traceable to various perspectives and scholarly traditions. Before the three templates are discussed, the definition of the crucial term of evaluation in which opinionated texts are grounded will be briefly discussed in Section 2. Two theoretical frameworks presented there draw on philosophical discussions, definitions of evaluation, and some linguistic investigations. Next, three methods applied to discourse analysis by various authors representing distinct theoretical frameworks will be delineated in Section 3, followed by a sample of the pilot study-based examination of comments. The resultant outcome of the study and some problematic cases will be elaborated in the subsequent section, followed by some template revision and a unified typology proposal.

2. Opinionated social media

Due to its characteristics, the internet allows users to share their thoughts, ideas, attitudes and beliefs with a large number of other users simultaneously and without traditionally understood censorship mechanisms that would shape the content sent according to specific social expectations. Even though social media is subject to the networked communication power governed by global corporations (van Dijck 2013; Castells 2009), they constantly expand the way people communicate with each other through mass self-communication (Castells 2012). Pavlik and McIntosh (2018: 192) define social media as the use of

technology combined with social interaction to create shared value, i.e. the convergence of mass communication and two-way communication. Social media has replaced one-way communication, selection and presentation of news with networks of users who personalise and share media content, add comments and make media content visible to a larger number of users (Carlson 2018). In the most basic form, the way people use platforms has shaped distinct groups of users' culture of consuming news feeds (Kondor et al. 2022). At a deeper level, the social use of platforms leads to the creation of virtual communities of users that, like traditional communities, are marked by interaction, emotion, shared values and interests, and specific norms (Lombart 2022). Communication styles within these communities are constantly evolving. With the emergence of more platforms, further differences in the publication, dissemination and audience response emerged. By reducing physical distance, social media disseminates information faster than traditional news sources or any media type. Therefore, they have the potential to create environments where prejudice and hate speech are rife while enabling interaction between cultures, promoting social cohesion and increasing the emphasis on diversity. Hate speech on social media can be verbal (posts, comments, articles, etc.) and non-verbal (emojis, stickers, photos, etc.). These multimedia attacks create and reinforce stereotypes based on toxic language. They can range from simple insults to calls for physical extermination and genocide. Sometimes, they arise from emotional outbursts and spread virally online, travelling from one platform to the next (López-Paredes and Di Fátima 2023). On other occasions, they spread in a concealed manner, reaching only individuals within the community of haters through dog-whistling tactics (Åkerlund 2022; Guzek 2023). Furthermore, their dissemination reinforces a climate of political contestation, contributing to the popularity of populists in voting (Goodwin and Milazzo 2017; Joppke 2020), as well as support for right-wing politicians' arguments (Hogan and Haltinner 2015). Ultimately, they also shape the position of the media as the unques-

tioned primary space for coverage of immigration (Eberl et al. 2018).

Empirical studies on dispersed media discourses, emerging and processed in the dynamic social media environment, provide an opportunity to observe the processes of collective interpretations in real-time. The deepening digital mediatisation of reality triggers a radical, qualitative transformation of not only people's media practices but also a broader phenomenon of a social-political change in human status (Hess 2013). The increasing role of algorithmic media determines shifts in the activities of social actors, public spheres, and the functioning of contemporary democracies. Furthermore, public discourse is moulded in permeating online and offline spaces, with participants ranging from the realm of people and bots, deploying increasingly sophisticated communication tools.

Social media have thus questioned the existence of a universal logic of the media, according to which the real world is reproduced, recognised and celebrated by mass media, with specific selection criteria and media content presentations defining reality (Schulz 2004). Social media platforms process information and reproduce various data in line with the principles of such phenomena as datafication, algorithmisation, user connection and programmability (van Dijk 2013; Nowak-Teter 2024). Social media are social in the sense that all the content posted by users is directed to a smaller or larger audience (McGregor 2019). Whilst opinions expressed in social media are not representative of the entire society, they may serve as tools to shape and measure public opinion (Nowak-Teter 2024). Analysing users' posts allows one to check how their opinions evolved from the first post (e.g., a "like") on a given topic until the last comment when the discussion fades or changes its thematic agenda.

Media users function in a multimodal and multichannel communication environment, dispersed audiences and public opinion. The widespread use of social media to acquire, process and comment on information about public affairs entails continuous and limitless access to the opinions of others. The

analyses of user comments, which are triggered by other users' concrete posts (including public figures) regarding significant problems or controversial issues, become the key element in research on the processes of public opinion formation. The advantage of research devoted to online discourses resides in the ability to observe on a rolling basis the process of emerging and transgressing successive stages of public opinion formation (Anstead and O'Loughlin 2015).

3. Evaluativity, evaluation, and value judgments

This section will focus on two alternative, yet complementary, perspectives on expressing judgmental opinions. The philosophical perspectives (section 3.1) will revolve around the question of thin vs. thick concepts encoding evaluative statement and their gradability. On the other hand, the linguistic perspective (section 3.2) will present current discussions related to stance, modality, attitude and emotion-laden language employed in evaluative opinions.

3.1. Philosophical perspective

Since the primary assumption this study adheres to is that opinions are conceived of as propositions expressed by dint of evaluative judgments, some key terms related to the concept of evaluation will be described and discussed in this section. First and foremost, two types of judgments shall be distinguished: judgments of fact and judgments of value (Soria Ruiz et al. 2022: 434). They are both expressed in the declarative mood, yet value judgments are not bearers of factual information, that is, states of affairs, wherein the speaker encodes properties of the object of description. Instead, they are propositions which contain attributes ascribed by the speaker, who voices a subjective opinion. Thus, value judgments are subjective statements, whereas judgments of facts are objective facts (for details, see also Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk et al. 2023).

Another feature typical of judgments of value, in linguistics more often dubbed *evaluations*, is their connection to actions, either to their “promotion or obtainment” (Soria Ruiz et al. 2022: 435) or attempted actions (Partington 2007). Thus, in *This soup is delicious*, the statement assumes the action of tasting the food by the speaker¹. On the other hand, what helps achieve some goal is assessed as good, and what hinders it is seen as bad (Hunston and Thompson 1999: 14).

Evaluativity (Bierswisch 1989) is understood as making reference to contextually-determined threshold, as in *she is as tall as her father*, where an object’s height is compared to the point of reference represented by the father, who is claimed to be tall. Evaluation claims can also be stated if, prior to the statement, a general standard and threshold are determined, e.g., of what is meant to be *tall*. This may be problematic as such predicates have no clear-cut boundaries, which makes them vague categories (Odroważ-Sypniewska 2022: 300) and puts their categorisation at risk. For example, it is not universally predefined when *tall* ceases to indicate above standard height or a normal height starts to be viewed as *short*. Culture-specific references can be of help in determining such vague concepts. Reference can also be made to a situation-based standard put on a relative scale, as exemplified by *This food is delicious*, wherein *delicious* differs in meaning when expressed with regard to other meals prepared in a fancy restaurant from *delicious* uttered about food offered in a canteen, i.e., compared to other meals in the canteen tasted by the speaker. The conceptualisation of *delicious* would be different in each case. However, evaluativity may also be expressed without referring to a threshold or standard on a scale (below or above the average), as in *she is more beautiful than her mother*, wherein one does not necessarily assume that the mother is

¹ This dichotomous stand on distinguishing between facts and values, however, is not that simple as there are a number of possibilities standing midway, wherein a statement can be treated as a fact or a subjective evaluation, depending on context, or even as fact and evaluation at the same time (for details see Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk et al. 2023).

beautiful. Bierswisch (1989) does not treat this case as an example of evaluativity as it is descriptive rather than normative, i.e., it attaches attributes rather than encodes values.

Evaluation, especially evaluative adjectives, can also have multiple points of reference; for example, *healthy* can refer to various aspects of one's well-being, and thus one can have a healthy skeletal system but still have metabolic issues, such as hypertension or diabetes, being healthy only in one/select respect(s) while unhealthy in others. An evaluation of being healthy asserted by an orthopaedist does not do full justice to the patient's state of health; in other words, the adjective *healthy* is objectionable. The objectionable and context-dependent evaluative meaning of *healthy* conceptualised by the doctor and the patient can be shared by both as a part of common ground; otherwise, it could be challenged and explicable by the mechanisms informed by the interpretative effort on the part of the hearer (see Väyrynen's stand below).

Another aspect of evaluativity flows from what is actually perceived as a value. According to Kennedy (2013: 264), words which tend to trigger faultless disagreements are evaluative, e.g., *interesting*, *difficult*, or *healthy* and *similar*. These evaluations are always true regardless of who expresses them and whether or not they understand them in the same way. Put differently, if speaker A says that x is interesting and speaker B that it is boring, they are both right in line with the thesis of faultless disagreements. Other authors (Soria Ruiz et al. 2022) maintain these are not examples of evaluativity as the adjectives do not encode values; they are just put on a scale of gradability.

Along with gradability, evaluativity is also investigated with respect to the depth of evaluative terms (also known as thickness vs thinness; see Soria Ruiz et al. 2022). General terms that signal generic polarity, such as *good* vs *bad* or *right* vs *wrong*, that are all-purpose evaluatives, are seen as thin, whereas those that rely on more specific attributes that narrow the meaning are dubbed thick. Thin terms are believed to be "purely evaluative" (Väyrynen 2011: 1) or with more "firmly attached" eval-

uative meaning (Väyrynen 2021), while thick terms combine “evaluation and non-evaluative description” (Väyrynen: 2011: 1); arguably, they are evaluative and descriptive (i.e., non-evaluative or factual). There are voices, however, that some terms (e.g., *right*, *well-being*, *impartial*) are imperious to such binary classification (Scheffler 1987). Insofar as they are more specific than the general *good-bad* terms, they remain more impoverished than *cruel*, *generous* or *brave*, which are typical examples of thick terms, and thus, they stay midway between the thin and thick terms. The relation between the evaluative and the descriptive components of thick terms can follow from truth conditions, presuppositions or the combination of both (Soria Ruiz et al. 2022) as well as from pragmatic enrichment (Väyrynen 2013, 2021). Regardless of which approach is endorsed, the bifurcation into the descriptive and evaluative aspects brings about inconsistencies in the assessment of what is a fact and what is a subjective opinion (evaluation).

All these speculations regarding the status of evaluative terms lead to the conclusion that the term evaluation is difficult to capture as it is not fixed, at least as regards the thick terms, but based on gradability. Their identification and description involve a subtle interpretative process, which can be categorised in various ways depending on the theoretical assumptions the evaluator adheres to. It is not always clear how a word or phrase should be assessed in terms of its value inasmuch as the meaning built in a word, deriving from the logical form or emerging in virtue of linguistic convention (conventional meaning), is not exhaustive.

3.2. Linguistic perspective

While the notion *evaluation* has already received a great deal of attention in linguistics, being discussed under one guise or another, it still remains a “slippery” term (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 5). In previous research, it has been studied under the rubric of, inter alia, overtones (Ullmann 1972), connotation

(Lyons 1977), attitudinal or affective language (Ochs 1989), attitude (Halliday 1994), stance (Conrad and Biber 2000), and appraisal (Martin 2000; White 2015). Whilst they do not represent exactly the same concepts, their meanings substantially overlap, and thus they are often used interchangeably.

In most general terms, the word *evaluation* is defined as “the expression of the speaker or writer’s attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about” (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 5). Put differently, evaluation rests on subjectivity (“writer’s”), assessment (“attitude or stance”) and affect (“feelings”). In linguistics, evaluations are essentially comparative (an object is assessed relative to some yardstick), subjective and value-laden (Thomson and Hunston 2000). The first two factors tend to be encoded by grammar, whereas the last one is conveyed by lexical choices (Thomson and Hunston 2000). There are also three main functions of evaluations identified by these authors, namely (1) expressing an opinion and, by the same token, disclosing the value system of the writer/speaker and their community alike; (2) constructing relations between the sender and the addressee; (3) organising discourse (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 6). Relations can be enacted in three ways: manipulation, hedging and politeness (Thompson and Hunston, 2000: 8). Interestingly, hedging encodes uncertainty which may stem either from the will to tone down one’s claims, and then it is tangible with politeness, or express a claim that is unacknowledged by the relevant disciplinary community, and then it coincides with genuine uncertainty (Thompson and Hunston 2000). Additionally, three ingredients have been distinguished as necessary conditions of evaluation: the existence of an object of description identified in a sentence, emotivity (evaluation is value-laden) and subjectivity (presence of markers of subjective judgments) (Thompson and Huntson 2000: 21-22).

In keeping with other scholars (Bybee and Fleischman 1995; Halliday 1994; Van Linden 2012: 41-42), evaluation is contrasted with modality, where the former is understood in

terms of something desirable or undesirable (Bybee and Fleischman 1995) and the latter with some degree of un/certainty or (lack of) commitment. Adjectives (Bruce and Wiebe 1999) and morphological affixes (Ponsonnet 2014), particularly those encoding diminutives or augmentatives (to convey appreciation or depreciation), tend to be deployed in order to express evaluation. On the other hand, modality, also dubbed nonveridicality (Taboada and Trnavac 2013), typically pertains to a level of certainty indicated by modal auxiliaries. Whilst evaluation can be defined as a concept separate from modality (Taboada and Trnavac 2013: 10), the former being attitudinal and the latter probabilistic, there is the third strand in research, championed here, where the two notions are combined (Biber and Finegan 1989; Thompson and Hunston 2000) to define evaluation seen from the two possible perspectives which are integrated.

Evaluation is sometimes juxtaposed or used interchangeably with stance. Englebretson (2007: 2) notices that “one scholar may use stance to encompass what other scholars refer to as subjectivity, while other language researchers may prefer the term evaluation and may wish to eschew the label stance altogether.” Despite the general terminological conundrum, some tendency in understanding stance surfaces; namely, stance is more often associated with grammatical structures (Stubbs 1986: 1, Biber 2006) and/or form-meaning pairing. When researching register variation, Biber and Finegan (1989: 92) define stance as “the lexical and grammatical expression of attitudes, feelings, judgments, or commitment concerning the propositional content of a message”. This definition is in tune with the one provided above regarding *evaluation*, with “commitment” added to subjectivity and affect, i.e., with the addition of justificatory support for the declared assertion. Unlike the previously cited definition of evaluation, however, emphasis is placed here on the lexical-grammatical structures. The two most common structures to mark stance are adverbials (epistemic, attitude and style adverbs) and complement clause constructions (Biber 2006). Whilst value-laden words, and even paralinguistic sig-

nals, can also be involved in stance-taking, Biber (2006: 99) believes they are much more difficult to operationalise. As a result, grammatical structures constitute the frequent object of stance analysis. This stems from the fact that stance is typically investigated quantitatively, mainly in a corpus-informed manner, and retrieval of syntactic constructions from a corpus is easier than value-laden words inasmuch as the latter are not tagged for emotivity. Thus, stance is indexical of subjective judgments, feelings and commitments encoded through language at the level of lexico-grammatical features.

While expressing a personal opinion of an individual, evaluation necessarily entails some implied assumptions and ideologies (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 6). For example, in the sentence (*I don't like immigrants as they are lazy*) a personal opinion is ingrained (*I don't like*) as well as some background assumptions underlying this opinion, such as the fact that (1) it is socially disapproved if one refrains from work as it is a social norm that people are expected to contribute the economic profit for the benefit of the whole society, and (2) that immigrants are perceived as a community of those who evade contributing to the good of the whole society (normative behaviour), i.e., they tend to live on social benefits. Personal opinions are thus often personal (i.e., resistant to objectively verifiable truth) to some degree inasmuch as they are embedded in more general public opinions. Hunston (1994: 210) deems that evaluation is both a subjective expression of attitudes ("towards a person, situation or other entity") as well as "located within a societal value-system".

4. The aim of the study

The goal of this paper is to present the results of the pilot study, which was designed to attest to the proposed taxonomy of evaluative language. The taxonomy was based on three templates flowing from distinct scholarly approaches: media studies (evaluative language), linguistics (incivility categories), and Critical

Discourse Analysis (social actors). The analysis proposed here merges the trinary examinations into a single multifaceted evaluation template. This is aligned with the theme of the volume, that is methods of analysing opinionated texts with the focus being placed on a language-oriented analysis, it is its verbal manifestations.

5. Sources of methodology

The pilot study presented in Section 6 followed an integrated, tripartite template designed to map onto our social media data with the view to capture opinionated language. Insofar as all three templates revolve around the issue of evaluation, they capture how values and opinions are expressed in distinct fashion as they are contingent upon various theoretical approaches and conceptual underpinnings. The first template (T1) is entirely based on Bednarek's (2006) methodology of assessing evaluative language in media discourse; hence, it is well suited to our data and was adopted in our study with only minor extensions. The categories are anchored in research on mostly non-salient, i.e., non-ostensive, evaluative language found in newspapers (5.1.). Unlike T1, the other two templates are applicable to comments of ostensive, salient, negative polarity, particularly hostility-valenced, offensive or impolite language and/or attitude. More specifically, the second template (T2) is engrained in linguistics; it draws on Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk et al.'s (2022) typology of offensive language, indicating both explicit and implicit language means. Only select categories from the original schema were used in our study (5.2.). Finally, the third template (T3) was inspired by Van Leeuwen's (2006) taxonomy of social actors, a methodology rooted in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). All three templates underwent some modifications before they were applied to the study at hand.

5.1. Template 1 – evaluative language in media discourse

Media discourse (particularly news discourse) constitutes a fertile ground for expressing opinions as journalists and news writers often make evaluative comments on the events they report on. Readers rely on journalists' opinions to make sense of the world around them. Building on established linguistic approaches to evaluation (see Section 3.2.), Bednarek (2006) proposes a parameter-based approach to examine how opinions are expressed through language in media discourse. In her 2006 book, she extensively describes her method of studying evaluation and tests it on a corpus of news articles from ten British tabloids and broadsheets. Based on what Bednarek calls 'evaluative parameters', this methodological framework is used to identify and classify judgements of value that speakers (news writers/ readers in Bednarek's study) make to evaluate certain aspects of the world.

To build the parameter-based methodological framework, Bednarek relies on Thompson and Hunston's (2000: 5) definition of evaluation cited above. According to Bednarek, there are at least nine parameters along which speakers and writers can evaluate certain aspects of the world, six of which (COMPREHENSIBILITY, EMOTIVITY, EXPECTEDNESS, IMPORTANCE, POSSIBILITY/ NECESSITY and RELIABILITY) are core parameters whereas the remaining three (EVIDENTIALITY, MENTAL STATE and STYLE) are peripheral parameters.

Core evaluative parameters correspond to the evaluative aspects that speakers/ writers ascribe to entities that are evaluated. These parameters involve the assessment of the evaluation based on a bipolar scale from low to high force/ intensity (the scale may include a neutral assessment in the middle). In our analysis of the comments on immigration from the FRENK corpus, we followed Bednarek's two-pole scale for the core evaluative parameters with the exception of RELIABILITY, for which we used the poles 'reliable' and 'unreliable' instead of 'genuine vs. fake' and 'high, medium and low'. We also simplified the

parameters of EXPECTEDNESS and POSSIBILITY/ NECESSITY by dropping the ‘contrast vs. contrast/ comparison’ scale and merging the poles ‘possible/ not possible’ into ‘(im)possibility’ and ‘necessary/ not necessary’ into ‘necessity (or lack of)’, respectively. We relied on intensifying adverbs (e.g., *really*, *very*, *astonishingly*) and intensifying expressions (e.g., *little wonder that*, *less than obvious*) to analyse evaluative meanings expressing different degrees of intensity. However, the intensity is not a parameter of evaluation but a modulator of evaluation (Bednarek 2006: 43).

Peripheral evaluative parameters, on the other hand, do not evaluate entities or propositions in a binary manner by the use of an evaluative scale, as core parameters do. Instead, these marginal parameters include the evaluation of the truth value of a sentence – EVIDENTIALITY (and its sub-values), the speaker’s / writer’s mental state or their evaluation of other social actors’ mental states, and, finally, the speaker’s / writer’s evaluation of the manner in which the information is delivered and the type of the language used.

Bednarek’s parameter-based framework for evaluation is a useful methodology to analyse opinions expressed in a newspaper corpus. In this study, we tested this method on a corpus consisting of comments on immigration. Despite the fact that some linguistic expressions used as evaluators may realise more than one parameter (e.g., *likely* used to express EXPECTEDNESS and RELIABILITY), this approach shows flexibility in the combination and interplay between the parameters. While our primary goal is to test this methodological framework in combination with the template building on incivility/ offensive language and the one inspired by the classification of social actors, we cannot but remark that the evaluative language used to speak/ write about immigration plays a key role in the way in which this topic is framed in the public discourse.

5.2. Template 2 – offensiveness/incivility in media discourse

Template 2 in our study originates in the taxonomy of offensive language proposed by Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk et al. (2021, 2022, 2023a,b) and Bączkowska et al. (2022), which is embedded in a linguistic investigation and current theories of offensiveness and impoliteness. The authors distinguish a number of explicit and implicit terms (for the definition of implicitness, see Bączkowska 2022a,b, 2023) that encode offensiveness manifest in a straightforward or obscured manner. The typology they propose is comprehensive and detailed and manages to capture nuances of each category as well as how they can be intertwined. It comprises the following categories: insult, slur, hate speech, swear words, irony, under- and overstatement, simile, metaphor and rhetorical question. Additionally, there are the so-called ‘aspects’ which further detail the meaning of a word. We adopted the definitions of the main terms from Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk et al. (2023b), leaving the aspects aside.

In their taxonomy, “insults” (*You are ugly*) were distinguished from “slurs” (*You fucking negro*) on the basis of personal (insults) or ethnicity-based (slurs) description criteria, which we adopted in our study. Moreover, in our typology, insults and slurs both refer to an individual. Incidentally, slurs can also be juxtaposed with slanders (Jucker 2000). The former refers to a person who resembles the referent, whereas the latter hinges on truth conditionality and may serve as the basis for legal actions (Jucker 2000; Bączkowska 2021, 2022a). Slurs and slanders were combined here to make a single category, as investigating whether the target was the actual object of reference (*you lazy immigrant* said to an immigrant) or only a bearer of some of its characteristics (*you stupid pig, you sexy slut*) rooted in a metaphoric re-conceptualisation was both unimportant for the study and, in actuality difficult to verify in the written, online discourse of social media.

Unlike “insults”, which referred in our study to an individual, “hate speech” was reserved for a collective addressee. In line with some legal scholarship take (Nockleby 2000; Waldron 2010; Mafeza 2016: 18; Sellars 2016), hate speech involves behaviour subject to prosecutable measures. It also refers to a disadvantaged group (Moran 1994) and/or a minority group (Sellars 2016) experiencing oppression (Burnette and Figley 2017). The minority group is identified by Sellars (2016) by means of legally protected characteristics, which denote social group membership. For Marwick and Miller (2014: 1), hate speech is an intent-based violent attack of disparagement against some minority group, as well as against a member of such group or somebody just associated with the group. Similarly, in some linguistic accounts we can come across definitions of hate speech encompassing individuals or groups alike (Baider et al. 2017: 3).

As there is no agreement among scholars on how to define hate speech (Boromisha-Habashi 2013: 1, Ruzaitė 2018), we had to decide how this notion would be understood for our pilot study. The main goal that guided the design of the templates was the clarity of the categories and their discrete, binary nature, possibly mutually exclusive categories, to avoid overlapping terms and potentially low inter-annotator agreement scores. As a result, hate speech was defined as a label referring solely to groups, disallowing individuals as targets. The hostile language was classified as an example of a slur or an insult whenever an individual was attacked. Secondly, hate speech was marked if assertions of degradation and humiliation were expressed, which had the potential to, but did not need to, trigger possible legal actions. We followed Ruzaitė’s (2021) approach, where hate speech comprises both punishable acts and socially unaccepted (verbal) behaviour.

A simile (*You look like an angel*) is based on a comparison and contains “as” or “like”, while a metaphor (*You are an angel*) refers to the cognitive linguistics theory of conceptual metaphor and maps the source domain onto the target domain. Under-

statements resort to descriptions of entities which make them seem of lesser importance than they actually are (e.g., *We have a bit of a problem* said by a captain of a sinking ship), whereas overstatements exaggerate the problem described (*I'd rather die than go to the party*). Of a number of sub-types of irony (Bączkowska, Kukowicz-Żarska, Dłutek and Benenowska, this volume), our research adhered to two: contrast-based (*You are an angel* meaning the opposite) and surreal irony (*-I'm Marilyn Monroe, - Yeah, and I'm the President of the USA*). To these categories, we also added threat and discrimination. The threat was understood as a concept built on us/them opposition, wherein "them" ("immigrants") indexed the source of menace and potential harm that can conjure fear in the natives. Discrimination thrives on ideological, negatively charged expressions and aggressive argumentation that feed prejudice towards and incite criticism of minority groups (*Jews, Muslims*, etc.). All these categories apply primarily to negative language, particularly offensive language. Since our data comprise negative opinions expressed on immigration, we expected a lot of abusive terms to appear, and thus this template of offensive language met the requirement of our study.

5.3. Template 3 – CDA of social actors

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is an already well-established transdisciplinary, heterogeneous approach to language analysis which spans interests shared by social scientists, political scientists, linguistics and media studies experts. The goal of CDA is multifarious and instrumental in the investigation of social issues of discrimination, dominance, power or ideology. It scrutinises the language used to manifest or invoke opinions, persuade, or manipulate the audience, with multifaceted methodologies flowing from diverse disciplines. One of the methodologies offered within CDA is the taxonomy of social actors propounded by van Leeuwen (1996), which was deployed in the pilot study and previously applied by some of our annotators

(Lipiński 2017, 2019; Bączkowska 2019). The discriminatory and ideological import of the language used at lexical, phrase or grammatical levels is presented through the prism of the roles social actors play or are imposed in society. As the negative aspects of social actors are put into the limelight in Template 3, it is well-suited for the theme of immigration crises sought in our study.

While a number of categories of the so-called social actors were proposed by Van Leeuwen (1996), only some of them were applied to our study. For example, the category of exclusion involves social behaviour that serves to delegitimise some actors. A good example of such actors are immigrants who threaten the host country with their religion, lifestyle, culture, political stance and lack of integration with the local communities. The host society may also express fears about granting too many rights to unwelcome newcomers when governments suit the interests of immigrants more than the natives, which was the case of Ukrainian refugees in Poland after the outburst of the Russian-Ukrainian war. As a result, voices could be heard to curtail the rights of refugees. Social actors represented by means of exclusion may be ignored in the text and left for the readers' conjecture by, for example, the use of passive voice with agent deletion, middle voice or non-finite clauses, as well as gerunds, which stress actions and processes at the cost of their agentive source. Negative opinions about immigrants tend to be expressed by, for example, labelling them in terms of their religion (*Islamists*) and ethnicity (*Muslims*), both illustrating "culturalisation" or skin colour ("somaticisation", *Negros*; van Leeuwen 1993: 120) rather than their nationality (Ukrainians, Syrians, etc.), as this exposes their otherness and triggers a sense of imminent threat to the local culture, religion and lifestyle. They may be presented in the media as criminals ("criminalisation"), social parasites living on benefits ("animization", "pathologisation") or, to the contrary, as solid workers paying taxes ("functionalisation", e.g., *tax-payers* vs *tax-evaders*) as well as victims of the negative attitude towards them ("victimisation"). By

focusing on representatives of classes, either “genericisation” or “assimilation” is realised, whereas individuals-oriented references lead to “specification” (the latter was excluded from our template as it is also present to some degree in several other categories). The use of the indefinite or definite article or plural leads to “genericisation” (*An/The immigrant is lazy, Immigrants are lazy*), while the incorporation of collective nouns signals “assimilation” (*tribe, family, nation, population*, etc.). Resorting to a singular would illustrate “individualisation”. *Australians, Muslims* and other nations would be counted by van Leeuwen (2008: 37) as instances of “assimilation”, yet in our typology, such cases were encompassed by “culturalisation”. Pronouns and demonstratives epitomise “indetermination”, in particular, such words as *somebody, many (claim that), they (don’t work)* and the like. The impersonal *they* pronoun is an example of anonymisation. Other uses of pronouns and determiners speak for “collectivisation”. On the other hand, when concrete numbers are provided, or the scale or degree of the problem described, “aggregation” is operationalised (e.g., *80% of immigrants..., the number of..., the level of immigration...*). “Politicisation” brings to the limelight political biases, as in *left-wing extremists*, and it is close to “ideologisation”, realised by such words as *nationalists* or *racists*. Creating opposition and distance between “us” and “them” or “self” and “the other” exemplifies “differentiation”. Labelling a social actor by resorting to their disabilities, especially mental ones (e.g., *stupid, dumb*), was encapsulated by “ableism”, and stressing social closeness with them (*friend, compatriot, neighbour*) was treated as “sociotivisation”. Finally, *unskilled, workforce, and capitalists were counted as “economisation” as the social actors were seen as a source (or lack of) of economic power*. “Ableism” was a category we added to the pool of social roles proposed by van Leeuwen (1996). “Sociotivisation”, “pathologisation”, “culturalization”, and “economisation” are labels originally proposed by Jaszczyk-Grzyb et al. (2023), which we adapted in our study.

6. Pilot study

6.1. Data

The data used in the pilot study were gleaned from the FRENK dataset (Ljubešić et al. 2021), specifically from the subcorpus with English data on immigration gleaned from Facebook. The English immigration subcorpus is 5825 comments in size, yet only 79 randomly selected contexts were extracted for the pilot study. We decided to retrieve a data sample from the FRENK dataset as the data (1) describe the influx of immigrants to Europe, and (2) they are heavily saturated with incivility and offensive language of various kinds. The discussion revolves around, generally speaking, the anti-immigration movement and reflects an increasing radicalisation of anti-immigration discourse observable in various types of social media. Figure 1 (retrieved with *quanteda* package) shows 79 most frequent words occurring in the FRENK dataset devoted to migration and the strength of links among them, which comprise *Germany*, *Hungary*, the *UK* and the *EU* as such, as well as *many people* representing the *Muslim* and Islamic communities, probably escaping the *war*. Fig. 2 displays the most frequent 50 words occurring in the pilot sample. Along with the countries mentioned in Fig. 1, *Israel*, *Sweden* and *Saudi Arabia* also appear here, as well as some negatively charged words (*fucking*, *filthy*, *invasion*, *Trojan horse*). Overall, both the dataset and the selected 79 contexts seem to be adequate for the annotation training which aims at the identification of markers of opinionated texts pertaining to migration crisis in Europe. The visualisations below allow noticing not only the top frequency words but also other words they pattern with, and this patterning goes beyond sheer collocations. For example, *Sweden* is connected with *fucking*, *invasion*, and *force*; *isis* goes with *trojan*; the word *people* strongly connects with *go* and *need*, *war* with *countries*, which in turn patterns with *eu* and *muslim*, *refugee* with *migrants* and *border*, *migrants* with *stop*. Naturally, we can also identify typical collocations and/or

compounds, such as the *trojan horse*, *Saudi Arabia*. The visualisations thus display an overview of the topics and how they are interrelated. Therefore, they can provide a tentative justification for selecting the dataset regarding the research aim.

6. 2. Annotation procedure

All annotators (the co-authors of this paper) were divided into three groups (Team 1, Team 2 and Team 3), and they used dissimilar templates with predefined categories elaborated above (Section 5). Each team focused on template-specific aspects of the contexts. For example, in the sentence *She is a fucking immigrant, certainly a tax-evader and social benefit scrounger*, each group would mark different aspects of the language: T1 would notice *certainly* and label it as an example of the category “expected” for T2 the word *fucking* would instantiate a swear word, and T3 would focus on the description of immigrants seen through the lens of their functions in the society, i.e., *tax-evader* and *social benefit scrounger*, both illustrating “functionality”. The rationale behind this trinary approach to opinionated texts is that by relying on diversified, three-level typologies, the study will be enriched and comprehensive; it would also involve various perspectives, which should enhance the methodological framework of the study.

Altogether, there were 46 categories, with fifteen categories in Template 1, twelve categories in Template 2, and nineteen in Template 3. There were fifteen annotators, four or five in each Template team, and a super-annotator, an expert linguist with experience in annotation campaigns. The annotators were not aware of how other annotators labelled the contexts. The annotation followed a decision tree, illustrated graphically as a flowchart prepared for each template independently. The decision trees consisted of nodes with general questions, which split into other options depending on whether the answer was a “yes” or “no”. Additionally, cheat sheets were prepared to support annotators with examples of categories. For the first tem-

plate, the cheat sheet contained sample words allocated in each category. The words/phrases were copied from all examples discussed by Bednarek (2006), and annotators still enriched the list whenever a similar term appeared in our data. For template 2, a list of essential swear words taken from Dewaele (2016) was prepared, with some extensions of the terms and a checklist table with features distinguishing “hate speech” from “slurs” and “insults”. The third template contained examples from van Leeuwen (2008) to illustrate each category and brief definitions supporting the examples. The annotation was preceded by several training sessions where the categories were presented with examples followed by some initial annotation.

6.3. Data analysis

In this Section, the three templates presented above will be mapped onto the data explored in the pilot study to give examples of how the proposed typology is operationalised. Couched within Template 1, which draws upon evaluative language, are often words that, at first blush, do not seem to be bearers of evaluative judgments. The use of some keywords, specified by Bednarek (2006), disclose the attitude, emotivity and judgments expressed by the discussants in a way that they may not be fully aware of, or they may not have the intention to express their judgement, i.e., a meaning that is dubbed here as non-salient. Many of these words are non-ostensive and thus can be used non-intentionally, i.e., without the purpose of signalling the speaker’s judgement. For example, in (1) *but* is marked for “unexpectedness”, in line with Bednarek’s (2006) classification. In (2), “necessity” is illustrated by the modal verb *must*, whereas in (3) “negative emotivity” shines through, which is emphasised by the exclamation mark. The adverb *clearly* is indicative of “comprehensibility” (4). Evidentiality (Bednarek, 2006: 224), in turn, is discernible in (5), wherein the agent resorts to *looks like*, which discloses what the agent has thought, felt and/or experienced (“mindsay”). The addition of the agent’s age is also some-

what surprising (“unexpected”, *only*). In the same example, negativity is encoded by *savagery* and may be indicative of the whole message being “unreliable” (“fake”). “Impossibility” (*can not*) and “style” (*reason*) are illustrated by (6).

- (1) Sweden is a lovely country **but** SD are bunch of lost souls.²
- (2) We **must** stand together to return this mass of people from whence they come...they need to stand up to their governments and fight for their country
- (3) immigration?! How about islamic invasion, that’s the proper name!
- (4) The Israelis **clearly** have an ancestral right to live in Israel. The only claim that ‘palestinians’, (with no historic ancestry. They are I believe Jordanian) Is that according to Allah, the whole world belongs to islam. No none-muslim believes that ridiculous claim!
- (5) **Looks like** we **may** have a 3rd World War if Europe not resist the **savagery** that is ISlam I am **only** 78.
- (6) you **can not reason** with the muslims... once they conquer a territory it should be theirs forever... if you take it again they will do everything to retake it

The viable insights generated by the mostly non-salient evaluative language demonstrated in Template 1 notwithstanding, Template 2 discloses language used by the agents, at all likelihood, with full awareness, which is often precise and sharp, offensive and saturated with aspersions, targeted at the unwelcome collective addressees, predominantly perceived in terms of invaders (example 3: “invasion”) or conquerors (7). By and large, such examples tend to instantiate not only the category of “hate speech” but also “overstatement”. Yet, there are also attacks against individuals (8) by resorting to “insults” and “swear words”. Comments built on irony are quite frequent (9), primarily relying on the reversal of meaning, occasionally on absurd character (10). Comments relying on a comparison (11, 12, 13,

² All citations come from the FRENK corpus with the original spelling.

“metaphor”) are not that frequent and tend to be combined with the category of “slurs” (13). The agents certainly felt threatened by the wave of immigration, as is discernible in (14), wherein radical steps against foreigners are suggested (categories: “threat”, “hate speech”). Unfettered criticism is usually accompanied by other categories in our typology, as seen in (13), where “metaphor” co-occurs with “hate speech”, in (14), where “hate speech” is at the same time an example of “threat”, in (15) where it is also “irony”, or in (16), where it is encoded by the “rhetorical question” (even though no question mark is written). All these othering resources perpetuate a negative collective perception of immigrants, often demonised, stigmatised and dehumanised (e.g., *parasites* in 12, *scum* in 29³). Milder accusations and disapproval are also present in the data (17), yet to a much lesser extent than hate speech.

- (7) you can not reason with the muslims... once they **conquer** a territory it should be theirs forever... if you take it again they will do everything to retake it
- (8) Oh don't be such a **sanctimonious moron**.
- (9) Ah, welcome Putin trolls.
- (10) I hear there's plenty of room in Siberia.
- (11) This is the **Trojan Horse**.
- (12) **parasites** that are fleeing a sunni-shia war of genocide, created by these same parasites
- (13) I can't believe such evil coming out from the mouth of this **gay face**.
- (14) Defend yourselves and start shooting.
- (15) show solidarity with a barbaric death cult which abuses woman...
- (16) Muslims r not our sisters or brothers why would anybody want there evil religion
- (17) He wasn't a refugee, he was going to another country to get on their system and get his teeth fixed for free.

³ These words are also examples of metaphors (assigned by T2). On *parasites* illustrating dehumanising metaphors see also Musolf (2017).

The goal of Template 3 was to present the addressees (immigrants) as social actors, most often as a burden to the society of the host country or as a minority out-group resistant to integration with the host society, their language, culture and customs. Such opinions are expressed, for example, by comments (18) and (19), which substantiate “exclusion”. On the other hand, comment (20) rests upon making generalisations (“genericisation”). Abnormal behaviour is stressed by “pathologisation” (12), animisation (dehumanisation) is visible in (21), *refugees* and *migrants* are coached in “functionalisation” (22), and “ableism” has its manifestation in (8). The *Swedish Democrats* (SD), in turn, are perceived in terms of a mass noun, and thus, the acronym is tantamount to “assimilation” (23). The differences among “assimilation”, “collectivisation”, “functionalisation” (24) and “culturalisation”, however, are somewhat hazy and thus, in the future annotation campaign, these categories will be revised. Finally, in (25) *paranoid* attacks the addressee’s sanity and hence speaks for “pathologisation”.

- (18) Tony Blair was right when he said wearing hijab and burka are signs of separation.
- (19) Shut the borders and direct them to Saudi
- (20) ISLAM IS SATAN
- (21) Putin will sort these rats
- (22) Refugees, they're refugees. Not migrants. God BBC, get your definitions correct
- (23) Sweden is a lovely country but SD are bunch of lost souls.
- (24) these aint migrants they are isis fighters
- (25) You are paranoid and bigoted - congratulations on your astounding ignorance.

The language means explored in T2 and, in particular, the social roles deployed in T3 exacerbate anti-immigration and xenophobic sentiments, stigmatise immigrants as out-group, intimidate them, instil “societal insecurity” (Buzan et al. 1998) or even trigger panic in the natives, e.g., by “victimising the in-group (...) through fear” of the “Other” (Waltman and Haas 2011: 134), and

thus legitimise militant spirit in the native society, and justify discursive choices ingrained in aggressive rhetoric (particularly well-visible in 2, 14, 19, 20, 24). The majority of social roles discussed here are, in fact, compatible with Van Dijk's (1998: 267) "ideological square", which brings the positive features of "us" to the fore and casts light on the unfavourable aspects of "them". This Template, therefore, is oriented towards the identification and classification of negative evaluative judgments.

6.4. Problematic cases in coding

Examples illustrating the three templates deployed in this study were presented in the previous Section, and, against this background, we shall now elaborate on select comments which posed difficulties. The peripheral categories proposed by Bednarek (2006) turned out to be the most problematic ones, for example, modality and evidentiality, as in (26-27):

(26) Really? Couldn't give a xxxx what you think.

(27) says the man who killed his own son and wife

In (26), *really* was marked "im/possibility", which on the surface indeed encodes this type of modality. However, this is an ironic rhetorical question (features present in T2), which triggers doubts as to the im/possibility status of the meaning in this context. "Evidentiality" was assigned particularly rarely by coders, even in cases like (27), which contains a phrase very similar to one present in the cheatsheet (*he said it was*). The verb is non-salient and of high occurrence in general English. At first glance, it does not attract the reader's attention, so that some coders could overlook it. Another problem is that, as noticed by Thompson and Hunston (2000: 3), the term "modality" to a large extent overlaps with the term "evidentiality", which could also be a source of hesitation for coders noticed in other examples.

The category of "style" usually entailed labelling a context as an example of a "mental state" (expressed mainly through

verbs). The very definition of “mental state” in Bednarek’s (2006) proposal is somewhat hazy, which could lead to misunderstandings. All the peripheral categories in Bednarek’s account were responsible for the greatest confusion in the annotation process in Template 1 and will be omitted in the next annotation campaign. “Incomprehensible” and “reliable/genuine” were rarely marked, while “unreliable/fake” was much more often identified. “Style” and “mental state” tended to be ascribed to the same contexts. This is not surprising inasmuch even the very author of this classification (Bednarek 2006) admits their definitional overlap.

One of the problematic categories in T2 was “discredit”, which usually accompanied other categories, in particular, “hate speech”, “insult” and “slur”. As “discredit” often entailed these categories and it is difficult to make a distinction between “hate speech” and “discrediting” (see below), it will be removed from the unified taxonomy planned to be applied to the upcoming annotation campaign. The problem with “discredit” was also related to the object of discrediting. In (28), it is obviously the BBC; hence, most coders, yet not all of them, did not mark it as the study aimed at unfolding opinions on immigrants rather than the institutions that transmit information about them. A unanimous agreement on the evaluated entity is crucial in coding to avoid deflation of attention from the research thesis.

(28) Refugees, they’re refugees. Not migrants. God BBC, get your definitions correct

Another point to consider is how the category of “insults” was understood in our template structure-wise. It was assumed that the comments would primarily refer to second-person singular (e.g., *you + adj + noun* as in *you stupid moron*), as this seems to be the most common structure of insults, at least on social media, with offensive language. Accordingly, the use of plural would sanction the designation of “hate speech”, or, if the evaluation was not strong enough, then “discrediting” was also

a possibility. Yet in the comments, there was also a case of a third-person insult (29; *this scum*) which, in fact, made reference to a group of people (conceptualised as a compact minority group of immigrants, i.e., as “them”) and thus was prone to misclassification. The third-person singular insults, those encoding reference to a collective noun, were unanticipated in the template, yet since they are enumerated as a subtype of insults by Culpeper (2011: 135-136), in the new template for another annotation campaign, it will be revised. The problem with the difference in strength between an example of “hate speech” and “discrediting” remains hazy and difficult to pin down; hence, these two categories will be revised in the new typology.

(29) The governments of the west should arm its native citizens;
this scum

“Slurs” and “insults” (30, 31) can also be potentially associated with “hate speech”. The differentiation between “insult” and “slur” was sometimes difficult to tell; hence, some discrepancies were observed in the annotations at hand. In (30), there is a phrase “Filthy Romanians”, which, on the one hand, refers to features of men (‘filthy’), which speaks for an “insult”, yet it also invokes the nation of Romanians. Hence, it can be conceptualised as a “slur”. However, since it is in the plural, in our classification, it would be viewed as an instance of “hate speech” (which refers to the nation’s features). Conversely, in (31), wherein the target is expressed in singular, “hate speech” would not apply according to the working definition proposed for the pilot study. Instead, it should be classified as a “slur” since it alludes to ethnicity. In line with the typology by Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk et al. (2023), it is a perfect example of a “slur”. In fact, as this example demonstrates, “slurs” are often anchored in personal feature descriptions, which is typical of “insults”. The annotations in our pilot study showed that a number of coders misconceptualised the two categories. To counteract this problem, it seems reasonable to merge them into one, whereby

“slurs” would be a subcategory of “insults”. Alternatively, we can endorse the definitions offered by Croom (2011), for whom “slurs” belong in “hate speech”.

- (30) Filthy Romanians...I get that, you only see a minority and you start judging, just like you judge your own minorities by their religion and whatnot. SDU, you are sick people, honestly. If one of you ever gets remotely close to the majority of decent Romanians, i hope they treat you with the outmost respect and kindness and treat you as one of their own, because i know that is what my people would do, you worthless pieces of inhumane shit.
- (31) Filthy Romanian?? So I work and pay taxes in Sweden so that there fuckwits talk shit about my mother land? Don't blame Romania for the gipsies.

Template 3 also caused some classification problems. For example, in (24) *migrants* is a typical example of “functionalisation” in van Leeuwen’s schema, yet in the case of some annotators, it was also perceived in terms of “assimilation”, inasmuch as immigrants create a separate community, as well as “genericisation”, since reference is being made to classes or groups, i.e., a generic representation of social actors. Likewise, the phrase *isis fighters* was classified as an exemplification of “functionalisation” due to the *-er* suffix, which is typical of this category, as well as “assimilation”, “genericisation”, or “collectivisation” (seen as ‘team players’). *SD*, the Swedish Democratic party, on the other hand, was coded by some annotators as an example of “politicisation” and by others as “ideologisation”, still by others as both. Whilst each of these options can be justified, only the former is expressed straightforwardly. The ideological aspect of democracy seems a bit far-fetched in the context of the European migration crisis; nevertheless, such a view cannot be precluded.

Overall, three observations emerge from the pilot study. Firstly, the multiplicity of categories in the templates led to a proliferation of categories assigned to each comment, which,

in fact, signalled similar or overlapping meanings. The coding choices could partially be the consequence of overlapping categories originally proposed by Bednarek (e.g., “negative emotivity” could at the same time illustrate “style”, “mental state”, etc.), which she herself admits, and partially of the annotators’ hesitation and uncertainty regarding the contexts under scrutiny. The hesitation, in turn, could flow from the fragmentary nature of the comments, extracted from a longer exchange in a thread, and the often ungrammatical or semantically incomplete language of the comments, a relatively frequent feature of social media discourse.

The second observation relates to the fact that several categories in Template 2 had a very low frequency in our data. These comprise metaphor, simile, understatement, slur, and rhetorical questions. The poverty of these language devices can speak for them being rarely explored in social media data, yet due to the limited number of comments analysed in the pilot study, this observation needs further attestation.

In Template 3, even though some training preceded the pilot study, several categories displayed significant fluidity, leading to overlapping meanings and non-discrete concepts. The corollary of this observation is that, at the cost of being less precise, they should be substantially reduced by subsuming similar categories by single, overarching notions.

Finally, it must be stressed that since the language of social media resembles spoken discourse (Herring, 2010: 1), it is notorious for convoluted or incomplete argumentation, low cohesion, high spontaneity, and ellipses. The data reflect the authentic language, representative of current social media discourse, which is their undeniable advantage and a great asset of a discourse study. At the same time, however, due to the features of naturally occurring social media discourse mentioned above, the analysis of such data may be challenging and difficult to harness typologically. Arguably, the language can be a cause of strenuousness, oftentimes puzzlement for annotators who struggle to fit the imperfect stretches of authentic discourse into

a rigorous taxonomy of descriptive categories. Hence, a classification of social media discourse requires several well-designed training sessions and a pilot study for the annotators to discuss the controversial cases and establish further fine-grained internal rules of coding induced by concrete dataset-driven cases that go beyond the general schema delineated in relevant literature reporting previous studies. The aim of the pilot study described here was to signal how we solved such problems and how we can counteract future classificatory issues.

Stemming from the problems described above, the three templates used in this study were substantially modified to avoid similar issues in the planned annotation campaign for a larger dataset (in preparation). On the one hand, a substantial number of categories were reduced, but, on the other, some new categories were introduced to shift from the primarily micro-level of analysis deployed by the three templates (chiefly at the lexical level) to the meso-level, i.e., the message captured by the whole comments (which may span several sentences). Furthermore, due to the fact that the majority of the categories, especially those in Template 2 and Template 3, promote the investigation of negative aspects and thus trigger a biased portrayal of the theme in question, some additional types will be introduced to achieve exploratory balance and to counteract overlooking or disregarding a positive outlook that the attested dataset can potentially demonstrate.

7. A unified typology

Each of the original approaches presented above is valid and instrumental in assessing judgments expressed in opinionated texts premised on shrewd evaluation, yet when taken separately, they focus on distinct aspects of opinions and frame them by making reference to rather unrelated theoretical perspectives and scholarly domains. A one-sided approach weakens the interpretability of discourse, but when they all contribute to a merged pool of categories, a fuller view surfaces

inasmuch as the three approaches are complementary and expose details that otherwise can be overlooked or left unattended to.

To give an example, in (8), the noun *moron* expresses negative emotivity (T1) describing the “state of the mind” (T1) assessment (*sanctimonious*), which reveals ableism (T3), i.e., a social group of people with intellectual disability, that is linguistically realised by means of an insult (T2). Put differently, the comment illustrates a negative judgement rooted in the discrimination of a social minority group (of people with a mental deficiency) linguistically expressed by an insult. Incidentally, the author of this comment resorts to the imperative, which is neither a request nor an order but rather a statement; hence, it also illustrates an indirect speech act (the category of “indirectness” in Lewandowska-Tomaszczyk et al.’s typology). In (10), irony (T2) suggests the social situation of exclusion (T3), which is hedged by “other-sources” evidentiality (T1). The irony is a form of badinage built on an absurd suggestion of Siberia being a comfortable place to live due to its low population and favourable environment (climatic conditions), which triggers jocular overtones. In other words, the whole comment is a fake, social exclusion-oriented, jocular insult. Finally, in (24), *paranoid* exemplifies “pathologisation” that signals personality issues coupled with social maladjustment (T3), yet at the same time, bearing in mind the nature of the discussion and the type of social media, we can assume that it is an exaggeration, i.e., overstatement (T2), the clause after dash is undoubtedly ironic (T2), while *astounding* signals surprise, and so it belongs to the category of “unexpected” (T1). The whole comment is thus a hyperbolic irony motivated by a surprise-induced statement about pathological behaviour.

Relying on such a multi-layer analysis, which combines a linguistic form (T1, T2) with a (socio)pragmatic meaning (T3), it is possible to describe social aspects of the addressees/ targets, i.e., social actors (T3), not only by delineating their social role or a socio-political-economic situation in which they find

themselves, but, on top of that, to pinpoint the language devices used to communicate it (T1, T2). The language devices can be based on words/sentences applied deliberately with the intention to hurt the target (T2) or can govern milder forms, which could be employed either purposefully, with awareness and intent (for example, communicating emotivity) or non-intentionally, without being or only partially being cognizant of the underlying meaning they carry (T1). They may be deployed habitually, or their meaning may not be perceived as salient. The main advantage of the merged typology resides in describing an entity by resorting to distinct classes anchored in several scholarly approaches to evaluation, which leads to a rich, multifaceted account.

In sum, the unified typology proposed here, resulting from a merge of three templates featuring evaluation, is embedded in various degrees of language salience and intentionality (T1 for low salience and low/non-intentionality and T2 for high salience and intentionality) on the one hand, and on situating the people described in a broader social and political context (T3). Thereby, the study into (anti-)immigration (media) discourse rests on and integrates purely linguistic investigations with a socio-political outlook and endows the research with tools which can bring effective results and lend well to disciplines beyond linguistics.

8. LLMs and embeddings

The final analysis that can be utilised in discourse analysis proposed here relies on advanced computational tools and a large amount of language data. Large Language Models (LLMs) are sophisticated AI models designed to understand and handle complex tasks based on language patterns and semantics and to generate human-like texts. They are pre-trained on massive datasets and parameters and applied to Natural Language Processing tasks. The task designed for this analysis consists in comparing the meaning of each of the 79 comments (converted into numerical, vector-like space) to select keywords defined on

the basis of the large amount of language data (also converted into vectors). In other words, the analysis aims to compare whether the entire comment/sentence is similar in meaning (expressed numerically) to any of the keywords.

A Sentence Transformer model was used (Reimers and Gurevych 2019) to generate vectors for the 79 contexts in our pilot study and for the keywords. Vectors were created for the whole sentence-long comments and next correlated with the vectors for keywords generated on the basis of the transformer. Sentence Transformers are a model architecture commonly utilised in NLP tasks, specifically in semantic similarity tasks, sentence embeddings, and transfer learning. The models are usually built on transformer architectures such as BERT (Devlin et al. 2018) but are customised and optimised for sentence-level tasks instead of token-level tasks. Sentence Transformers can transform complete sentences into fixed-length vectors, capturing their semantic meaning, and are beneficial for tasks such as semantic search, text classification, and clustering. Sentence Transformers is a Python framework for state-of-the-art sentence, text and image embeddings. This framework can compute sentence or text embeddings for more than 100 languages. The utilised model⁴ assigns sentences and paragraphs to a 384-dimensional dense vector space. Thus achieved, embeddings were next transformed into a heatmap. UMAP (McInnes, Healy and Melville 2018) is then used as a dimensionality reduction approach for visualisation purposes.

The heatmap (Appendix) allows noticing whether comments are similar in meaning to single keywords. The keywords comprised both words connected with the topic of migration (*migrants, immigrants, emigrants, refugee, influx, invasion, fugitive*, etc.; group 1) and swearwords, which were expected to be correlated with the comments due to their aggressiveness (group 2). On the whole, swear words did not correlate with the comments, whereas words from group 1 showed convergence to

⁴ <https://huggingface.co/sentence-transformers/all-MiniLM-L6-v2>.

a varying degree. Contexts which contained the words from the first group have a high or moderate correlation with the following keywords: *Islam*, *Muslim*, *Islamist*. Interestingly, they display a high convergence with contexts referring to terrorism and racism, even if *Islam(ist)* and *Muslim* are not mentioned.

For example, in (32), the comment is about Romanian immigrants, terrorists and racists, but the heatmap shows convergence with the general meaning of the words *Islam*, *Islamist*, *Muslim* and *Ukrainian*, and to a smaller degree with *foreigner*, *refugee*, *immigrant*, *migrant* and *Jew*. It transpires that terrorists and racists are generally perceived in terms of believers of the Islamic religion and are associated with the category of foreigners and refugees.

(32) Filthy Romanian ... isn't this how people become terrorist because there are many racist stupid people like this guy in our world ?



Figure 3

Heatmap for comment no 32

Comment (17) is about immigrants coming (to Europe) to get their teeth fixed for free. The vector value of this comment is compatible in meaning with the word *refugees*, but also with *migrant*, *immigrant*, *emigration* and *immigration*. The vector values show that, to some extent, in the general language datasets (thus in the general public), refugees are conceptualised as people who come to Europe for economic profits, and therefore, they are not refugees but rather immigrants.

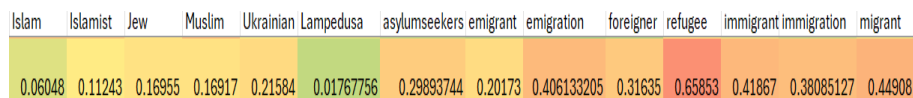


Figure 4

Heatmap for comment no 17

In (33), see Figure 5, immigrants and refugees to Europe are associated primarily with a burden to the European society and economy. Interestingly, this refers to any immigrant/refugee (including Ukrainians escaping the war), yet immigrants coming from the Islamic countries are not seen as the predominant group. The USA is blamed for the invasion of immigrants to Europe.

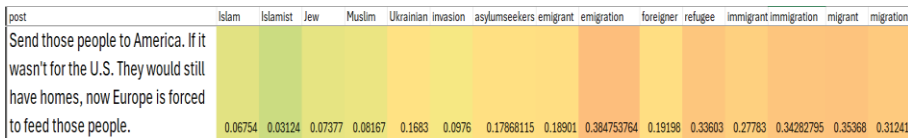


Figure 5

Heatmap for comment 33

In context (34), aggressive rhetoric towards immigrants is visible. Even though, on the whole, in the extract from the FRENK dataset at hand, negativity is mainly targeted towards Muslims and Islam, in the example below, this specific group is not explicitly attacked; rather, any group trespassing the borders (hence: *invasion*, *influx*, *fugitive* show some correlation).

(34) They should be *streilised [sterilised] on entry.

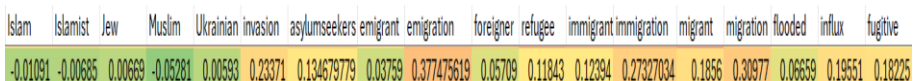


Figure 6

Heatmap for comment 34

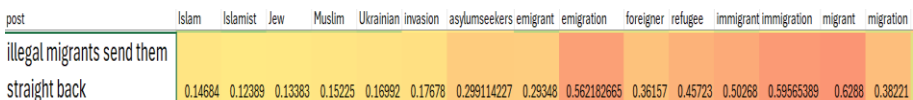


Figure 7

Heatmap for comment 35

In (11), the *Trojan Horse* is described through such keywords as *invasion*, *asylum-seekers*, *Lampedusa*, *fugitive* (and to a lesser degree: *Ukrainian*, *emigrant*, *immigration*, *Islam*, *Jew*). Put differently, the comment has a vector of meaning similar to the vectors of these keywords, which allows concluding that the referents of the keywords are, to some extent, conceptualised as a Trojan Horse for Europe.

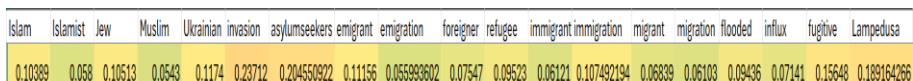


Figure 8

Heatmap for comment 11

As the aim of the study is not to explore the evaluation of immigrants by comments in the whole FRENK dataset but rather to verify the methodological proposals of how to analyse evaluation in discourse, further heatmap values will not be examined. The heatmaps generated by transformers are shown here to illustrate how contextual embeddings can be utilised in an (anti-)immigration discourse study, particularly, how such advanced machine learning analysis can complement manual, linguistic investigations.

Therefore, each comment can be considered a combination of the identified keywords. For visualisation purposes, UMAP, a dimensionality reduction algorithm, was chosen. UMAP's underlying goal is that observations lying close in a high-dimensional space remain close in a lower-dimensional space. By leveraging UMAP for dimensionality reduction, we facilitate a more intuitive visualisation of the complex relationships between comments. Thus, the idea is to map the obtained embeddings into 2-dimensional vectors and use a state-of-the-art clustering algorithm, HDBSCAN (McInnes, Healy and Astels 2017), to identify clusters to which each comment belongs. The choice of HDBSCAN is due to its ability to determine the number of clusters without specifying this number in advance. This feature allows for more adaptive and potentially insightful grouping based

on the data's inherent structure. The flexibility of HDBSCAN makes it particularly suitable for datasets where the number of clusters is not known beforehand or may not be uniformly distributed, offering an advantage over more traditional clustering methods that require setting a predefined number of clusters a priori.

In Figure 9, we can observe the embeddings in the 2-dimensional space. It is noted how 4 clusters have naturally formed, each identified by a different colour. Observing the comments, we can easily attribute the following properties to each cluster: swearwords (Cluster 0), deliberations on religious, cultural, or social aspects relating to Muslims (Cluster 1), discussions with negative sentiments towards certain groups or ideologies (Cluster 2), argumentations pertaining to the complexities of migration and its multifaceted impact on societies (Cluster 3).

By comparing the meaning of sentences expressing opinions to the general definitions of keywords derived from LLMs, it is possible for an investigation to discern whether the language used on social media platforms, particularly concerning attitudes towards immigrants, aligns with the general semantic understanding associated with the pre-determined keywords. This method of analysis holds the potential to reveal the use of user- or discourse-specific interpretations. Furthermore, contradictory meanings suggested by keywords and comments can signal exaggeration or irony. The method may serve as a valid tool in detecting the use of some figures of thought, apart from irony, also various forms of exaggeration, e.g., overstatement and understatement or a combination of several figures, such as a hyperbolic irony. Therefore, contextual embeddings can complement manual sentiment and evaluativity coding.

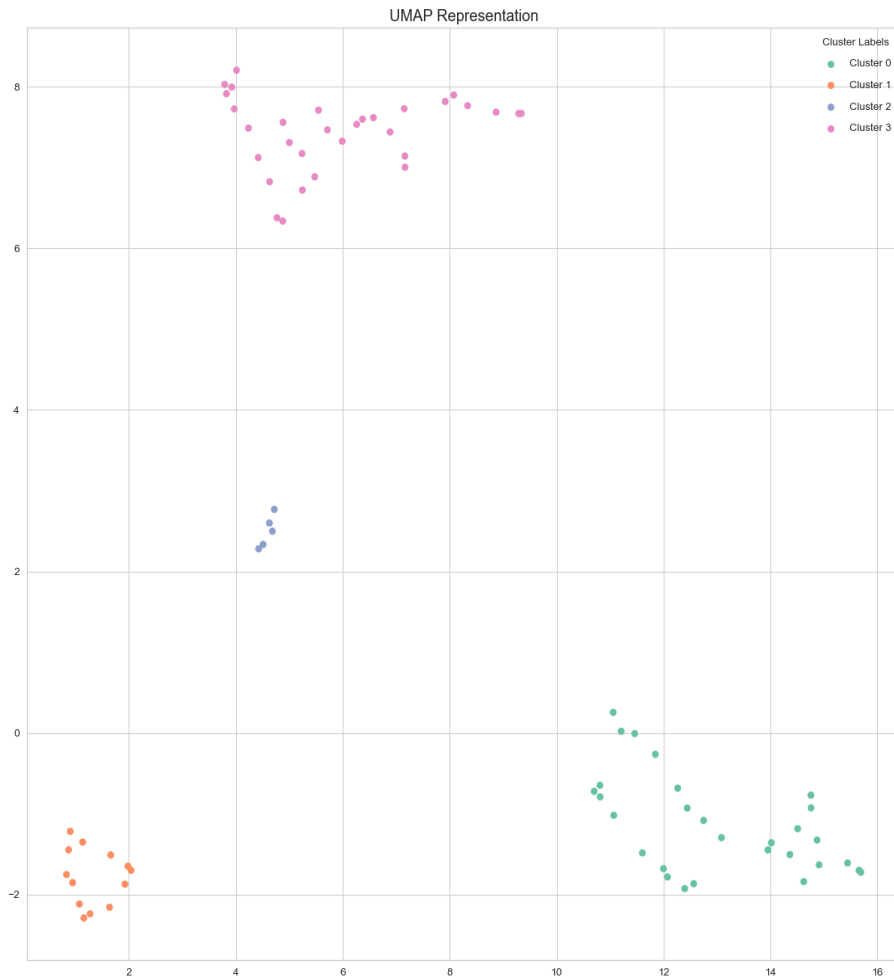


Figure 9
UMAP representation of contextual embeddings

9. Conclusions

The study has proposed and discussed a tripartite template of analysis, each part inherited from different theoretical frameworks, that can be mapped onto social media discourse while searching for evaluative language, i.e., seeking how opinions are expressed. The three templates were mapped onto a selection of

contexts as part of a pilot study to attest to the categories they contain. The analysis of the annotation allowed noticing that (1) the number of the categories must be substantially reduced to achieve a good inter-coder agreement, (2) some categories in the original proposals tend to overlap, and thus their reduction should aim at leaving those classes that encode discrete notions and/or imposing some super-ordinary categories, even at the cost of losing some degree of precision. On a more positive note, the trinary approach to social media data related to the social and political problem of immigration uncovers a number of details that could be left unnoticed if typologies driven from a single theory were employed. Furthermore, the use of computational tools, such as the *R* package *quanteda*, contextual embeddings generated by transformers based on LLM, and data visualisation with UMAP dimensionality reduction (with HDBSCAN algorithm) have been shown as complementary to manual linguistic analysis, which can uncover further nuances related to the sentiment of the comments at hand and their semantic meaning and vector similarity to other (key) words.

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Appendix

Post	Islam	Islamist	Jew	Muslim
-*-*-* The problem with that is the muslims living in these territories. They are a curse wherever they live, actually.	0,375526	0,279299	0,137734	0,329656
3000 illegal male working age migrants. I wonder where the women and children are...	0,142978	0,131796	0,151441	0,173833
A bullet in his forehead would solve his problem.	0,038081	0,122057	0,128568	0,136418
A quick search in Google reveals how Islam is an oppressive, totalitarian rule.	0,578246	0,535757	0,179339	0,458262
Agreed....it's not a refugee crisis anymore. Its a mass exodus, complicated and sabotaged by ISIS infiltration. It would be a Trojan Horse. Except they have announced it. And no one can or has done anything to stop it from happening.	0,07326	0,098202	0,037308	0,094174
Ah, welcome Putin trolls.	0,205263	0,219308	0,184052	0,239692
And it's not Syrians alone now the whole region it's taking advantage to claim asylum in Europe the whole Africa	0,249731	0,2442	0,149046	0,222998
And too many black people can't look in the mirror and see their own racism	0,117029	0,123721	0,140506	0,140407
And you are peaceful Aleema Khan? Attacking muslims on every single post. Get a life .	0,353352	0,384144	0,160671	0,417028
Aren't they seeking asylum? More like economic migrants!!	0,141672	0,154425	0,112878	0,173737
Austwitz is still standing make it operational then send them there.	0,03597	0,005901	0,042865	0,016887
Borders must be defended with deadly force if necessary.....Look at Malmo in Sweden to see the impact of unfettered Muslim immigration.....I run the risk of FB banning me once again for having the temerity to criticise this culture/religion/political entity..	0,219536	0,247304	0,214627	0,259964
Defend yourselves and start shooting.	0,158186	0,175399	0,154982	0,125605
Filthy Romanian ... isn't this how people become terrorist because there are many racist stupid people like this guy in our world ?	0,241775	0,374125	0,18202	0,340471
Filthy Romanian?? So I work and pay taxes in Sweden so that there fuckwits talk shit about my mother land? Don't blame Romania for the gipsies.	0,121568	0,100567	0,101213	0,141298

Post	Islam	Islamist	Jew	Muslim
Filthy Romanians...I get that, you only see a minority and you start judging, just like you judge your own minorities by their religion and what-not. SDU, you are sick people, honestly. If one of you ever gets remotely close to the majority of decent Romanians, i hope they treat you with the outmost respect and kindness and treat you as one of their own, because i know that is what my people would do, you worthless pieces of inhumane shit.	0,218549	0,21898	0,143267	0,253161
Fuck Swedes. You cowardly losers deserve to have your country decimated. No wonder you're the laughing stock of the world. You can pretend we're small all you want, but you're lying to yourselves, and we are coming, in ALL nations.	0,063091	0,066318	0,13543	0,085492
Funny how he wasn't a human bomb himself...coward...!!!	0,072545	0,161563	0,085889	0,171706
Has she also vowed to get raped by Muslim men?	0,36655	0,343107	0,165858	0,399372
He wasn't a refugee, he was going to another country to get on their system and get his teeth fixed for free.	0,060476	0,112431	0,169549	0,169165
How about moving to a Muslim country, as you plainly feel more at home with the "religion of peace", even though you would be treated as a 3rd class human by them, at best, and a Kafir at worst.	0,347521	0,322172	0,129099	0,39501
I can't believe such evil coming out from the mouth of this gay face.	0,128582	0,169186	0,161694	0,102726
I don't have any Muslim Sisters .Don't want one either .	0,427745	0,381957	0,237014	0,472538
I hear there's plenty of room in Siberia.	0,102236	0,004709	0,013647	0,049724
I'm going to simplify this down for the idiots out there. Britain is an island built off of colonisation and immigration. To now say that all our problems stem from that whether it is in the present form or historical, is quite simply fucking stupid.	0,094642	0,072404	0,022786	0,077291
ISLAM IS SATAN	0,692852	0,578588	0,322438	0,608366
Idiot.	0,201768	0,304432	0,2291	0,315641
In Saudi Arabia, they teach school kids to kill Christians. That's in Saudi Arabia and the proof is documented in secret videos published in YouTube	0,426928	0,33201	0,163254	0,353739

Post	Islam	Islamist	Jew	Muslim
It seems the Ottoman empire invasion routes.	0,213028	0,178252	0,080182	0,149438
Let's hope Austria won't let them any further. This is an invasion. This civilian/refugee drive was started on purpose by ISIS, as a means to smuggle their fighters into Europe. Don't you think they would've headed for the border and killed those fleeing, if the problem really lied in Syria? No, it just a way for them to get over here!	0,079142	0,094467	0,096693	0,048431
Looks like we may have 3rd World War if Europe not resist the savagery that is ISlam I am ony 78	0,430963	0,368249	0,203826	0,383903
Most "migrants" are military age men with no families. Stop this pro muslim propaganda. You are helping end your culture and freedoms.	0,25331	0,282305	0,177798	0,361933
Muslim aren't terrorist, but killings and suicide bombing associated with Islam, so who is telling the truth.	0,423931	0,491434	0,16809	0,4854
Muslim is same as satan	0,499862	0,506705	0,310677	0,59912
Muslims r not our sisters or brothers why would anybody want there evil religion	0,46976	0,388648	0,211915	0,421037
Oh don't be such a sanctimonious moron.	0,137954	0,262888	0,242107	0,240004
Ok but when the countries problems are finally sorted are you all going to go back home again???	0,055535	0,017719	0,032405	0,075689
Poor Italy...	0,128149	0,106841	0,137725	0,086449
Putin will sort these rats	0,113564	0,101688	0,118264	0,151842
Really? Couldn't give a xxxx what you think.	0,038582	0,040299	0,085556	0,047909
Refugees, they're refugees. Not migrants. God BBC, get your definitions correct	0,311858	0,291215	0,236485	0,376015
Rubber bullets would work wonders	-0,00737	0,039537	0,083845	0,018651
Salvador: You really dont know what you are talking about do you? Since fucking when has Sweden had sharia law? Are you truly that dense or are you just pulling bullshit out of your ass and trying to pass it as some sort of fact?	0,289153	0,265347	0,201039	0,294811
Send them back...!	0,065909	-0,00317	0,041416	0,02036
Post	Islam	Islamist	Jew	Muslim
Send those people to America. If it wasn't for the U.S. They would still have homes, now Europe is forced to feed those people.	0,067545	0,031237	0,073766	0,081669

Post	Islam	Islamist	Jew	Muslim
Should be put in a pit with starved pitbulls and ripped to pieces.	-0,02096	-0,02782	0,014745	0,017894
Shut the borders and direct them to Saudi	0,276089	0,233104	0,112945	0,250738
Stay in a refugee camp and wait for the government to house you. Stop breaking the law	0,095582	0,10363	0,099575	0,129058
Such an ignorant fool, wonder if you have any brain at all🤡🤡”	0,169466	0,212761	0,180479	0,240328
Sweden is a lovely country but SD are bunch of lost souls.	0,076679	-0,00784	0,041731	0,031595
The E U wanted them so they got them . Probably trained terrorists among them . Crazy politics.	0,152193	0,199492	0,092658	0,16478
The Israelis clearly have an ancestral right to live in Israel. The only claim that 'palestinians', (with no historic ancestry.They are I believe Jordanian) Is that according to Allah, the whole world belongs to islam. No none-muslim believes that ridiculous claim!	0,306147	0,286353	0,312364	0,338305
The governments of the west should arm its native citizens and allow us to deal with this scum	0,118239	0,128284	0,119449	0,11282
These 2 should be exiled as far as possible from humanity.	0,123445	0,084416	0,090018	0,056503
These are not migrants or refugees they're an invasion force ready to destroy our religion our culture our way of life and when Europe finally wakes up and realises this, it'll all be to late.	0,199114	0,228999	0,181773	0,268665
They should be streilised on entry.	-0,01091	-0,00685	0,006694	-0,05281
This is the Trojan Horse.	0,103887	0,058004	0,10513	0,054305
This scumbag is a criminal,a people smuggler	0,147822	0,185979	0,138957	0,208843
Tony Blair was right when he said wearing hijab and burka are signs of separation.	0,231452	0,20209	0,072022	0,269774
Turkey had already opened its doors to this guy, he wanted more so put his kids on a boat from Turkey, he was by all accounts only interested in jumping the queue into Canada and getting free dental treatment.	0,063169	0,063192	0,146122	0,164322
We must stand together to return this mass of people from whence they come...they need to stand up to their governments and fight for their country .	0,111748	0,102404	0,068689	0,088295
When Brits are barred from living & working anywhere else like Australia, Spain, Italy, France or the U.S. then they might see the flip side of immigration limits. No wonder so much of the rest of the world only sees Britons as racist snobs.	0,046468	0,072729	0,102596	0,117246

Post	Islam	Islamist	Jew	Muslim
Why these refugees are not going to middle eastern countries, like Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Dubai, UAE or Qatar,,,they like non-muslim countries and after that some of them will re-venge against the host countries.	0,241394	0,211393	0,09858	0,255724
You are paranoid and bigoted - congratulations on your astounding ignorance.	0,227507	0,294673	0,205419	0,309362
You sound exactly like the Swedish Democrats. I hate the Swedish Democrats. All my friends hate them.	0,07846	0,120962	0,133954	0,128203
another animal in a human body	0,128518	0,108072	0,120212	0,161241
disgusting. This is the end of Europe. This is so sad. I loved learning about the Middle Ages and now to see all that history and culture fall to a middle eastern Trojan horse is just tragic...	0,199238	0,18188	0,080733	0,153542
give em a rubber dingy an force them back in the water	0,000689	-0,03154	0,0198	0,029446
illegal migrants send them straight back	0,146838	0,123895	0,133833	0,152251
immigration?! How about islamic invasion, that's the proper name!	0,370694	0,333327	0,17489	0,335843
lol the comment coming from someone who hates US UK and Israel. I've checked on your profile. You seem to be fake account aswell. Another muslim? 🤔,,	0,346694	0,37203	0,289014	0,412759
moronic ! attention seeker	0,159025	0,304892	0,242355	0,267257
must be stopped because Saudi Arabia. Dubai and other Islamic countries . migrants must go there not EU	0,259985	0,23117	0,069608	0,273032
parasites that are fleeing a sunni-shia war of genocide, created by these same parasites	0,24612	0,264544	0,03236	0,225598
says the man who killed his own son and wife	0,231841	0,204092	0,165208	0,242278
show solidarity with a barbaric death cult which abuses woman...	0,299548	0,261547	0,195666	0,259786
such my dick fucking bastard	0,06913	0,091992	0,15061	0,105425
these aint migrants they are isis fighters#	0,280378	0,315954	0,220607	0,33556
you can not reason with the muslims... once they conquer a territory it should be theirs forever... if you take it again they will do everything to retake it	0,361604	0,278092	0,130615	0,357823

Post	Ukrainian	invasion	asylumseekers	emigrant
-*-*- The problem with that is the muslims living in these territories. They are a curse wherever they live, actually.	0,154972	0,134378	0,145952255	0,067214
3000 illegal male working age migrants. I wonder where the women and children are...	0,196227	0,15187	0,271914601	0,256135
A bullet in his forehead would solve his problem.	0,011908	-0,03709	0,076803356	0,041088
A quick search in Google reveals how Islam is an oppressive, totalitarian rule.	0,173287	0,093066	0,062759921	0,069555
Agreed....it's not a refugee crisis anymore. Its a mass exodus, complicated and sabotaged by ISIS infiltration. It would be a Trojan Horse. Except they have announced it. And no one can or has done anything to stop it from happening.	0,078768	0,201677	0,282496214	0,160327
Ah, welcome Putin trolls.	0,304961	0,074836	0,084193587	0,007903
And it's not Syrians alone now the whole region it's taking advantage to claim asylum in Europe the whole Africa	0,220092	0,208455	0,308834761	0,125675
And too many black people can't look in the mirror and see their own racism	0,093549	0,104149	0,117037289	0,088742
And you are peaceful Aleema Khan? Attacking muslims on every single post. Get a life .	0,117396	0,164441	0,065364704	0,029487
Aren't they seeking asylum? More like economic migrants!!	0,198806	0,201141	0,476294994	0,29686
Austwitz is still standing make it operational then send them there.	0,107514	0,162813	0,146818236	0,136068
Borders must be defended with deadly force if necessary.....Look at Malmo in Sweden to see the impact of unfettered Muslim immigration....I run the risk of FB banning me once again for having the temerity to criticise this culture/religion/political entity..	0,227465	0,298011	0,174946189	0,127538
Defend yourselves and start shooting.	0,064505	0,269119	0,112097226	0,078471
Filthy Romanian ... isn't this how people become terrorist because there are many racist stupid people like this guy in our world ?	0,317864	0,107272	0,113835335	0,048827
Filthy Romanian?? So I work and pay taxes in Sweden so that there fuckwits talk shit about my mother land? Don't blame Romania for the gipsies.	0,396841	0,067644	0,140834376	0,036302

Post	Ukrainian	invasion	asylumseekers	emigrant
Filthy Romanians...I get that, you only see a minority and you start judging, just like you judge your own minorities by their religion and whatnot. SDU, you are sick people, honestly. If one of you ever gets remotely close to the majority of decent Romanians, i hope they treat you with the outmost respect and kindness and treat you as one of their own, because i know that is what my people would do, you worthless pieces of inhumane shit.	0,291882	0,111561	0,206596941	0,06346
Fuck Swedes. You cowardly losers deserve to have your country decimated. No wonder you're the laughing stock of the world. You can pretend we're small all you want, but you're lying to yourselves, and we are coming, in ALL nations.	0,230275	0,097782	0,076259583	0,028767
Funny how he wasnt a human bomb himself...coward...!!!	0,077732	0,079559	0,037578605	0,070748
Has she also vowed to get raped by Muslim men?	0,107245	0,006587	0,026467022	0,003042
He wasn't a refugee, he was going to another country to get on their system and get his teeth fixed for free.	0,215838	0,09873	0,29893744	0,201733
How about moving to a Muslim country, as you plainly feel more at home with the "religion of peace", even though you would be treated as a 3rd class human by them, at best, and a Kafir at worst.	0,138198	0,110068	0,103757203	0,121995
I can't believe such evil coming out from the mouth of this gay face.	0,043521	0,048715	0,177402884	0,066175
I don't have any Muslim Sisters .Don't want one either .	0,124236	0,023047	0,140605778	0,115207
I hear there's plenty of room in Siberia.	0,227899	0,174322	0,11243248	0,102255
I'm going to simplify this down for the idiots out there. Britain is an island built off of colonisation and immigration. To now say that all our problems stem from that whether it is in the present form or historical, is quite simply fucking stupid.	0,094841	0,098431	0,112808295	0,067565
ISLAM IS SATAN	0,157955	0,085488	0,177574366	0,181621
Idiot.	0,193068	0,146553	0,188965768	0,164238
In Saudi Arabia, they teach school kids to kill Christians. That's in Saudi Arabia and the proof is documented in secret videos published in YouTube	0,043298	0,076197	0,090688705	0,003933
Post	Ukrainian	invasion	asylumseekers	emigrant

It seems the Ottoman empire invasion routes.	0,156212	0,460909	0,111197211	0,095591
Let's hope Austria won't let them any further. This is an invasion. This civilian/refugee drive was started on purpose by ISIS, as a means to smuggle their fighters into Europe. Don't you think they would've headed for the border and killed those fleeing, if the problem really lied in Syria? No, it just a way for them to get over here!	0,083714	0,283438	0,184715867	0,086869
Looks like we may have 3rd World War if Europe not resist the savagery that is Islam I am only 78	0,186141	0,220882	0,106347218	0,099098
Most "migrants" are military age men with no families. Stop this pro muslim propaganda. You are helping end your culture and freedoms.	0,208144	0,181419	0,185824007	0,186819
Muslim aren't terrorist, but killings and suicide bombing associated with Islam, so who is telling the truth.	0,115347	0,048504	0,07877598	0,048122
Muslim is same as satan	0,142608	0,008167	0,119320795	0,099585
Muslims r not our sisters or brothers why would anybody want there evil religion	0,057713	0,090848	0,14779304	0,089378
Oh don't be such a sanctimonious moron.	0,104298	0,082213	0,126044214	0,053762
Ok but when the countries problems are finally sorted are you all going to go back home again???	0,103679	0,113255	0,184139505	0,107129
Poor Italy...	0,21272	0,082865	0,131763458	0,08092
Putin will sort these rats	0,196972	0,134356	0,170222372	0,069958
Really? Couldn't give a xxxx what you think.	0,075259	0,080397	0,105700217	0,044817
Refugees, they're refugees. Not migrants. God BBC, get your definitions correct	0,334044	0,209628	0,402292728	0,273053
Rubber bullets would work wonders	-0,0278	0,033078	0,052039336	-0,02562
Salvador: You really dont know what you are talking about do you? Since fucking when has Sweden had sharia law? Are you truly that dense or are you just pulling bullshit out of your ass and trying to pass it as some sort of fact?	0,24687	0,07573	0,091325268	0,096036
Send them back...!	0,028329	0,109242	0,200784147	0,108953
Send those people to America. If it wasn't for the U.S. They would still have homes, now Europe is forced to feed those people.	0,168301	0,097604	0,17868115	0,189008

Post	Ukrainian	invasion	asylumseekers	emigrant
Should be put in a pit with starved pit-bulls and ripped to pieces.	0,005647	0,092023	0,192063257	0,049403
Shut the borders and direct then to Saudi	0,192384	0,213127	0,087635577	0,12498
Stay in a refugee camp and wait for the government to house you. Stop breaking the law	0,184503	0,125829	0,293532789	0,198759
Such an ignorant fool, wonder if you have any brain at all?!”	0,13982	0,067753	0,099053226	0,083332
Sweden is a lovely country but SD are bunch of lost souls.	0,216066	0,154496	0,080652371	0,124121
The E U wanted them so they got them . Probably trained terrorists among them . Crazy politics.	0,164002	0,248943	0,188219786	0,095187
The Israelis clearly have an ancestral right to live in Israel. The only claim that 'palestinians', (with no historic ancestry. They are I believe Jordanian) Is that according to Allah, the whole world belongs to islam. No none-muslim believes that ridiculous claim!	0,156749	0,040235	0,071282186	-0,00981
The governments of the west should arm its native citizens and allow us to deal with this scum	0,135308	0,203553	0,073317215	0,076848
These 2 should be exiled as far as possible from humanity.	0,02404	0,19357	0,180077344	0,108575
These are not migrants or refugees they're an invasion force ready to destroy our religion our culture our way of life and when Europe finally wakes up and realises this, it'll all be to late.	0,230378	0,265482	0,303236783	0,197408
They should be streilised on entry.	0,005928	0,233707	0,134679779	0,037589
This is the Trojan Horse.	0,117404	0,23712	0,204550922	0,111562
This scumbag is a criminal,a people smuggler	0,131374	0,1288	0,170983434	0,148946
Tony Blair was right when he said wearing hijab and burka are signs of separation.	0,197393	0,052991	0,111133985	0,043928
Turkey had already opened its doors to this guy, he wanted more so put his kids on a boat from Turkey, he was by all accounts only interested in jumping the queue into Canada and gettting free dental treatment.	0,207231	0,134655	0,167101264	0,100513
We must stand together to return this mass of people from whence they come...they need to stand up to their governments and fight for their country .	0,07933	0,173606	0,124954358	0,113998

Post	Ukrainian	invasion	asylumseekers	emigrant
When Brits are barred from living & working anywhere else like Australia, Spain, Italy, France or the U.S. then they might see the flip side of immigration limits. No wonder so much of the rest of the world only sees Britons as racist snobs.	0,118134	0,068177	0,193633378	0,100812
Why these refugees are not going to middle eastern countries, like Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Dubai, UAE or Qatar,,,they like non-muslim countries and after that some of them will revenge against the host countries.	0,157198	0,122969	0,228386879	0,136762
You are paranoid and bigoted - congratulations on your astounding ignorance.	0,181143	0,143954	0,18877925	0,142327
You sound exactly like the Swedish Democrats. I hate the Swedish Democrats. All my friends hate them.	0,251955	0,013872	0,153703421	0,045686
another animal in a human body	0,12638	0,109424	0,102142535	0,075526
disgusting. This is the end of Europe. This is so sad. I loved learning about the Middle Ages and now to see all that history and culture fall to a middle eastern Trojan horse is just tragic...	0,15408	0,175792	0,096271053	0,06731
give em a rubber dingy an force them back in the water	0,007156	0,115976	0,167231604	0,004978
illegal migrants send them straight back	0,169919	0,176781	0,299114227	0,293479
immigration?! How about islamic invasion, that's the proper name!	0,209876	0,492568	0,2450535	0,226484
lol the comment coming from someone who hates US UK and Israel. I've checked on your profile. You seem to be fake account aswell. Another muslim? 🤖™,,	0,178253	0,056488	0,144104242	0,114358
moronic ! attention seeker	0,236882	0,173125	0,164420739	0,073106
must be stopped because Saudi Arabia. Dubai and other Islamic countries . migrants must go there not EU	0,13504	0,110257	0,162884057	0,184414
parasites that are fleeing a sunni-shia war of genocide, created by these same parasites	0,122914	0,183594	0,138294116	-0,01188
says the man who killed his own son and wife	0,104289	0,114234	0,05711823	0,016371
show solidarity with a barbaric death cult which abuses woman...	0,084331	0,180692	0,162764534	0,014297
such my dick fucking bastard	0,058129	0,129804	0,056579527	0,034947
these aint migrants they are isis fighters#	0,21365	0,291812	0,349451572	0,26776
Post	Ukrainian	invasion	asylumseekers	emigrant

you can not reason with the muslims... once they conquer a territory it should be theirs forever... if you take it again they will do everything to retake it	0,091945	0,205472	0,07135585	0,072779
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Post	emigration	foreigner	refugee	immigrant
-*-*-. The problem with that is the muslims living in these territories. They are a curse wherever they live, actually.	0,258071542	0,09621	0,293195	0,137229
3000 illegal male working age migrants. I wonder where the women and children are...	0,463800311	0,238947	0,436942	0,483979
A bullet in his forehead would solve his problem.	0,073889233	0,039016	0,130897	0,067304
A quick search in Google reveals how Islam is an oppressive, totalitarian rule.	0,10402295	0,028004	0,178615	0,112376
Agreed....it's not a refugee crisis anymore. Its a mass exodus, complicated and sabotaged by ISIS infiltration. It would be a Trojan Horse. Except they have announced it. And no one can or has done anything to stop it from happening.	0,280309737	0,112554	0,562354	0,236862
Ah, welcome Putin trolls.	0,054974586	0,133188	0,188261	0,122615
And it's not Syrians alone now the whole region it's taking advantage to claim asylum in Europe the whole Africa	0,330277145	0,197435	0,507683	0,235575
And too many black people can't look in the mirror and see their own racism	0,137153327	0,094966	0,175677	0,197868
And you are peaceful Aleema Khan? Attacking muslims on every single post. Get a life .	0,083134294	0,061804	0,242834	0,126387
Aren't they seeking asylum? More like economic migrants!!	0,551741958	0,324809	0,612049	0,468941
Austwitz is still standing make it operational then send them there.	0,163036674	0,065297	0,183979	0,113921
Borders must be defended with deadly force if necessary.....Look at Malmo in Sweden to see the impact of unfettered Muslim immigration....I run the risk of FB banning me once again for having the temerity to criticise this culture/religion/political entity..	0,299448729	0,22174	0,373587	0,303036
Defend yourselves and start shooting.	0,028468112	0,092357	0,159243	0,128589

Post	emigration	foreigner	refugee	immigrant
Filthy Romanian ... isn't this how people become terrorist because there are many racist stupid people like this guy in our world ?	0,114846617	0,261609	0,282287	0,23333
Filthy Romanian?? So I work and pay taxes in Sweden so that there fuckwits talk shit about my mother land? Don't blame Romania for the gipsies.	0,19179669	0,262912	0,249217	0,219548
Filthy Romanians...I get that, you only see a minority and you start judging, just like you judge your own minorities by their religion and whatnot. SDU, you are sick people, honestly. If one of you ever gets remotely close to the majority of decent Romanians, i hope they treat you with the outmost respect and kindness and treat you as one of their own, because i know that is what my people would do, you worthless pieces of inhumane shit.	0,112170339	0,254852	0,246131	0,247728
Fuck Swedes. You cowardly losers deserve to have your country decimated. No wonder you're the laughing stock of the world. You can pretend we're small all you want, but you're lying to yourselves, and we are coming, in ALL nations.	0,19517222	0,201853	0,226661	0,199855
Funny how he wasnt a human bomb himself...coward...!!!	0,005279288	0,099707	0,174732	0,100907
Has she also vowed to get raped by Muslim men?	-0,017494559	0,002295	0,161008	0,082565
He wasn't a refugee, he was going to another country to get on their system and get his teeth fixed for free.	0,406133205	0,316353	0,658535	0,418673
How about moving to a Muslim country, as you plainly feel more at home with the "religion of peace", even though you would be treated as a 3rd class human by them, at best, and a Kafir at worst.	0,191306859	0,157207	0,313973	0,244786
I can't believe such evil coming out from the mouth of this gay face.	0,075846545	0,008981	0,170679	0,069961
I don't have any Muslim Sisters .Don't want one either .	0,143914253	0,044259	0,262812	0,206692
I hear there's plenty of room in Siberia.	0,20430693	0,033357	0,147451	0,051997

Post	emigration	foreigner	refugee	immigrant
I'm going to simplify this down for the idiots out there. Britain is an island built off of colonisation and immigration. To now say that all our problems stem from that whether it is in the present form or historical, is quite simply fucking stupid.	0,247542799	0,167881	0,164494	0,214817
ISLAM IS SATAN	0,067379892	0,087484	0,177285	0,121935
Idiot.	0,067966938	0,228744	0,214886	0,242602
In Saudi Arabia, they teach school kids to kill Christians. That's in Saudi Arabia and the proof is documented in secret videos published in YouTube	0,042637959	-0,05419	0,130561	0,044934
It seems the Ottoman empire invasion routes.	0,231499031	0,067863	0,183661	0,094238
Let's hope Austria won't let them any further. This is an invasion. This civilian/refugee drive was started on purpose by ISIS, as a means to smuggle their fighters into Europe. Don't you think they would've headed for the border and killed those fleeing, if the problem really lied in Syria? No, it just a way for them to get over here!	0,174925312	0,020128	0,312025	0,12642
Looks like we may have 3rd World War if Europe not resist the savagery that is Islam I am only 78	0,058471225	0,089505	0,198471	0,12843
Most "migrants" are military age men with no families. Stop this pro muslim propaganda. You are helping end your culture and freedoms.	0,425130159	0,254507	0,4869	0,473401
Muslim aren't terrorist, but killings and suicide bombing associated with Islam, so who is telling the truth.	0,040205989	0,051937	0,177514	0,135923
Muslim is same as satan	0,008005018	0,094376	0,12141	0,117703
Muslims r not our sisters or brothers why would anybody want there evil religion	0,099940762	-0,02308	0,154325	0,110486
Oh don't be such a sanctimonious moron.	0,051062379	0,110457	0,109297	0,195504
Ok but when the countries problems are finally sorted are you all going to go back home again???	0,1743415	0,164429	0,240111	0,176252
Poor Italy...	0,151157141	0,179794	0,212732	0,171943
Putin will sort these rats	0,07350228	0,112512	0,109309	0,062313
Really? Couldn't give a xxxx what you think.	0,03164427	0,076375	0,084739	0,066174
Refugees, they're refugees. Not migrants. God BBC, get your definitions correct	0,513583779	0,390042	0,702492	0,518474
Rubber bullets would work wonders	0,014114257	0,012518	0,009125	-0,01188
Post	emigration	foreigner	refugee	immigrant

Salvador: You really dont know what you are talking about do you? Since fucking when has Sweden had sharia law? Are you truly that dense or are you just pulling bullshit out of your ass and trying to pass it as some sort of fact?	0,177711725	0,214296	0,225146	0,283586
Send them back...!	0,135161251	0,100525	0,152842	0,057643
Send those people to America. If it wasn't for the U.S. They would still have homes, now Europe is forced to feed those people.	0,384753764	0,191981	0,336031	0,277828
Should be put in a pit with starved pitbulls and ripped to pieces.	0,076712795	-0,04113	0,183565	0,072566
Shut the borders and direct then to Saudi	0,262016296	0,154305	0,312026	0,182697
Stay in a refugee camp and wait for the government to house you. Stop breaking the law	0,309965849	0,218685	0,590228	0,379088
Such an ignorant fool, wonder if you have any brain at all?"	0,090372227	0,153445	0,153966	0,218433
Sweden is a lovely country but SD are bunch of lost souls.	0,274781823	0,131402	0,241126	0,185838
The E U wanted them so they got them . Probably trained terrorists among them . Crazy politics.	0,182043433	0,102914	0,250601	0,162034
The Israelis clearly have an ancestral right to live in Israel. The only claim that 'palestinians', (with no historic ancestry.They are I believe Jordanian) Is that according to Allah, the whole world belongs to islam. No none-muslim believes that ridiculous claim!	0,125584081	0,133698	0,207998	0,167886
The governments of the west should arm its native citizens and allow us to deal with this scum	0,183917552	0,238598	0,226179	0,272108
These 2 should be exiled as far as possible from humanity.	0,308285683	0,042191	0,174624	0,043278
These are not migrants or refugees they're an invasion force ready to destroy our religion our culture our way of life and when Europe finally wakes up and realises this, it'll all be to late.	0,420602798	0,313167	0,493024	0,431193
They should be streilised on entry.	0,377475619	0,057085	0,118432	0,12394
This is the Trojan Horse.	0,055993602	0,075474	0,095232	0,061214
This scumbag is a criminal,a people smuggler	0,234017938	0,34694	0,329656	0,366281
Tony Blair was right when he said wearing hijab and burka are signs of separation.	0,067260273	0,091896	0,188557	0,117993

Post	emigration	foreigner	refugee	immigrant
Turkey had already opened its doors to this guy, he wanted more so put his kids on a boat from Turkey, he was by all accounts only interested in jumping the queue into Canada and getting free dental treatment.	0,223530143	0,166049	0,31523	0,239141
We must stand together to return this mass of people from whence they come...they need to stand up to their governments and fight for their country .	0,194579527	0,133885	0,265066	0,188933
When Brits are barred from living & working anywhere else like Australia, Spain, Italy, France or the U.S. then they might see the flip side of immigration limits. No wonder so much of the rest of the world only sees Britons as racist snobs.	0,310450286	0,267718	0,261213	0,32744
Why these refugees are not going to middle eastern countries, like Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Dubai, UAE or Qatar,,they like non-muslim countries and after that some of them will revenge against the host countries.	0,324143648	0,147782	0,54039	0,23209
You are paranoid and bigoted - congratulations on your astounding ignorance.	0,094740935	0,163806	0,241618	0,300422
You sound exactly like the Swedish Democrats. I hate the Swedish Democrats. All my friends hate them.	0,071271166	0,189228	0,197019	0,160781
another animal in a human body	0,125772387	0,15115	0,138064	0,124331
disgusting. This is the end of Europe. This is so sad. I loved learning about the Middle Ages and now to see all that history and culture fall to a middle eastern Trojan horse is just tragic...	0,134192318	0,064245	0,114445	0,055881
give em a rubber dingy an force them back in the water	0,074449793	0,066195	0,098477	0,05405
illegal migrants send them straight back	0,562182665	0,361572	0,457231	0,502681
immigration?! How about islamic invasion, that's the proper name!	0,309103101	0,223007	0,393334	0,36563
lol the comment coming from someone who hates US UK and Israel. I've checked on your profile. You seem to be fake account aswell. Another muslim? 🤔™,,	0,08688803	0,160804	0,254888	0,174357
moronic ! attention seeker	0,079028025	0,229693	0,197483	0,225403
must be stopped because Saudi Arabia. Dubai and other Islamic countries . migrants must go there not EU	0,413763255	0,160391	0,363368	0,262996
Post	emigration	foreigner	refugee	immigrant

parasites that are fleeing a sunni-shia war of genocide, created by these same parasites	0,071496144	0,00843	0,272586	0,093339
says the man who killed his own son and wife	0,095438227	0,0458	0,157209	0,156248
show solidarity with a barbaric death cult which abuses woman...	0,025392154	0,042029	0,227439	0,070201
such my dick fucking bastard	0,035424098	0,112196	0,064695	0,092848
these aint migrants they are isis fighters#	0,450293899	0,329339	0,520582	0,486008
you can not reason with the muslims... once they conquer a territory it should be theirs forever... if you take it again they will do everything to retake it	0,205158889	0,065091	0,227775	0,134157

Post	immigration	migrant	migration	flooded
-*.-*- The problem with that is the muslims living in these territories. They are a curse wherever they live, actually.	0,213669389	0,294406	0,107745	0,057641
3000 illegal male working age migrants. I wonder where the women and children are...	0,536854386	0,595801	0,329516	0,158301
A bullet in his forehead would solve his problem.	0,077150814	0,041773	0,012806	0,044239
A quick search in Google reveals how Islam is an oppressive, totalitarian rule.	0,10279718	0,146418	-0,00853	0,031801
Agreed....it's not a refugee crisis anymore. Its a mass exodus, complicated and sabotaged by ISIS infiltration. It would be a Trojan Horse. Except they have announced it. And no one can or has done anything to stop it from happening.	0,311206967	0,319003	0,209867	0,127966
Ah, welcome Putin trolls.	0,137700364	0,086824	-0,01758	0,12077
And it's not Syrians alone now the whole region it's taking advantage to claim asylum in Europe the whole Africa	0,296028137	0,33684	0,152793	0,081409
And too many black people can't look in the mirror and see their own racism	0,197846919	0,217102	0,101037	0,060924
And you are peaceful Aleema Khan? Attacking muslims on every single post. Get a life .	0,10215921	0,151295	-0,01169	0,090424
Aren't they seeking asylum? More like economic migrants!!	0,528187871	0,610527	0,343194	0,157498
Austwitz is still standing make it operational then send them there.	0,148320198	0,132447	0,167737	0,157157

Post	immigration	migrant	migration	flooded
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Borders must be defended with deadly force if necessary.....Look at Malmo in Sweden to see the impact of unfettered Muslim immigration....I run the risk of FB banning me once again for having the temerity to criticise this culture/religion/political entity..	0,410008669	0,40278	0,207018	0,09357
Defend yourselves and start shooting.	0,184151933	0,073322	0,063296	0,199704
Filthy Romanian ... isn't this how people become terrorist because there are many racist stupid people like this guy in our world ?	0,151701689	0,231098	0,018302	0,056148
Filthy Romanian?? So I work and pay taxes in Sweden so that there fuckwits talk shit about my mother land? Don't blame Romania for the gipsies.	0,202931181	0,247905	0,100302	0,11847
Filthy Romanians...I get that, you only see a minority and you start judging, just like you judge your own minorities by their religion and whatnot. SDU, you are sick people, honestly. If one of you ever gets remotely close to the majority of decent Romanians, i hope they treat you with the outmost respect and kindness and treat you as one of their own, because i know that is what my people would do, you worthless pieces of inhumane shit.	0,176738724	0,252974	0,007607	0,069868
Fuck Swedes. You cowardly losers deserve to have your country decimated. No wonder you're the laughing stock of the world. You can pretend we're small all you want, but you're lying to yourselves, and we are coming, in ALL nations.	0,15431416	0,211936	0,096205	0,068713
Funny how he wasnt a human bomb himself...coward...!!!	0,040696293	0,058274	-0,06954	0,024785
Has she also vowed to get raped by Muslim men?	0,040848199	0,089439	-0,03755	0,151351
He wasn't a refugee, he was going to another country to get on their system and get his teeth fixed for free.	0,380851269	0,449082	0,246834	0,115948
How about moving to a Muslim country, as you plainly feel more at home with the "religion of peace", even though you would be treated as a 3rd class human by them, at best, and a Kafir at worst.	0,212229311	0,274639	0,178806	-0,01321
I can't believe such evil coming out from the mouth of this gay face.	0,101027913	0,037536	-0,04514	0,090164

Post	immigration	migrant	migration	flooded
I don't have any Muslim Sisters .Don't want one either .	0,122972816	0,199818	0,11381	0,043716
I hear there's plenty of room in Siberia.	0,15015471	0,117375	0,145673	0,095517
I'm going to simplify this down for the idiots out there. Britain is an island built off of colonisation and immigration. To now say that all our problems stem from that whether it is in the present form or historical, is quite simply fucking stupid.	0,279210389	0,260732	0,154375	0,065144
ISLAM IS SATAN	0,123102292	0,103914	0,036288	0,112243
Idiot.	0,153628558	0,158297	0,081707	0,213028
In Saudi Arabia, they teach school kids to kill Christians. That's in Saudi Arabia and the proof is documented in secret videos published in YouTube	0,061032429	0,052651	-0,04821	0,030139
It seems the Ottoman empire invasion routes.	0,197279543	0,165374	0,193441	0,08578
Let's hope Austria won't let them any further. This is an invasion. This civilian/refugee drive was started on purpose by ISIS, as a means to smuggle their fighters into Europe. Don't you think they would've headed for the border and killed those fleeing, if the problem really lied in Syria? No, it just a way for them to get over here!	0,197452798	0,181309	0,146444	0,094063
Looks like we may have 3rd World War if Europe not resist the savagery that is Islam I am ony 78	0,090547599	0,144754	0,014192	0,023916
Most "migrants" are military age men with no families. Stop this pro muslim propaganda. You are helping end your culture and freedoms.	0,463963419	0,581888	0,345979	0,023512
Muslim aren't terrorist, but killings and suicide bombing associated with Islam, so who is telling the truth.	0,076011412	0,144123	-0,04062	0,06502
Muslim is same as satan	0,041430715	0,098593	-0,0169	0,041879
Muslims r not our sisters or brothers why would anybody want there evil religion	0,106364682	0,119521	0,043035	-0,02242
Oh don't be such a sanctimonious moron.	0,085063413	0,097228	0,030557	0,06874
Ok but when the countries problems are finally sorted are you all going to go back home again???	0,239393622	0,234804	0,185365	0,152301
Poor Italy...	0,132644907	0,189976	0,05656	0,16945
Putin will sort these rats	0,150065467	0,09525	0,055304	0,146187
Really? Couldn't give a xxxx what you think.	0,068993084	0,089034	-0,00671	0,018914
Refugees, they're refugees. Not migrants. God BBC, get your definitions correct	0,497775435	0,644297	0,346164	0,186228

Post	immigration	migrant	migration	flooded
Rubber bullets would work wonders	0,009088324	-0,02786	0,004045	0,055441
Salvador: You really dont know what you are talking about do you? Since fucking when has Sweden had sharia law? Are you truly that dense or are you just pulling bull-shit out of your ass and trying to pass it as some sort of fact?	0,254876435	0,27708	0,095007	0,060232
Send them back...!	0,152224958	0,097595	0,173698	0,203673
Send those people to America. If it wasn't for the U.S. They would still have homes, now Europe is forced to feed those people.	0,342827946	0,353683	0,312411	0,163843
Should be put in a pit with starved pitbulls and ripped to pieces.	0,109360427	0,079669	0,10604	0,139609
Shut the borders and direct then to Saudi	0,334386259	0,234809	0,217617	0,200579
Stay in a refugee camp and wait for the government to house you. Stop breaking the law	0,42746228	0,373895	0,240699	0,174046
Such an ignorant fool, wonder if you have any brain at all?"	0,146755651	0,170417	0,048211	0,110108
Sweden is a lovely country but SD are bunch of lost souls.	0,221355125	0,203722	0,209286	0,101441
The E U wanted them so they got them . Probably trained terrorists among them . Crazy politics.	0,206508756	0,137718	0,046921	0,11293
The Israelis clearly have an ancestral right to live in Israel. The only claim that 'palestinians', (with no historic ancestry.They are I believe Jordanian) Is that according to Allah, the whole world belongs to islam. No none-muslim believes that ridiculous claim!	0,088971548	0,206862	0,109724	0,04067
The governments of the west should arm its native citizens and allow us to deal with this scum	0,292324066	0,282524	0,072992	0,020681
These 2 should be exiled as far as possible from humanity.	0,124348462	0,067382	0,2365	0,010981
These are not migrants or refugees they're an invasion force ready to destroy our religion our culture our way of life and when Europe finally wakes up and realises this, it'll all be to late.	0,445831358	0,56588	0,311941	0,107694
They should be streilised on entry.	0,273270339	0,1856	0,309768	0,066586
This is the Trojan Horse.	0,107492194	0,068392	0,06103	0,094358
This scumbag is a criminal,a people smuggler	0,37824297	0,381998	0,197403	0,097134
Tony Blair was right when he said wearing hijab and burka are signs of separation.	0,152177423	0,12487	-0,01292	0,000333

Post	immigration	migrant	migration	flooded
Turkey had already opened its doors to this guy, he wanted more so put his kids on a boat from Turkey, he was by all accounts only interested in jumping the queue into Canada and getting free dental treatment.	0,276806653	0,242887	0,124543	0,160901
We must stand together to return this mass of people from whence they come...they need to stand up to their governments and fight for their country .	0,229828835	0,21784	0,134523	0,099447
When Brits are barred from living & working anywhere else like Australia, Spain, Italy, France or the U.S. then they might see the flip side of immigration limits. No wonder so much of the rest of the world only sees Britons as racist snobs.	0,341425419	0,4012	0,194508	0,002481
Why these refugees are not going to middle eastern countries, like Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Dubai, UAE or Qatar,,,they like non-muslim countries and after that some of them will revenge against the host countries.	0,291024506	0,349912	0,191935	0,070471
You are paranoid and bigoted - congratulations on your astounding ignorance.	0,273567826	0,251764	0,047462	0,123499
You sound exactly like the Swedish Democrats. I hate the Swedish Democrats. All my friends hate them.	0,087282382	0,119632	0,034753	0,014359
another animal in a human body	0,107211784	0,138453	0,090271	0,022496
disgusting. This is the end of Europe. This is so sad. I loved learning about the Middle Ages and now to see all that history and culture fall to a middle eastern Trojan horse is just tragic...	0,087422244	0,136388	0,135357	0,090145
give em a rubber dingy an force them back in the water	0,092748076	0,08503	0,056893	0,260759
illegal migrants send them straight back	0,595653892	0,628798	0,382205	0,062587
immigration?! How about islamic invasion, that's the proper name!	0,495296896	0,366881	0,255911	0,155385
lol the comment coming from someone who hates US UK and Israel. I've checked on your profile. You seem to be fake account aswell. Another muslim? 🤔™,,	0,140077934	0,207317	0,064246	0,121925
moronic ! attention seeker	0,107920542	0,189603	0,041395	0,147508
must be stopped because Saudi Arabia. Dubai and other Islamic countries . migrants must go there not EU	0,367135227	0,405474	0,265794	0,083354

Post	immigration	migrant	migration	flooded
parasites that are fleeing a sunni-shia war of genocide, created by these same parasites	0,086612687	0,154713	0,044867	-0,0085
says the man who killed his own son and wife	0,135748476	0,101275	-0,00575	0,062649
show solidarity with a barbaric death cult which abuses woman...	0,037360981	0,146464	0,00335	0,115464
such my dick fucking bastard	0,078755423	0,08526	0,005221	0,177144
these aint migrants they are isis fighters#	0,493763417	0,597562	0,313439	0,121529
you can not reason with the muslims... once they conquer a territory it should be theirs forever... if you take it again they will do everything to retake it	0,204717249	0,200124	0,164623	0,039845

Post	influx	fugitive	Lampedusa
-*-*-* The problem with that is the muslims living in these territories. They are a curse wherever they live, actually.	0,031298	-0,04957	0,062931865
3000 illegal male working age migrants. I wonder where the women and children are...	0,230805	0,139963	0,08038377
A bullet in his forehead would solve his problem.	0,101863	0,139514	0,024795704
A quick search in Google reveals how Islam is an oppressive, totalitarian rule.	-0,01563	0,013382	0,047129363
Agreed....it's not a refugee crisis anymore. Its a mass exodus, complicated and sabotaged by ISIS infiltration. It would be a Trojan Horse. Except they have announced it. And no one can or has done anything to stop it from happening.	0,126907	0,05734	-0,013170453
Ah, welcome Putin trolls.	-0,01718	0,030958	0,104473539
And it's not Syrians alone now the whole region it's taking advantage to claim asylum in Europe the whole Africa	0,056963	0,090865	0,007146139
And too many black people can't look in the mirror and see their own racism	0,122006	0,042598	-0,006015504
And you are peaceful Aleema Khan? Attacking muslims on every single post. Get a life .	0,00925	0,146361	-0,039957792
Aren't they seeking asylum? More like economic migrants!!	0,213181	0,198708	0,022864958
Austwitz is still standing make it operational then send them there.	0,055162	0,083162	0,118901022
Borders must be defended with deadly force if necessary.....Look at Malmo in Sweden to see the impact of unfettered Muslim immigration....I run the risk of FB banning me once again for having the temerity to criticise this culture/religion/political entity..	0,142575	0,144807	0,07318148

Post	influx	fugitive	Lampedusa
Defend yourselves and start shooting.	0,1044	0,164705	-0,042772666
Filthy Romanian ... isn't this how people become terrorist because there are many racist stupid people like this guy in our world ?	0,057525	0,144276	0,09026096
Filthy Romanian?? So I work and pay taxes in Sweden so that there fuckwits talk shit about my mother land? Don't blame Romania for the gipsies.	0,051343	0,042483	0,115162149
Filthy Romanians...I get that, you only see a minority and you start judging, just like you judge your own minorities by their religion and whatnot. SDU, you are sick people, honestly. If one of you ever gets remotely close to the majority of decent Romanians, i hope they treat you with the outmost respect and kindness and treat you as one of their own, because i know that is what my people would do, you worthless pieces of inhumane shit.	0,09797	0,055199	0,07464087
Fuck Swedes. You cowardly losers deserve to have your country decimated. No wonder you're the laughing stock of the world. You can pretend we're small all you want, but you're lying to yourselves, and we are coming, in ALL nations.	0,072983	0,050252	0,079291902
Funny how he wasnt a human bomb himself...coward...!!!	-0,02943	0,214142	-0,025891211
Has she also vowed to get raped by Muslim men?	-0,02677	0,015349	0,070693538
He wasn't a refugee, he was going to another country to get on their system and get his teeth fixed for free.	0,121814	0,198633	0,01767756
How about moving to a Muslim country, as you plainly feel more at home with the "religion of peace", even though you would be treated as a 3rd class human by them, at best, and a Kafir at worst.	-0,01555	0,070607	-0,033835724
I can't believe such evil coming out from the mouth of this gay face.	0,060728	0,091117	0,068953246
I don't have any Muslim Sisters .Don't want one either .	0,039074	0,031816	0,062442347
I hear there's plenty of room in Siberia.	0,092694	-0,01503	0,05521661
I'm going to simplify this down for the idiots out there. Britain is an island built off of colonisation and immigration. To now say that all our problems stem from that whether it is in the present form or historical, is quite simply fucking stupid.	0,031772	0,005643	-0,020309843
ISLAM IS SATAN	0,030682	0,103204	0,128370181
Idiot.	0,118999	0,231268	0,08189553
In Saudi Arabia, they teach school kids to kill Christians. That's in Saudi Arabia and the proof is documented in secret videos published in YouTube	-0,05466	0,010634	0,024008092
It seems the Ottoman empire invasion routes.	0,097541	0,141395	0,076372087

Post	influx	fugitive	Lampedusa
Let's hope Austria won't let them any further. This is an invasion. This civilian/refugee drive was started on purpose by ISIS, as a means to smuggle their fighters into Europe. Don't you think they would've headed for the border and killed those fleeing, if the problem really lied in Syria? No, it just a way for them to get over here!	0,01807	0,045467	-0,00617828
Looks like we may have 3rd World War if Europe not resist the savagery that is ISlam I am ony 78	0,01605	0,082018	0,081294119
Most "migrants" are military age men with no families. Stop this pro muslim propaganda. You are helping end your culture and freedoms.	0,146928	0,105572	-0,013083046
Muslim aren't terrorist, but killings and suicide bombing associated with Islam, so who is telling the truth.	-0,02925	0,096743	-0,003571087
Muslim is same as satan	-0,02129	0,058389	0,071730167
Muslims r not our sisters or brothers why would anybody want there evil religion	0,019731	-0,02746	0,029993922
Oh don't be such a sanctimonious moron.	0,029066	0,069469	0,177898675
Ok but when the countries problems are finally sorted are you all going to go back home again???	0,065452	0,022125	0,02150004
Poor Italy...	0,063401	0,057859	0,183939248
Putin will sort these rats	0,075239	0,128675	0,102919877
Really? Couldn't give a xxxx what you think.	0,017739	0,058946	0,050699383
Refugees, they're refugees. Not migrants. God BBC, get your definitions correct	0,207838	0,183168	0,067058682
Rubber bullets would work wonders	0,035524	0,108123	-0,04062514
Salvador: You really dont know what you are talking about do you? Since fucking when has Sweden had sharia law? Are you truly that dense or are you just pulling bullshit out of your ass and trying to pass it as some sort of fact?	0,063363	0,044694	0,145995274
Send them back...!	0,03231	0,09601	0,04143595
Send those people to America. If it wasn't for the U.S. They would still have homes, now Europe is forced to feed those people.	0,125909	0,025492	0,002091639
Should be put in a pit with starved pitbulls and ripped to pieces.	0,090743	0,103594	0,006482508
Shut the borders and direct then to Saudi	0,085584	0,101029	-0,004854135
Stay in a refugee camp and wait for the government to house you. Stop breaking the law	0,069561	0,189854	0,047057822
Such an ignorant fool, wonder if you have any brain at all	0,095333	0,076561	0,087947696
Sweden is a lovely country but SD are bunch of lost souls.	0,128519	0,006288	0,093337834
The E U wanted them so they got them . Probably trained terrorists among them . Crazy politics.	0,076825	0,168421	0,068586946

Post	influx	fugitive	Lampedusa
The Israelis clearly have an ancestral right to live in Israel. The only claim that 'palestinians', (with no historic ancestry.They are I believe Jordanian) Is that according to Allah, the whole world belongs to islam. No none-muslim believes that ridiculous claim!	-0,07769	-0,01631	-0,007726349
The governments of the west should arm its native citizens and allow us to deal with this scum	-0,00016	0,055078	-0,020650906
These 2 should be exiled as far as possible from humanity.	-0,00895	0,132692	0,0506474
These are not migrants or refugees they're an invasion force ready to destroy our religion our culture our way of life and when Europe finally wakes up and realises this, it'll all be to late.	0,148551	0,109291	0,023550745
They should be streilised on entry.	0,195506	0,182245	-0,043609045
This is the Trojan Horse.	0,071413	0,156478	0,189164266
This scumbag is a criminal,a people smuggler	0,039763	0,442275	0,061741147
Tony Blair was right when he said wearing hijab and burka are signs of separation.	-0,05851	0,099024	-0,052429326
Turkey had already opened its doors to this guy, he wanted more so put his kids on a boat from Turkey, he was by all accounts only interested in jumping the queue into Canada and getting free dental treatment.	0,172635	0,145662	0,028521346
We must stand together to return this mass of people from whence they come...they need to stand up to their governments and fight for their country .	0,118592	0,077467	0,012946967
When Brits are barred from living & working anywhere else like Australia, Spain, Italy, France or the U.S. then they might see the flip side of immigration limits. No wonder so much of the rest of the world only sees Britons as racist snobs.	0,067713	1,60E-05	-0,058661692
Why these refugees are not going to middle eastern countries, like Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Dubai, UAE or Qatar,,,they like non-muslim countries and after that some of them will revenge against the host countries.	0,039249	0,059149	-0,015036006
You are paranoid and bigoted - congratulations on your astounding ignorance.	0,090929	0,099369	-0,016813312
You sound exactly like the Swedish Democrats. I hate the Swedish Democrats. All my friends hate them.	0,040229	-0,01364	0,077728726
another animal in a human body	0,049566	0,143518	0,090325862
disgusting. This is the end of Europe. This is so sad. I loved learning about the Middle Ages and now to see all that history and culture fall to a middle eastern Trojan horse is just tragic...	0,024505	-0,03379	0,060158499
give em a rubber dingy an force them back in the water	0,045254	0,098675	0,042184755
illegal migrants send them straight back	0,196109	0,240289	0,019239161

Post	influx	fugitive	Lampedusa
immigration?! How about islamic invasion, that's the proper name!	0,159173	0,183709	0,08505334
lol the comment coming from someone who hates US UK and Israel. I've checked on your profile. You seem to be fake account aswell. Another muslim? ٩٩٩,,	0,044168	0,044332	0,01004782
moronic ! attention seeker	0,164766	0,249751	0,176837459
must be stopped because Saudi Arabia. Dubai and other Islamic countries . migrants must go there not EU	0,084419	0,110858	-0,005350232
parasites that are fleeing a sunni-shia war of genocide, created by these same parasites	0,005791	0,056705	0,077551335
says the man who killed his own son and wife	0,005718	0,175627	0,076895632
show solidarity with a barbaric death cult which abuses woman...	0,020919	0,057317	0,181378365
such my dick fucking bastard	0,102137	0,123854	0,005152684
these aint migrants they are isis fighters#	0,190387	0,158648	0,074913979
you can not reason with the muslims... once they conquer a territory it should be theirs forever... if you take it again they will do everything to retake it	0,044462	0,033899	0,010501559

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