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A DISTURBING VIEW OF INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION: FINDINGS OF A STUDY INTO HATE SPEECH IN POLISH*

Most theoretical and empirical studies concerning intercultural communication seem to neglect the fact that numerous interlocutors' speech and nonverbal behaviour is intentionally impolite and motivated by their racist and/or xenophobic views, which becomes visible in contact with representatives of other cultures, nationalities or countries. Such speakers' behaviour may take the form of physical attacks, while their linguistic performance may include verbal/nonverbal signs of their prejudiced stance. Linguistic performance which is motivated by aggressive nationalism, intolerance or discrimination is termed hate speech. The available scientific literature on this topic is scant, except for some studies fuelled by the theoretical assumptions of critical discourse analysis. There are apparently no clear and precise criteria what constitutes an act of verbal and nonverbal violence. The authors of this paper aim therefore at portraying characteristic features of hate speech in Polish on the basis of articles collected throughout 2014 and 2015 from newspapers, magazines and Internet sites. The analysis took place as part of the RADAR project devoted to conducting research on hate speech directed towards migrants in Europe. The find-

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ings indicate there is a wide repertoire of words and phrases that are visible in Polish journalism and which promulgate racial, national or ethnic hate.

1. Introduction

Theoretical and empirical studies concerning intercultural communication and related competences seem to concentrate either on collecting evidence that such competences are necessary and useful, or on the methods and techniques which can foster their development in formal and/or non-formal learning settings. The basic tenet, and possibly drawback, of so-oriented studies is their assumption that interlocutors are cooperative in nature and that their attitude to representatives of other cultures is, by definition, positive and consensus seeking. From this perspective, intercultural misunderstandings are presented as originating in such things as the interlocutors' lack of appropriate (inter-)cultural awareness and sensitivity or low communicative competence in their mother and/or foreign language. However, according to the authors of this paper, most studies seem to neglect the fact that numerous interlocutors' speech and nonverbal behavior is intentionally impolite and motivated by their racist and/or xenophobic views, which becomes visible in contact with representatives of other cultures, nationalities or countries. Such speakers' behavior may take the form of physical attacks, while their linguistic performance may include verbal/nonverbal signs of their prejudiced attitude. With reference to racist discourse, for example, we agree with Warmington's (2009: 281) tenet that "too often we move swiftly on without necessarily considering how and why race, despite its unscientific status, remains real: real practice, with its own inner workings, enacted by real subjects with consequences that reach way beyond [...]" grades in tests or school achievement in general. In other words, too much time in scientific debates has been spent on refuting the concept itself and not on understanding the form it takes in everyday intercultural interactions. In a similar vein, too often it was proposed that misunderstandings and communication breakdowns between representatives of different cultures may be overcome by awareness training activities and general training in communication strategies. Instead almost on a daily basis we can read or hear, e.g., in street graffiti, Internet sites or everyday conversations, language which not only offends but primarily abuses foreigners or refugees. The recent geopolitical situation which brought, for example, thousands of Syrians to Europe (especially to Germany), has intensified the scope of this sociolinguistic phenomenon.

Linguistic performance which is motivated by aggressive nationalism, intolerance or discrimination is termed hate speech. The available scientific literature on this topic is scant (cf. Adamczak-Krysztofowicz, Szczepaniak-Kozak and Jaszczyk 2016, Szczepaniak-Kozak and Lankiewicz 2017), except for some studies fuelled by the theoretical assumptions of critical discourse analysis (CDA), e.g. Reisigl and Wodak (2001), Warmington (2009). Therefore, there

are no clear or precise criteria of what constitutes an act of verbal and non-verbal violence, especially in the Polish language. Our paper aims therefore at listing characteristic features of hate speech on the basis of articles collected throughout 2014 and 2015 from newspapers, magazines and Internet sites. This research endeavor took place as part of the RADAR project (Regulating AntiDiscrimination and AntiRacism; JUST/2013/FRC/AG/6271) financed by the European Commission under the programme "Fundamental Rights and Citizenship" (FRC), devoted, among other things, to combating different forms and manifestations of racism and xenophobia (subtheme RaX, 2.2.3.). The progress of the project and its deliverables can be accessed online at the project's webpage and its e-learning platform (lnx.radar.communicationproject.eu).

The overall aim of the RADAR project (RADAR Flyer 2015) is to conduct research into hate speech directed towards migrants in Europe, in order to provide law enforcement officials, legal professionals, social care agents and any other interested groups with the necessary tools to identify, prevent and penalize hate speech by means of online training modules. The project's beneficiaries are also migrant communities in Europe. In detail, the project partners are supposed to gather knowledge of what means are at their disposal when they fall victim to hate speech. In order to design and conduct training sessions, interpretative work was carried out. That means, in particular, that the RADAR team was involved in conducting interviews with hate crime victims, as well as in collecting examples of online and printed hate-oriented communication practices, especially in newspaper articles, blogs, and other social media, in six different partner countries. A review of the relevant national laws regulating migration and court sentences was also conducted. The end product of the project were not only the training sessions themselves but also guidelines for the target groups (both professionals in contact with migrants and migrants themselves) including, for example, a list of critical vocabulary which bears the features of hate speech. All these materials are available in the languages of the partner countries: Dutch, English, Finnish, Greek, Italian and Polish, at the project's at the project's website and in print (Dossou and Klein 2016).

Before we present the methodology and findings of the research conducted in order to identify specific racist or xenophobic communication practices in newspapers, magazines and Internet sites that discuss the topics related to ethnic and national minorities in Poland, first a few words on hate speech are necessary.

2. A working definition of hate speech

The Council of Europe defines hate speech "as covering all forms of expression which spread, incite, promote or justify racial hatred, xenophobia, anti-Semitism or other forms of hatred based on intolerance, including: intolerance expressed by aggressive nationalism and ethnocentrism, discrimination and hostility against minorities, migrants and people of immigrant origin (Recom-

mendation of Council of Europe Committee of Ministers No. R (97) 20: 107). The RADAR partners adopted a working definition of hate speech as: "a kind of symbolic (verbal and nonverbal violence) discriminatory communication the aim of which is to humiliate a representative of other than ours ethnic or national minority. It expresses disdain, hatred and prejudice" (RADAR Flyer 2015). Despite the undeniable merits of the above definitions, it is our conviction that they do not catch the linguistic essence of the phenomenon. They apparently do not inform, for example, court personnel how to differentiate an act of verbal abuse or impoliteness from an instance of hate speech.

Although hate speech shares many features with discriminatory language, it also bears certain features which differentiate it from other forms of such language. For example, according to Wieruszewski (2015), hate speech is different from verbal aggression in that the latter can be fuelled by other personal views, e.g., political views. Both, however, are linguistic forms aiming at hurting a person. Additionally, hate speech is not equal to offensive speech, because not every example of offensive speech evokes humiliation, whereas this is a key component of the former. Furthermore, hate speech overlaps with impoliteness, i.e., a person's intended violation of socially/culturally accepted norms, called by Kasper (1990: 208) motivated rudeness. Kasper (1990: 208–210) differentiates between three types of motivated rudeness: 1) taking place due to a lack of control of one's emotions; 2) strategic, i.e., purposeful, rudeness observed, for example, in courtroom behavior, when a direct verbal attack on the interlocutor takes place; and 3) ironic rudeness, which is also purposeful but confrontational, without being verbally direct. All these cases of intentional face-attack are considered cases of impoliteness invoking social conflict and disharmony (Culpeper *et al.* 2003: 1546).

According to Culpeper (2005: 38), "[i]mpoliteness comes about when: (1) the speaker communicates a face-attack intentionally, or (2) the hearer perceives and/or constructs behavior as intentionally face-attacking, or a combination of (1) and (2)". Impoliteness may come in two forms: mock (banter) and genuine (inherent). While mock impoliteness is not intended to cause offence but rather to amuse or evoke laughter, inherent impoliteness stands for speech acts which are not mitigated linguistically or contextually on purpose, and because of that they come across as rude (Culpeper 1996: 352). Bousfield (2008: 72) also defines impoliteness as face threatening acts (FTA) delivered intentionally, which are:

1) Unmitigated, in contexts where mitigation is required, and/or
2) With deliberate aggression. That is with the face threat exacerbated, 'boosted' or minimized in some way to heighten the face damage inflicted (after O'Keeffe *et al.* 2011: 71).

Applying the typification of rudeness mentioned above, we propose that hate speech is motivated, inherent and strategic linguistic impoliteness that deliberately, in an unmitigated manner, conveys aggression, disdain or hatred to-

wards representatives of cultures, religions or nationalities different from that of the speaker. Hate speech oftentimes has a strategic aim, e.g., to pool people of the same extremist views together, to establish a hierarchy of difference among minorities or a relation between the majority and minority groups based on features that these people inherited and thus cannot change. This is why hate speech is always discriminatory in character (Szczepaniak-Kozak and Lankiewicz 2017: 138). Hate speech violates and places the social order in danger. It is considered that, for example, extreme nationalist organizations form around individuals who are well-known for propagating hate speech. In other words, preventing and penalizing hate speech is very important, because communicating hate speech is what unites people of nationalistic, racist or xenophobic views. What hate speech shares with discriminatory language and impoliteness is that it may be performed not only in direct face-to-face communication through public and private conversations, but can also take place online, in political discussions, in the mass media, as well as in other institutional contexts. Furthermore, all these communication practices are multimodal and should be investigated in terms of the exploited words, their paraverbal elements (e.g. the speaker's voice), non-verbal message (e.g. the speaker's gestures and mimics), and the images/graphics that accompany them. In the subsequent analysis of newspaper texts, we concentrate on the words and expressions used to convey hate speech. However, in order to illustrate the complex character of such communication practices, below we present a multimodal example (cf. Figure 1).

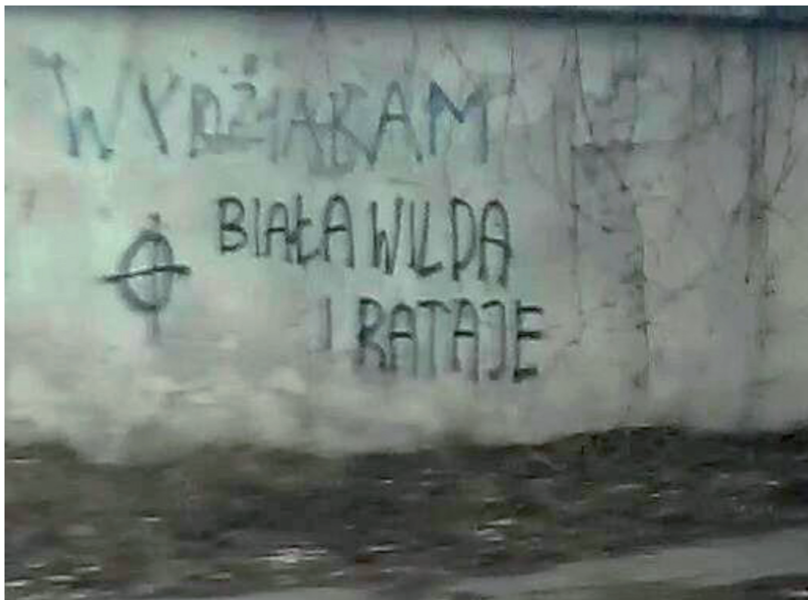

Figure 1. A multimodial example of hate speech
(Photo taken by Magdalena Jaszczyk, printed with her permission)

This photo was taken by our research assistant in the center of Poznań and it proclaims that two districts in the city (i.e. Wilda and Rataje) should not contain non-white residents. Literally the slogan says: "Biała Wilda i Rataje" (Eng.: 'White Wilda and Rataje'). The inscription is accompanied by a drawing of the Celtic cross. "A square cross interlocking with or surrounded by a circle, is one of the most important and commonly used white supremacist symbols" dating back as early as the Nazi movements in Europe of the 1930s (Anti-Defamation League). This symbol is also used by Ku Klux Klan members. It can be found in street graffiti practically across the whole of Europe.

Finally, it needs to be mentioned that hate speech may assume a form different from explicit hatred, prejudice and disdain, but it may also reveal itself as an apparently benevolent recognition of the differences that presupposes the stereotyping of an individual's cultural and social identity. In this case, "what may seem like a respectful recognition of differences masks underlying stereotypes and prejudices that ultimately become labels and stigmas for the individuals" (RADAR Flyer 2015). An example of such a communication practice found in our data are cases of false pretences, cf. the example below (1). In our data, false pretences are cases when a Pole continues using impolite or offensive language to name foreigners and justifies this usage saying that this is the practice followed by the foreigners themselves. However, as in the majority of cases the foreigners are non-native speakers of Polish, they cannot be considered a source of linguistic norms because most probably they do not realize that a particular label is offensive to them. In other words, they imitate the language that they hear and as such cannot be considered a pattern to follow. To illustrate, in Article 5 (A 5), which is an account of an interview conducted with a football activist about his treatment of African footballers whom he helped to settle in Poland, we can find the below passage in which he calls his protégés *Czarni* (Eng. 'Blacks') and later turns to *Murzyni* (here a noun in the plural form). *Murzyn* (the singular form of the same noun) is a term often used in Polish to call foreigners of a black skin. For decades, if not centuries, it has been considered neutral use. However, this has started to change as minority communities in Poland oppose this language use and put forward other terms they prefer to be called. There is more on this topic in the final section of this paper.

(1) A ja mówię o zawodnikach „czarni", bo oni sami tak na siebie mówią. Blacks. Czarni. Rozumiecie? Rozmawiamy dłuższą chwilę. Po półgodzinie menedżer zaczyna mówić o nich „Murzyni" (Eng.: I call the players "czarni" because that's what they call themselves. Blacks. Czarni. Do you understand? We talk a while longer. After half an hour the manager starts calling them "Murzyni") (A 5).

3. Background to the study of hate speech in Poland

The latest Polish National Census conducted in 2011 reveals that only 2.26% (871,000) of the total population of Poland declare a combined nationality status, i.e. Polish and other ethnic or national identity. Those who declare only other than Polish ethnic or national identity amount to 597,000 (1.55%). Altogether 1,468,000 Poles have either mixed or solely non-Polish identity which is 3.81% in total. As to the national and ethnic composition, the three largest minorities living in Poland are Silesians (847,000), Kashubians, in some sources called Cassubians (233,000), and Germans (148,000) (cf. Table 1 below). The remaining groups number around 50,000 or less (Gudaszewski 2013: 3).

Table 1. National and ethnic composition in Poland (Gudaszewski 2013: 3)

Nationality	**Ethnic composition (in thousands)**	**Nationality**	**Ethnic composition (in thousands)**
Silesians	847	Italians	9
Kashubinas	233	French	8
Germans	148	Lithuanians	8
Ukrainians	51	Jewish	8
Belarusians	47	Vietnamese	4
Roma	17	Spanish	4
Russians	13	Dutch	4
Americans	12	Ormians	4
Lemkos	11	Greeks	4
English	10		

The official statistics presented above indicate that:

1) The largest minorities in Poland are those that have been living on the territory of Poland for centuries, i.e., Silesians, Kashubians and Germans. They are well-assimilated and cannot be called migrants. These three groups comprise 1228,0000 out of the entire minority population in Poland totaling 1468,000;
2) The character of the other groups is more varied, with both assimilated residents and more recent migrants included in them. Altogether they total 240,000 people, which is 0.62% of the entire population of Poland (38512,000).

Naturally, this census data does not include those foreigners who either have not been granted Polish citizenship or who are staying in Poland on a resi-

dence permit, or without one. Regardless, the number of foreigners in Poland is relatively low in contrast to other European countries, especially those which are considered the Western European ones.

Against this backdrop of a relatively low population of minorities and migrants in Poland, a recent survey conducted among a representative sample of 653 Polish teenagers (16–18 years old) and 1,007 adult Poles revealed that both adult and non-adult Poles want a ban on hate speech directed at Ukrainians, and Africans/black-skinned people but the same group accepts hate speech directed at homosexuals, the Roma community, Muslims and Jews (Bilewicz *et al.*, 2014: 4, 7, 101). That means that despite the small number of foreigners in Poland, there is a considerable variation in the acceptance attitudes of Poles, and that Poles tend to accept racist and xenophobic attitudes towards some minorities in Poland. The findings of Bielewicz *et al.*'s (2014) study refer predominantly to the frequency and kind of exposure to hate speech and the social permissiveness concerning this phenomenon. However, this publication does not reveal what features are characteristic of hate speech in Polish. In terms of linguistically oriented analysis, the definite merit of their study is that it categorizes hate speech messages into seven thematic motifs (Bilewicz *et al.* 2014: 16–19), which could be compared to Reisigl and Wodak's (2001) discourse topics:

1. repulsion, contempt towards foreigners and minorities;
2. presenting foreigners and minorities as uncivilized, crude, unintelligent;
3. ascribing murder, aggression and genocide to foreigners and minorities;
4. ascribing theft, fraud, immorality to foreigners and minorities;
5. presenting foreigners and minorities as guilty of historical deeds that were dangerous, unpleasant or deceitful to Poles;
6. presenting foreigners and minorities as those who are the only ones responsible for their current or historical position;
7. presenting foreigners and minorities as prejudiced towards Poles, which justifies the hostile counter-attitude of Poles towards them.

In 2014 and 2015 we had in the Polish mass media several radio and TV debates concerning hate speech (Paszkowska 2014; Bobako 2015; Wielgosz 2015; Kuligowski 2015; Rosiak 2015; Lis 2015; Pospieszalski 2015). Paszkowska (2015), Bobako (2015), Lis (2015), Pospieszalski (2015) and Wielgosz (2015) concentrate mostly on social, economic, ideological and moral dilemmas concerning immigration in Poland. Kuligowski (2015) and Rosiak (2015) discuss the language used to refer to migrants and to talk about immigration as a social phenomenon. However, their ruminations are not supported by research findings. This shows there is a dire need of studies that would indicate what form hate speech takes in Polish and which forms are recommendable when talking to migrants and about them.

Taking into consideration all the facts and assumptions mentioned above, and following Culpeper *et al.*'s (2003: 1547–1550) stance that aggressive lan-

guage use should be regarded and studied in terms of practice, and not solely in terms of scholarly theory, in what follows we present the methodology and findings of a study on hate speech found in Polish articles collected from newspapers, magazines and Internet sites.

4. Methodology of the study on hate speech in Polish

Various Polish newspapers, magazines and Internet sites from 2014–2015 were carefully searched. The search was basically heuristic in nature and not random, because that served better our major aim, i.e., to work out the characteristic features of hate speech. In this sense, it was based on convenience sampling.

So-oriented search turned out examples of good and bad practice articles (henceforth identified with an A and a number referring to the item from the list of the primary sources). By good practice articles, we mean those which do not use discriminatory language to refer to non-Poles. They are used to compile a list of recommendations on good practice. Bad practice articles either quote such language or use it on purpose, e.g., to motivate hate. This genre was chosen because articles very aptly tap into the current political and social undercurrents and constitute a vital element in the formation of public opinion. For the same reason, some of the selected articles (A1, A2) were written by extremely rightist and nationalist journalists. Additionally, in an opinion poll conducted by Public Opinion Research Center in 2007 on the social permissiveness of hate speech and verbal abuse (Feliksiak 2007: 5), one fifth of the respondents felt offended by journalists, TV anchors and publicists.

In what follows, we discuss hate speech with reference to a sample of 22 articles and transcripted interviews in which relevant words, phrases or practices were found and classified. Basically, our analysis is intratextual and, for the sake of clarity, "interdiscursive and intertextual relationships" are not taken into account (Reisigl and Wodak 2001: 37). Although we are fully aware of the advantages of research oriented in this way, given the early stage of our research, we prefer to begin from a micro-analysis. For that purpose, we use our own classification of the tendencies found, although some of the referential terminology comes from Reisigl and Wodak (2001), especially the types of labels, and *Watch your language. Guidelines for non-discriminatory language* (2005). The articles are listed towards the end of this paper, together with their source, in Section Primary sources. Where possible, we quote their official English versions.

In general, based on what has already been presented, in the subsequent part of our paper we attempt to answer the following research questions:

RQ 1: What are the main discursive practices found in Polish journalism about foreigners, migrants and immigration in general?

RQ 2: Which words or expressions are representative examples of the above?

Our overarching analysis category is discursive practice, which is understood by us as text features that are repeatedly used in order to achieve a particular goal. In that sense they are very similar to the discursive practices defined by Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 40) as text phenomena that "play a decisive role in the genesis and production of certain social conditions", e.g., 'races', nations or ethnicities, and which can also be instrumental in perpetuating, reproducing, transforming or dismantling the status quo. However, our discursive practices do not overlap with those put forward by Reisigl and Wodak. They rather constituted a source of inspiration.

5. Analysis of collected Polish articles: discursive practices and their examples

The major discursive practices found in the data collected are:

1. Mentioning of irrelevant information;
2. False pretences;
3. Negative labels (Reisigl and Wodak 2001), including tropes;
4. Expletives.

These are discussed in this order below. However, before we commence our analysis, we need to clarify that we are fully aware that language use cannot be presented as a simple aggregate of essentialized features because social practices are complex, fuzzy and permanently changing phenomena. It is, however, our assumption that singling out cases of bad social, or discursive practice has the potential to raise the awareness of public opinion and, bring in communication practices that are less difference-oriented.

5.1. Mentioning of irrelevant information

This discursive practice appears when a particular article draws its readers' attention to the fact that the presented topic, story or character is directly or indirectly related to immigration topics, i.e., that the issues discussed involve non-Poles. The name of this practice includes the attribute 'irrelevant' because the information provided is redundant, at least in our interpretation. This redundant textual item frames the issues discussed in a straightforward manner, simultaneously shifting the tone of such writing from information-giving towards affecting, if not manipulating, the readers' attitudes to, interpretation and evaluation of the discussed state of affairs. Very often, this practice involves the author's attempt to sensationalize the issue, which is visible in Example 2, found in A 16. This article is about a violent attack on a Polish monk, allegedly, by a foreigner. The redundant information is not only the mention that the man is black but also the author's suggestion that readers should bring him to justice. We were

also appalled to read that the journalist provides the name of the street where the alleged man lives. We exemplify this category further and present its types, together with functions they serve, in the below table.

(2) Czarnoskóry mężczyzna zamieszkuje ulicę […] (Eng. 'The black-skinned man lives in Street […]'; the street name intentionally deleted).

Table 2. Types, functions and examples of irrelevant mentioning of information

Type and function served	Examples from the collected data
Mentioning of irrelevant information: evoking distaste	In A 4 the author generalizes about Asians, *a delicacy for these colored newcomers are...dogs*, to evoke distaste and to convince the reader of the article's cause, i.e. racial separatism.
Mentioning of irrelevant information: exaggeration/ sensationalization	A 4: *tysiące* (Eng. thousands of ...), *coraz więcej immigrantów, nawet kilka tysięcy osób* (Eng. more and more immigrants, the number is as high as…); A 5: *Ilu jest w Polsce piłkarzy z Afryki? Grubo ponad setka.* (Eng. How many football players from Africa are there in Poland? More than a hundred).

5.2. False pretences

False pretences are discursive practices in which a foreigner or object/social phenomenon related to immigration is negatively portrayed by means of a difference between the directly stated intention of a person's mentioning of a foreigner or an object/social phenomenon and the intended or achieved outcome of doing it. There are various types and functions of false pretences as expressed in journalistic texts. Some selected are listed and exemplified in Table 3, and we refer to them also in Section 2, especially Example 1.

Sometimes jokes may constitute examples of false pretences, i.e., when a joke is told to make the hearer laugh but, in fact, it promulgates the stereotypic portrayal of the main character of the joke. In A 13, which is an account of an interview with an Egyptian orchestra conductor living in Poland, we can read that once he heard a joke while waiting in a doctor's office with a long line of waiting patients: *Mógłby pan powiedzieć, że ma karabin, to wtedy kolejka by uciekła* (Eng.: You could say that you have a rifle then the queue would run away). The joke was most probably told in order to maintain phatic communion or enliven the boredom of waiting, but indirectly it indicated that the Egyptian man potentially inspires fear.

Table 3. Types, functions and examples of false pretences

Type and function served	Example from the collected data
False pretences: legitimization and supporting racial separatism by an appeal to common sense, celebration of diversity	There are authors that postulate introducing racial separatism in Poland in order to maintain the social order and to follow time-honored divisions, e.g. A 1: *that the human species is comprised of a patchwork of differing races and cultures is a matter of common sense, and yet there are, incredibly, those who would destroy this richness and diversity in humanity in order to replace it with a rootless mass, lacking identity and history*. A 21: *Białystok nie jest miastem tego pana, tylko jest moim miastem, a ten pan wróci tam, skąd przyjechał, i zrobimy wszystko, żeby ludzie, którzy nie urodzili się w Białymstoku, tacy jak pan Truskolaski na przykład, wrócili tam, skąd przyjechali. A ten pan nie jest nawet z kontynentu europejskiego, więc Białystok nie jest jego miastem, ponieważ ten pan nie jest biały. Białystok jest dla białych, podkreślam.* (Eng: Białystok is not the city of that man, it is my city and that man will return to where he came from and we will do everything so that people like Mr. Truskolaski return where they came from. And that man [the other, foreigner] is not even from the European continent so Białystok is not the city of this man because he is not white. Białystok is for the white, I want to emphasize that).
False pretences: criminalization of foreigners	In A 16 the problem is not only the use of 'negative terms' such as *Negro* (Pol. *Czarnuch/Murzyn*) but also establishing a link between violent actions and 'national' 'ethnic', 'racial' or 'religious' identities (in this case the use of the category *Negro*). Additionally, a term referring to skin color is juxtaposed with a professional title, i.e., items from different categories are juxtaposed. *Murzyn zaatakował zakonnika w Częstochowie* (Eng. Negro attacked a monk in Częstochowa).
False pretences: legitimization of racist views by means of an appeal to God's will	A 1: *The position of the blacks is divinely ordained, and they should continue to live where the hand of the Highest placed them*.

5.3. Negative labels, including tropes

This category in our data is the largest and most varied. In its analysis we rely mostly on the terms borrowed from Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 46–54) and supplement them with terms that refer to textual items typical of our corpus. Labels are reference terms which rely on the linguistic construction of social actors, in our case foreigners in Poland, by various linguistic means, e.g., deictics, anthroponyms, collectives, tropes, etc. Although, by definition, they can be positive, neutral or negative in connotation, in our data the negative ones definitely dominate. Positive or neutral labels are those labels which are used in a relevant context and which do not offend foreigners, e.g., ethnonyms (Pakistani, Sudanese). This is why this discursive practice is named negative labels and not just labels. Table 4 presents types and examples of negative labels we were able to find in our data.

Table 4. Types and examples of negative labels

Type and explanation	Example from the collected data
Somatonyms: the color of the skin mentioned	A 3*: kolorowi przybysze* (Eng.: colored comers); A 5: *na stu czarnych* (Eng.: every hundred blacks) *czarnoskóry* (Eng.: of a black skin); A 16: *Czarnoskóry mężczyzna zamieszkuje ulicę […].* (Eng.: The black-skinned man lives in street […].) *Niestety czarnoskóry mężczyzna zbiegł.* (Eng.: Unfortunately, the black-skinned man fled.) A 19: *Murzyn* (Eng.: literary Moore; used to refer to black-skinned people in Polish) A 20: *śniade książęta* (Eng.: tawny princeses)
Somatonyms: foreigners are dirty people	A 20: *Niech brudasy wiedzą, z kim mają do czynienia.* (Eng.: Let the dirty ones know who they are going to deal with.)
Primitivisms: implying foreigners are not humans but animals	A 5: The interviewee says he feeds the football players he helped to settle in Poland: *Znajomy cukiernik daje mi ciastka, których nie sprzeda następnego dnia. I ja nimi karmię moich Murzynków.* (Eng.: A baker I know gives me cookies which he didn't sell the day before. I feed these cakes to my Negroes [DIM].) A 6: In an account of a fight in a night club, during which the bodyguards refused to help a beaten foreigner: *Nie chronimy małp.* (Eng.: We do not protect monkeys.)

Table 4 cont.

Type and explanation	Example from the collected data
	A 13: In an account of an Egyptian conductor who works in Poland: *Kiedy rozmawiałem z jednym księdzem, powiedział mi (ksiądz mówi): że nie słyszał o Katolikach w Egipcie. "Słyszałem tylko, że są wielbłądy."* (Eng.: When I talked to a priest, he said that he had not heard about Catholics in Egypt. "I have heard only about camels".) A 20: *Przecież kluby taneczne, bary, puby są ich głównymi miejscami żerów* (Eng.: Indeed dancing clubs, pubs and bars are the main sites of their pray); *Muzułmanie zawsze, ale to zawsze patrzą się na kobiety jak wygłodniałe, prymitywne zwierzęta.* (Eng.: Muslims all the time look at women like hungry, primitive beasts.)
Religionyms: identification by means of the assumed religious denomination the foreigner belongs to	A 20: *Muzułmanie, wyznawcy religii Mahometa* (Eng.: Muslims, followers of Mahomet's religion); *Na miejscu zastaliśmy kilku wyznawców religii Mahometa, którzy zaczynają standardowo wprowadzać swoje metody podrywu, czyli zamawianie drinków oraz obserwację naszych rodaczek.* (Eng.: At the place we found a few followers of Mahomet's religion who introduce the standard methods of picking up girls, e.g., buying our countrywomen cocktails and closely observing them.) *muzułmański charakter: usilne wyciąganie numeru telefonu, natarczywość, wrogość do wszystkich dookoła* (Eng.: Muslim character: persistent until he gets a telephone number, insistent and hostile towards anybody around).
False origonyms: labels implying commonality on false grounds, e.g., that they belong to a group spanning over nations, countries, etc.	In A 3 *Asian* (adjective) and *Asians* (a plural noun) appear to refer to any person coming from Asia. Such usage implies commonality and assumes people are interchangeable and indistinguishable, which is an overgeneralization. Additionally, such terms deprive persons of individual features. In A 19 *Negro* is used to refer to a man born in Poland who is the son of a Polish woman and a Hindu man.
Relationyms: referring to foreigners by means of abusive actions or habits	A 20: *Po około godzinie znalazło się już około 15 muzułmanów. Piętnastu imigrantów chcących poużywać sobie Polek, z czego pewnie połowa szuka obywatelstwa i jest radykalna.* (Eng.: After 15 minutes or so around 15 Muslims appear. 15 immigrants that want to abuse Polish women, most certainly at least half of whom [immigrants] are seeking citizenship and are radical.)

Type and explanation	Example from the collected data
Politonyms: referring to foreigners by ascribing political status	A 2: *Uchodźcy* (Eng.: refugees);
Xenonyms: referring to foreigners by means of explicit dissimilation	A 2: *obcy* (Eng.: alien, foreign – less often);
Anthroponyms: denoting bodily activities	A 2: *przybysze* (Eng.: [new]comers);
Politonyms: social problematisation by ascribing negative ideologies to foreigners	A 20: *[...] z czego pewnie połowa [imigrantów] szuka obywatelstwa i jest radykalna* (Eng.: most certainly at least half of whom [immigrants] are seeking citizenship and are radical)
Militarionyms: presenting foreigners as people of a hostile attitude to Poles	A 1: This article suggests foreigners and Poles involved in supporting them want to impose equal rights for all people due to "slick television propaganda, or at the point of a gun". A 21: *To jest walka o przyszłość naszego kraju i naszych kobiet! Bo jedna z tych dziewcząt, nieświadomie zauroczona egzotycznym księciem, może wraz ze swoim potomstwem bardzo źle skończyć w świecie islamu, który nadchodzi do nas wielkimi krokami.* (Eng.: This is a fight for the future of our country! One of these girls, unconsciously infatuated by one of these exotic princes, can end up very badly with her offspring in the world of Islam that approaches us with giant steps.)
Econonyms: linking foreigners with social problems by implying that immigration is always illegal	A 4: *Liczba tych, którzy przybywają na teretorium RP jest oficjalnie nieznana.* (Eng.: The number of people who come to Poland is officially unknown) *Pracownikom czasowym z zagranicy naturalnie można zapłacić o wiele mniej niż Polakom.* (Eng.: Temporary workers from abroad can naturally be paid much less than Poles). A 5*: Działacz PO ściąga do Polski stu piłkarzy z Afryki. Bez licencji i kontroli.* (Eng.: A Civic Platform activist brings to Poland a hundred football players from Africa. Without a license or control).
Econonyms: linking foreigners with social problems by implying they pose a threat to the job market	A 2: The author makes a link between a threat to the Polish economy (*waste of money*) and foreigners. The author's aim is to show that foreigners are dangerous to the wealth, prosperity and well-being of Polish people, i.e., that they will take advantage of Polish money: "Money of Polish

Table 4 cont.

Type and explanation	Example from the collected data
Econonyms: linking foreigners with social problems by implying they pose a threat to the job market	taxpayers should be devoted to the realization of Poles' needs and not those of strangers" or "Immigrants – cost-intensive, unpunished, useless. Have a good trip back home!" A 3: The author suggests that Asians are detrimental to Polish economy because they are responsible for the trade in illegal products in a town near the capital of Poland. In A 4 the author suggests there are many foreigners who deprive Poles of job places, e.g.: *More and more immigrants constitute a reserve army for the capital.* (Pol.: armia rezerwowa kapitału) In A 13 there is a presupposition that Egyptians should work in Egypt, i.e., they are out of place in Polish philharmonics: *Dlaczego dyrygent z Egiptu a nie z Polski? Przecież tu jest Polska.* (Eng.: Why a conductor from Egypt and not from Poland? It is Poland here).
Patronizing terms: implying foreigners have a lower social status than Poles	A 5: *Pawciu, oni w Nigerii jedzą surowy ryż! Dla nich to jest ziemia obiecana! (w odniesieniu do jedzenia przestarzałych ciastek).* (Eng.: My dear Paweł, in Nigeria they eat raw rice. This is the promised land for them – in a reference to stale pastires). *[…] czarnoskórzy są traktowani w Polsce za dobrze. Moje stowarzyszenia i ja sam jeszcze podejmiemy próby edukacji czarnoskórych sportowców, by wiedzieli, co im wolno, czego nie. Dla ich własnego dobra!* (Eng.: The black-skinned in Poland are treated too well. My association and I myself undertake attempts to educate the black sportsmen so that they learnt what they are allowed to do and what not. For their own good!) *I ja nimi karmię moich Murzynków* (Eng.: I feed these cakes to my little Niggers [DIM]). The diminutive form *Murzynków* is used as if talking to little children. In A 19 it is reported that a host of a radio program imitates foreign pronunciation of the word *Murzyn*, pronounced Murzin, which is considered baby language by Poles.
Reifications: referring to foreigners by means of a characteristic object or characteristic activities	In A 21 a Pole of mixed parents is referred to as one who eats and prepares chapati bread (written and pronounced in Polish: ciapaty chleb). Foreigners, for example from India, living in Poland are negatively referred to by means of the word *ciapaty* or *tsiapaty*.

Type and explanation	Example from the collected data
Reifications: referring to foreigners as if they were objects;	In A 5 we can find a few expressions that suggest that people belong to Mister Mirek, a football activist, e.g., *Murzyni Pana Mirka* (Eng.: Negroes of Mister Mirek), *moi Murzyni* (Eng.: my Negroes). *Mój znajomy sprowadza Murzynów tuzinami*. (Eng.: A man I know imports Negroes by dozens.) *Działacz PO ściąga do Polski stu piłkarzy z Afryki.* (Eng.: A Civic Platform activist brings/imports to Poland a hundred football players from Africa.) *Większość przez ostatnie 14 lat ściągnął ten sam człowiek.* (Eng.: The same man brought the majority of them over the last 14 years.) *Joshua mógł umrzeć z wycieńczenia, bo obwożono go po polskich klubach jak cyrkowca.* (Eng.: Joshua could have died of emaciation because he was shown around Polish clubs like a circus performer'.) A 19: *krajowy rejestr murzynów* (Eng. 'national register of negroes'); In a post to this article we find: *Rasism? Jaki rasizm każdy wie, gdzie asfalt powinien leżeć.* (Eng.: Racism? It is not racism because everybody knows where asphalt should lie.)
Negationyms: Presenting foreigners in a negative light	A 2: *niechciani goście* (Eng.: unwelcome guests)
Various tropes	A 20: Synecdoche – *mężczyźni o uśmiechu wspaniałego Aladyna* (Eng.: men having an Aladdin-like smile)

5.4. Expletives

This category includes vulgar words. They were not very frequent in our data, due to the fact that the analyzed materials are published texts and expletives are considered taboo words in such writing. Even authors of the most rightist and nationalistic views do not use them in their posts or articles. Expletives can be found only in quotes of people involved in incidents with foreigners. This takes place twice in A 5 (Ex. 3) and A6 (Ex. 4), which are:

(3) *A 5: Panie Mirku, ja bym tak chciał mieć u siebie w hotelu policyjnym, w którym mieszkam... To pan tych skur***** tak traktuje?* (Eng.: Mr Mirek, I wish I could live in as good conditions in my company/police flat which I rent…. So this is how you treat these sons of b****.)

(4) A 6: *Zabierzcie to czarne g***o.* (Eng.: take this black sh** away).

6. Research findings

Hate speech is visible in different discursive patterns in Polish articles from newspapers, magazines and Internet sites that discuss topics related to migration and migrants. In that sense, Polish media discourse of that type has not entered a true "post-racial (or color-blind)" (Warmington 2009: 283) phase, and most probably it will never do so because there are "no racial democracies, no non-racialized societies, no non-racialized class relationships" (ibid.). Alternatively, the only thing we can expect is to learn how "to talk about race more skillfully" (ibid). At the same time, one reservation is necessary. Some of the examples provided were quotes, and as such journalists do not bear the sole responsibility for the offensive language use. This also means that some of our examples constitute evidence for hate speech in Polish spoken by the general population of Poles.

There are four major discursive practices that are observable in our data: mention of irrelevant information, false pretences, negative labels and expletives. These were thoroughly exemplified in the previous section. Our findings indicate there is a wide repertoire of words, phrases and their patterns that are visible in Polish journalism to talk about foreigners and, in a sense, to promulgate racial, national or ethnic hate. For example, exaggerations based on metaphors of uncontrolled flow of people and natural disasters that are common in Polish newspaper articles, e.g., *lawina, zalew imigrantów/uchodźców* (Eng.: avalanche of, flood of immigrants/refugees), do not inform about the facts, but instead provoke feelings of danger and/or emergency (cf. Klimowicz 2015, for more recommendations on writing about migrants in Polish). Other functions these discursive practices serve are inciting disdain, hate or sensationalization of matters related to migration.

To sum up to our ruminations on types and examples of hate speech in Polish, we would like to suggest which discursive practices could easily replace them. First of all, we need to refer to the word *Murzyn*, which in Polish is widely used to describe a black- or dark-skinned person. This word is a borrowing from Latin *Maurus* and dates back to 14th century when it was first used to refer to dark-skinned figures in the Bible (SJP and Siuciak 2004). For centuries its connotative meaning was neutral, as it was borrowed for referential use and not to stigmatize. And indeed in the majority of dictionaries of Polish this word is not categorized as negative or offensive, e.g., *Dictionary of Polish (SJP)*. This is in agreement with its common perception. According to an opinion poll conducted by Public Opinion Research Center, the majority of Poles, i.e., 81%, consider this word neutral and definitely not offending (Feliksiak 2007: 14).

The above arguments stand, however, in a direct opposition to what black migrant communities in Poland perceive as neutral language use. They argue there are numerous proverbs in Polish in which *Murzyn* appears as a synonym and symbol of the primitive, the uneducated, the slave or the lazy. *Murzyn* constitutes the vehicle of meaning in proverbs such as: *sto lat za Murzynami*

(Eng.: a hundred years behind the black, i.e., backward), *Mieć swojego Murzyna* (Eng.: to have one's own Murzyn, i.e., to have a servant), *Nie chcę być Murzynem we własnym kraju* (Eng.: I do not want to be Murzyn in my own country, i.e., I do not want to be a second-rate person in my own country), and the most offensive expletive *W dupie u Murzyna* (Eng.: in Murzyn's bottom, i.e., somewhere unpleasant, in a predicament). A popular Polish TV and radio presenter of a Ghanaian origin, Brian Scott, says in A 7: *Jak słyszę o sobie 'Murzyn', to czuję, że jestem niepotrzebny w tym towarzystwie* (Eng.: When I hear I am 'Murzyn', I do not feel needed in this company). In a similar vein, Seydou Zan Diarra, an Afropole from Mali, considers offensive even appreciative phrases that he hears at his daily veterinary doctor's practice like: *Skoro on wyleczył mojego psa, to co z tego, że Murzyn!* (Eng.: Since he was able to cure my dog, it does not matter whether he is Murzyn or not). This is so, because they indicate that the speaker did not expect much of the person that is black. Finally, there is much truth in saying that *Murzyn* disregards the fact that the people who are referred to by means of this label were born and brought up in different places, cultures and religions. In a sense, this is an example of a false origonym, i.e., a label implying commonality on false grounds, e.g., that they belong to a group spanning over nations, countries, etc.

The above considerations also apply to the word *czarnoskóry* (Eng.: black-skinned or of a black skin) although it is considered verbal abuse for some other reason. It concentrates on one particular feature of the foreigner and not on the individual character of the person. Referring to a person by means of somatonyms is discriminatory because it relies on a feature which the person cannot change. Instead, if the origin of a person is relevant, we need to consider providing a more detailed description, regarding citizenship, ethnicity, or some other origin with which they identify. Hence, Congolese, Ethiopian, Sudanese, etc., is always more recommendable. In our understanding, referring to foreigners from other corners of the world by ethnonyms or nationyms most often is not offensive, because people are attached to their national/ethnic cultures. Other terms which black Poles may accept are: *Afrykanin*, *Afroamerykanin*, *Afropolak* (Eng.: Afrikaner, African-American, Afropole) (Diouf *et al.* 2011). If it is absolutely necessary to name the colour of skin, 'black' (Pol.: *czarny*) is acceptable to them as well. Munyama, a Polish politician and social activist from Zambia, agrees to this suggestion in A 7. Additionally, Polish has at its disposal a whole range of respectful honorific terms, e.g., *Proszę pana/pani* (Eng.: May I have your attention, Sir/Madam). In case of doubt, the middle way is respect and (common) decency for all our interlocutors. Hence, it is better to avoid using offensive words, and if we do not know which word to use, we can ask our interlocutor which word is neutral for them. Furthermore, a non-governmental organization in Poland suggests in *Standards of speaking and writing about migrants* that 'migrant' is a recommendable term because it implies a specific type of experience – migration (regardless of its type or direction) and is more neutral (Fundacja Inna Przestrzeń 2015: 5).

7. Limitations of the study and recommendations for further research

Although our analysis relies on samples taken from the Polish language, the practices and categories nominated by us can easily be applied to research into other languages. Within the RADAR project, it has initially been applied to the languages of its other partner countries by the other author of this paper (cf. Klein and Szczepaniak-Kozak 2015). We are, nevertheless, fully aware of shortfalls in our research. The definition of hate speech offered by us needs fine-tuning, cf. Szczepaniak-Kozak and Lankiewicz's (2017) attempt to do it relying on the theory of impoliteness. Furthermore, because our study was exploratory in character, and based on convenience sampling on purpose, it needs to be admitted that it could be followed by, for example, a quantitative corpus-driven study to establish which features are more frequent or representative of hate speech in Polish.

Since our research endeavor constitutes a preliminary attempt to characterize hate speech in Polish, there are multiple ways in which it can and should be continued. For example, an analysis with view to textual chains, to observe how the social order is portrayed and framed in a sequence of related texts, as Reisigl and Wodak (2001: 37) recommend, would definitely be useful. Another point in case, a study informed by CDA theories could investigate the forms of linguistic exclusion of foreigners in Polish. Other media genres should also be included in such research and this indeed happened in other research activities conducted by the RADAR project partners (cf. its webpage). It revealed, for example, that a person's identity, and the resulting terms of reference/address, in the contemporary world is hardly ever built around simplified categories, including, color of skin, nation or place of origin. Rather, in today's world people define themselves around multiple identities which resonate with their places of residence, professional experience and the languages they speak. The term intersectionality, which stands for a combination of many aspects of someone's identity, is a more accurate way of looking at a person (Szczepaniak-Kozak 2015: 3; Strani and Monteoliva 2015: 7).

All in all, although we do admit our research needs further elaboration, we also express our hope that the examples provided by us portray a linguistic picture of hate speech in Polish and, more importantly, convincingly argue that changing the way migrants are presented in the media is long overdue, and crucial for the evolution of the current socio-political situation in Poland.

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