Keywords of the manosphere

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Abstract

This paper examines language used in five of the largest manosphere communities on Reddit (*r/TheRedPill*, *r/braincels*, *r/MensRights*, *r/seduction*, and *r/MGTOW*) to identify idiosyncratic language use within these communities. To do so, a novel methodology which combines key-key-word analysis with notions from set theory was used to identify and compare keywords between corpora, and finds keywords that are used uniquely within – and thus are distinctive to – these five separate communities. The paper achieves the following: i) presents a novel method for identifying what we term *complement keywords* (keywords that are not shared between multiple different corpora when compared against the same reference corpus), and ii) explores idiosyncratic language use in five separate manosphere communities. The analysis first examines interdiscursive relationships between communities emerging from the complement keywords identified before discussing community-specific preoccupations emergent in the idiosyncratic language use found in these five communities.

Keywords

Keywords;
Key-key-words;
Complement keywords;
Corpus-based discourse analysis;
Manosphere

1 Introduction

In this paper, we examine language used in the online 'manosphere' – a loose online network of anti-feminist radical forums and websites dedicated to issues relating to men and masculinity. We concentrate our analysis on the content aggregation and discussion website Reddit, which has been identified elsewhere in the literature as an important site for manosphere communities; "networked misogyny is often organised in subcultural online space such as Reddit" (Marwick & Caplan, 2018, p. 545). Indeed, Reddit has opted to ban or 'quarantine' (i.e. prevent users who are not members of these communities from accidentally interacting with content originating there) several manosphere-related subreddits[1] due to their notoriety. Here, we concentrate our analysis on five manosphere communities: 'Men's Rights Activists' (MRAs; *r/MensRights*), male separatists ('Men Going Their Own Way' or MGTOW; *r/MGTOW*), 'pick-up artists' (PUAs; *r/seduction*), 'involuntary celibates' ('incels'; *r/braincels*), and the 'red pill' community (*r/TheRedPill*). At the time of writing (January 2023), r/braincels and r/MGTOW have been banned and r/TheRedPill has been quarantined. MRAs discuss legal disadvantages that men are perceived as facing, MGTOW advocate varying degrees of separatism from women, and PUAs attempt to flirt and be intimate with as many women as possible using tactics known as "game". Incels view themselves as unable to have the sexual and romantic relationships with women that they desire, and resent those who do have these relationships. Several mass murders have been linked to - and motivated by - incel beliefs (Hoffman et al., 2020). Lastly, the 'red pill' community is a broader ideological manosphere hub which connects various manosphere groups together through discussions of philosophy and what it means to be a modern man. We further elaborate on the differences between these communities through our analysis in section 4 but for a detailed overview of the differences between communities, see [AUTHOR].

Our interest in this study is to build on critical knowledge emerging from the linguistic research on the breadth and variety of discourse in the manosphere, especially those discourses that underpin misogynistic and anti-feminist ideologies (e.g. AUTHORS; Heritage & Koller, 2020; Jones, Trott, & Wright 2019). Specifically, where previous research has tended to focus on either singular manosphere communities (e.g. Dayter & Rudiger, 2022) or multiple communities in aggregate [AUTHORS], our aim in this paper is to consider differences between communities within the manosphere in terms of their linguistic behaviours. In doing so, we take an interest in what community-specific language in each of the manosphere subreddits studied reveals about the orientation of these subreddits to discourses that are shared between and/or idiosyncratic to different manosphere communities. As such, we intend for the work in this paper to build on the work of [AUTHORS] who examined key-key-words used and shared by all five of these communities (thus identifying language *shared* across different manosphere communities), the present paper instead examines key-key-words that are found to be idiosyncratic to these manosphere communities. The aim of this paper, therefore, is to find language that is salient to – but which *is not shared* across – different communities in the manosphere, with this aim being achieved through a novel approach to keyword analysis. More specifically, we propose a method that combines Scott's (1997) method for identifying key-key-words – words "that show up as key in a large number of texts from the target corpus" (Egbert & Biber, 2019, p. 82) – with some basic techniques from set theory to identify lexical items that are restricted exclusively in their use as keywords to particular communities. The method does this by treating key-key-word lists for each community as a set of

[1] Subreddits are Reddit communities dedicated to the discussion of specific topics

individual key-key-word *elements*, which are then compared against each other to find which elements are uniquely different between sets.

This approach, we believe, provides a novel and principled method for the corpus-driven identification of discursively important words within and across our corpora and, therefore, for exploring community-specific topics, discourses, and preoccupations. Moreover, the paper attempts to further interrogate Marwick & Caplan's claim that "[t]he manosphere is an aggregate of diverse communities brought together by *a common language* that orients them in opposition to the discourse and rhetoric of feminism" (2018, pp. 553, emphasis added) through considering a focus on *uncommon language* which differentiates communication happening within these communities from one another. To address this focus, the following research questions guide our study:

RQ1 What community-specific language is used solely in these five facets of the manosphere?
RQ2 What does this community-specific language reveal about specific discourses in those communities?

2 Keyword methods for corpus-driven studies of discourse

Keyword analysis is used to identify lexical items (*types*) that are found to be over/underused in a text or corpus in terms of their expected *token* frequencies relative to the frequencies at which the same types are used in some other (typically larger) reference corpus. Egbert and Biber (2019, p. 88) have come to call keywords identified in this way *corpus frequency keywords*, which they suggest provide "a strong indicator of content-distinctiveness" and, thus, strongly related to "the content of the discourse domain represented by the target corpus, in contrast to all other discourse domains (represented by the reference corpus)" (ibid.). Furthermore, it has been argued – especially by discourse analysts using corpus methods – that keywords "can act as signposts to discourses" (Love & Baker, 2015, p. 64) guiding researchers towards important topics in texts as well as revealing what is "important in a discourse – and, by extension, in the culture in which [they are] used" (Ädel, 2010, p. 597). Indeed, if the view is taken that "discourses are recontextualizations of social practices" (van Leeuwen, 2016, p. 141), keywords offer a view into how social practices may be (in)frequently represented and, therefore, discursively construed.

Here, we contribute to a lively, ongoing debate about how best to carry out keyword analysis, including for discourse analysis. These debates concentrate on concerns about how (and what) statistics are best applied in analysis (Gabrielatos, 2018), whether keyword analysis is effective in reducing researcher subjectivity (Baker, 2018), what (and whether) cut-off points (i.e., limits to the number of keywords analysed) should be used (Baker & McGlashan, 2020), and the potential for keyword analysis "to overplay differences rather than similarities [between target and reference corpora]" (Baker, 2004, p. 346). A particular area of contention that the present paper seeks to engage with is how best to identify and account for both content-distinctiveness – "the content of the discourse domain represented by the target corpus, in contrast to all other discourse domains (represented by the reference corpus)" (Egbert & Biber 2019:88) – and content-generalisability – the representativeness of the content found across the range of texts from which a target corpus is comprised.

Although the most common methods of keyword analysis are those that search for content-distinctiveness, attempts have also been made to identify content-generalisable keywords (i.e., words representing the content found across the range of texts from which a target corpus is comprised). Methods such as Scott's key-key-word approach (1997) and Egbert & Biber's text

dispersion keyness (2019), for example, have considered how lexical profiles might be shared between texts that make up a target corpus when compared against a reference corpus. Both methods are premised on producing a frequency list of some sort that considers all texts in a target (sub)corpus which are then compared against the same reference corpus to identify shared patterns of distinctive word usage across the texts from which the target corpus is comprised. The key-key-word method (the method we use in the present study) identifies *types* that are found to be "key in a large number of texts of a given type" (Scott, 1997, pp. 236-7) and "[a] key keywords list reveals how many texts a keyword appears in as key" (Baker, 2004, p. 350). Scott's rough description for his method of identifying key-key-words is through aggregating keyword lists for all texts in a corpus to give a dispersion frequency of the number of texts in which a keyword is found to be a keyword. As such, key-key-words represent a keyword-based solution for identifying keywords that are both content-distinctive and content-generalisable by considering the dispersion of keywords across texts in a target corpus. Key-key-words, therefore, should reveal which words are most consistently distinctive of the language represented by the target corpus.

Given our focus on language use in five different but related online communities, the ability to identify key-key-words that are restricted – or even unique – in their use to one of these corpora presents an opportunity to investigate idiosyncratic "lexical signposts" (Baker, 2004) that are content-distinctive *and* content-generalisable as well as uniquely distinctive of the language and discourse of the communities in which they are found when compared to other communities. However, it is worth acknowledging that this approach may privilege a focus on linguistic *form* over *function*; it may be the case that words found to be key-key-words in several communities serve different discursive functions within those groups.

Typical procedures in keyword analysis include comparing two corpora of interest against each other to find out words that highlight differences between these corpora or comparing one or more target corpora against a single reference corpus to determine words that are salient given some baseline reference. These comparisons result in keyword lists for the target corpora which, we propose, can be treated like sets of elements (i.e. lexemes) which can be further compared to identify which elements are common or not between lists using simple set operations. This methodological proposition extends the approach taken by [AUTHORS] wherein multiple key-key-word lists were intersected to identify key-key-words that are *shared* between multiple target corpora by instead focussing on *set differences* (or *relative complements*).

3 Data & methods

To construct our corpus of the manosphere, the top 200 most upvoted threads for each of our five communities were collected (1000 total threads) and the linguistic contents of user comments in these threads were extracted using The Python Reddit API Wrapper (PRAW).[2] Upvotes are part of the community moderation process of Reddit and a simple total of votes made by users about a submission's perceived 'value' to the community. The size of our corpus in terms of thread number, tokens, and types is given in Table 2; the data were cleaned to remove numbers, punctuation (excluding hyphenated words), Unicode symbols and separators, and URLs prior to tokenisation. With the corpus cleaned and tokenised, it was possible to take a detailed look at the "shape" of the corpus in terms of thread lengths (in tokens). Table 1 gives an overview of statistics for thread lengths (in tokens) for each of the five manosphere subcorpora studied and summary statistics for all 1,000 threads in the corpus. The histogram in Figure 1 gives a visual representation of the

[2] http://praw.readthedocs.io/en/latest/

distribution of all 1,000 threads in the corpus in terms of token length and shows that thread lengths are most densely concentrated around the 1st quantile (2,671 tokens), with the mean thread length being 10,690. Read together, Table 1 and Figure 1 show that the shorter threads in r/TheRedPill and r/MensRights occurring around the 1st quantile are longer than 3rd quantile threads in r/MGTOW, r/seduction, and r/braincels. This means that threads in r/TheRedPill and r/MensRights tends to be the longest in the corpus and that extremely long threads tend to be unusual in the corpus.

Subreddit	**Thread Lengths**					
	Min.	**1st Quantile**	**Median**	**Mean**	**3rd Quantile.**	**Max.**
r/TheRedPill	2,524	7,812	12,630	14,701	18,130	53,817
r/MensRights	2,859	11,839	19,905	24,480	29,446	108,466
r/MGTOW	134	1,939	3,159	4,366	5,146	73,081
r/seduction	362	2,167	4,109	5,138	7,112	40,628
r/braincels	16	1,352	2,562	4,765	5,312	104,445
All	**16**	**2,671**	**6,038**	**10,690**	**13,878**	**108,466**

Table 1: thread lengths in tokens

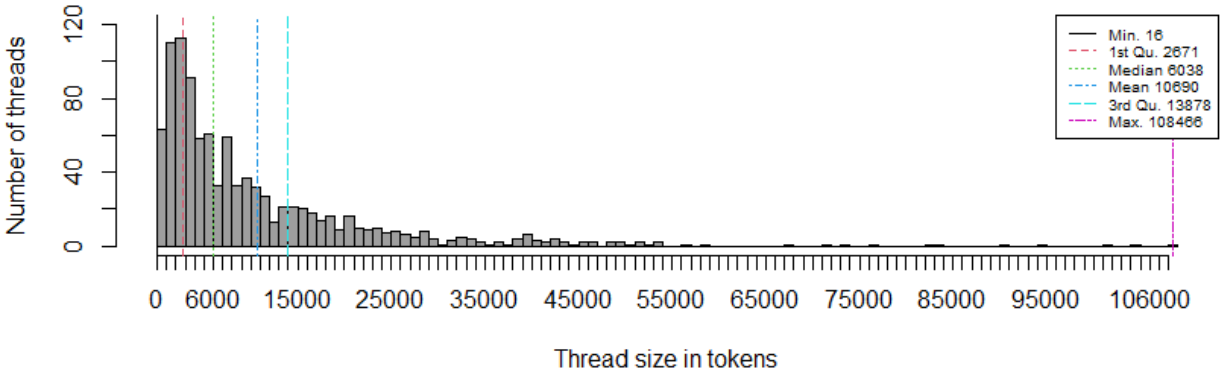

Figure 1: Histogram showing distribution of thread sizes (in tokens) in the manosphere corpus

Concerning the ethics of the collection and use of this data in research, we conducted the present study in accordance with the Reddit API (application programming interface) Terms of Use, which state that if one collects user content from Reddit using the API, this grants the API user to copy and display the content (Reddit API Terms of Use, 2016). Thus, permission to use the data was granted by Reddit and it was not necessary to obtain informed consent from the subreddits we analysed (and indeed such an endeavour would be practically impossible; see Rüdiger and Dayter, 2017). Although we have not obtained informed consent from the Reddit users, we have still taken steps to anonymise any examples. All subreddits were active on Reddit at the time of data collection.

Having collected our corpus, we were then interested in identifying key-key-words for each community and developed bespoke scripts in R to carry out each of the steps outlined in the method

below. Key-key-words were identified by first generating keyword lists for each of the 200 threads for each of the five community subcorpora (1000 total) using the Webcorp Mini-Web[3] reference corpus. Consisting of 100,000 randomly sampled English Language webpages (totalling 339,907,995 tokens) collected during the period 2000-2010, the Mini-Web corpus was deemed suitable as a reference corpus due to its size and composition in that it draws on data written for online consumption (thus, register appropriate) and across a range of different topic domains distributed across the web. All keywords identified at this point had to meet a Log-Likelihood (LL) threshold of >=15.13 ($p < 0.0001$). For each subcorpus, key-key-words were then identified by aggregating the keyword lists for each of the 200 threads to give a keyword distribution frequency for those threads. A frequency of 200 would suggest that a keyword is key in the maximum possible number of threads in a subcorpus. As key-key-words need to be found in more than one text in a corpus to be classified as a key-key-word (i.e. a distribution of >1), we required that key-key-words met a minimum distribution frequency of >1 and identified 15,617 key-key-words as candidates for analysis across all five subcorpora.

Following the identification of key-key-words, we were then interested in identifying key-key-words that are unique in their occurrence to each of the five different communities studied. To explain our method, we adopt a familiar format for visualising set operations: Venn diagrams. Given two or more keyword sets, these sets can be compared against each other to identify keywords that are common to - or differ between - several sets; here we compare five sets (Figure 2).

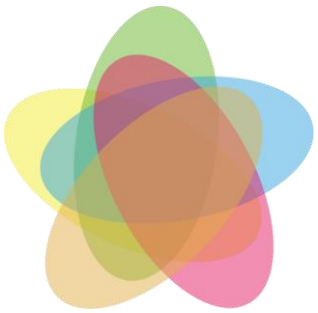

Figure 2: Venn diagram visualising five sets

When comparing sets, we might take an interest in elements that intersect sets, which might allow for the consideration of those key-key-words only present in all five sets, as was the approach taken by [AUTHORS] (2022; Figure 3), but also more local intersections between any of the five sets being analysed (Figure 4). The coloured sections of Figures 3 and 4 represent these intersections and greyed sections represent any parts of a set that do not intersect. These relationships are analytically important and should not be ignored but the focus of the present study is on keyword distinctiveness. As such, we wish to ignore elements that intersect any sets, as visualised by the greyed sections visualised in Figure 5, and instead concentrate only on keywords that do not belong to any other sets (thus, the *relative complements* of all sets) to identify community-specific language use. For convenience, we refer to keywords identified in this way as *complement keywords*. Complement keywords were identified through comparing key-key-word lists meeting statistical (LL >=15.13) and key-key-word (thread distribution >1) thresholds for all of the five community subcorpora studied with only those key-key-words isolated in their use to a single subcorpus being extracted for analysis.

[3] http://wse1.webcorp.org.uk/home/syn.html

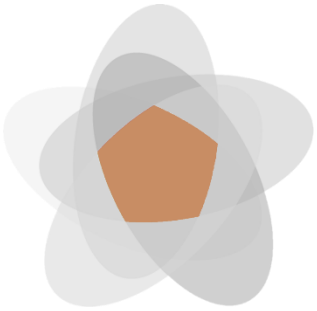

Figure 3: intersection of all five sets

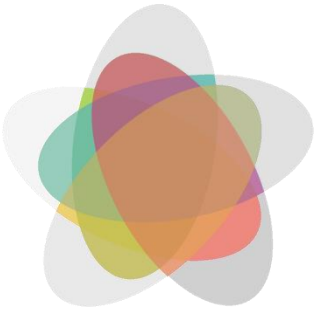

Figure 4: elements intersecting any of the five sets

Figure 5: relative complements of all sets

Applying this method provides, we argue, a transparent approach based on set operations and "minimally sufficient" statistics (Egbert et al., 2020) to narrow the potential scope of a keyword analysis; the process yields 4,933 *complement keywords* for all five manosphere subcorpora representing 32% of all key-key-words identified (Table 2). Moreover, that the keywords identified are restricted in their use to specific corpora - and are *never* found to be key-key-words in any other corpus under comparison - suggests that these keywords represent, at once, the most content-distinctive and content-generalisable words in that corpus.

Subreddit	**Number of threads**	**Comments (tokens)**	**Comments (types)**	**Keywords meeting statistical threshold (LL >=15.13)**	**Key-key-words meeting statistical (LL >=15.13) and key-key-word (thread distribution >1) thresholds**	**Complement keywords (expressed also as a percentage of total key-key-words)**
r/TheRedPill	200	2,977,113	50,939	11,989	4,036	1,134 (28%)
r/MensRights	200	5,019,556	58,978	14,652	5,502	2,663 (48%)
r/MGTOW	200	888,930	29,837	7,379	2,011	309 (15%)

r/seduction	200	1,042,601	24,603	6,003	1,884	375 (20%)
r/braincels	200	973,334	28,237	7,165	2,184	452 (21%)
Total	**1000**	**10,901,534**	97,126	**47,188**	**15,617**	**4,933 (32%)**

Table 2: The Reddit manosphere corpus and an overview of the number of threads, tokens, types, key-key-words and complement keywords for each subreddit

For reasons of space, only the top 10 complement keywords for each subreddit are presented in Table 3, although a list of the top 50 for each subreddit which we use to undertake our analysis can be found at this link - https://osf.io/w8tqg/. In the following results section, we analysed the top 50 complement keywords (ordered by frequency) from each subreddit by carrying out a concordance line analysis of each term. This was done to capture the most frequent unique keywords from each subreddit. We also note that it would not be practically feasible to analyse all of the complement keywords.

	r/braincels		r/MensRights		r/MGTOW		r/seduction		r/TheRedPill	
	Feature	Freq	Feature	Freq	Feature	Freq	Feature	Freq	Feature	Freq
1	foids	83	issue	66	simp	26	neediness	10	bp	24
2	jfl	64	gendered	59	honk	12	tease	10	plates	18
3	cope	54	both	50	plantation	8	busy	9	ltr's	15
4	foid	45	duluth	33	sexbots	8	pick-up	9	nexted	14
5	mogs	42	egalitarianism	31	savage	7	cheesy	8	plate	14
6	tfw	22	egalitarian	29	serviam	7	afc	7	commitment	12
7	stacy	18	shelters	28	ai	6	exhausting	7	internalize	12
8	teehee	16	harm	27	indoctrination	6	afc's	6	rollo	12
9	rope	15	discriminated	26	minimalist	6	peacocking	6	bjj	11
10	mogged	14	equally	26	fuckery	5	pua's	6	machiavellian	11
…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…	…
50	chang	4	claiming	14	milestone	3	wingwomen	4	subscribers	6

Table 3: Complement keywords

4 Findings

Our initial exploration of the complement keywords for each manosphere community (Table 3) found that although different communities do use distinctive lexis (RQ1), some of this distinctive use reveals interdiscursive links between communities who talk about similar things but using lexis in different, community-specific ways (e.g. *sex*; RQ2). Despite the focus of our RQs being to consider idiosyncratic language use, the complement keyword method presents an unexpected value of highlighting how discourses and ideological positions that exist across - and link together - these communities may be articulated through community-specific lexis. Our analysis, therefore, begins by examining interdiscursive relationships between communities emerging from the complement keywords before we discuss community-specific preoccupations.

4.1 Interdiscursive relationships between manosphere communities

The complement keywords (Table 3) highlighted that manosphere communities cover similar discursive ground but in localised and specific ways. For example, as discussed in [AUTHORS], *sex(uality)* is a common topic across the manosphere as a whole and is particularly salient to the representations of men and women. Although we cannot examine all discursive connections between communities highlighted by complement keywords due to space limitations, the number of words found across the complement keyword lists relating to discourse on *(personal) evaluation* (Table 4), *(in)equality* (Table 5), *women* (Table 6) and *(other) men* (Table 7) warrants exploration.

Subreddit	**Complement keywords (with frequencies)**
r/braincels	repulsive (7), personalities (6), euphemize (5), uglier (5), subhumans (5)
r/MensRights	petty (17)
r/seduction	neediness (10), cheesy (8), awkwardness (5), congruent (5), conversational (5), douchy (5), extrovert (5), witty (5), classy (4), extroverted (4), inspiring (4), sociable (4)
r/TheRedPill	machiavellian (11), amoral (10), self-respect (6)

Table 4: complement keywords - (personal) evaluation

Four communities contain evaluative complement keywords frequently in the form of adjectives (but also as nouns derived from adjectives, e.g. *neediness*, *awkwardness*), which function to evaluate different (personal) qualities. For r/braincels, terms suggest a preoccupation with evaluating character and physical attractiveness (I), whereas evaluations of ideology and morality (especially regarding gendered relationships) are used by members of r/MensRights and r/TheRedPill (II).

(I) I just can't accept that I'm **repulsive** to every human being and that I'm unlovable because of the way I look [183_r/braincels]

(II) The Red Pill is **AMORAL**. We are not concerned with whether something is right or wrong or how manipulative or gross it may seem We are concerned with what WORKS and what gets RESULTS [151_r/TheRedPill]

Finally, most evaluative terms are used in r/seduction in relation to seduction stories and advice (*inspiring*, *douchy*; III), and ideas about sociability, both positive (e.g. *conversational*, *witty*, *classy*; IV) and negative (e.g. *neediness, cheesy, awkwardness*; V).

(III) This story is **inspiring**, and it really gets me motivated to get out there. [200_r/seduction]

(IV) Just showing her basic decency and having good **conversational** skills will make you really stand out. [127_r/seduction]

(V) Just go with the flow, chill out, lose the **neediness** and have fun. [100_r/seduction]

Subreddit	**Complement keywords (with frequencies)**
r/braincels	bully (10), heightism (7)
r/MensRights	egalitarianism (31), egalitarian (29), discriminated (26), equally (26), exclude (23), disparity (20), standard (18), ignorance (16), sexists (16), bigoted (15), differently (15), forcing (15), ignored (15), anti-women (15)
r/MGTOW	plantation (8), serviam (7), indoctrination (6), enslave (3)

Table 5: complement keywords - (in)equality

Complement keywords associated with discussions of (in)equality (Table 5) are most concentrated in use in r/MensRights but related terms are also found in r/braincels and r/MGTOW. For r/braincels, (in)equality discourse was visible through the terms *bully*, which positions incels as individuals and a group as being persecuted, and *heightism*, which further articulates this discourse through a specific preoccupation with physical attractiveness (VI). As for r/MGTOW, men are compared to slaves on a metaphorical *plantation* who are subjugated by women and institutions that are perceived as being biased towards women (and detrimental to men; VII). For r/MensRights, however, discussions of (in)equality and discrimination are wider-ranging and consider (and contest) the focus of a men's rights movement especially in relation to feminism, the idea being that feminism is biased towards women and, therefore, inequitable to men (VIII-IX).

(VI) This is why we need to eliminate the cultural factors that encourage women to seek a very specific type of man. We need to eliminate classism, racism, lookism, **heightism**, etc. [179_r/braincels]

(VII) A slave can't win on the **plantation** the best thing he can do is leave [118_r/MGTOW]

(VIII) Somebody who cares about equality of both sexes is an **egalitarian** and neither MRA nor feminism is an **egalitarian** movement, they are largely one sided focusing on their own respective sex and in some circumstances looking to tip the inequality in the favour of that side. [129_r/MensRights]

(IX) anti-feminism isn't **anti-women** but rather a gender neutral way of finding equality [113_r/MensRights]

Subreddit	**Complement keywords (with frequencies)**
r/braincels	foids (83), foid (45), stacy (18), staceys (11), stacys (9)
r/MGTOW	leeches (4), bbw (3), cardi (3), ho (3)
r/seduction	wingwomen (4)
r/TheRedPill	plates (18), plate (14), rpw (8), diggers (6), hotties (6), poon (6), spin (6)

Table6: complement keywords - women

As discussed in [AUTHORS], social actor representations are salient across all five manosphere communities and we also find community-specific forms of social actor representations as complement keywords in four of five subreddits (Tables 6 and 7). In r/TheRedPill, women are represented as *poon* (a metonymic reference to women using colloquial reference to female genitalia) and *hotties* (attractive women). But, more significantly, figurative representation of women using the terms *plate* and *plates* draws on the metaphor of spinning plates (in conjunction with the complement keyword *spin*; X). In this metaphor, users advocate that men should pursue multiple non-committal sexual relationships with women rather than entering into monogamous, committed relationships due to the threats (emotional, financial, or otherwise) that women pose to men. The positioning of (ideal) women as inanimate, non-agentive objects in a temporary state (being spun) dependent on the actions of men renders women (and relationships with women) fragile, temporary, and expendable with the breaking of a plate as being an unavoidable, or even desirable, end (XI).

(X) I for one would rather be dead than be a slave to some cheating cunt […]. That's why I **spin plates**, no more bitches in my wallet. That's why I will never commit and sure as fuck not marry. [101_r/TheRedPill]

(XI) **Plates spin** and eventually crash. She's not yours it's just your turn. It means you fuck them knowing good and well at a moment's notice they can be dropped and replaced. [190_r/TheRedPill]

Although lexis differs, interdiscursive links exist between r/TheRedPill and r/MGTOW in terms of how women are characterised and evaluated in order to justify their expendability. For example, r/MGTOW denigrates women for perceived promiscuity (*ho*) and both r/TheRedPill and r/MGTOW construe women as dependent parasites (thus a potential threat) using the terms *leeches* (XII) and (gold) *diggers* (women who engage relationships only for material gain), although this characterisation is contested (XIII).

(XII) You pay hookers to leave when you're done. **Leeches** stick until you force them away. [129_r/MGTOW]

(XIII) It's a bit extreme to believe women are just **leeches** who depend on men for their survival. I'm friends with some attractive gals and they're not interested in guys only for their security, they're interested in guys who make them happy among other things. [128_r/MGTOW]

Finally, the terms *foid* (plural *foids*) and *stacy* (plural *staceys, stacys*) are used in r/braincels to dehumanise and stereotype women. Construal as *foids* relates to a wider biologising discourse in which the 'biological imperative' - the natural (and correct) way for women to behave - is by trading sex with men for safety and reward (XIV). On the other hand, *stacys*/*staceys* represent female "chads" and symbolise, within a discourse of stereotypical gender hegemony, the most desirable women (thus, expressions of femininity; XV). Our findings confirm that these terms are salient to r/braincels and not the manosphere as a whole (cf. Heritage and Koller, 2020).

(XIV) You don't get it. It doesn't matter how low a woman's libido is, she will fuck a guy she values REGARDLESS just to make him happy. **Foids** use their vaginas as a reward system, as payment. You are making the dumb mistake of believing men and women have the same exact reasons for having sex or not having sex. [103_r/braincels]

(XV) Okay...a **Stacy** fucking a Chad. Normal. We get this shit. 99.9% incels know we will never get a **Stacy** in our life. We don't WANT a **Stacy**. We are not demanding a **Stacy**. We know Stacies are out of our league, so we keep near our league... [112_r/braincels]

Finally, although past literature notes that language PUA communities such as r/seduction focuses largely on women (especially their physical appearance, e.g. AUTHORS, 2017), the complement keywords highlighted here suggest that r/seduction has not developed as specific and diverse of a vocabulary for representing women as the other subreddits studied. Rather, as we discuss in section 4.2.4, r/seduction-specific vocabulary tends to focus on PUA's behaviour towards women.

Subreddit	**Complement keywords (with frequencies)**
r/braincels	mogs (42), mogged (14), larping (10), larp (5)
r/MGTOW	simp (26)
r/seduction	afc (7), afc's (6)

r/TheRedPill	bp (24), amog (8), bb (8), chumps (6), hamsters (6)

Table 7: complement keywords - (other) men

Alongside these constructions of women, representations of outgroup men are also found as complement keywords, which evidence interdiscursive relations between denigrative constructions of out-grouped men and masculinities. This is generally as a result of their subservience to women or their non-conformation to ingroup standards of masculinity across the manosphere in community-specific ways. Out-grouped men are denigrated in r/TheRedPill as being antithetical to red pill ideals (*bp*; blue pill), attractive to women for financial reasons only (*bb*; beta buxx), and *chumps* – similarly, as *afc*/*afc's* (average fucking chumps) in r/seduction – and in r/MGTOW *simp* refers to men who, through sexual motivation, are submissive to women. In *r/TheRedPill*, *amog* (Alpha Male Of Group; XVI) is used as both a noun and verb, which has been adopted and further elaborated in use in r/braincels where *mogs* and the notion of being *mogged* are community-specific recontextualisations of this idea, in which more dominant men supplant incels (XVII). This discourse of masculine supplantation is further reinforced through the outgroup LARP/LARPing (live action roleplaying) designation (XIII), through which non-incels are excluded because they are not abnormal enough.

(XVI) Any tips for becoming **AMOG**? I am pretty good on most of the RP values, but don't have many friends and definitely am not the **AMOG** in the group's I want to be. [17_r/TheRedPill]

(XVII) 6'4 skinnyfat horrible body **mogs** a 5'7 gymcel too. Height is very important to females [194_r/braincels]

(XVIII) I'm not a fucking normie and if you were actually incel you'd be over at incels.me instead of **larping** on this cucked site [1_r/braincels]

4.2 Community specific discourses

The complement keywords discussed thus far begin to highlight some discourses that bring manosphere communities together, despite their use of idiosyncratic language to articulate those discourses (RQ2). The remaining analysis deals with those complement keywords that cannot be easily grouped into specific thematic or functional categories but evidence both community-specific lexis (RQ1) and discourses (RQ2).

4.2.1 r/braincels

Complement keywords for r/braincels find that incels construct themselves in terms of absence of sex(uality) and sexual desire (*asexual*), and in relation to ideas of physical appearance/attractiveness. Noteworthy are unique references to ethnicity and articulation of reductive and racist ideas that women most desire men who are ethnically white or approximate whiteness; the complement keyword *jbw* ('just be white'; XIX) is the archetypal expression of this discourse. However, some incels argue that this theory has limited use in Western contexts and disagree with the theory entirely.

(XIX) **JBW** these asian whores will jump on that cock in like minutes [178_r/braincels]

Discourse on ethnicity is further prevalent in complement keywords like *curry* (used in reference to South-East Asian men, women, and countries; XX), e*thnics* (distinguishing between people who are and are not white; XXI), and *chang* (an asian Chad; XXII). Even if non-white men conform to an idealised expression of masculinity, they are still considered less desirable than whiter, European-appearing men (XXIII).

(XX) The new theory is prob JDBC. Just don't be **curry** [188_r/braincels]
(XXI) No handsome Chad **ethnics** to be found [7_r/braincels]
(XXII) **Chang** is the Asian equivalent of Chad the archetypal alpha male Asian edition [37_r/braincels]
(XXIII) Chadpreet would be above **chang** since he can be Mediterranean passing [188_r/braincels]

Part of this focus on ethnicity involves cross-reference to other subreddits, namely r/BlackPeopleTwitter (*bpt*) and r/hapas (*hapas*, a community for people who are half-Asian to discuss the racism and sexism they have faced as a result of their ethnicity). Aside from ethnicity, r/braincels complement keywords highlight a unique focus on - and constructions of - mental health issues, self-harm, and suicide. Central to these constructions is an acceptance of abject hopelessness and unfairness, *denial* of which is senseless (XXIV), but incels can exist despite perceived adversity and ostracisation (*cope*) through mitigation (hope; XXV). However, *rope*/*roping* (suicide by hanging with a rope) show that suicide is another (if not, the only other) form of mitigation.

(XXIV) Their level of coping and **denial** is toxic. They need to grow up and accept that life isn't remotely just or fair [25_r/braincels]
(XXV) No it's not fair but all you can do is either hope, **cope** or **rope**. [114_r/braincels]

Noteworthy in these results is that, although much of the past literature on incels focuses on incel-motivated violence and advocacy for violence within incel communities (e.g. Hoffman et al., 2020), discussion about violence towards others was not a visible theme in the complement keywords identified. This is not to say that violence is not advocated in incel communities at all, but, rather, that the complement keyword method may not capture words relating to violence that may be present in - but are not unique to - r/braincels when compared against the other communities studied.

4.2.2 r/MensRights

As discussed earlier, a focus on social (in)equality is a core issue for r/MensRights and examination of complement keywords suggest that this focus is articulated through discussions of crime and punishment, activism, and genitals. Regarding crime and punishment, complement keywords highlight a concern with criminals (*offender, perpetrator(s), pedophile, predator*), offences (*Duluth*[4]*, harm, vawa*[5]*, abusing*), and punishment (*sentencing, sentences, punish*). Much of this discussion centres on the idea that women benefit from undue care and leniency from society and that men, by contrast, are not valued by society. For example, users claim that women commonly make false accusations of rape and assault against men and that even men who are victims of domestic abuse, as a function of their gender, are 'framed' as aggressors (XXVI). These results support Schmitz and Kazyak's (2016) findings that men's rights websites rarely discuss men's issues in isolation from women's issues and feminism, and the prevalence of discussions on sexual offences, domestic violence and unfair sentencing by MRAs has been noted elsewhere (e.g. Gotell and Dutton, 2016).

(XXVI) **Duluth** model. Men who are the victims of domestic abuse are charged as **perpetrators** when they defend themselves or simply report being abused by a female. [161_r/MensRights]

[4] The Duluth model is a domestic abuse intervention programme. See: https://www.theduluthmodel.org/
[5] The Violence Against Women Act (1994) is a piece of federal legislation in the United States designed to advocate for the rights of victims of domestic abuse (including men).

In discussions about domestic violence, references are made to the prevalence of gender-segregated domestic violence (DV) *shelters* (XXVII), and Erin *Pizzey* who is supported by MRAs for raising awareness about domestic violence against men.

(XXVII) there are thousands of DV **shelters** for women today, but only one men's shelter [199_r/MensRights]

In discussions of *activism* and *advocacy*, MRAs are articulated as a men's advocacy group and feminists as a women's advocacy group (XXVIII). Although feminist activists are often represented as being *sexists* and having *lobbied* for changes which are perceived as negatively affecting men (XXIX), this representation is not uncontested and MRAs can be represented in similarly negative ways (XXX-XXXI).

(XXVIII) Why is **advocacy** for womens rights a prerequisite to being a well balanced adult yet **advocacy** for male's rights is a pejorative accusation [121_r/MensRights]
(XXIX) Yea modern feminists are just passive aggressive **sexists** that can't reach their self-righteous goals so they cry until others do it for them. [1_r/MensRights]
(XXX) feminism as an ideology is not in opposition of men's rights. Feminism is simply the the [sic] **advocacy** for equality. [1_r/MensRights]
(XXXI) There are many who march under the banner of men's rights that are just plain and simple **sexists** pieces of shit. [66_r/MensRights]

Additionally, the *suffragettes* are framed in both a positive (XXXII) and negative (XXXIII) manner. Overall, this indicates that a post-feminist (McRobbie, 2008) logic is present in r/MensRights, in that historical feminism is viewed as necessary for the advancement of equal rights, whereas modern incarnations of the feminist movement are considered to be unnecessary and harmful to men.

(XXXII) Women's rights movements like the **suffragettes** weren't about supremacy, it was real human rights [36_r/MensRights]
(XXXIII) the **suffragettes** certainly viewed men as inferior and wanted not equality but rights without responsibilities [36_r/MensRights]

Discussion of *genitals* in r/MensRights is particularly directed towards *circumcision* (cf. Benatar, 2012), which is constructed as a form of *genital mutilation* equivalent to FGM (Female Genital Mutilation; XXXIV), and compared with broader issues pertaining to gendered crimes (XXXV). Lastly, interaction between these foci in r/MensRights suggest a recurring theme of child protection (*pedophile, child's*; XXXVI) as MRAs consider the rights of young boys as well as men.

(XXXIV) **Circumcision** IS MALE **GENITAL MUTILATION** and it's just as bad as FGM [174_r/MensRights].
(XXXV) is male **genital mutilation** "gender equality"? what about how people laugh when a man is raped, or people who think only men can abuse their spouse? [187_r/MensRights]
(XXXVI) genital cutting is not an effective medical intervention, causes lasting damage to the child, and violates the **child's** ability to choose whether to be cut or not [187_r/MensRights]

4.2.3 r/MGTOW

r/MGTOW complement keywords related to finance (*retirement, retire, crypto*[currency]*, debts*), living a *minimalist* lifestyle, and (sexual) technology (*sexbots, doll, AI*) support a wider focus on (in)equality, specifically men's emancipation from women and oppressive governments. Retirement is seen as both emancipatory (XXXVII) but also a point of vulnerability for men because women

(and/or state governments) will take advantage (XXXVIII). As such, (financial) independence from both women and government is desired in r/MGTOW.

(XXXVII) If you're an 18 year old man, you can start to learn a trade or start a business and begin earning decent coin relatively fast. $35k post-tax in your 20s, easily. Live a minimalist lifestyle for 15 years at that and you can effortlessly have well north of 200k saved before your 35th birthday. That's enough to **retire** on in a minimalist lifestyle, with all the benefits society offers. [95_r/MGTOW]

(XXXVIII) She gets bored and files for divorce after 7 years of marriage and you lose 50% of your **retirement**, lose your kids, lose having a loving companion at your side and get kicked out of your own home. Saw it happen to my dad and swore I would NEVER get married and give up all my power to a woman and government. [191_r/MGTOW]

Discourse on risk and (ir)responsibility (RQ2) includes discussion of *debt*, with people who have *graduated* from university/college with arts, humanities or social science degrees being regarded as a potential threat (XXXIX), whilst women are further construed as potential financial threats to men (XL; cf. discussion of *leeches* in 4.1). As such, community-specific reference to *sexbots/dolls* involves the proposition of a positive alternative to subjugatory, financially exploitative relationships with women wherein men are afforded greater and risk-free sexual agency, and are therefore seen as a tool facilitating anti-feminist practice (XLI).

(XXXIX) dumbasses pick USELESS degrees and expect six figure salaries. This communist fucker is gonna forgive **debts** of people who get gender studies degrees, interpretive dance and other bullshit degrees. [111_r/MGTOW]

(XL) Hookers don't cost that much, while your average woman ain't no virgin herself, but brings usually huge **debts** or financial expectations right out the gate! [29_r/MGTOW]

(XLI) Of course feminists hate love **dolls**, they take away a woman's sexual control over a man so they are competition and a reminder to women that something better has taken their place [200_r/MGTOW]

Film and television references, especially to superheroes (*Wakanda*, *MCU*, *Endgame*, *Thanos*, *Captain*, *Gadot*[6], *episodes, blade*), are found in r/MGTOW. As well as sharing opinions of films and television shows, users transpose MGTOW ideologies onto the media they discuss. For instance, insecurity is expressed at the idea of male characters being gender-swapped for female ones (XLII), of white characters being swapped for black (and vice versa; XLIII) and of female characters being overpowered in comparison to men (XLIV); the film Captain Marvel and its titular character are negatively evaluated by multiple users for being too feminist (XLV).

(XLII) I fucking dare someone to replace Milla Jovovich in Resident Evil with a dude, Gal **Gadot** in Wonder Woman with a dude, or Scar Jo in Black Widow with a dude. Would never happen. But poor old white James Bond… [87_r/MGTOW]

(XLIII) few people want a black, female James Bond or a black Ariel, just as they wouldn't want a white **Blade**. [87_r/MGTOW]

[6] *Wakanda* refers to the fictional setting of the Marvel film Black Panther, *MCU* stands for Marvel Cinematic Universe, *Endgame* refers to the Marvel film Avengers: Endgame, *Thanos* refers to a villain in the MCU, *Captain* refers to the characters Captain America and Captain Marvel from the MCU, and *Gadot* refers to Gal Gadot who played Wonder Woman in the Detective Comics (DC) Extended Universe.

(XLIV) Captain Marvel being domineering in every scene she's in, and any attempt to kick her of [sic] her high horse is immediately revoked, **Captain** Marvel doing more damage to Thanos than Cap, Iron Man, and THOR together. [32_r/MGTOW]

(XLV) Wonder Woman was actually a good movie (one of the best DCU movies imo, not better than Dark Night of course), sure it had a few sprinkles of SJW [Social Justice Warrior] in it but it isn't as in your face and obvious as **Captain** Marvel. [187_r/MGTOW]

Blade - as well as making reference to the comic book character *Blade* - is also used to make further media references to the futuristic, dystopian film Blade Runner (XLVI) as well as razor blades (XLVII). The latter example is informed by negative reaction to a 2019 advertisement by men's shaving brand Gillette, which gained notoriety within manosphere and alt-right spaces for supporting the #MeToo movement, a largely online feminist protest movement against misogyny (see Iveson & Formato, 2019).

(XLVI) I want you to look at the world of **Blade** Runner 2049, because thats [sic] where we are going [95_r/MGTOW]

(XLVII) Buy whatever safety razor you can find (that isn't gillette), and for the blades just try a bunch of **blade** brands [9_r/MGTOW]

This preponderance of gender and ethnic identity characteristics is also found in discussions of place (*Africa, Cali, Japanese, French*) through which a range of reductive and essentialising stereotypes are articulated. For example, *Africa* and *Cali* are found in examples that suggest "hostile political conservatism" (Jones et al., 2019) through which the political left are directly denigrated (XLVIII) and historic European colonialism is excused (XLIX). Negative constructions of women also permeate examples L-LI wherein women are again constructed as needy (cf. *leeches*), duplicitous, and promiscuous. Taken together, it appears that r/MGTOW complement keywords provide lexical signposts (Baker, 2004) to topics through which users articulate more general discourse informed by anxieties about (in)security and outside threats (RQ2).

(XLVIII) **Cali** and the northwest are ~~liberal hotspots~~ communist shitholes. [150_r/MGTOW]

(XLIX) Its not that European colonialism put **Africa** into chaos its that chaos is the state of nature [...] and Europe dragged itself out of the chaos but left behind many people. [158_r/MGTOW]

(L) **Japanese** women are notoriously hard to please and require constant attention, money, romance, etc. [53_r/MGTOW]

(LI) **French** women were fertilized by German men during the occupation, so while the **French** males were sent away to die, the **French** females opted for German military males [66_r/MGTOW]

4.2.4 r/seduction

Many of the complement keywords for r/seduction relate to a range of methods (*techniques, routines, beginner, failure*; LII-LIII) and behaviours involved in 'picking up' (also known as *sarging*) women (including in overcoming resistance to advances, cf. Wright, 2020), which can be found in stories of 'success' and *failure* (LIII). Users also share in discussion of how to improve and practice their PUA strategies (*protip, tip, exercises*; LIV), which includes focus on improving physical fitness, eye contact and voice quality, as well as difficulties in improving these skills (LV). However, as discussed in relation to Table 4, PUAs argue that *techniques* and *routines* are not enough to become a PUA, and that PUAs need to work on their social skills and personality in order to attract women.

(LII) Because he's memorized and used his lines/**routines** so much, he comes off so chill and nonchalant (completely natural). [104_r/seduction]

(LIII) I read everything and was trying the most advanced **techniques** and always getting **failure** when in reality I couldn't even look at a girl and had to start from basics and build a foundation first before adding these more advanced **techniques** [196_r/seduction]

(LIV) Sitting and doing voice **exercises** is a joke when you're not going out and approaching [62_r/seduction]

(LV) It's so **exhausting** going out to meet new people and trying to make new friends and approach women all the time (182_r/seduction)

Requisite to these methods are a range of behaviours (*tease*, *chatting, complimenting, smiling*, establishing *eye-contact* with women, and modifying the *tonality* of one's voice) that are positively encouraged in r/seduction. For example, through *peacocking* (i.e. dressing flamboyantly to appear unique and attractive to women; LVI), *complimenting* (LVII) or negatively complimenting (*negs*; LVIII) a woman. *Negs* - a PUA-specific term - has been described in the literature as "negative statements used by men towards women that make women question their own value while simultaneously increasing the man's value" (Denes, 2011, p. 415). In LVIII, the user shows awareness of the controversiality of *negs* by specifying that they do not mean to hurt the women they neg, although referring to the woman in question as a "female" is arguably somewhat dehumanising.

(LVI) Most people here (including myself) wouldn't recommend Mystery-style **peacocking** in *general*, but it's great every once in a while. [29_r/seduction]

(LVII) If she's wearing a dress, start by **complimenting** her dress! Save the looks for later. [86_r/seduction]

(LVIII) I'm a fan of opening with **negs** (I never say anything personally hurtful to the female) [42_r/seduction]

Users also discuss reading women's body language in order to gauge their interest, with the conversation being referred to in business-like terms as a "transaction" (LIX).

(LIX) if she seems to be responding positively and is happy to be talking with you (**smiling**, open body language, continuing the conversation by giving you detailed answers as opposed to short/curt ones, or asking you questions, etc) - keep talking. If she is acting cold (cold/closed body language, clipped/curt answers, keeping it just business), just finish your transaction and move on. [178_r/seduction]

4.2.5 r/TheRedPill

r/TheRedPill complement keywords focus on relationships (*ltr*; long term relationship[s]), especially transient relationships (*ons*; one night stand) in which men and women are commodified entities on the 'sexual marketplace' (*smp*), and women are expendable and replaceable (*plates, nexted*; LX). Specifically, it is argued that women currently have a disproportionate amount of the power in the *SMP* compared to men (LXI), and that men need to work to improve their standing in the *SMP* (LXII).

(LX) This guy sounds like a "contextual alpha". And women being the sexual selectors in the free **SMP**, will only ever have eyes for AF [Alpha Fucks] which he probably will never be. [20_r/TheRedPill]

(LXI) there seems to be a huge controversy when it comes to physical appearance and how it plays into the **SMP**. The red pill basically shares the message that we are in a harsh era of post-feminist society. And it is ultimately our responsibility to maximize our potential in regards to physical fitness, social skills, finance etc. [145_r/TheRedPill]

(LXII) 7 **plates** spun and dropped. 1 9mo **LTR**. **Nexted** for disrespect. [153_r/TheRedPill]

As such, r/TheRedPill articulates a situation based on capitalist market principles wherein men and women are attributed market values and adversarial, conflicting wants. Because women are represented as duplicitous *diggers* who seek *commitment* (LXIII), 'red pilled' men are encouraged to broadly reject *ltr*s to instead *spin plates* and assess a variety of women (referred to as *options*). When in relationships, r/TheRedPill advise instilling a sense of *dread* in one's partner that the user will leave to keep their partner loyal (LXIV). Although users acknowledge that *dread* can be instilled in more or less subtle ways, *dread* as a proposition appears to amount to coercive control and, thus, psychological abuse.

(LXIII) Women worth giving your **commitment** to are rare. So rare in fact we call them Unicorns, and you can consider this TRP on hard mode. Maintaining attraction and frame for one night isn't that hard once you've had some success and internalized game. Maintaining it throughout the course of a long term relationship is another beast altogether. [63_r/TheRedPill]

(LXIV) **Dread** in that regard is simply the realization that your partner not being present is a real possibility and that your life would be worse without him or her (whether that feeling is justified or not); but it can also work in a different function; and it certainly doesn't necessarily entail the nuclear option of the "do that or else"-approach, but can also work at levels that are lower [132_r/TheRedPill]

Men are also encouraged to engage in self-improvement activities like physical exercise and dietary changes (*BJJ* [Brazilian jiu jitsu]*, gains, workout, lifts, reps, lean*), education and philosophy (*lesson, mastery*, *amoral, machiavellian, nihilism*), and learning from community figureheads who have authored Reddit posts or books which represent the beliefs of r/TheRedPill (*Rollo*/*rollo's, Pook, Roosh's, GLO*). As well as referring to a *mastery* of the self, finances, skills and hobbies, an attitude known as 'amused *mastery*' is promoted (LXV).

(LXV) Read Rollo's and Heartiste's articles on amused **mastery**. It's sums up that you don't take women seriously, from a position that you have seen it before and you're amused with it. [47_r/TheRedPill]

By engaging in these self-improvement activities, r/TheRedPill aims to create a resource for men to increase their 'value' in the *smp* and to achieve enlightenment that will ultimately enable men's *unplugging* from an unjust system (LXVI). This *unplugging* happens in phases, with the 'anger *phase*' being discussed in just over half of the occurrences of the complement keyword *phase* (121 out of 237). Although many users acknowledge the existence of an anger *phase* (i.e. feeling anger towards women when first internalising the beliefs of r/TheRedPill), users endorse overcoming this *phase* (LXVII).

(LXVI) They [women] see the ever growing redpill/MGTOW/men's rights movements are a threat to the status quo. I expect major changes to the social structure in the coming decade, where more and more men are **unplugging** from the matrix.

(LXVII) Most of you are stuck in the anger **phase**. Things have been this way for a while now. Accept and move on. [41_r/TheRedPill]

Furthermore, adhering to *nihilism* is represented as an aspirational in-group trait (LXVIII), whereas being *Machiavellian* is seen as a negative trait of all women (LXIX). These complement keywords

shed light on how r/TheRedPill use concepts from classical literature and philosophy to bolster their anti-feminist worldview (Zuckerberg, 2018).

(LXVIII) I personally **nihilism** and stoicism work together really well and are important parts of TRP. The key to utilizing nihilism in your favor is just like anything else: **accepting that which you cannot change.** [114_r/TheRedPill]

(LXIX) The key idea here is that women operate on a **Machiavellian** survival blueprint. Ruthless pragmatism governs every decision they make. [192_r/TheRedPill]

On a similar note, r/TheRedPill claim that society is biased in favour of women, which is expressed using the term feminine/female *imperative* (LXX). However, when *imperative* is used when discussing men, it is used to claim that men have a 'biological' *imperative* to have sexual intercourse with as many women as possible.

(LXX) The issue was criticizing the feminine **imperative**; the idea that Women Are Wonderful and society should go out of its way to help them be successful. [1_r/TheRedPill]

In line with the findings of [AUTHOR] and Van Valkenburgh (2021), r/TheRedPill users attempt to ascribe motive to womens' thoughts and actions. *Deniability*, for example, which almost exclusively occurs in the phrase 'plausible deniability' (42 of 46 total instances), frames women as duplicitous in their (sexual) interactions with men to avoid being labelled as promiscuous (LXXI). Likewise, the terms *rationalize* and *hamsters* serve similar functions in r/TheRedPill to construe women as deceptive and manipulative (even to themselves). Women's thinking (metaphorically *hamsters* spinning fruitlessly on wheels) serves to deceive both themselves and men that even bad behaviours are justified (LXXII; see Van Valkenburgh, 2021).

(LXXI) The girl KNOWS she's coming back to your place for sex. But by giving her a dumb excuse, she can PRETEND to herself/her friends that she's not "slutty". It's all about plausible **deniability**. [2_r/TheRedPill]

(LXXII) Women believe in their **hamsters**, **they are not lying** when they say they "didnt cheat" or "it just happened", just because she believes her own lies dont mean you have to. [122_r/TheRedPill]

Lastly, given that r/TheRedPill is a broad ideological hub for the manosphere, it is unsurprising to find thematic overlaps with other manosphere subreddits. For instance, both r/TheRedPill and r/seduction discuss exercise and demonstrate advice-giving, and the complement keyword *contract* in r/TheRedPill mirrors discussions in r/MensRights about legality.

5 Conclusion

This paper extends previous work carried out by [AUTHORs] who examined only keywords which *are* shared by multiple different corpora to advance a novel method for identifying *complement keywords* - keywords that are not shared between multiple different corpora when compared against the same reference corpus. As with more routine keyword techniques, these complement keywords act as useful lexical signposts (Baker, 2004), however, those keywords identified highlighted specific keywords that are at once distinctive of and generalisable to those specific communities analysed. Furthermore, complement keywords enabled the identification of interdiscursive relationships between communities; although the same things might be discussed

(e.g. women or (in)equality), complement keywords enabled the identification of community-specific and lexically distinct ways through which these same things are construed and constructed.

The complement keyword method described in this paper consisted of three distinct steps, with each step intending to guide the focus of the researcher towards words that are increasingly distinctive of the contents of a corpus. The first step identifies keywords for each of the 1,000 threads in the corpus that meet Log-Likelihood threshold of >=15.13 ($p < 0.0001$). The second step produces a key-key-word list for each subcorpus by identifying only those keywords that occur in multiple (>=2) threads in a subcorpus. The third step then compares each key-key-word list to exclude any words duplicated between key-key-word lists from analysis. The choice of cut-off points for any one of these steps, as much as being a methodological choice, is also an analytical choice of what to knowingly exclude from potential analysis. For the purposes of the present paper, and to first introduce the complement keyword method as a possible route forward in the identification of lexis restricted in its use to specific corpora (or, here, community-based subcorpora), we have chosen metrics for the first two steps that will satisfy some of the minimally accepted definitions of a keyword and key-key-word. This methodological choice does present some issues, for example, by identifying complement keywords that are present in fewer than 10 (5%) of the threads that make up a 200-thread subcorpus. However, despite the infrequent key-keyness of some of the complement keywords found, that they are entirely restricted in their keyness and key-keyness to a single subcorpus and are not found to meet the same criteria in any other subcorpus (thus the 800 threads that these subcorpora represent) suggests that the use of these complement keywords is salient (even if infrequent) to a subcorpus; they are never found to be keywords in more than one thread in any other subcorpus. As such, although some of the complement keywords found might have a low distribution in terms of their key-keyness, they can be said to be maximally content distinct and maximally content generalisable for the subcorpus in which they are found given the cut-offs applied. A potential route forward in future research for elaborating complement keywords as a method will be to test and compare the metrics applied in the present paper with more conservative cut-off points (e.g. a key-key-word frequency of >=10) to understand their influence on complement keyword identification.

"Of course", as Gabrielatos (2018: 228) notes, "a study employing keyness analysis does not stop at the identification of key items; rather, this is only the first stage, as a manual analysis is required to establish the use of the items in context." With specific reference to our research questions, the complement keyword approach enabled the identification of (groups of) lexical items specific to - and distinctive of - several different manosphere communities (RQ1) whilst also providing insight into how topics of local interest are discursively construed and constructed (RQ2). For example, where [AUTHORS] found that manosphere communities draw on common language (cf. Marwick & Caplan 2018, pp. 553) to discuss social actors (predominantly men and women), the complement keyword approach was able to identify local, idiosyncratic, and *uncommon* slang terms used for these same social actors (e.g. women as *foids* or *plates*). Moreover, the present paper was able to identify community-specific discursive orientations to topics such as, for example, *(in)equality*, which, we argue, serve ideological functions for aggregation and community building.

A possible issue with the approach taken relates to Baker's note about the keyword approach, to wit that "the strongest words tend to reveal the most obvious differences [between corpora]; […] they reveal keywords that we could have probably made a good educated guess at in advance" (Baker, 2004, p. 351). This may also be true of the complement keyword approach, however, the ability to quickly identify community-specific, content-distinctive, and content-generalisable keywords in a methodologically principled way based on minimally sufficient statistics might facilitate more

objective ‘ways in’ to the initial exploration of discourses when analysing new or unfamiliar communities.

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