Address and Impoliteness in Online Polylogues

Indelicadeza e tratamento linguístico em polílogos online

Rita Faria
Universidade Católica Portuguesa (UCP), Lisboa / Portugal
rita.faria@fch.lisboa.ucp.pt

Abstract: This paper examines instances of address in European Portuguese and how these may connect to impoliteness in computer-mediated communication (CMC), namely online polylogues comprised of publicly-available commentaries left on Portuguese online newspapers in response to articles pertaining to the European Union. The paper posits an inclusive notion of address which takes into account the particular features of the medium and finds it to be heavily relational and complex, and resorting to both negotiated and conventional forms. Drawing from previous research on online impoliteness in polylogues, the paper examines impoliteness online and its intersections with address. Its main findings are that impoliteness does not seem to be a paramount communicative goal of participants and that, despite some coherent fit with address, the interaction between both is residual. It is the complexity of online address which conveys the heavily interpersonal, relational character of Portuguese CMC.

Keywords: address; impoliteness; CMC; European Portuguese; polylogues.

Resumo: O presente artigo visa examinar o tratamento linguístico em polílogos produzidos em português europeu e as suas possíveis conexões com a indelicadeza linguística no âmbito da comunicação mediada por computador (CMC), em particular comentários a artigos relativos à União Europeia publicados nas versões *online* de jornais portugueses. O artigo propõe uma noção inclusiva de tratamento linguístico que inclua as especificidades do medium, descreve o tratamento linguístico verificado no corpus e conclui que o mesmo é complexo e relacional, e que recorre a formas negociadas na interação, mas igualmente a formas convencionais. Tendo como substrato investigação

prévia sobre indelicadeza em polílogos *online*, procura também examinar-se e descrever o fenómeno da indelicadeza e as suas interseções com o tratamento. Verifica-se que a indelicadeza não é um objetivo comunicativo fundamental dos participantes e que, apesar de alguma coerência com o tratamento linguístico, a interação entre os dois é residual. É a complexidade do tratamento *online* que demonstra, assim, a índole fortemente interpessoal e relacional da CMC em português europeu.

Palavras-chave: tratamento linguístico; indelicadeza; CMC; português europeu; polílogos.

1 Introduction

The aim of this paper is to examine instances of address in European Portuguese and how these may connect to impoliteness in computer-mediated communication (CMC), namely online polylogues comprised of publicly-available commentaries left on Portuguese online newspapers in response to articles pertaining to the European Union (EU).

When establishing social relations through language, and when resorting to im/politeness linguistic devices, participants draw from a pool of resources to further communication and to direct discourse to particular addressees. Address in general is used to "disambiguate the directionality of the talk in progress" (CLAYMAN, 2012, p. 1853), but directionality is also relevant to impoliteness, "a negative attitude towards specific behaviours" (CULPEPER, 2011, p. 23) which have the potential to generate negative emotions and cause offense. Impoliteness thus needs to be aimed at particular participants and behaviours. Furthermore, Oliveira (2013, p. 291) points out the heavily relational nature of address forms, which are not only "indexicals of personal and social identity" but "they can also index features of a communicative situation (supporting or attacking face, for example)", thus suggesting a connection between address and impoliteness. Is there a noticeable nexus between usages of impoliteness and address in online polylogues, that is, is the linguistic device of address relevant to gear impoliteness towards its aim?

From this central research question, two other important objectives derive. The first is addressed-focused: how is linguistic address used in online European Portuguese? The paper examines the resources participants use to address each other, thus marking the tone of the social relationship they wish to establish.

The second research question is impoliteness-focused: does impoliteness occur in the corpus and if so, in which terms? This entails a qualitative description of impoliteness usage. The latter encompasses a situated behaviour and its negative evaluation against a backdrop of expectations as to what constitutes "politic", unmarked behaviour (WATTS, 2003) or indeed polite behaviour. As impoliteness is based on expectations eventually countered by impolite behaviour, impoliteness is more unexpected than politeness because it involves going against norms of appropriateness established within a community, context or situation. Furthermore, the possibility of anonymity in online discourse "may lead to a certain loss of self-awareness and, in turn, to lesser inhibition" (LORENZO-DUS; GARCÉS-CONEJOS BLITVICH; BOU-FRANCH, 2011, p. 2581), thus increasing the opportunities for impolite behaviour to arise. Because it is challenged more often than politeness, impoliteness seems more discursive as well, which is why we wish to explore how address might resort to impoliteness in verbal exchanges.

The focus on CMC is because the latter is the perfect locus to examine how language is negotiated in order to conduct relational work (LOCHER; WATTS, 2005). Online discourse can be of a "transient" nature (KRETZENBACHER; SCHUPBACH, 2015, p. 35) but at the same time online interactions "are no less real than relationships offline" (LOCHER; BOLANDER; HÖHN, 2015, p. 6) since the source is the same – human beings exploiting language to satisfy their communicative goals. CMC thus offers a wealth of material to study discursive interactions, namely address and impoliteness.

2 Address and impoliteness in online polylogues

For the purposes of this study, we follow an inclusive notion of address. Address on electronic discourse was already examined by C. Werry in 1996, whereby addressivity was to routinely name the addressee so as to disambiguate the direction of discourse. We find that address, and particularly address in CMC, needs to take into account the affordances of the medium and is therefore any linguistic means that congregates the functions of disambiguation and directionality (CLAYMAN, 2012), that is, the linguistic means that clarify to whom discourse is aimed. Therefore, we take online address to be a wide-encompassing linguistic device comprising the linguistic means which either explicitly refer to

the addressee (such as traditional forms of address) and/or draw their attention to what is being said. Address both includes and surpasses the linguistic signalling of the addressee's presence insofar as it includes more than direct references to an addressee or a group of addressees. Direct address (when explicit linguistic reference is made to the addressee(s), such as vocatives or bound forms of address) is thus differentiated from indirect address (when there are linguistic attempts to flag the addressee(s) or draw the addressee(s)' attention even if there is no explicit reference to the addressee).

Secondly, address needs to be considered within the nature of the medium, which in this case is an online polylogue. Polylogues are "multi-participant interactions" whose minimal unit is a trilogue, that is, at least three participants (KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI, 2004, p. 4). Because we focus on commentaries left on e-papers, the polylogues we examine comprise multi-interlocutor verbal exchanges whose means of production and reception are text-based (writing), asynchronous, computer-mediated and of public access (HERRING, 2007; MARCOCCIA, 2004). The consequences of the notion of online polylogues to conversational structure are important because a simple dyadic scheme is insufficient to describe multi-party communicative actions. The latter surpasses the conventional roles of speaker and hearer, as many participants will in fact constitute "overhearers", those who are not ratified recipients but rather eavesdroppers – in summary, the audience, whose importance was first noted by Goffman (1981) when analysing broadcast talk. The audience is of great importance to online polylogues, as very often passive "bystanders" to the conversation can enter online exchanges at will to challenge or ratify certain linguistic behaviours. Considerations of address (and impoliteness) in online polylogues therefore need to take into account a vast "perceptual range" (DOBS; GARCÉS-CONEJOS BLITVICH, 2013; BOU-FRANCH; GARCÉS-CONEJOS BLITVICH, 2014; LORENZO-DUS; GARCÉS-CONEJOS BLITVICH; BOU-FRANCH, 2011) of participants, as evaluations of linguistic behaviour are conducted not only by conventional recipients but also by the perceptions of bystanders whose evaluations comprise a large perceptual continuum.

Address thus needs to be understood as a heavily relational linguistic feature, one that is creative and not static as "interlocutors can use them in ways that do not follow societal norms" (OLIVEIRA, 2013, p. 294) and negotiate address to suit their own communicative goals. This

is especially true in Portuguese, where the morphosyntactic complexity of T/V forms of address (BROWN; GILMAN, 1968) is a powerful encoder of social deixis (BRAUN, 1988; CINTRA, 1986) and allows for the syntactic embedding of nominal, verbal and pronominal forms (CINTRA, 1986). A consequence of this complexity, as Carreira (2003, my translation) elucidates, is that in Portuguese, "[f]or all intents and purposes, the choice of the adequate form of address and the conveyance of politeness go hand in hand".[1]

As to impoliteness, the latter is a relatively new field of research when compared to politeness. Brown and Levinson's (1987) seminal work on politeness practically ignored its counter phenomenon, impoliteness, and set a Grice-oriented framework to explain politeness as a discursive antidote to FTAs, or face-threatening acts. Politeness is here understood as a rational activity that meets the goal of mitigating threats to face whilst still allowing the FTA to go ahead, and comprises a set of politeness strategies oriented to maintaining and attending to face. Politeness is therefore the equivalent of "facework".

"Face" is a cultural notion which Brown and Levinson, borrowing from Goffman (1967), define as "the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself" and something which "must be constantly attended to in interaction" (BROWN; LEVINSON, 1987, p. 61). To attend to face, politeness is cleft into negative politeness, which preserves "negative face" – the want to have freedom of action for oneself – and is therefore "the politeness of non-imposition" (BROWN; LEVINSON, 1987, p. 62); and positive politeness, which addresses positive face, that is, the want to have one's self-image appreciated and approved of. A set of negative and positive politeness strategies is established which conveniently allows the researcher to pinpoint incidents of politeness in discourse.

The first wave of politeness studies, and specifically Brown and Levinson (1987), whose main research desideratum was to explain politeness as rational facework, with claims to universality, was soon criticised for ignoring the complex realisation of politeness as a context-sensitive, situated phenomenon, which needs participants' crucial evaluations. Thus, the discursive (KÁDÁR; HAUGH, 2013) or pragmatic

---

[1] "[l]e choix de la forme d'adresse adéquate et l'expression de politesse vont, en effet, de pair".

(LOCHER, 2010; LOCHER; BOLANDER; HÖHN, 2015) turn in politeness studies focused on examining "the emergence of norms of appropriateness against which interactants make judgments on politeness and to explore the link between these norms and relational effects" (LOCHER; BOLANDER; HÖHN, 2015, p. 3). The core of research is now emic, or first-order (EELEN, 2001) notions of politeness and impoliteness (im/politeness) from which etic, or second-order, conceptualizations of im/politeness derive, that is, the research focus is now on the emic norms which regulate linguistic behaviours based on interactants' expectations (BOUSFIELD; LOCHER, 2008; CULPEPER, 2011; GRAHAM, 2007; LOCHER, 2010; LOCHER; BOLANDER; HÖHN, 2015; LOCHER; WATTS, 2005; MILLS, 2003; WATTS, 2003, etc.).

A central concept to understand im/politeness is "relational work" (LOCHER; WATTS, 2005), defined as "the 'work' that individuals invest in negotiating relationships with others" (p. 10), that is, a spectrum which encompasses "the entire continuum of verbal behaviour" (p. 11) and four main categories, which stretch from negatively marked behaviour (impolite or overly polite) to positively marked behaviour (polite) and unmarked, appropriate behaviour. It is within this continuum that norms of appropriateness are formed, based on speaker's understanding and evaluation of what counts as polite, appropriate, inappropriate or impolite. However, as Kádár and Haugh (2013) observe, "no theory has been able to significantly dent the popularity of the Brown and Levinsonian framework", and we would add this is because post-Brown and Levinson studies refuse aprioristic judgements of im/politeness (GARCÉS-CONEJOS BLITVICH, 2010b, p. 540), which makes theoretical sense but fails to counter the appeal of Brown and Levinson as a ready framework for data analysis. This is why the work developed by Culpeper (1996, 2005 and later 2011, 2015) on impoliteness is both important and convenient as his is a dualist position which preserves the best of both worlds. Impoliteness is seen as a situated behaviour with the potential to cause offense and generate negative emotions when it clashes against routinely established expectations shared by the participants of a situation, community or context. However, impoliteness is not a purely context-dependent or, inversely, an entirely formulaic, *a priori* event. Impoliteness can be both a "semanticised" process and a pragmatic, context-sensitive phenomenon: "… it is the interaction between the two that counts" (CULPEPER, 2011, p. 125).

The next section will explain how our framework of analysis was drawn from work on impoliteness in online polylogues which in turn has Culpeper's frame of analysis at its core.

3 The data: methodology, framework and analysis

3.1 Methodology and framework

This paper examines publicly-available commentaries concerning the EU[2] left on Portuguese online newspapers. We have selected comments which have generated replies and therefore constitute threads, published on the online versions of broadsheets Público and Diário de Notícias (see the list of articles used in Attachment 1). The comments are identified as follows: PT (Dataset: European Portuguese corpus) – A1, 2, 3, etc. (number of article) –1, 2, 3, etc. (number of comment) – comment (please note that no editing or correction were introduced; comments are quoted as collected). Example: A1. PT. 45: Por mim a Europa já devia ter evoluído para estados unidos da Europa Já devíamos ser um país! (As far as I'm concerned, Europe should have evolved into the united states of Europe. We should be a country already!).

The dataset comprises articles from 2016 to 2018 in a total of 300 comments. Each comment was coded according to address and impoliteness using the software MaxQDA. We followed an utterance-based method insofar as every utterance from each comment was examined and coded according to the coding categories which we display at the end of this section. It was important we focus on utterances so as to account for the overlapping of different address and impoliteness strategies that occur in just one comment taken as a unit; this meant that the same comment could be coded several times for different dimensions of address and impoliteness. Percentages were established based on the number of coded segments for each category, in a universe of 300 units.

Our analysis is primarily of a qualitative nature, insofar as it tries to examine and describe the nuances and variation of usages of address and impoliteness. However, this demanded a degree of quantification as

---

[2] The reference to the EU was to provide a theoretical coherence to the corpus only, and not to provide discussion on the subject-matter itself.

well. The quantitative data presented should be understood as support to the qualitative variation we hope to show.

Before proceeding, we must first establish how to account for instances of impoliteness in the corpus and select the necessary framework of analysis.

For instances of impoliteness, Culpeper (2015, p. 14) states that "[f]or politeness items to count as polite they must go unchallenged [...]. Thus, for impoliteness items to count as impolite they must go challenged". This begs the following question: how about instances of impoliteness that go unchallenged, i.e., cause no reply from other respondents? The answer to this question is very important to the medium examined, given how lithely members can participate and then opt out of the exchange.

Instances that go against expected appropriate (or civil) behaviour in public discourse cannot be qualified as impoliteness proper in the absence of an explicitly verbalised challenge. However, as Lorenzo-Dus, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Bou-Franch. (2011, p. 2579) point out, the norms that regulate specific CMC interactions are likely to be those which set the standard for civility in public discourse. This is why online platforms (such as YouTube but also online newspapers) usually have a system of moderation in place whereby participants are urged to comply with norms of civility.

In the absence of explicit challenges of impoliteness issued by participants and their evaluations, we will therefore count instances that seem to go against the backdrop of appropriate, civil behaviour as possibly open to interpretations of impoliteness, that is, with impolite potential. This is not too different from the method followed by Upadhyay (2010), who also examines readers' responses on e-papers and also had to contend with the fact that "the perlocutionary effect of these responses on the target person [...] is usually unavailable" (p. 107). Therefore, Upadhyay (2010, p. 112) decides to count a response as impolite "when it is likely to be interpreted by a general [...] readership as negatively marked and inappropriate behaviour due to its blatant face-aggravating character".

This "inappropriate behaviour" needs to be made very obvious as to its deliberate face-threatening potential and conspicuously clash against a backdrop of norms and expectancies of appropriateness. This method (one of attempting to ascertain the impolite potential of utterances

when they blatantly seem to counter expected norms of appropriateness) is the best we can do to avoid aprioristic judgments of impoliteness. However, what this method may not entirely avoid is the "ontological trap" (HAUGH, 2007, p. 309) of having both the participants' and the researchers' evaluations conflated, and that is why we restrict our own evaluations of impoliteness to very conspicuous cases. This ensures (to some extent, at least) that the researcher's evaluations are "analogous to participants' assessments" (GARCÉS-CONEJOS BLITVICH, 2010b, p. 541).

We follow Lorenzo-Dus, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Bou-Franch (2011) in order to categorise instances of potential impoliteness found in the corpus. Firstly, it draws heavily from Culpeper's well established work on impoliteness and its output impoliteness strategies and applies it to an online polylogue. It therefore presents a framework of analysis which has already been tested on digital datasets showing that impoliteness tends to be "patterned", i.e., it tends to follow certain discursive forms and strategies that may be more or less recurrent in a certain community; and it takes into account the heavily relational features of this medium, namely the importance of the audience and the aforementioned "perceptual range".

A further advantage to Lorenzo-Dus, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Bou-Franch (2011) is that it already includes "implicated impoliteness", similar to what Culpeper (2011, p. 17) denominates "implicational impoliteness". If there is a mismatch between the semantics of a certain verbal behaviour and the actual (impolite) meaning of the behaviour, we face implicational impoliteness.

The framework for our analysis of impoliteness is the following (our coding categories used for analysis are in square brackets):

FIGURE 1 – Framework for impoliteness analysis (from LORENZO-DUS; GARCÉS-CONEJOS BLITVICH; BOU-FRANCH, 2011) and coding categories

On-record impoliteness [ImpOnRec]	Positive Impoliteness [PosImpol]	Ignore/snub the other [IgnSnub]
		Exclude the other from activity [Exclude]
		Dissociate from other [Dissociate]
		Be disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic [Disint]
		Use inappropriate identity markers [IdentMarker]
		Use obscure secretive language [ObscureLgg]
		Make the other feel uncomfortable [FeelUncomf]
		Seek disagreement [SeekDisagr]
		Use taboo words [Taboo]
		Call the other names [CallName]
	Negative impoliteness [NegImpol]	Frighten [Frighten]
		Condescend, scorn, ridicule, belittle, show relative power [ScornPower]
		Invade the other's space [InvadeSpace]
		Explicitly associate the other with a negative aspect [NegAspect]
		Put the other's indebtedness on record [OnRecDebt]
		Hinder or block the other, either physically or linguistically [HinderBlock]
Off-record impoliteness [ImpOffRec]	Implicated impoliteness [Implicat]	
	Sarcasm [Sarcasm]	
	Withhold politeness (the absence of politeness work where it would be expected - Culpeper 2015) [Withhold]	

The categories for address, taking into account the technological affordances of CMC, are the following (coding categories in square brackets):

[DirAddr] Direct address: explicit form of address with linguistic reference to the addressee:

– [FreeForm] Free forms: vocatives [Voc]

– [BoundForm] Bound forms: pronouns TU [TU], VOCÊ [VOCÊ], VOCÊS [VOCÊS]; 3rd person forms (pro-drop verb forms

and derivative 3rd person possessive, reflexive, demonstrative pronouns) [3rdPerForm]; 2nd person forms (pro-drop verb forms and pronouns) [2ndPerForm]; nominal forms, used in Portuguese as syntactically bound address [NomForm].

[IndAddr] Indirect address: linguistic forms which draw the addressee's attention to discourse without an explicit deictic reference being made:

- [SpeechAct] speech acts whose directionality is addressive without resorting to forms of address per se: directives such as requests for information, assertives stating a general fact or quality concerning the addressee; text deixis, that is, a word or expression that directly signals the addressee's contribution. These speech acts are addressive because they too disambiguate the directionality of discourse, that is, they direct discourse to the addressee by means of indirect referents (the aforementioned facts or qualities, or elements of text deixis).
- [Auditorium] address the audience in general, or a general group of people where the direct addressee is included.
- [3rdPerAddr] reference to addressee using 3rd person forms, i.e., speaking about the addressee as if she or he is not part of the exchange
- [PublicFig] reference to public figure mentioned in article or to author of article.
- [Quote] quoting from other's comment (either entire parts or specific items from previous comment) and responding.

[NoAddr] No address: exploiting the software optionality to indent the comment and replying to an original comment directly. This involves no linguistic elaboration, no address and keeps relational work to a minimum, but it is nevertheless an option afforded by the medium to draw the addressee's attention to discourse.

3.2 The corpus: data analysis

Decisions about impolite potential in online polylogues need to take into account that the primary aim of participants is to discuss the topic introduced by the article, as they are taking part of a discussion forum. A certain degree of face attack is thus expected and, unless discourse extrapolates the limits of the discussion and becomes primarily concerned with conspicuous face damage, there are no grounds to consider it impolite.

Certain instances of impoliteness were relatively easy to determine because they were challenged:

> PT.A1.28.Júlio@Francisco: Já li muitos [livros], já tu pareces ser muito idoso que acredita em qualquer mentira que os medias dizem, desligue a tv e vá ler alguns livros, assim com o tempo as propagandas mentirosas e falsas começam a sair da tua cabeça

> (I've read many books, however you (tu) seem to be very old and believe any lie the media say, turn off (3rd person) the TV and go (3rd person) read some books, so that with time the lying, false propaganda leaves your (2dn person) head.)

> 29.Francisco: Júlio, tu, você, em que ficamos? Não desrespeitei ninguém.

> (Júlio, tu, você, what's it going to be? I haven't disrespected anyone.)

PT.A1.28 deploys on-record positive impoliteness by resorting to inappropriate identity markers and alternating between "tu" and 3rd person forms, which is considered "disrespectful" by Francisco, even if Júlio may have had no intention to offend. Impoliteness is on display due to the verbalised negative evaluation that Francisco issues on Júlio's linguistic behaviour, and this example also demonstrates the relational, negotiated nature of online address.

In terms of address, the corpus reveals a multi-layered exploitation of addressive devices, making full use of the medium affordances. All address categories were present, and in order of the most frequent to the less frequent, they were:

FIGURE 2 – Address in the European Portuguese corpus

Direct Address (159, n=300)	Vocatives
	{First name [FN]}: PT.A1.18. *Estou de acordo,<u>Marco</u>, força?*
	(I agree, <u>Marco,</u> go for it?)
	{Kinship terms}: PT.A6.109.*<u>Amigo</u>, comunismo é o fim da propriedade privada [...]*
	(<u>Friend</u>, communism is the end of private property.)
	{Kinship term +FN}: PT.A7.136.*Não me parece, <u>caro Luis</u>, que a paz que dura há 60 anos [...], seja uma indicação errada.*
	(<u>Dear Luis,</u> to me it doesn't seem that the peace that has lasted for the past 60 years is an incorrect indication.)
	{Kinship term + Last Name}: PT.A8.170.*Olha <u>caro Santos</u> isto do R Unido estar com um pe dentro e outro fora, na minha humilde opiniao acho que eles sempre tiveram disconfianca com a EU [...].*
	(Look *(3rd person)* <u>dear Santos</u> this thing with the UK, that they are half in and half out, in my humble opinion I think they have always been suspicious of the EU)
	{Colloquially conventionalised forms of address}: PT.A1.31.*Qual projeto humanista, <u>homem</u>?*
	(What humanistic project, <u>dude</u>?)
	{conventionalised politeness formulae}: PT.A4.61.<u>Meu caro</u> *a este nível não há almoços grátis.*
	(<u>Dear chap</u> at this level there are no free lunches.)
	{Nominal Form + FN}: PT.A8.169.*Não <u>sr Carlos</u> eu também sou emigrante* .... (No <u>Mr. Carlos</u> I too am an emigrant)
	{Insults}: PT.A13.269.*Va olhar para as estatisticas ou <u>trollinho</u>*
	(Go *(3rd person)* look at the stats <u>you little troll</u>)
	{FN followed by 3rd person forms}: PT.A7.146. *<u>Mario</u> advoga uma Europa "que precisa de se democratizar", mas aposto que <u>a sua</u> ideia de democracia é a mediação obrigatória pelos partidos [...].*
	(<u>Mario you defend</u> (3rd person) the kind of Europe "that needs to democratise", but I bet <u>your (3rd person)</u> idea of democracy is compulsory mediation operated by parties)
	{FN followed by VOCÊ}: PT.A1.27.*Que liberdade <u>Júlio</u>? <u>Você</u> parece-me muito jovem [...].*
	[...]. (What freedom, <u>Júlio? You (você)</u> seem (3rd person) very young.)
	3rd person forms: PT.A13.236.*<u>Veja</u> quem apoia as suas ideias e <u>verá</u> o que valem.*
	(<u>Look</u> *(3rd person)* at those who support <u>your</u> *(3rd person)* ideas and you'll see *(3rd person)* how much they're worth.)

	Nominal forms:
	{Senhor,Senhora}: PT.A1.27.*retardado é <u>o Sr.</u>*
	(<u>The mister</u> is retarded – you're retarded.)
	{FN}:PT.A4.78. *Qual é a adição que <u>o Filipe</u> recomenda?*
	(Which addition <u>does Filipe (you)</u> recommend?)
	{Kinship term + FN}: PT.A13.225.*Mas em meu entender <u>o caro José</u> está mais perto da realidade [...].*
	(But it seems to me that <u>dear José</u> is closer to reality – but it seems to me that you are closer to reality)
	{title}: PT.A4.70.*<u>O colega</u> pode garantir que os estados determinantes da UE serão da NATO por toda a eternidade?*
	(Can <u>the colleague</u> (you) guarantee that the significant states of the EU will belong to NATO for eternity?)
	Você: PT.A14.300*. ...quem é <u>você</u> para dizer que "não quer em Portugal"?*
	(You are <u>you (você)</u> to say "you don't want [it, them] in Portugal?")
	2nd person forms: PT.A6.110.*É impressionante como <u>*achas*</u> que existe propriedade privada na China [...].*
	(It's unbelievable that <u>you (2nd person) think</u> there is private property in China.)
	TU: PT.A1.41.: *<u>tu</u> e esquerdopata?*
	(<u>You *(tu)*</u> and the psycho-left?)
	VOCÊS: PT.A13.242.*...ou <u>voces</u> acham mesmo que os extremos iriam ser como os moderados?*
	(...or do <u>you *(vocês – 2nd person plural)*</u> really think that extremists would be moderates?)
Indirect Address (126, n=300)	Auditorium: PT.A13. 224.*Vejo que isto aqui está animado... basta falar na Rússia para <u>os direitotes entrarem esbaforidos e a mostrar serviço</u>...*
	...(I can see everyone's excited around here... as soon as Russia is mentioned, the <u>usual rightwinger-ites dash, eager to please and deliver</u>...)
	Quote: PT.A6. 147.*"A Europa é apenas uma e deve realizar-se como até aqui numa vontade de partilhar direitos e deveres comuns" ??? E quando é que lhe pediram a sua opinião?*
	("There is only one Europe and everything should be carried out as it has been, sharing common rights and duties"??? And when did anyone ask for your *(3rd person)* opinion?)

Speech Act:
{requests for information}:PT.A13.221. *Houve solução parlamentar [...] no caso Monti?*
(Was there a parliamentary solution to the Monti case?)
{assertives stating a quality concerning the addressee}: PT.A1.23.*Tá forte essa esquizofrenia.*
(That schizophrenia is hitting hard.)
{assertives stating agreement or disagreement by means of a word or expression that directly signals the addressee's contribution}: PT.A5. 101. *Bem lembrado. Mas se bem me parece, foi a Hungria que ergueu muros e fechou fronteiras...*
(Well said (remembered). But it seems to me that it was Hungary which built walls and closed borders...)
3rd person address: PT.A12. 215. *Mas que bem, o V. resolveu olhar-se ao espelho e fazer uma auto-crítica. Realmente a figurinha que faz em mais de 90% das vezes é bem triste.*
(How nice, V. decided to look in the mirror and do some self-assessment. Mind you, the little spectacle he makes of himself 90% of the time is really sad.)
Public figure: PT.A11.186. *Este polaco* [Donald Tusk] *está doido.*
(This Polish man [Donald Tusk] went insane.)

No Address
(77, n=300)

This is in line not only with the options for address afforded by CMC but also with the morphosyntactic complexities of linguistic address in Portuguese. We note considerable overlapping of addressive strategies within designated readers' comments, to the extent that one comment can exhibit two or more categories of address, a testament to the complexity of online address. The preference is for direct address, with conventionalised address (3rd person forms, usually deemed acceptable by "society as a whole" (OLIVEIRA, 1994, p. 149)) preferred by most participants. The preference for conventions also explains the reduced incidence of T forms and it is in fact striking that most exchanges preferred to follow offline conventions (a similar conclusion to KRETZENBACHER; SCHUPBACH, 2015). As previously noted, online and offline discourses are probably not inherently different and the qualitative diversity of

address found in this corpus may indicate that. To note that there is also space for negotiation of forms of address and exploring different linguistic options – apart from the aforementioned negotiation of identity markers in PT.A1.28, note PT.A4.70. in FIGURE 2, which resorts to "o colega" as a form of address so as to find an appropriate form to flag a fellow interactant.

How do these address options relate to impolite behaviour? The instances of impoliteness encountered were the following:

FIGURE 3 – Impoliteness in the European Portuguese corpus

| On-record impoliteness (27, n=300)		
	Positive Impoliteness (18)	Call Names: PT.A1.36. És mais um analfabeto político, mais uma cabeça de gado a vomitar ódio e ignorancia pela internet. (You're another political illiterate, another cattle head vomiting hate and ignorance on the internet.)
		Exclude other: PT.14.298. *Oh Helder tem assim tanto odio pela humanidade? Pessoas como voce, nao queremos em Portugal* (Helder, do you hate humanity that much? We don't want people like you in Portugal.)
		Dissociate from other: PT.A14.284. *Muitos dos comentadores deste pasquim apoiam os canalhas da extrema-direita.* (A lot of people who comment on this rag support the far-right rascals.)
		Be disinterested: PT.A13.274.Alforreca quando comprar um livro de economia venha discutir o Euro ok? Enquanto isso deixe de insultar os outros. [Hinder, block] (Alforreca, when you buy a book on Economics come and discuss the Euro, ok? Until then, stop insulting others. [Hinder, block])
		Identity marker: see PT.A1.28 above
		Make other feel uncomfortable: PT.A1.41.*tu e esquerdopata? a favor da islamização da europa?* (You and the psycho-left? In favour of the islamisation of Europe?)

	Negative Impoliteness (9)	Scorn, show relative power: PT.A7. 134.*"a importância da UE em garantir paz na Europa durante 60 anos. " ???? Quantos anos afinal é que tem a UE? Francamente, não há pachorra para tanta ignorância...* ("The importance of the EU as a guarantor of peace in Europe for 60 years." ???? How old is the EU, in the end? Honestly, you reach the end of the tether with such ignorance…)
		Hinder, block: PT.A14.300. *[...] Isso é xenofobia, não acha? [...] Mais, quem é você para dizer que "não quer em Portugal"?* (That's xenophobia, don't you think? Also, who are you to say "you don't want [it, them] in Portugal?")
		Associate other with negative aspect: PT.A7.137. *Afinal parece que aqui o ignorante é o luis ou é a idiologia doentia que lhe tolda o cerebro ou efeitos da lavagem cerebral do tempo da URSS* (After all it seems that Luís is the ignorant here, or maybe it's the sick ideology which clouds his brain, or the effects of brainwashing from back in the days of the USSR.)
Off-record impoliteness (19, n=300)		
	Implicated Impoliteness (17)	PT.A1.21. *PNR [Partido Nacional Renovador]? Acho que já ouvi falar... 30 ou 40 skinheads liderados por um betinho, vítima de endogamia, com o apoio de 5 ou 6 mil gajos, na maioria homens, sem formação académica e com complexos de inferioridade.* (PNR [National Renovation Party]? I think I've heard of them before... 30 or 40 skinheads led by a posho suffering from endogamy, with the support of 5 or 6 thousand blokes, mostly men, with no academic education and with an inferiority complex.)
	Sarcasm (2)	PT.A6.123.*Explica lá exactamente onde está a ingorência* [ignorância] *daquilo que escrevi. <u>Vá, solta esse génio para a malta ler.</u>* (Explain exactly what's so ignorant about what I've written. Come on, <u>let that genius free</u> so that us guys can read it.)
		PT.A6.116.*Ou seja, assinar um acordo comercial é ser "colonializado". Epa ... isto vindo de um país que vive de subsídios da UE e que se verga às directivas da UE :D <u>És um génio amigo.</u>* (You mean that signing a trade deal is to be "colonised." Man… this coming from a country living off EU benefits and which bends itself backwards to follow EU directives. :D <u>You're a genius, mate.</u>)

From the table above, it is clear that some impolite behaviours were challenged and therefore easy to detect. Apart from the example concerning identity markers which we have already explained (PT.A1.28), PT.A13.274 clearly states "deixe de insultar os outros" ("stop insulting others") because he interpreted the previous comment (PT.A13.273, not included on the table), where he was called "europeísta totalitário" ("pro-EU totalitarian"), as an insult. PT.A14.300 is an interesting case of a bystander evaluating as impolite a behaviour addressed to someone else (in fact, this participant is reacting to PT.14.298, also shown on the table). This shows the importance of an all-encompassing view of address and impoliteness evaluations in polylogues, which indeed cannot be subsumed under a dyadic interpretation of interactions. PT.A6.123 also reacts to a previous comment (PT.A6.121. "A ognorância [ignorância] é atrevida..." – "ignorance is daring") which resorted to implicated impoliteness to insult him or her. The participant correctly interprets the implicature and responds, displaying his negative evaluation of previous behaviour.

In line with other works on impoliteness in polylogues (GARCÉS-CONEJOS BLITVICH, 2010a; LORENZO-DUS; GARCÉS-CONEJOS BLITVICH; BOU-FRANCH, 2011) the corpus shows a preference for on-record impoliteness, headed by positive impoliteness, even if only slightly (positive impoliteness and off-record impoliteness are close, which is actually an important difference from the aforementioned studies, where preference for on-record impoliteness was overwhelming). However, it is striking that address was proven to be relational and complex, making use of different options and totalling 285 coded segments (95% of the corpus), whereas conspicuous impoliteness totals 46 coded segments (15%) and is not as qualitatively varied, as it settled on a relatively narrow pool of choices. An overview of how participants resorted to address and impoliteness follows:

FIGURE 4 – Address and impoliteness in the European Portuguese corpus
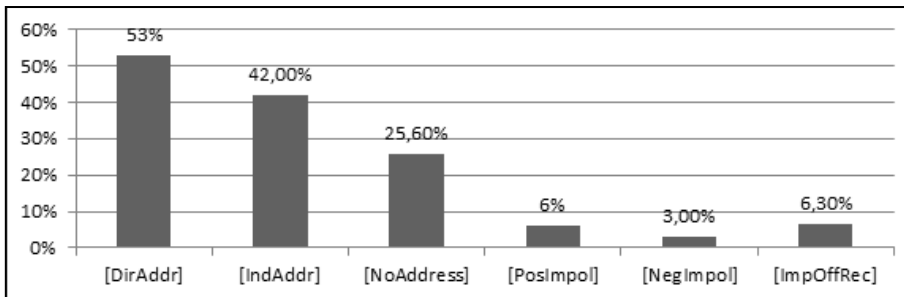
If it is true that our considerations of impoliteness were conservatively issued, it is also true that these results, coupled with the granulated choices of address, seem to indicate a greater concern for interpersonal exchange of information and opinion than for adopting an adversarial, impolite behaviour. Impoliteness does not seem to be of great concern to the communicative efforts of the participants, and the scarce preference for no address further indicates an inclination for interpersonal, relational work.

The intersection between address and impoliteness reveals some coherence between these two categories. The most relevant intersections were:

FIGURE 5 – Intersection between address and impoliteness in the European Portuguese corpus (from MaxQDA)
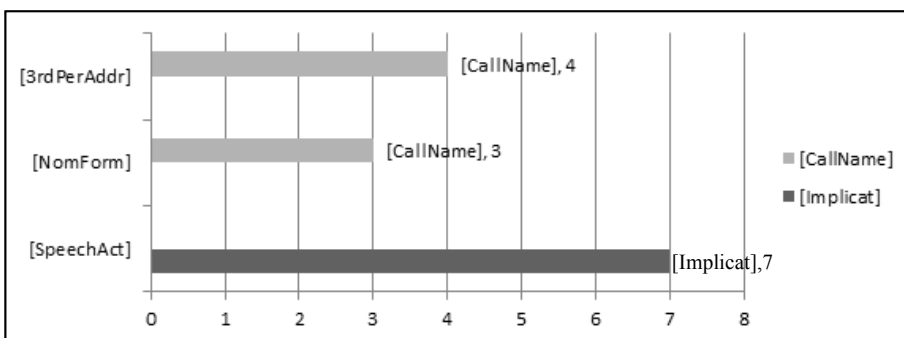
There is here some qualitative coherence insofar as the most noticeable intersection is address by means of a speech act and off-record implicated impoliteness, that is, indirect address corresponds to the most

indirect impolite behaviour. This preference for indirectness is also shown, albeit to a lesser degree, in the intersection between 3rd person address (talking about the addressee as if he or she were not present) and call the other names. The intersection between nominal forms and call other names is more direct, however.

4 Conclusion

This paper examined a set of 300 comments left on online Portuguese broadsheets in order to describe usages of address and impoliteness and study their possible nexus.

Online address in Portuguese proved to be complex and a locus of linguistic negotiation, where forms of address are negotiated and illustrate the "linguistic struggle" (WATTS, 2003) over what is deemed appropriate linguistic behaviour. However, the preference for conventionalised address, similar to offline communication (that is, resorting to third-person forms) is of note.

As for impoliteness, the qualitative (and quantitative) preference for on-record positive impoliteness, followed by off-record impoliteness, is clear, but impoliteness does not seem to be a prime communicative goal in the polylogues examined, which convey their heavy interpersonal character by resorting to complexity of address, more than to impoliteness.

As to the nexus between impoliteness and address, address is qualitatively coherent with impoliteness to some extent, but intersections between address and impoliteness are residual. Because the main goals of participants do not seem to include impoliteness, the nexus between the latter and address exists but is far from determining relational work.

To conclude, it is important to enhance the complexity of language use, especially address, in online communication, a true locus for "linguistic struggle", negotiation and full deployment of participants' communicative efforts. This explains the heavily interpersonal character of the corpus, where exploitation of address is relevant to further communication (and the option of no address is not). Although resort to impoliteness occurs, anonymity is not motivation enough for a notorious use of this category. It is address, and not impoliteness itself, that determines the interpersonal, communicative efforts of the Portuguese participants, in line with the complex address system of European Portuguese which seems fully deployed in CMC.

References

BOU-FRANCH, P.; GARCÉS-CONEJOS BLITVICH, P. Conflict Management in Massive Polylogues: A Case Study from YouTube. *Journal of Pragmatics*, [*S.l.*], v. 73, p. 1-36, 2014. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2014.05.001

BOUSFIELD, D; LOCHER, M. (ed.). *Impoliteness in Language:* Studies on its Interplay with Power in Theory and Practice. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008.

BRAUN, F. *Terms of Address:* Problems of Patterns and Usage in Various Languages and Cultures. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1988. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110848113

BROWN, P.; LEVINSON, S. *Politeness:* Some Universals in Language Use. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511813085

BROWN, R.; GILMAN, A. The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity. *In:* FISHMAN, J. A. (ed.). *Readings in the Sociology of Language.* The Hague; Paris: Mouton, 1968. p. 252-275. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110805376.252

CARREIRA, M. H. Les formes allocutives du portugais européen: évolutions, valeurs et fonctionnements discursifs. *In:* COLÓQUIO PRONOMBRES DE SEGUNDA PERSONA Y FORMAS DE TRATAMIENTO EN LAS LENGUAS DE EUROPA, 2003, Paris. *Plenary talk* [...]. Paris: Instituto Cervantes de Paris. 2003. Available at: https://cvc.cervantes.es/lengua/coloquio_paris/ponencias/pdf/cvc_araujo.pdf. Accessed in: 18 july 2018.

CINTRA, L.F.L. *Sobre formas de tratamento na língua portuguesa.* 2. ed. Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 1986.

CLAYMAN, S. E. Address Terms in the Organization of Turns at Talk: The case of Pivotal Turn Extensions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, [*s.l.*], v. 44, p. 1853-1867, 2012. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2012.08.001

CULPEPER, J. Towards an Anatomy of Impoliteness. *Journal of Pragmatics*, [*s.l.*], v. 25, n. 3, p. 349-367, 1996. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/0378-2166(95)00014-3

CULPEPER, J. Impoliteness and Entertainment in the Television Quiz Show: The Weakest Link. *Journal of Politeness Research*, [*s.l.*], v. 1, p. 35-72, 2005. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1515/jplr.2005.1.1.35

CULPEPER, J. *Impoliteness:* Using Language to Cause Offence. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511975752

CULPEPER, J. Impoliteness Strategies. *In:* CAPONE, A.; MEY, J. L. (ed.). *Interdisciplinary Studies in Pragmatics, Culture and Society*. [*S.l.*]: Springer, 2015. p. 421-445. (Perspectives in Pragmatics, Philosophy & Psychology; v. 4). Doi: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-12616-6_16

DOBS, A.; GARCÉS-CONEJOS BLITVICH, P. Impoliteness in Interaction: Accounting for Face-Threat Witness's Responses. *Journal of Pragmatics*, [*s. l.*], v. 53, p. 112-130, 2013. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2013.05.002

EELEN, G. *A Critique of Politeness Theories.* Manchester: St. Jerome, 2001.

GARCÉS-CONEJOS BLITVICH, P. The YouTubification of Politics, Impoliteness and Polarization. *In:* ROTIMI, T. (ed.). *Handbook of Research on Discourse Behaviour and Digital Communication:* Language Structures and Social Interaction. Hershey, PA: IGI Global, 2010a. p. 540-563. Doi: https://doi.org/10.4018/978-1-61520-773-2.ch035

GARCÉS-CONEJOS BLITVICH, P. Introduction: The Status-Quo and Quo Vadis of Impoliteness Research. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, [*s. l.*], v. 7, n. 4, p. 535-559, 2010b. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1515/iprg.2010.025

GOFFMAN, E. *Ritual.* Essays on Face-to-Face Behaviour. New York: Pantheon, 1967.

GOFFMAN, E. *Forms of Talk.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1981.

GRAHAM, S. L. Disagreeing to Agree: Conflict, (Im)politeness and Identity in a Computer-Mediated Community. *Journal of Pragmatics*, [*s. l.*], v. 39, n. 4, p. 742- 759, 2007. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2006.11.017

HAUGH, M. The Discursive Challenge to Politeness Research: An Interactional Alternative. *Journal of Politeness Research*, [*s.l.*], v. 3, n. 2, p. 95-317, 2007. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1515/PR.2007.013

HERRING, S. A Faceted Classification Scheme for Computer-Mediated Discourse. *Language@Internet*, [*S.l.*], v. 4: article 1, 2007. Available at: http://www.languageatinternet.org/articles/2007/761. Accessed in: 21 july 2018.

KÁDÁR, D.; HAUGH, M. *Understanding Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139382717

KERBRAT-ORECCHIONI, C. Introducing Polylogue. *Journal of Pragmatics,* [*s. l.*], v. 36, p. 1-24, 2004. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(03)00034-1.

KRETZENBACHER, H. L.; SCHUPBACH, D. Communities of Addressing Practice? Address in Internet Forums Based in German-Speaking Countries. *In:* NORRBY, C.; WIDE, C. (ed.). *Address Practice as Social Action:* European Perspectives. Basingstoke: Palgrave Pivot, 2015. p. 33-53. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137529923_3

LOCHER, M.; WATTS, R. Politeness Theory and Relational Work. *Journal of Politeness Research*, [*s. l.*], v. 1, p. 9-33, 2005. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1515/jplr.2005.1.1.9

LOCHER, M. Introduction: Politeness and Impoliteness in Computer-Mediated Communication. *Journal of Politeness,* [*s. l.*], v. 6, p. 1-5, 2010. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1515/jplr.2010.001

LOCHER, M.; BOLANDER, B.; HÖHN, N. Introducing Relational Work in Facebook and Discussion Boards. *Pragmatics*, [*s. l.*], v. 25, n. 1, p. 1-21, 2015. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1075/prag.25.1.01loc

LORENZO-DUS, N.; GARCÉS-CONEJOS BLITVICH, P.; BOU-FRANCH, P. On-line Polylogues and Impoliteness: The Case of Postings Sent in Response to the Obama Reggaeton YouTube video. *Journal of Pragmatics*, [*s. l.*], v. 43, p. 2578-2593, 2011. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2011.03.005

MARCOCCIA, M. On-line Polylogues: Conversation Structure and Participation Framework in Internet Newsgroups. *Journal of Pragmatics*, [*s. l.*], v. 36, p. 115-145, 2004. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(03)00038-9

MILLS, S. *Gender and Politeness.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511615238

OLIVEIRA, S. M. de. Winning Friends and Influencing People Abroad: Using Native Speakers' Communicative Strategies. *Intercultural Communication Studies*, [*s. l.*], v. IV, n. 1, p. 23-44, 1994.

OLIVEIRA, S. M. Address in Computer-Mediated Communication. *In:* HERRING, S. C.; STEIN, D.; VIRTANEN, T. (ed.). *Pragmatics of Computer-Mediated Communication*. Handbooks of Pragmatics. Bonn: Walter de Gruyter, 2013. v. 9, p. 291-313.

UPADHYAY, S. R. Identity and Impoliteness in Computer-Mediated Reader Responses. *Journal of Politeness Research,* [*s.l.*], v. 6, p. 105-125, 2010. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1515/jplr.2010.006

WATTS, R. J. *Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511615184

WERRY, C. Linguistic and Interactional Features of Internet Relay Chat. *In:* HERRING, S. C. (ed.). *Computer-Mediated Communication:* Linguistic, Social and Cross-Cultural Perspectives. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1996. p. 47-64. Doi: https://doi.org/10.1075/pbns.39.06wer.

ATTACHMENT 1
List of articles from which comments were collected

ARTICLE 1. Extrema-direita reúne-se para lutar contra a Europa. *Diário de Notícias*, 21 jan. 2017.

ARTICLE 2. MNE luxemburguês quer Hungria fora da UE. *Diário de Noticias*, 13 sept. 2016.

ARTICLE 3. O Grito da Brexitândia. *Público*, 18 jan. 2017.

ARTICLE 4. Londres avança para "hard Brexit" mas recusa ser punida pela UE. *Público*, 17 jan. 2017.

ARTICLE 5. "Também nós, na Europa, erguemos muros", lembra ministro italiano. *Diário de Notícias*, 30 jan. 2017.

ARTICLE 6. Trump afirma que 'brexit' é "fantástico para Reino Unido". *Diário de Notícias*, 28 jan. 2017.

ARTICLE 7. Queriam nacionalismo? Aí o têm. *Público*, 23 jan. 2017.

ARTICLE 8. Cameron culpa UE: houve brexit por medo de imigração em massa. *Diário de Notícias*, 29 june 2016.

ARTICLE 9. Theresa May diz que decreto anti-imigração de Trump é "fraturante e errado". *Diário de Notícias*, 1 feb. 2017.

ARTICLE 10. Merkel considera injustificadas restrições à imigração nos EUA. *Diário de Notícias*, 29 jan. 2017.

ARTICLE 11. Tusk coloca Trump na lista de "ameaças" à União Europeia. *Diário de Notícias*, 31 jan. 2017.

ARTIGO 12. May ganha apoios para um pacto de segurança com Bruxelas. *Público*, 17 feb. 2018.

ARTICLE 13. Acordo de governo entre Liga e M5S inclui mecanismo de saída do euro e fim das sanções à Rússia. *Público*, 16 may 2018.

ARTICLE 14. Steve Bannon quer fazer fundação para ajudar populistas europeus. *Público*, 21 july 2018.