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Impoliteness across Online Platforms

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Declaration

This submission is my own work. Any quotation from, or description of, the work of others is acknowledged herein by reference to the sources, whether published or unpublished.

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Abstract

The Internet and the various social media platforms constitute a space where users exercise their right to free speech by participating in polylogues. Being able to speak one's mind is essential in interactions, though it may provoke face-threatening behavior. In fact, impoliteness is not that rare in online communication, especially when highly contentious issues are discussed. The aim of this work is to examine discourse across three online social media platforms (i.e. Twitter, YouTube and Reddit) and attempt to determine whether the individual features of the platforms have an impact on the amount and form of impoliteness employed by their users. To this end, I concentrate on a single topic, that of the July 2018 wildfires in Attica, Greece.

Both qualitative and quantitative approaches are followed since their combination is believed to offer great benefits to any kind of analysis. Three corpora were compiled, one for each of the platforms studied. Small but representative samples of them were qualitatively analyzed on the basis of the two major impoliteness types: implicational and conventionalized, and their subcategories. In addition, swearword keywords were extracted by means of corpus analysis tools and analyzed comparatively across the three corpora.

This joint analysis revealed that YouTube involved a great deal of (conventionalized) impoliteness which could be due to factors such as the total absence of moderation, of post length limit and of detailed personal profiles as well as the presence of videos as stimuli for interaction. Twitter was second in terms of the amount of face-threatening behavior observed among its users, probably influenced

by the dual purpose of its use, which was initially to inform and later to criticize, the 280-character restriction on tweets, the permanent display of posts on one's profile, the lack of moderation, the extensive use of multimodality and other inherent Twitter affordances like hashtags. Considerably less impoliteness was found on Reddit, whose forum-like nature makes it a place that mostly invites civil interaction. Implicationally impolite posts outnumbered conventionally impolite ones, perhaps owing to the heavy moderation, the existence of public profiles and the size and coherence of the user community. It is concluded that, due to their characteristics, platforms seem to attract a certain userbase with its own motives and mindset, which in turn shape the impoliteness found within them.

Table of Contents

Declaration	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
Abstract	v
1 Introduction	1
2 Theoretical Background	5
2.1 Online Discourse	5
2.1.1 Twitter.....	9
2.1.2 YouTube	11
2.1.3 Reddit.....	12
2.2 Impoliteness	14
2.3 Impoliteness on Twitter, YouTube and Reddit	17
3 Data and Methodology	21
3.1 The context.....	21
3.2 The corpus	22
3.3 Methodology	25
4 Data Analysis	28
4.1 Qualitative Analysis	28
4.1.1 Twitter.....	28
4.1.2 YouTube	36
4.1.3 Reddit.....	42
4.2 Quantitative Analysis	50
5 Discussion	55
6 Conclusion.....	63
References.....	66
Appendix.....	71

1 Introduction

The advent of the 21st century and the subsequent introduction of the masses to unlimited Internet access, revolutionized communication. The Internet has been viewed as a democratizer and an equalizer as it provides users with a place where they can participate in public dialogue and make use of their right to free speech (see, e.g., Groshek & Cutino 2016, Papacharissi 2002). It is, at least theoretically, available to everyone and offers users the power to voice their opinions freely. However, not all researchers agree with the democratic power the Internet grants, though. For instance, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2010: 542) argues that “the new technologies do not foster public dialogue and democracy, [...] but polarization of ideas”. However, such views are not mutually exclusive. Along with the freedom of expressing oneself democratically, interlocutors should be ready to accept one another’s views, either agreeing or disagreeing with them. As with any kind of communication, there is always the possibility of verbal conflict and impoliteness.

Notwithstanding the once prevalent view according to which impoliteness is a “marginal” phenomenon in most discourses (Leech 1983: 105), it is nowadays regarded as an inextricable part of human interaction and studied as such (see, e.g., Bousfield 2008, Culpeper, Bousfield & Wichmann 2003). As a matter of fact, it is even considered normal to encounter face-threatening acts (FTAs), be it in everyday face-to-face discourse or in online interaction. Computer-mediated communication (CMC), especially, has been said to constitute “fertile ground for impoliteness” (Dynel 2015: 344). For this reason, impoliteness in user interaction during the Web

1.0 era but mostly during the Web 2.0 era has been a matter of interest for im/politeness scholars. Emphasis has been placed on impolite discourse and how it is realized, but results cannot be generalized given that these studies have dealt with verbal conflict within a specific platform¹ at a time. Some work has been published on users' perceptions of incivility across offline and online platforms. For instance, Sydnor (2018) worked with four media (i.e. television, radio, text-based transcript and Twitter as representative of social media websites) and concluded that the channel shapes the perception of a message, with audio and video versions of the same message yielding more uncivil perceptions.

However, the idea of comparing impoliteness in discourse across a number of online platforms with the intention of pinpointing any differences and attempting to interpret them has been underexplored in prior research (Graham & Hardaker 2017: 808). This is precisely what I aim to do in the present work. Social media platforms are present in every aspect of modern-day life. Over the years, they have gradually evolved into places that incorporate a person's entire online activity. Users log onto such websites to get informed on current events, for entertainment purposes, to seek job opportunities by networking and to socialize in general as the name suggests. Being online for the most part of their day, users feel the need to post regularly, report their thoughts and interact with others and "reconfigure their identities" at the same time (Georgalou 2017: 3). It is, therefore, not surprising that the sheer amount of user interaction leads to the emergence of face-threatening behavior in these platforms.

So, in order to investigate impoliteness and how it is realized across platforms, I will be examining user interactions on three different social media websites, namely Twitter, YouTube and Reddit. These platforms have some shared characteristics but

¹ Throughout this work, the term platform refers to what is sometimes called medium by other researchers.

also some that distinguish them from one another. Starting from the premise that users make conscious decisions about which platform they wish to interact in and that these decisions are based on the platform's nature, I argue that some of the differences found can be attributed to the platform's features. What I am proposing is not very much in line with the ideas formulated in relation to the "third-wave" of linguistic CMC studies. Androutsopoulos (2006: 421) is critical of the view that the medium predominantly influences language use and he puts the user him/herself at the center of attention. Essentially, my main argument is that platforms are composed of a userbase who, having used and compared various platforms, have opted for specific ones to host their activity.

Within the same context and topic and across the three platforms mentioned above, I intend to investigate whether the platform has any impact on the impolite discourse employed by users. The common topic, which at the same time serves as the context of interaction in these platforms, is the wildfires of July 2018 in Athens. The reason behind its selection will be discussed in greater detail in a following section (3.1). Both qualitative and quantitative methods are going to be employed and through this joint approach of pragmatic analysis and corpus linguistics, impoliteness patterns are expected to emerge. After being thoroughly examined, they will hopefully offer insights into the relationship between impolite behavior and the platform where it is realized. If different platforms and everything they entail influence the form of impoliteness their users employ when interacting, the results of the present work could be utilized to improve online interaction, for instance by helping devise appropriate strategies to control impoliteness within each individual platform.

I will start my discussion by providing the theoretical background (chapter 2) upon which this work is built. In section 2.1, online discourse and its key

characteristics are going to be presented, while there will be separate subsections for the three social media platforms, Twitter, YouTube and Reddit, and their particularities (2.1.1 - 2.1.3). Major impoliteness theories that will guide this work are going to be discussed in section 2.2 and studies of impoliteness within the three platforms are going to be presented in section 2.3. The third chapter is dedicated to the context (3.1), the corpus (3.2) and the methodology followed in this study (3.3) and chapter 4 presents the results of both the quantitative and qualitative analyses I will attempt (4.1 and 4.2), respectively. The findings are discussed in the fifth chapter and, finally, conclusions are drawn in chapter 6.

2 Theoretical Background

2.1 Online Discourse

The language interlocutors use when interacting on the Internet has been commonly referred to as *computer-mediated discourse* (CMD). This is because, in early work where language was studied, the only medium of Internet communication was computers. As with every new term, attempts were made to accurately define it. Soon, though, it was agreed that computer-mediated discourse is not a single genre; it combines properties of computer technology and characteristics of culture and social life (Herring 2008: 625). Its interdisciplinary nature and the continuous developments taking place in the field, however, made it difficult to provide a formal definition (Graham & Hardaker 2017, Herring, Stein & Virtanen 2013).

Nowadays, another variable, which complicates matters further, must be added to the equation. Communication is no longer realized exclusively through computers but also through a plethora of electronic devices such as tablets and smartphones. The common denominator to all is, of course, the Internet, and the term CMD as it currently stands is unfit to account for all interactions occurring on the Internet, so some prefer the term ‘digital communication’. Even though for some scholars all devices fall into the generalized concept of computers (Herring 2013: 6), we do not know where communication will be hosted in the future. Therefore, the term is in need of revision and the one I will be using in its stead in this work to talk about user interaction on the Internet is *online discourse*. Naturally, the above remarks about the

interdisciplinarity of the genre also apply to online discourse, as the property persists regardless of whether communication is realized through computers or other devices.

Several researchers have discussed what online discourse entails, with various theories competing with or, better yet, complementing each other. Anonymity is the first property that emerges, as in most websites, users are not required to disclose any personal information and they usually choose to go by creative usernames. By concealing their identity, interlocutors are less concerned about their face, let alone about saving another person's face (Ermida 2013, Neurauter-Kessels 2011). Though anonymity does come with some benefits (i.e. its equalizing effect), it also has negative effects (Santana 2014). Papacharissi (2002: 16) endorses the positive aspects of anonymity in that it fosters open discussion by helping users "overcome identity boundaries" but admits that it simultaneously keeps users from "assessing the impact and social value" of their utterances. On the negative side, under the guise of anonymity, inhibition is lowered, self-awareness is lost (Lorenzo-Dus, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Bou-Franch 2011: 2581) and interlocutors have a "sense of impunity" (Hardaker 2010: 224). In a review study dealing with emotions in online communication, Derks, Fischer and Bos (2008: 780) suggest that the "absence of visible others" leads to the expression of negative emotions more easily.

Secondly, online chats share a "public and multiparty quality" (Ermida 2013: 96), meaning that anyone can enter and participate in them. Impersonality dominates the Internet, users can address one or multiple users at once and form polylogues. These polylogal affordances in communication enhance social variation considerably more than their dyadic counterparts (Lorenzo-Dus et al. 2011: 2581). Anonymity and impersonality can also lead to deindividuation whereby the personal identity is partly replaced by the social identity, meaning that individual characteristics become

indistinct within groups (Kiesler, Siegel & McGuire 1984, Siegel, Dubrovsky, Kiesler & McGuire 1986).

Another property of online discourse that has been frequently discussed in the relevant literature is asynchronicity (Herring 2008). Even though there are ways to communicate with each other synchronously (e.g., through video calls), most social media websites and fora are asynchronous and render the turn-taking system of face-to-face interactions “inoperable” (Ermida 2013: 109). In these contexts, communication is said to be fragmented and meaning-making compromised (Papacharissi 2002: 17). This issue has been pretty much resolved with latest updates of social media platforms whose format of indented replies makes it clearer for interlocutors to discern who addresses whom in polylogal interactions.

Nowadays that interaction is not contingent only on desktop computers, the mobility offered by various electronic devices has evolved into a full-fledged feature of online discourse. Users have now the opportunity to interact without any time and space constraints and convey their real-time thoughts. Murthy, Bowman, Gross and McGarry (2015) compared tweets originating from mobile devices to those from personal computers and found significant differences between them in terms of language use; mobile tweets contained more negative and egocentric language than web-based tweets.

Somewhere in between these last two properties (i.e. asynchronicity and mobility) lies spontaneity. For Derks et al. (2008: 781), reduced spontaneity is something that characterizes online communication given the lag between the messages posted. However, given the mobility discussed above as well as recent technological advances, spontaneity has already emerged as a feature of online

discourse and in many microblogging platforms users' thoughts "may be almost instantaneously broadcast" (Zappavigna 2012: 37).

In line with face-to-face communication but with different means of realization are the nonverbal cues used by interactants to convey their thoughts to one another. In an online environment such linguistic and paralinguistic means might be the use of abbreviations, all capitals in words and emoticons among others (Taleghani-Nikazm 2012) as well as likes and dislikes, which compensate for the paucity of the interactants' physical presence, gestures and facial expressions.

In addition to these shared characteristics which place any website within the online discourse genre, there are others that vary among websites. Not every social networking site (SNS), for instance, has the same degree of moderation on content or the same set of rules under which interaction takes place; i.e. the netiquette governing one may not apply to others. As mentioned earlier, three such SNSs will be under investigation in the present work: Twitter, YouTube and Reddit, as they are some of the most popular and representative websites of their kind. All of them involve user interaction even if text-based discussion is not their main feature, as is the case with YouTube.

On the surface, the websites and, by extension, the interaction taking place in them may appear quite similar, but taking into account some distinctive characteristics unique to each one might suggest otherwise. Meredith (2017: 43) updates Schegloff's (1991) view that the setting affects "the shape, form, trajectory, content, or character of the interaction" by replacing the general notion of setting with the one of technological platform. Before examining the differences in interaction and impoliteness across platforms, which is my objective in this work, I would like to add a few words on what each of these platforms entails.

2.1.1 *Twitter*

Twitter is a news and social networking service with 326 million monthly active users as of October 2018.² Under a chosen username, Twitter users post their opinions on various topics as stand-alone tweets, responses to tweets by mentioning (@ing in Twitter terminology) other users or as part of a broader discussion with the inclusion of hashtags. Accounts and Twitter feeds are typically public, and so are the tweets posted on them; however, there is the option of creating a private account where tweets are protected and can only be viewed by one's followers, though this is not the norm (see, e.g., Sifianou & Bella 2019, Squires 2015).

What immediately distinguished Twitter from other SNSs and contributed to its massive popularity were the feature of brevity, with the increase in spontaneity it encouraged, and its simplicity (Halavais 2014: 31). Tweeting was seen as microblogging since the content of a tweet could not exceed the then allocated 140 characters.³ Users found ways to bypass this constraint by making use of abbreviations, omissions, etc. (Gouws, Metzler, Cai & Hovy 2011) or composing sequences of tweets to be read as a whole. Yet, the latter was the exception rather than the norm and, in spite of this affordance, users continue to express themselves by dint of brief tweets thus far. Many more features have been added since the creation of the platform in 2006, two of the most important being the retweet button and the favorite button. Both are crucial for maintaining interaction: in addition to replying to tweets as already mentioned, users can endorse others' views by "liking" their tweets and even retweeting them to their own followers. This means that posts circulate around

² <https://www.omnicoreagency.com/twitter-statistics>

³ In November 2017, Twitter raised the character limit on tweets from 140 to 280.

the Twittersverse and may reach a large audience; in fact, tweets can potentially be read by millions of users.

Although hashtags were not formally introduced on Twitter until 2009 (Scott 2015: 12), their ubiquity in online interaction has established them as one of the platform's most prevalent features. Hashtags contribute to what Zappavigna (2011) has called "searchable talk" and "ambient affiliation". As social metadata of the tweet they accompany, hashtags constitute topic and context markers, while they also function as emotion indicators and links among community members who bond over a common discussion topic. Drawing on these facts, Zappavigna (2015: 6-7) proposes a metafunctional framework of three linguistic functions that hashtags realize, the experiential, the interpersonal and the textual function all of which are "enacted simultaneously [...] and are not mutually exclusive". As far as pragmatic research is concerned, Scott (2015) argues that beyond their original functions, hashtags can guide users' interpretations by facilitating their inferential processes, serve as highlighting devices and have an effect on the style and tone of a tweet. Some more specific functions of hashtags have been explored in the literature recently, such as their roles as sarcasm markers on Twitter (Kunneman, Liebrecht, Van Mulken & Van Den Bosch 2015) and non-apologetic (Matley 2018a) and self-praise markers on Instagram (Matley 2018b).

Interestingly, Twitter allows its users to voice their views relatively freely since there is no one moderating the tweets. The only restriction is the recently revised 280-character limit; however, this alone is enough to influence the nature of a conversation.

2.1.2 *YouTube*

Youtube is a video-sharing website⁴ with 1.9 billion monthly active users as of September 2018.⁵ Youtubers or “creators” upload videos on the platform which other users can watch (whether they have a YouTube account or not) and interact with by “liking” them, posting video responses or comments in the designated section below the video (only registered users are allowed to post, rate and comment on videos). In general, comments are directed towards the video stimulus itself, the person who created and/or uploaded it, another commenter and/or a specific group of people.

YouTube provides channel owners with the option to disable commenting on their videos or delete specific comments they do not approve of. This means that there is an internal system of moderating comments which is in the discretion of each YouTuber individually. At this point, however, it is important to note that in order for channels to get monetized, which is the goal of most creators, they need to have a lot of traffic. So, YouTubers tend not to delete comments even if they are offensive, just to encourage interaction. They thereby unconsciously contribute to the “ostensible openness” of the platform (Boyd 2014: 46).

Interaction on Youtube is mostly text-based and realized in polylogues. Bou-Franch, Lorenzo-Dus and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2012) report that despite massive participation in them, YouTube polylogues were found to be greatly coherent.

⁴ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/YouTube>

⁵ <https://www.omnicoreagency.com/youtube-statistics>

2.1.3 *Reddit*

Reddit is described as a “social news aggregation, web content rating, and discussion website” with 542 million monthly visitors as of February 2018⁶ and has been recognized as an “important informational entity” (Suran & Kilgo 2017: 1035). Redditors discuss user-generated topics posted in threads in a way close to that of traditional fora. The site is organized into subreddits, signified by /r/, corresponding to the topics discussed, which range from current news and politics to personal stories and hobbies. Posts on Reddit are usually text-based but they can also be multimodal with the inclusion of external URLs in posts that link to websites such as Imgur (an image hosting platform), YouTube, Twitter and news websites, among others. Subreddits are relatively autonomous and independent of each other and products of their participants’ collective decisions (Mills 2018). This is, Mills maintains, the reason why communities on the platform, no matter how large, are so cohesive. On a similar note, Reddit communities have also been characterized as self-referential because they enhance their user-generated image through a preference for text-based content over external sources (Singer, Flöck, Meinhart, Zeitfogel & Strohmaier 2014). The posts under each discussion topic are displayed in a question-and-answer format and users can embed previous posts into their own and reply to them directly. This format and the fact that there is no restriction regarding post length encourage interaction among users.

Reddit is governed by a strict content policy, a set of rules commonly referred to as Rediquette which is a portmanteau of Reddit and etiquette, similar to netiquette (Internet + etiquette). According to the Rediquette, posting content that encourages

⁶ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reddit>

violence, threatens, harasses or bullies other users and is considered spam or illegal is prohibited. Moderators are entitled to delete any inappropriate comment as they see fit. What is more, commenters themselves may employ the site's reporting mechanism, which allows them to upvote or downvote posts in terms of their content (Chandrasekharan, Samory, Srinivasan & Gilbert 2017).

To summarize, all platforms are accessible through devices with an Internet connection and contribute a sense of mobility and spontaneity to online asynchronous communication. They primarily feature text-based interaction in the form of comments or posts but afford their users the possibility to include external links, emoticons, images, videos or gifs, to render their submissions multimodal. Another common characteristic is that they all have a built-in system that enables users to provide positive and negative feedback to one another's posts through liking and disliking. On the other hand, despite the fact that the platforms may share this feature of internal moderation by users, external moderation by administrators is a feature of Reddit only. Moreover, tweets are bound by a restriction regarding post length whereas this is not the case with posts on Reddit and YouTube. What triggers interaction is also something that differentiates the three platforms; on YouTube there is a video stimulus and on Reddit there is a specific discussion topic but Twitter users generally react on current issues so practically anything can be a stimulus for interaction. Finally, Reddit communities are very independent, self-referential and cohesive, while the openness of YouTube hints at a diverse userbase, as does the affordance of hashtags and retweets on Twitter whose use increases the visibility of tweets exponentially.

2.2 Impoliteness

Before presenting the impoliteness framework that will be used in the present work, I will begin this section with the definition of linguistic impoliteness I find the most complete, yet with some modifications to account for the impoliteness phenomena in this work.

Early understandings of impoliteness suggested that for an utterance to be considered impolite in face-to-face communication, it has to involve either the speaker's intention to communicate face attack, or the hearer's perception of the utterance as intentionally face-attacking, or both (Bousfield 2007, Culpeper 2005). More recently, such views on impoliteness have been modified. Intentionality is no longer seen as a necessary condition for impoliteness. Any act may be interpreted as face-threatening and impolite by the hearer even though that was not the speaker's intention (Culpeper & Hardaker 2017). What is more, it is rather impossible to decode speakers' intentions and sometimes a speaker's intention may change in the course of an interaction.

Other scholars suggest that impoliteness is a kind of perlocutionary effect; the hearer speculates whether the speaker's utterance is polite or not (Terkourafi 2008). The issue of evaluating utterances as impolite has actually concerned a number of scholars. Albeit being an aspect of the contemporary globalized societies, Sifianou and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2018: 116) contend that im/politeness should be viewed from a local perspective with an emphasis on the varying "assumptions and expectations of the interlocutors themselves". Earlier, Haugh (2007) had argued for a joint evaluation of (im)politeness on the basis of the responder's comments explicitly or implicitly and the analyst's own perception if they are not themselves part of the

interaction. Haugh (2007: 312-313) posited that (im)politeness should be studied “at the discourse rather than the utterance level” in consonance with the discursive turn to (im)politeness and that analysts should always work with naturalistic data and not “impose their own personal understandings” on the interlocutors. Lay perceptions of impoliteness, that is, how interlocutors themselves perceive utterances and their force in real-time interaction are commonly referred to as first-order impoliteness, while second order impoliteness essentially pertains to the perception of analysts, that is, it refers to the theoretical constructs of the concept. However, such a straightforward distinction is difficult to maintain (see, e.g., Haugh 2012). In any case, taking into account both first and second order impoliteness offers great benefits to an analysis like the one attempted here and it is believed that a consideration of both perspectives will offer a comprehensive view of the data.

In his book, Culpeper (2011a) distinguishes between two kinds of impoliteness, conventionalized and implicational, covering a wide array of impoliteness phenomena. The idea ensued from the query as to whether impoliteness is inherent in language, to which Culpeper adopts a dualist position: the interaction between linguistic expressions and context is what defines impoliteness, not one or the other alone.

The former kind of impoliteness (i.e. conventionalized) involves utterances which are deemed impolite irrespective of context and fall into the ten conventionalized impoliteness formulae devised by Culpeper (2010, 2011b: 135-136). Culpeper mainly provides examples to illustrate each formula, while here I have tried to elaborate on those which are not self-explanatory:

- Insults, that is, personal attacks through the use of offensive words

- Pointed Criticisms / Complaints, in the form of caustic comments expressing disapproval of one’s actions
- Challenging or Unpalatable Questions and/or Presuppositions, usually rhetorical questions that make the receiver uncomfortable
- Condescensions, in the form of belittling comments
- Message Enforcers, devices employed to make one’s opinion stronger
- Dismissals, that is, blatant rejection of the interlocutor’s opinion
- Silencers, devices employed to stop one from expressing their opinion
- Threats
- Negative Expressives, e.g., curses, ill-wishes
- Non-supportive Intrusions, that is, interrupting the interlocutor not to strengthen but to undermine their argument.

According to Culpeper (2011b: 135) insults can be further divided into personalized negative vocatives (e.g., you fucking idiot), personalized negative assertions (e.g., you are such an idiot), personalized negative references (e.g., your non-existent brain) and personalized third-person negative references (e.g., he’s a fucking idiot).

The latter kind of impoliteness (i.e. implicational) involves utterances which are not “pre-loaded” for impoliteness but whose purpose is inferred to be face-threatening by the hearer, who observes a mismatch between the expected behavior in a particular context and the actual behavior of their interlocutor. They are divided into three groups depending on how the implication is triggered: form-driven, convention-driven and context-driven. Form-driven impoliteness refers, in lay terms, to insinuation, innuendo, snide remarks, etc., convention-driven impoliteness has to do with teasing and sarcasm among others and context-driven impoliteness involves “unmarked behavior [or] the total absence of behavior” (Culpeper 2011a: 180).

For Culpeper (2011a), irony is a type of convention-driven implicational impoliteness. The notion is in the middle of an ongoing debate among scholars that stems from its heterogeneous nature; that of whether it mitigates face-threats or exacerbates them (Taylor 2017). In response to that, Dynel (2018) claims that it can have both effects depending on several factors such as the context of the interaction and the relationship between interlocutors. What is more, irony enables one to deny the intent of their utterance and abdicate all responsibility for it (Dynel 2018: 156-157), a property which can potentially create further complications. The problematic notion of irony has oftentimes been associated with humor, giving birth to what has been called humorous irony. In order not to mistake non-ironic humor for humorous irony, which is still treated as impolite, Dynel (2014: 622) proposes two conditions, the co-presence of which deems an utterance humorously ironic, thus distinguishing it from other forms of humor: “overt untruthfulness” and an “implied negative evaluation of the referent”. Since the present work is concerned with realizations of impoliteness in three online platforms, I will account for various instances of irony and humorous irony. To clear the blurred lines between humorous irony and plain humor, I will account for instances of humor as well.

2.3 Impoliteness on Twitter, YouTube and Reddit

Now that I have laid the theoretical basis of this work, let me add a few words on impoliteness research as it emerges in the three platforms under scrutiny. There is extensive research on the discourse of each of the three platforms, some of which pertains to impoliteness, disagreement and conflict (see, e.g., Bou-Franch & Garcés-

Conejos Blitvich 2014, Terkourafi et al. 2018). Admittedly, the focus has been placed on the two most popular in academia, Twitter and YouTube.

Groshek and Cutino (2016) analyzed Twitter data and concluded that mobile communication involves both impoliteness and incivility, a finding which is in line with what Murthy et al. (2015) had observed comparing the language of Twitter in mobile and web-based devices: higher degrees of impoliteness appear to be linked to mobility. On another note, Oz, Zheng and Chen (2018) contrasted impoliteness and incivility on Twitter with that found on Facebook, though obtaining inconclusive results. Jay (2018: 113) reports on a couple of studies about swearing on Twitter, revealing the most common swearwords the two genders tweet, noting also that time of day has a great impact on swearword use. The phenomenon of rape threats and misogyny on Twitter and their role in the construction of group identity is illustrated by Hardaker and McGlaskan (2016) by combining corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis. Terkourafi et al. (2018) discuss how different Twitter features affect the way controversial utterances are realized in the medium and, finally, working with data in Greek, Vladimirou and House (2018) explore impoliteness in a globally available context and label “ludic impoliteness” tweets that hide their critical purpose behind creative word play and mockery.

YouTube has also been extensively studied in scholarly work with Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and colleagues leading the way. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2010: 542) refers to the platform as a “theater where the ‘Culture Wars’ are being waged” and has showcased that polarization is the new reality in online environments. YouTube has been viewed as a place rich in impoliteness by other academics as well and it has been stated that many of its users exchange insults for entertainment (Moor, Heuvelman & Verleur 2010: 1539). Expletives are used in ways similar to those used

in face-to-face interaction serving functions all along the politeness - impoliteness continuum (Dyrel 2012), flaming occurs regularly (Moor, Heuvelman & Verleur 2010) as does ranting, though Lange (2014) found that rants are not perceived as very impolite by YouTube commenters compared to flames. Efforts have been made to gain a deeper understanding of YouTube communities and the participatory framework on the platform (Boyd 2014), how impoliteness is realized (Lorenzo-Dus et al. 2011) and how conflict arises, unfolds and is resolved within text-based polylogues (Bou-Franch & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2014). Ksiazek and Peer (2016) observed the coexistence of hostility and civility in comment threads with civility prevailing and hostility fluctuating depending on the topic and popularity of the video.

Reddit discourse, on the other hand, has not been researched by many, especially when it comes to face-threatening behavior. A notable study is that of Chandrasekharan et al. (2017) who attempted to design an automatic classifier for identifying abusive behavior on the Internet. Unfortunately, in “casual online forums” like Reddit, impoliteness is harder to pinpoint since disagreement, viewed by Allen, Carenini and Ng (2014: 1169) as an act of impoliteness, is not always straightforward or explicit. A quite recent study (Subtirelu 2017) examined the strategies a Reddit community employed to respond to accusations of racism. Mills (2018) provides additional evidence about the platform’s communities by showing that they act collectively and thus have a great deal of cohesion. Although seemingly unrelated to impoliteness, these facts about Reddit communities might play a role in its emergence. The topic and context of both these pieces of research involve American politics, which reflects the political orientation of the platform. Reddit may not have served as a prolific context for impoliteness research, but investigation into other fora has shown that aggression among interactants exists. This depends on the topic

discussed and users' interpretations of inappropriate comments do not always correspond with one another (Angouri & Tseliga 2010, Shum & Lee 2013).

3 Data and Methodology

3.1 The context

The wildfires of late July 2018 in Attica injured and displaced hundreds of people, while the death toll rose to a hundred according to official reports.⁷ As expected, this sparked quite a lot of controversy among the Greeks. The controversy initially surrounded the actions of politicians but spread quickly to encompass the media and their representation of the circumstances, the church and other social groups among others and people kept pointing fingers to the ones they considered responsible for the disaster.

It was assumed that interaction in this context would be suitable for impoliteness research as this had been the case with earlier work in similar contexts. For instance, Angouri and Tseliga (2010) contend that disagreement among users (which can lead to impoliteness) is prevalent in contexts where highly contested issues are discussed. In addition, as Oz et al. (2018) argue, sensitive (emotionally loaded) topics online tend to be more controversial among users and thus yield more impolite comments compared to neutral ones. So, given that the controversy over the wildfires did not subside for quite a while, I decided to focus on a period of one month starting from the day the fires broke out (July 23rd to August 23rd) and study people's views, as posted on Twitter, YouTube and Reddit, in terms of impoliteness. During that time, news like the gradual increase in the number of deaths and the

⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2018_Attica_wildfires

attribution (or not) of responsibilities would break daily, constantly keeping the issue under the spotlight.

A comparison like the one attempted here is only possible if all parameters except the one to be studied are kept the same. By drawing data exclusively from online platforms, on the same topic and over a specific time period, I intended to make sure that variation was not going to be a result of any other parameter, e.g., of the contentiousness of the topic, but of the unique nature of each platform. The extraction of data was performed one month after the end of the period under examination. This was to ensure that the extraction would be exhaustive, given that by then the discussions had ended, no new comments were being posted and the related threads were no longer active. Besides, the Internet's fleeting nature means that a post, be it on Twitter, YouTube or Reddit is quickly displaced by newer ones and this reduces the possibility of it being edited or deleted later by its author, making it unavailable for future reference.

3.2 The corpus

The corpus of comments/posts (the two terms will be used interchangeably in this work since each website uses its own terms) consists of three subcorpora, one for each of the three social media platforms.

The first subcorpus from Twitter (henceforth TWIC) comprises relevant tweets posted in the one-month period and labelled with the following hashtags: *#ματι* (*#mati*), *#νεοσβουτζας* (*#neosvoutzas*), *#μαραθωνας* (*#marathonas*), *#ραφίνα* (*#rafina*) and *#κινετα* (*#kineta*), the areas of Attica afflicted by the wildfires. The

initial plan was to include the hashtags *#φωτια* (*#fire*) and *#πυρκαγια* (*#wildfire*) as well, along with their plural forms, e.g., *#φωτιες* (*#fires*). However, the tweets accompanying these hashtags did not only refer to the wildfires in question but also to fires that broke out in other areas of Greece in the course of the summer and to metaphorical uses of the word fire to refer to “hot celebrities”, for instance. This fact, along with the very large number of tweets that would have to be manually sorted, led me to disregard all tweets labelled exclusively with any of these hashtags. Of course, posts in which these hashtags co-occurred with the ones denoting the area, a very common incidence since users can and do include more than one hashtag per tweet, constitute a large part of the corpus. A few more hashtags that were devised by Twitter users to convey their thoughts and sentiments more explicitly as in *#θα_λογοδοτησετε* (*#you_will_be_held_accountable*), *#ποσοι_ειναι_οι_αγνοουμενοι* (*#how_many_are_mia*), *#μονο_44_ετων* (*#only_44_years_old*), *#syryza_xeftiles* (*#syryza_disgrace*) and *#syryzanel_xeftiles* (*#syryzanel_disgrace*)⁸ could have also been used for the search due to their relevance and widespread use. However, they were not employed for this study so as not to color the sample with their impolite connotations. Yet, as will be shown later on, they played a significant role in the characterization of posts as impolite acting as metapragmatic markers.

In order to collect YouTube comments for the second subcorpus (henceforth YTC), a set of keywords denoting the topic (as with twitter hashtags) were first inserted into the YouTube search bar. There was a similar issue with videos on other wildfires in the country, which were ignored. The comments under all the relevant videos posted in the designated time period were extracted and formed the YTC. There were two major categories of videos on the wildfires, official TV news reports

⁸ SYRIZA was the most powerful of the two parties that comprised the coalition government ruling at the time of the wildfires, the other being ANEL. The word syryzanel included in hashtags refers to this government, whose head was PM Alexis Tsipras, leader of the SYRIZA party.

re-uploaded on YouTube and videos filmed by eye-witnesses on the spot. Another point worth mentioning is that there was a considerable number of videos with no comments, which were excluded from the corpus, whereas other videos yielded thousands of comments. In an attempt to keep the corpus as uncontaminated as possible, the tedious task of deleting all usernames from posts directly replying to other posts had to be undertaken.

Finally, the third subcorpus (henceforth REDC) includes Reddit posts dealing with the topic in question. As with the other two platforms, a few keywords pointed to all the relevant threads about the fires in Attica that were part of /r/greece, a subreddit for Greek users. The posts were then collected and formed the REDC. Once again, the common Reddit practice of embedding previous posts as quotes to new ones to reply to them and the repetition resulting from that, would contaminate the corpus so these strings of discourse had to be deleted as well. It goes without saying that posts that were removed by their authors or deleted by the moderators (due to their offensive content) prior to the compilation process have not been included in the corpus.

Since this work investigates online impoliteness in Greek, all comments or posts written by users of other nationalities had to be excluded from the sample through a rather laborious manual sorting which involved visiting users' profiles, reading their bios and posts in order to deduce their country of origin. This does not mean that comments were only written in the Greek language. Greek users often chose to post comments in English or Greeklish, that is, Greek written using the Latin alphabet. As far as case is concerned, texts were written in regular font style, lower case, all capitals or a combination of those. A further issue that had to be accounted for was the fact that some users deviated from the norm and did not use accents when posting in Greek, or, even worse, a number of users only partially accented their

posts. All this variation was likely to make the process of manipulating the data using corpus analysis tools difficult, but this font style switching was actually interesting impoliteness-wise.

The size of the three subcorpora in number of words and tokens as well as in number of posts that comprise each can be seen in Table 1. REDC is clearly smaller than the other two subcorpora, but the corpus numbers more or less reflect the actual population of the platforms.

Table 1. Subcorpora sizes in terms of posts and words/tokens

	Posts	Words / Tokens
TWIC	19,983	435,641 / 615,910
YTC	17,365	569,329 / 646,591
REDC	1,072	40,345 / 46,866

3.3 Methodology

Because of the large volume of data obtained from the three sources, I adopted a two-pronged approach to analyze it satisfactorily. More specifically, both qualitative and quantitative methods were employed so as to offer a microscopic but also a macroscopic view of impoliteness across the online social media platforms studied. The benefits of combining the two methods have been demonstrated in several studies for English (e.g., Baker et al. 2008) and for Greek (e.g., Hatzidaki 2011) and include data triangulation made possible by comparing findings from both analyses (Baker 2006, as cited in Hardaker & McGlashan 2016).

The corpus size acted as a great deterrent to the complete qualitative analysis of the three subcorpora. For this reason, three small samples, one for each subcorpus, were created by means of a randomized post selection procedure, to ensure they would be as representative as possible. One hundred Reddit posts formed the first sample but in the cases of YouTube and Twitter, with their number of comments and diversity, one hundred utterances were not deemed enough for an adequate analysis, let alone for producing generalizable results. Three sets of one hundred YouTube comments were initially examined and classified into the types of impoliteness they involved. The degree of similarity in the results of the three sets showed that this amount of data was probably sufficient and it was decided that they be combined into one big set, thus forming the second sample. Likewise, three hundred tweets were randomly selected to be qualitatively analyzed since the precedent set by YouTube was successful.

The initial rough classification distinguished between politic and humorous posts and conventionally and implicationally impolite ones. The politic/humorous (henceforth non-impolite) versus impolite sorting was largely based on the responder's perceptions of a post and other paralinguistic information such as likes and dislikes, while the distinction between conventionalized and implicational impoliteness was based on Culpeper's (2011a) reasoning and my informed evaluation. Then, the two groups of impolite posts were further analyzed into their subcategories to gain insights as to the users' preferred conventionalized formulae or type of irony, for instance.

As for the quantitative analysis, a sophisticated corpus analysis tool, Sketch Engine, was originally used to extract word frequency lists that hinted at which specific linguistic choices of users should be studied further. Additionally, the Greek

web corpus eITenTen14⁹ was used as a reference corpus for comparison and facilitated the extraction of the most salient words (i.e. keywords) of each platform (see Appendix). Because of the corpus diversity in terms of the different scripts, spelling and cases used throughout, it was necessary to manually add all the individual frequencies of words and work with their overall frequencies (e.g., *μαλάκα*¹⁰, *μαλάκες*, *ΜΑΛΑΚΑΣ*, *malaka*, *mlk*, etc.). Finally, concordances of the most frequent and significant keywords were studied in depth to shed more light into the impoliteness phenomena and to the extent to which they are affected by the platform's characteristics.

Specific examples are going to be discussed as part of both analyses. Although consent is not needed in this kind of work because posts are public in all the platforms studied (see, e.g., Graham & Hardaker 2017) it goes without saying that all usernames are removed for ethical reasons. In addition, the examples have not been edited for typos for the sake of a faithful representation of the data. A translation of the examples with emphasis on preserving the tone and sentiment of the original utterance is also provided, along with notes elaborating on content that the reader may be unacquainted with.

⁹ According to sketchengine.eu, eITenTen is a language corpus made up of Greek texts collected from the Internet in August 2014 and comprises 1.6 billion words.

¹⁰ Common Greek swearword lemma (*μαλάκα** / *malak**), usually translated as “asshole” when referring to a person and “bullshit” when referring to an action. It is also used as a term of address among friends.

4 Data Analysis

The analysis of the data is divided into two separate parts. First, the three samples are examined qualitatively, that is, posts are studied individually and are categorized into non-impolite or impolite posts. The non-impolite category includes all the posts that are not face-threatening, such as civil or politic posts, plain humorous ones and trolls or spams. Impolite posts are the ones attacking the face of other users or entities in general and are distinguished into conventionalized and implicational and further classified into their subcategories. Then, the quantitative analysis of the subcorpora is performed by dint of the corpus analysis tool mentioned in 3.3. Keywords of TWIC, YTC and REDC as well as their concordances are explored to shed light on the amount and type of impoliteness encountered across these platforms.

4.1 Qualitative Analysis

4.1.1 *Twitter*

The original purpose of tweeting messages containing the hashtags *#φωτια* (*#fire*) and *#πυρκαγιά* (*#wildfire*), as well as the hashtags denoting the affected areas seems to have been to inform people of possible diversions of the fire, notify them of safe places where they could find refuge, but mainly inform whoever wanted to help about collection points for food and medicine. Examples (1) and (2) showcase this function.

- (1) #Πυρκαγια #Κινετα #φωτια #Κινετα Το ξενοδοχείο Marathon Beach Resort στο Λιμανάκι της Νέας Μάκρης θα είναι ανοιχτό για να φιλοξενήσει όσους αδυνατούν να μείνουν στα σπίτια τους. Τηλ: 2294095022
- #Wildfire #Kineta #fire #Kineta Marathon Beach Resort Hotel at Limanaki, Nea Makri will be open to accommodate whoever cannot stay in their homes. Tel. no. 2294095022
- (2) #Πυρκαγια #εθελοντής ΟΣΟΙ ΕΧΟΥΝ ΜΑΖΕΨΕΙ ΦΑΡΜΑΚΑ + ΔΕΝ ΞΕΡΟΥΝ ΠΟΥ ΝΑ ΤΑ ΔΙΑΘΕΣΟΥΝ ΑΣ ΕΠΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΗΣΟΥΝ ΜΕ ΤΟ ΚΕΝΤΡΟ ΥΓΕΙΑΣ ΡΑΦΗΝΑΣ ΝΑ ΡΩΤΗΣΟΥΝ ΤΙΣ ΑΝΑΓΚΕΣ ΚΑΘΩΣ Η ΤΡΟΦΟΔΟΣΙΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΑ ΝΟΣΟΚΟΜΕΙΑ ΣΥΧΝΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΛΟΓΩ ΕΛΛΕΙΨΕΩΝ #Ραφίνα
- #Wildfire #volunteer THOSE WHO HAVE COLLECTED MEDICATION + DON'T KNOW WHERE TO DISPENSE IT MAY CONTACT THE MEDICAL CENTER OF RAFINA TO GET INFORMED ABOUT THE NEEDS AS THE SUPPLY FROM HOSPITALS IS OFTEN PROBLEMATIC DUE TO SHORTAGE #Rafina

The fact that these hashtags initially served as a useful tool to disseminate such information but later changed direction can be seen in (3).

- (3) Το #πυρκαγια είναι για ενημέρωση και αναπαραγωγή πληροφοριών σχετικά με τις επιχειρήσεις κατάσβεσης και διάσωσης. Δεν μας ενδιαφέρουν τα σαχλά αστεία και οι κομματικές αψιμαχίες σας.
- #wildfire is for updates and dissemination of information regarding the firefighting and rescue operations. We aren't interested in your stupid jokes and your partisan bickering.

As soon as the first shock subsided and information about the causes of the wildfires and the assumed errors of the State and the fire department spread, things changed. Twitter users did not only log into the platform to keep abreast of the news but also started to publicly criticize the ones they considered responsible for the disaster, sometimes displaying face-threatening behavior. Over time, as the number of victims kept increasing and those in power were not assuming responsibility in spite of the fact that official statements were being issued daily, impoliteness became the norm in Twitter polylogues. Table 2 shows the distribution of impolite and non-impolite tweets in percentages.

Table 2. Statistics of the Twitter sample

Non-impolite posts		53.7%
Impolite posts	Conventionalized	22.3%
	Implicational	16.3%
	Conv./Impl.	7.7%
		100.0%

On Twitter, face threats were predominantly ad hominem attacks against politicians, while some were made against specific groups of people with views opposing to those of the poster. Very few cases of ad hominem attacks were directed toward individual users in the sample. This is expected because TWIC is comprised of tweets that are part of huge polylogues, not dialogues where this practice is mainly used. By including a set of hashtags to their posts, users made sure the tweets are visible to anyone searching for these hashtags. In the rare case when a face attack was issued against an individual user, the attacker did not always include hashtags in their reply along with the @username convention which was of course necessary to address that user. Since the targets of impoliteness were mostly public figures who do not typically interact with people on Twitter, or any platform for that matter, their perceptions of

the tweets in question could not be taken into account. For this reason, following the “analyst’s perception” approach, as Haugh (2007) refers to it, was the only way to characterize tweets as impolite before analyzing them further.

As I have previously mentioned, in their tweets, users included hashtags that had been in use prior to the wildfires to criticize the government, e.g., *#syriza_xeftiles* (*syriza_disgrace*), *#syrizanel_xeftiles* (*syrizanel_disgrace*), *#θα_λογοδοτησετε* (*#you_will_be_held_accountable*) and *#συριζοπανα* (*#syrizacunts*), as well as others they specifically devised for the events during the period under examination, e.g., *#ποσοι_ειναι_οι_αγνοουμενοι* (*#how_many_are_mia*), *#μνονο_44_ετων* (*#only_44_years_old*) and *#τσιπρας_χωρις_τσιπα* (*#shameless_tsipras*). Along with the location-denoting hashtags, these accompanied either tweets with an impolite content so as to add another layer of impoliteness to the message, or tweets that appeared to be politic, thus serving as impolite metacomments. This function will be further elaborated on in section 5.

The analysis revealed that users employed both conventionalized and non-conventionalized expressions to attack face. A narrow range of conventionalized impoliteness formulae was identified in the sample, with insults (about 32% of all impolite comments), pointed criticisms (19%) and challenging questions (5%) being the top three choices of interlocutors (see example 4 where an instance of pointed criticism is combined with an insult; the poster draws a grim parallel between the fact that the sea is full of dead people and the Left wing is full of incompetent politicians). More limited was the use of negative expressives (under 3%), which were usually combined with one or more of the other categories.

(4) Η θάλασσα ξεβράζει καμμένα πτώματα και η αριστερά ανεύθυνους μαλάκες.

#πυργκαγια #Ματι

The sea is casting ashore burnt corpses and the Left irresponsible assholes.

#wildfire #Mati

It was all the more remarkable that some conventionalized formulae were expressed through hashtags; that is, seemingly politic tweets, as mentioned before, became impolite once the user posted them along with one of these hashtags, as in (5).

(5) 99 οι νεκροί από την #πυρκαγια στο #Ματι Κατέληξε άλλη μία γυναίκα 57 ετών χωρίς να αναφέρουν το όνομά της. #ποσοι_ειναι_οι_αγνοουμενοι #ολοι_μεσα #ο_Τσίπρας_ηξερε #syrizanel_xeftiles #ΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ #πυρκαγιες #syriz_a_dolofonoi [link]

99 dead from the #wildfire at #Mati Another 57-year-old woman passed away but there was no mention of her name. #how_many_are_mia #lock_them_up #Tsipras_knew #syrizanel_disgrace #ITSCOMING #wildfires #syriz_a_murderers [link]

The text of the tweet is mainly informative, though one can detect indirect criticism in the phrase that reads ‘no mention of her name’. If there were no hashtags, the tweet would be classified as neutral, since there are no verbal cues and the poster’s intention is unknown, but their presence renders the tweet impolite. To be more specific, the hashtags #syrizanel_xeftiles (#syrizanel_disgrace; insult) and #syriz_a_dolofonoi (#syriz_a_murderers; pointed criticism) express conventionalized impoliteness and the hashtags #ποσοι_ειναι_οι_αγνοουμενοι (#how_many_are_mia) and #ο_Τσίπρας_ηξερε (#Tsipras_knew) are instances of implicational impoliteness.

In addition to the cases where it was expressed through hashtags, there was a strong presence of implicational impoliteness in the body of the tweets as well. Thus, even though, some tweets were not “pre-loaded” for impoliteness with the use of

specific expressions, they were interpreted as impolite in that particular context. The majority of those tweets involved irony and its targets were, once again, members of the government. A noteworthy example of implicational impoliteness is (6) where both the text of the tweet itself, as well as the hashtag *#μονο_44_ετων* (*#only_44_years_old*) are ironic and complement one another. The source of the implicature is a statement made by a government member, according to whom, people should not be too harsh on the Prime Minister because of his young age (he was 44 at the time). The statement resonated so well with Twitter users that except for the hashtag, various memes (e.g., images depicting Tsipras as a kid or a baby) emerged out of it as well.

(6) Αλέξη, τώρα που μεγάλωσες πια και δεν χρειάζεσαι την κηδεμονία του ελληνικού λαού, μπορείς να ασχοληθείς απερίσπαστα με το αληθινό σου ταλέντο. #Τσιπρας #μονο_44_ετων #Ματι #πυρκαγιες

Alexis, now that you've grown up and you don't need the Greek people's guardianship, you can focus on your real talent. #Tsipras #only_44_years_old #Mati #wildfires



The sample contained a number of overtly untruthful tweets with an implied critical purpose, which fall under the concept of humorous irony (Dyrel 2014), at 18% of all implicationally impolite tweets, an instance of which can be seen in (7). The poster, in the style of a commercial, mocks the government's decision to discourage its members from appearing on SKAI TV channel by presenting it as a remedy.

(7) ΤΑ ΝΕΑ ΜΕΤΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΗΣ ΣΥΡΙΖΑΝΕΛ: Καήκατε? Χάσατε το σπίτι σας? Χάθηκαν δικοί σας άνθρωποι? Η κυβέρνηση ανακουφίζει τους πληγέντες με εμπάργκο στο #ΣΚΑΪ Σύριζα. Πάντα στην πρώτη γραμμή. #Πυρκαγιά #Μάτι #Συριζα

NEW SYRIZANEL GOVERNMENT MEASURES: Did your house get burnt down? Have you lost family and friends? The government is comforting the wildfire-stricken citizens with an embargo on #SKAI Syriza. Always in the front lines. #Wildfire #Mati #Syriza

Humorously ironic tweets should be distinguished from plain humorous ones as the latter do not have criticism as their main purpose. Since humor was a very small part of TWIC (under 3%) but comprised a large part of REDC (around 12%), we will discuss it in more detail in the corresponding section.

Surprisingly, despite the 280-character restriction, users managed to perform FTAs by means of both conventionalized and implicational impoliteness in a single tweet. That was accomplished when a(n) (humorously) ironic utterance was accompanied by conventionally impolite hashtags (as in example 8) and vice versa or, less frequently, when an ironic message was followed by an insult or a negative expressive.

(8) Από θλίψη ο #TSI_PR_ASS θα έχει περισσότερες μέρες διακοπές από τις διακοπές που κάνει στου Μαξίμου για να μπορέσει στο επόμενο σχέδιο

καταστροφής να έχει την ίδια τουλάχιστον πετυχεσα #Πυρκαγια #Ματι
#syriza_xeftiles

Out of grief #TSI_PR_ASS will take more days off than the ones he takes off
at Maximou¹¹ so that his next destruction plan is at least equally successful
#Wildfire #Mati #syriza_disgrace

Finally, multimodality played a significant role in the realization of impoliteness on
Twitter. Images and gifs, either in their original form or edited by the users
themselves, were mostly included to ridicule and criticize the authorities. The
following case (9) in which the face of a well-known MP¹² is edited onto a photo of a
water tanker is a striking example.

(9) ΠΡΟΣΟΧΗ! Όταν δείτε αυτή την υδροφόρα σε περιοχές πληγείσες από την
#πυρκαγιά, μην κάνετε το λάθος να χρησιμοποιήσετε αυτό το νερό! Όχι μόνο
δεν είναι πόσιμο αλλά ούτε για πότισμα δεν κάνει! Είναι εξόχως ΤΟΞΙΚΟ!

ATTENTION! If you see this water tanker in areas stricken by the #wildfire,
don't make the mistake to use this water! Not only is it non-potable it isn't
even fit for watering plants! It's highly TOXIC!



¹¹ The term is used to refer to the Maximos Mansion, the official seat of the Prime Minister of Greece since 1982. The building houses the offices of the head of the Greek government.

¹² Panos Kammenos was the leader of ANEL, that is, one of the two parties that formed the coalition government ruling at the time of the fires.

4.1.2 YouTube

The majority of videos on YouTube were first broadcast on television and then uploaded on the platform by the official online versions of the TV channels themselves or by random users. The ever so typical mismatch of views and comments on YouTube videos (i.e., views always outnumber comments) depicts the activity of non-registered/registered and non-interactional/active users (Boyd 2014). It shows that the majority of users watched videos just to obtain information while fewer commented sharing their thoughts, a fact that attaches great importance to what they chose to post publicly. As can be seen in Table 3, YouTube involves a rather high percentage of impolite posts mainly belonging to the category of conventionalized impoliteness.

Table 3. Statistics of the YouTube sample

Non-impolite posts			30.7%
Impolite posts	Conventionalized	45.7%	69.3%
	Implicational	16.3%	
	Conv./Impl.	7.3%	
			100.0%

To briefly address the content of non-impolite comments, they were mainly written to express frustration and mourn the lives lost in the wildfires, like (10).

- (10) ΚΑΛΟ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΣΟ ΣΤΟ ΦΙΛΟ ΣΟΥ Κ ΣΕ ΟΛΕΣ ΤΙΣ ΑΘΩΕΣ ΨΥΧΕΣ
ΠΟΥ ΕΦΥΓΑΝ ΒΑΝΑΥΣΑ Κ ΑΔΙΚΑ.
MAY YOUR FRIEND AND EVERY OTHER INNOCENT SOUL THAT
PASSED AWAY BRUTALLY N IN VAIN REST IN PEACE.

With regard to the YouTube comments classified as impolite, decisions were almost exclusively based on the responders' evaluations and reactions to the posts as there

was more user-user interaction on this platform. Likes and dislikes were also helpful. Needless to say, politicians, the poster or the subject of the video and other users were most commonly the receivers of FTAs, as can be seen in examples (11) and (12), in which the targets are the person appearing in the video and people posting in the video's comment section, respectively.

(11) ισως την πιο βαρια δυσκολη στιγμη λεει ο παπαρας!τι φοβασαι ρε ανωμαλε?μηπως γινει τιποτα χειροτερο μεχρι να τελειωσει η θητεια σου?ελεος θεε μου!

perhaps the hardest most difficult moment says the asshole!what are you afraid of you pervert?that something worse may happen before your term ends?oh dear god!

(12) Σε ολα τα αμυαλα 5χρονα , που γραφουν πως πεθανε , τοτε πως διαολο βλεπεις το βιντεο ρε γαμωτο , Μυαλο να ειχατε μονο

To all the brainless 5-year-olds , writing that he died , then how the hell are you watching the video fuck , If only you had brains

The sample was teeming with instances of conventionalized impoliteness as it will be seen in the examples that follow. In addition to communicating their frustration civilly, some users seem to have selected the platform so as to vent their emotions and this is evident in the extensive use of aggressive language. In shorter comments, one or two formulae were typically observed, with a few exceptions of short yet packed with impoliteness posts (13).

(13) wtf exeis aytismo h kati? phegene pe3e fortnite gamoto kai skase

wtf are you autistic or something? Go play fortnite damn it and shut up

Longer comments contain various formulae but might also involve only one. Examples (14) to (18), present the most common conventionalized impoliteness formulae of YTC. Insults are on top of the list (44% of all impolite comments) and so are personalized negative vocatives (14) and third-person negative references (15) in particular, which are two of their four subcategories introduced by Culpeper (2011b: 135). Personal attacks appealed to the interlocutors the most but they were not the only formula employed in the sample. Challenging questions (21%), pointed criticisms (15%) and negative expressives (25%) immediately follow as was the case with Twitter (see examples 16 to 18, respectively). Since multiple formulae were employed in a single comment, the sum of percentages exceeds 100%.

(14) ενστολοι-φιλιπιννεζες του τσιπρα ειστε γελοιοι

to all the security forces-tsipra's housemaids you're lame

(15) σαταναδες του κερατα συριζα,ανελ!!! ο μπουλης ειναι ψευτης

fucking devils syriza,anel!!! the fatty is a liar

(16) [username], Esy Nomizhs pos eisai eksypnos twra pou psifises ton Prodoth ?!

Nomizhs e ?

[username], You think you're smart now that you voted for the Traitor ?! You think huh ?

(17) Μόλις άρχισε να λέει ότι πρέπει να παρетоθουν όλοι αμέσως την διακόπτει

!!Αντι σαν δημοσιογράφος να ψάξει την αλήθεια την κρύβει !! Ντροπή τους

σε όλους τους υπεύθυνους και ντροπή στα μονόπλευρα πληρωμένα κανάλια !!

Κρίμα στον κόσμο και ελπίζω να δικαιωθούν !!!

When she started saying that everyone should resign she got interrupted

!!Instead of looking for the truth as a journalist she hides it !! Shame on them

on everyone who is responsible and shame on biased and bribed channels !!

I'm sorry for the people and I hope there is justice for them !!!

(18) [username] Ψωφα βρωμιαρη

[username] Die you piece of trash

The difference, here, is that there is much more variation regarding the formulae users employed. Impolite utterances, albeit rarely, also involved threats (1%), condescensions (2%), dismissals (3%) and silencers (under 1%). See examples 19-22, respectively.

(19) ΘΑ ΣΕ ΒΡΟΥΜΕ...ΚΑΙ ΘΑ ΜΑΤΩΣΕΙΣ..

WE WILL FIND YOU...AND BREAK YOUR NECK..

(20) [username] upload "Κατουρημα και Ξεφτυλικι προς Haters.." αυτην την ακρη
εχεις βρει και δεν εξαρτιεσαι απο κανεναν και εισαι και τυχερος? χαχαχαχαχα
βρε μουλικο 10χρονο που δεν ξερεις ουτε να πινεις γαλα περιμενε να
μεγαλωσεις λιγο να δεις τι παει να πει "ζωη" και ασε θεματα οπως η
μεταναστευση στους μεγαλυτερους. φαινεται απο τωρα οτι το μυαλο σου δεν
στροφαρει και πολυ...κριμα

[username] upload "Pissing on and Humiliating Haters " you think you've
figured things out and you don't depend on anyone and you are lucky?
hahahahaha you stupid 10-year-old who doesn't even know how to drink milk
grow up a little to see what "life" is all about and leave issues like immigration
to the grown-ups. apparently your brain doesn't work that well...pity

(21) [username] εσύ μην ανακατεύεσε τσουχτρα

[username] stay out of this you snake

(22) ρε σκασε λεμε

I said shut up

Implicational impoliteness was not as popular among users but it was still employed, mostly in the form of irony (23) and humorous irony (24) and (25), usually to ridicule the interlocutor or a third party not present in the interaction. Irony came mostly as a response to a previous comment, though it could also be a general comment directed to the video itself.

(23) οι 88 νεκροι ειναι κατι αλλο που βλεπω μονο εγω? εσεις μαλλον δε τους βλεπετε...βλεπετε τις διακοπες που χασατε, το κριμα στον λαιμο σας

Am I the only one to notice the 88 deaths? You probably haven't noticed...you only care about the vacation you lost, this is on you

(24) [user1] [...] απο μενα αναφορα, γιατι ενω η πυρκαγια δεν εχει σβησσει ακομα, εσυ πεταξες με το ωραιο σου drone και εθεσες σε κινδυνο ελικοπτερα και αεροπλανα που μπορει να εβρισκες στον δρομο σου. [...]

[user2] Και τους δορυφόρους. Εθεσε σε κίνδυνο και τους δορυφόρους που πετάνε από πάνω. Και τα χελιδόνια.

[user3] ΚΑΙ τα διαστημοπλοια. ΚΑΙ ο Σωρας και η ΝΑσα αλλα και κατι εξωγηινοι κινδυνεψαν να παθουν εναεριο τραμπακουλο με το drone να πεταει τοσο ψηλα χωρις αδεια πτησης. Αποφυγαμε διαγαλαξιακο επεισοδιο στο τσακ λεμε!

[user1] [...] I reported you, because you flew your nice drone at a time when the wildfire has not yet been extinguished and endangered any helicopters and airplanes that happened to be in your way. [...]

[user2] And the satellites. He also endangered the satellites flying above. And the swallows.

[user3] AND the spaceships. BOTH Soras¹³ and NAsa but also some aliens were on the verge of aerial shock with the drone flying so high up without a flight permit. We dodged an intergalactic incident last minute!

(25) Πίσω από τις φλέξεις κρύβεται ο Αλέξης

Alexis is hiding behind this [behind the fires]

The practice of saying something and not actually meaning it, which is a premise of both irony and humorous irony (Dynel 2014) as mentioned in section 2.2, can be noted in all of these examples. In the case of (24), we can see how comments by three different users escalate from conventionalized impoliteness and pointed criticism in particular in the first turn, humorous irony in the second and plain humor in the third one, in which the user, having probably enjoyed the preceding post, builds on the joke by using hyperbole. Post (25) is an adaptation of a very well-known Greek lyric that reads *Πίσω από τις λέξεις κρύβεται ο Αλέξης* (*Alexis is hiding behind the words*). It is a metaphorical way to suggest that someone (Alexis in the case of the song as the name rhymes with the word *λέξεις* (/lexis/ ‘words’)) but also Alexis in the case of the PM) are hiding; the former behind his words and the latter behind the fires. The user playfully and very creatively replaced the word *λέξεις* (/lexis/ ‘words’) with *φλέξεις* (/flexis/) which may be a non-word yet its root resembles the word *flame* and if combined with the prefix (i.e. *ανά- αναφλέξεις* /anaflexis/) it also alludes to ignition. An implied criticism of the Prime Minister (i.e. *Αλέξης*) underlies this utterance, according to which his incompetent handling of the situation led to immense damage and fatalities.

Comments containing both kinds of impoliteness were observed in this sample as well. They were usually ironic utterances combined with an insult and/or a negative

¹³ Artemis Sorras is a Greek public figure who has claimed to have sold Ancient Greek Space Technology to the US Government.

expressive, like (26). This comment is interestingly not addressed to the person to whom it refers; it looks like the user is addressing an imaginary audience, perhaps every other user in the polylogue. It contains an insult (*πανιβλακας* ‘moron’) and a negative expressive (*μαλακιες* ‘bullshit’) while it ends with an ironic promise and a few emoticons perhaps to diffuse tension by construing humor (Zappavigna 2012: 78).

(26) ο άλλος ο πανιβλακας,θελει αποδειξεις με το παρτι του ψινακη λει!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!χαχαχαχαχα.ρε γαμωτο,τι μαλακιες διαβαζουμε εδω μεσα!!χαχαχαχα.κατσε θα σου φερω αποδειξεις,που ξερω και τι μαγιο φοραει👉👎👎👎👎

this moron,says he wants proof for psinakis’ party!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!hahahahaha.damn,we are seeing so much bullshit in here!!hahahaha.wait I’ll get you proof, since I know exactly what kind of swimsuit he goes for👉👎👎👎👎

4.1.3 Reddit

Reddit’s rough distribution of posts into non-impolite and impolite ones is the reverse of that of YouTube. Table 4 shows the distribution into the two categories and their subcategories.

Table 4. Statistics of the Reddit sample

Non-impolite posts		61.0%
Impolite posts	Conventionalized	16.0%
	Implicational	20.0%
	Conv./Impl.	3.0%
		100.0%

Despite the contentiousness of the topic, the majority of interlocutors engaged in somewhat civil discussions and stated their opinions respectfully. As has already been argued (see, e.g., Sifianou 2012), disagreements do not always constitute instances of impoliteness. Decisions as to whether posts were impolite were based on users' responses, when available, as in the cases of Twitter and YouTube. Consistently with the treatment of the other two platforms, Reddit posts were not automatically classified as impolite if they included swearwords, given that, swearing can have other functions besides displaying impoliteness (Dynel 2012: 27). Below are some examples of posts in this category (27) to (29).

(27) Μέχρι να ξημερώσει και να μπορέσουν οι αρχές να πάνε πόρτα πόρτα δεν θα έχουμε πλήρη εικόνα. Σκατα.

Until it's daylight and the authorities can go door to door we won't have the whole story. Shit.

The expletive at the end of the utterance simply conveys the user's frustration and is not directed at anyone in particular. The post is in no way impolite in its entirety and the expletive does not make it so either.

(28) [user1] παίρνω πίσω το βλάκας και ανίδεος, ειλικρινά νόμιζα πως είχες μπει απλά για να trollάρεις. Συγγνώμη, είμαι φορτισμένος, [...]

[user2] Δεν έγινε κάτι και εγώ σε είπα μαλακα στην αρχή. Καταλαβαίνω πως νιώθεις. Γιαυτο είναι οι διαφωνίες να λύνονται ήρεμα και με επιχειρήματα:)

[user1] I take back what I said about you being an idiot and clueless, I honestly thought that you were here just to troll. I'm sorry, I'm emotionally charged, [...]

[user2] It's ok I also called you an asshole at the beginning. I understand how you feel. That's what disagreements are for to be resolved calmly and with proper arguments:)

These are the last two turns of a long interaction between two users where they openly disagree and exchange impolite comments with one other. In the end, the conflict comes to an end and both users agree to disagree. One of them provides an account, takes back the insults they had previously directed towards the other and apologizes and while the second user does not do so, the post is not at all face threatening.

(29) [user1 quotes user2] Και το μήνυμά σου έπρεπε να σταματήσει εκεί. Τα υπόλοιπα είναι περιττά. Άλλωστε, αυτό το σύστημα, δεν είναι ένα απλό sms. Αυτό το σύστημα χρειάζεται να στηθεί, χρειάζεται μία X/Ψ/μικρή/μεγάλη υποδομή. Όταν λοιπόν η πρώτη σου παράγραφος είναι αληθής, το σύστημα που ζητάς, δεν θα φτιαχτεί. Άρα καταλήγουμε. Βήμα 1ο) Αλλάζουμε νοοτροπία (αυτό που λες εσύ "...Ελλάδα...") [...]

[user2] Όταν έλεγα... Ελλάδα... Δεν είχα κάτι τόσο κακό στο μυαλό μου το εννοούσα περισσότερο ότι τα πάντα στην Ελλάδα δεν κινούνται γρήγορα και με σχέδιο. Φυσικά δεν θα πάω πίσω σε ότι είπα και ο καθένας μπορεί να πάρει τα λόγια κάποιου με πόλους τρόπους και ζητώ συγγνώμη αν προσβαλα κάποιον με αυτό που είπα. [...]

[user1] OK, ακριβώς αυτό που εννοώ και εγώ.

[user1 quotes user2] And your message should have ended there. The rest is noise. Besides, this system, is not just an sms. This system needs setting up, it needs a certain basic or bigger infrastructure. So if your first paragraph is true,

the system you demand won't be created. Therefore, we conclude. Step 1) We change mentality (what you call "...Greece...") [...]

[user2] When I said... Greece... I didn't have something as bad in mind I simply meant that nothing in Greece works fast and according to plan. Of course I won't take back what I said and people can interpret someone's words in many ways and I'm sorry if I offended anyone with what I said. [...]

[user1] OK, this is exactly what I mean.

The first poster in this brief series appears to be a bit aggressive towards the previous one by pointing to their faulty argument and presenting their own view as simple facts that the other poster fails to understand. The responder, however, who is also the addressee of the first post, is not offended by the message and in fact continues the conversation with a neutral tone which results in conflict resolution in the last turn.

The fact that the posts on Reddit were predominantly civil places added importance on the analysis of the face threatening ones. The aim is to try and explain users' choices, since impoliteness does not appear to be the norm on this platform.

To begin with, what distinguished Reddit from the other two platforms in terms of impoliteness was that implicationally impolite utterances outnumbered the ones involving conventionalized impoliteness. This must be partially due to the Reddiquette that prohibits verbal violence, threats and any kind of bullying, all of which roughly correspond to particular conventionalized formulae. The Reddiquette specifically states that insults, personal attacks and rudeness are not allowed and that users should "increase the overall civility of the community",¹⁴ to which users appear to have conformed. So, pointed criticisms (13% of all impolite comments) and

¹⁴ <https://www.reddit.com/wiki/reddiquette>

challenging questions (28%) took the place of insults as the most frequent formula employed (see examples 30 and 31, respectively).

(30) για μια ακόμη φορά ο κρατικός μηχανισμός είναι για τα σκουπίδια. Με τη πρώτη σοβαρή πυρκαγιά , ασχετος εμπρησμού η όχι κόπηκε η ελλαδα στα 2 , παρτυ κανουν εκει στη μιτ . η αληθεια είναι ότι το 90% των πυροσβεστών και οσων ασχολούνται με κρισεις πρεπει να παει σπιτι του. Ολο το χειμωνα παιζουν ταβλι αντι να κανουν αντι πυρικη προστασια η επιμόρφωση στους πολιτες. [...]

once again the state mechanism is rubbish. The first serious wildfire , irrespective of it being the result of arson or not divided greece in 2 , they're enjoying themselves at mit¹⁵ . the truth is that 90% of firefighters and anyone dealing with crises should go home. They spend all winter playing backgammon instead of protecting against fires or training citizens. [...]

(31) Μαλακίες. Όλο SMS ακούω και SMS δεν βλέπω. Άρθρα βλέπω. Ισχυρισμούς βλέπω. Άρθρα επί άρθρων βλέπω. SMS δεν βλέπω. Που είναι το SMS per se? Πού είναι κάποιο συνημμένο; Ποιός ήταν το βαθύ λαρύγγι αφού το SMS στάλθηκε στο πολύ inner circle του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ;

Bullshit. I keep hearing about SMSs but I haven't seen any. I've seen articles. I've heard claims. I've seen articles on top of other articles. I haven't seen SMSs. Where is the SMS per se? Where is the attachment? Who was the whistleblower/snitch since the SMS was sent to SYRIZA's inner circle?

The first user openly criticizes the State, the fire department and whoever is responsible with dealing with such crises in general, for their inability to react but also for their failure to train citizens. The expressions *για τα σκουπίδια* 'rubbish', *πρεπει να*

¹⁵ Turkish National Intelligence Organization.

παιει σπιτι του ‘should go home’ and *παιζουν ταβλι* ‘playing backgammon’ showcase that. In other words, milder expressions are used to attack face rather than typical swearwords. On the other hand, the second user begins their post with a swearword (i.e. *Μαλακίες* ‘Bullshit’) that functions as an exclamatory phrase and would not normally be considered impolite by itself. Ending their post with three consecutive challenging questions, however, in combination with the short and abrupt sentences that preceded them, places this utterance in the category of conventionally impolite posts.

Implication was the preferred impoliteness type of Redditors. A likely explanation for this is that, in their attempt to perform FTAs without being impeded by the moderators, users engage in implicational means in order to attack face. In (32) the poster is insinuating that a news website used material that another medium had created and in (33) the poster pretends to reach the conclusion that the Right is composed of saints. The inclusion of swearwords or other conventionalized expressions in posts would attract the attention of downvoters and moderators more easily.

(32) Το βίντεο έχει ένα τεράστιο watermark που λέει Καθημερινή, οπότε προφανώς και πρέπει να το δούμε από το copy-paste άρθρο στο zougla.

There is a huge Kathimerini¹⁶ watermark on the video, so obviously we have to watch it on zougla’s¹⁷ copy-pasted article.

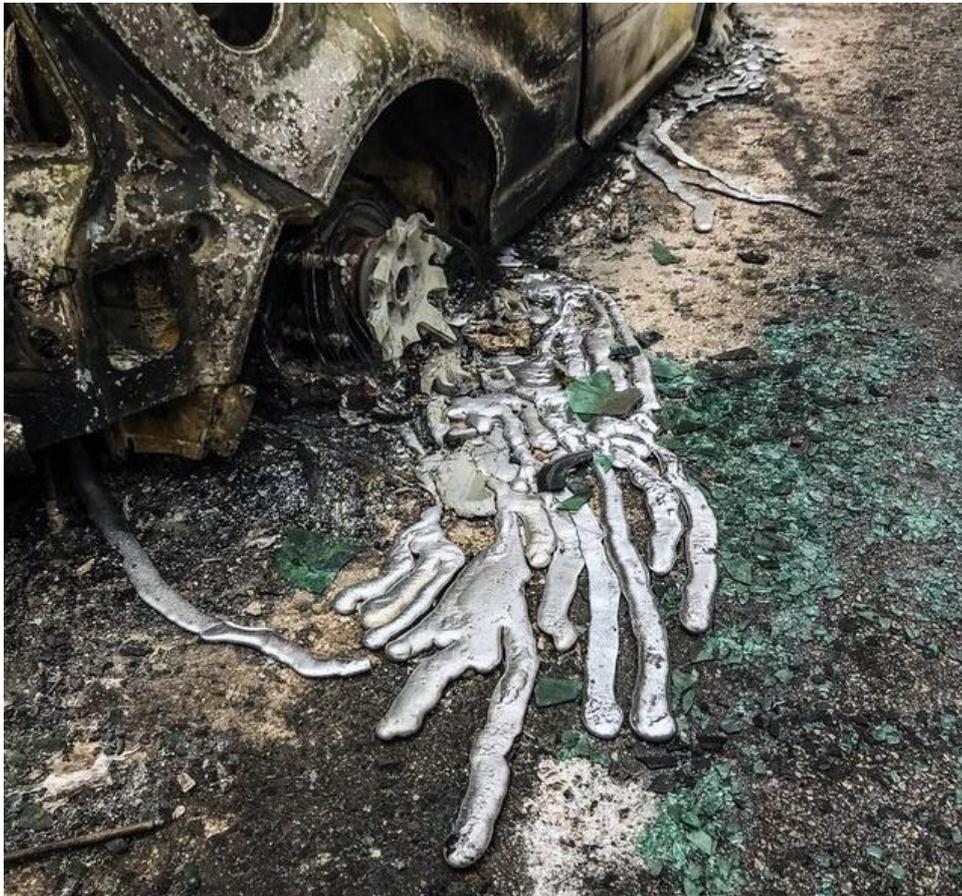
(33) Α ενταξει τοτε, οι δεξιες κυβερνησεις οντως αποτελουνται απο αγιους.

Oh okay then, right-wing governments are indeed comprised of saints.

¹⁶ A Greek print and digital newspaper.

¹⁷ A Greek news website.

On another note, there is a strong presence of humor on Reddit whose lines often blend into the lines of humorous irony. Several humorous posts were part of the “non-impolite posts” category and a very high percentage of implicationally impolite posts were, in fact, humorously ironic (45%). Examples of either of the two are admittedly equally, if not more, creative compared to the respective examples on Twitter and YouTube and this is illustrated below in examples (34) and (35). The preference, therefore, for implicational impoliteness on Reddit could be because users take advantage of the nature of the platform and write more creatively whether their objective is to criticize or not.



(34) T-1000?

The comment is posted on a thread entitled “Mati, Eastern Attica” showing a photograph of a burnt car whose rim is depicted fully melted and received 14 points¹⁸ by other Reddit users. It was the second most positively voted post in this thread and having observed interaction on Reddit, it seems to me that witty posts earn the most points. No negative evaluation of a specific referent can be detected and the phrase intertextually refers to the film Terminator and its antagonist, T-1000 (an android composed of liquid metal), of whom the poster was reminded upon seeing the image.

(35) [user1] Δήμαρχος Ραφήνας - Πικερμίου used "petao to ballaki" its super effective!

[user2] Όχλος hurt itself in its confusion!

[user1] The mayor of Rafina-Pikermi used “pass the parcel” its super effective!

[user2] The mob hurt itself in its confusion!

The above turns were posted on a thread entitled “Rafina – Pikermi Mayor: I couldn’t issue an evacuation order”. It is an instance of humorous irony; it is clearly untrue and indirectly criticizes the mayor of Rafina for his inaction and apparent attempt to eschew responsibility. To anyone not familiar with the source of this joke, this very short dialogue seems nonsensical. The fact that the user decided to post this line with no actual explanation suggests that they expected their fellow Redditors to be familiar with its allusion (i.e. a very popular videogame among millennials). In Zappavigna’s (2012) terms, this would be a meme template, requiring implied shared knowledge of the culture for their meaning to unpack, much like homophora. The post gained 18 points from upvoters and a response that takes the joke a step further by referencing

¹⁸ The number of points of a specific post is called “submission’s score” and is basically the number of upvotes minus the number of downvotes.

the same videogame, thus fulfilling the expectation. The example strengthens the view that people make conscious decisions regarding the platforms they choose to frequent.

4.2 Quantitative Analysis

The macroscopic view of the data offered by the corpus analysis tools was particularly revealing since, beyond confirming the results of the qualitative analysis, it complemented it with a few relevant findings. Even a cursory look at a simple query, as was the keywords query, provided further evidence on the extensive use of conventionalized impoliteness on YouTube. Unfortunately, there is no fool-proof way to investigate irony with corpus analysis tools and any attempts at analyzing words with augmentative suffixes e.g., *κυβερνησάρα* ('government+AUG'), for example, did not flourish. It was not, therefore, as feasible to study implicational impoliteness as it was to study conventionalized impoliteness.

Several swearwords came high in the keyword list of YTC (see Appendix) which was quite interesting since keyword lists usually denote the most prominent words in a corpus. By adding the individual frequencies of these swearwords across all their lemmas as seen in section 3.3, a new list of the most frequent swearword lemmas was created.

The same procedure was followed for swearword frequencies in TWIC and REDC. Because of the different corpus sizes, the data had to be normalized, that is, the lemma frequencies for the three subcorpora had to be adjusted to a common scale for a fairer comparison. It was decided that the best scale for this dataset is occurrences per 100,000 words. Given that, to my knowledge, there is no consensus

on which Greek swearwords are the most severe, the six most salient swearword lemmas of YTC were selected for a more in-depth comparison across the platforms. Words like *βλάκας* ‘moron’ and *ηλίθιος* ‘idiot’ may be insulting, negative attributes but are not considered swearwords. The selected swearword lemma frequencies for the three platforms can be seen in Table 5.

Table 5. Swearword lemma occurrences in the corpora, actual and normalized to occurrences per 100,000 words

Lemma	YTC		TWIC		REDC	
	Occ. in YTC	Occ. in 100,000	Occ. in TWIC	Occ. in 100,000	Occ. in REDC	Occ. in 100,000
γαμ*	1,471	227.50	205	33.28	12	25.60
μαλακ*	1,395	215.75	284	46.11	45	96.02
πουταν*	740	114.45	33	5.36	2	4.27
πουστ*	563	87.07	40	6.49	3	6.40
μουν*	337	52.12	25	4.06	1	2.13
πουτσ*	260	40.21	99	16.07	7	14.94
	4,776	737.10	686	111.38	70	149.36

Whether we consider individual frequencies or their sum, it is evident that swearwords take up a considerable part of YouTube, whereas the same is not true for Twitter and Reddit. Although this is not an exhaustive list of all the swearwords in the corpora, the figures are believed to be representative of the underlying conventionalized impoliteness patterns.

The next step was to study the concordances of these words to ascertain that they indeed contributed to impoliteness since some of them are often used as solidarity markers (see, e.g., Vergis & Terkourafi 2015). Predictably, out of all the instances in which swearwords were employed on YouTube, the vast majority (over 98%) were cases of conventionalized impoliteness as in (36) and (37), while there was only a handful of cases in which the same swearwords were used to express irony (38) or camaraderie (39).

- (36) Μαλάκα θα σε θάψω γαμημένε
 Asshole I will bury you motherfucker
- (37) ΓΑΜΩ ΤΑ ΑΥΘΑΙΡΕΤΑ ΚΟΛΟΣΠΙΤΑ ΣΑΣ! ΝΑ ΣΑΣ ΤΑ ΓΚΡΕΜΙΣΕΙ
 ΤΩΡΑ Ο ΣΥΡΙΖΑ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΑ ΝΑ ΣΑΣ ΚΑΝΕΙ! [...]
 FUCK YOUR ILLEGAL FUCKING HOUSES! I WISH SYRIZA WOULD
 DEMOLISH THEM ALL! [...]
- (38) 0:31 "Το Μάτι ανήκει στον Μαραθώνα. Δυστυχώς." Υπεργαμάτη δήλωση της
 δεκαετίας.
 0:31 "Mati belongs to Marathonas. Unfortunately." Best fucking statement of
 the decade.
- (39) Ναι ρεε βλακαα και θα τον ξαναψηφισουμε γιατι ειναι γαματος κι
 αληθινος...απο τους καλυτερους που θα μπορούσαμε να χουμε! Αντεεε ηλιθιε
 Yeah you moron and we'll vote for him again because he is fucking awesome
 and real...one of the best we could have! You idiot

It is interesting to note that YouTube users employed a variety of spelling versions of the same word, as in, *γαμήσου* ('fuck you'), *αγαμησου*, *γαμισου*, *gamhsou*, *gamisou*, etc. This accurately reflects the variety of writing styles observed throughout the corpus: comments were written in Greek, English or Greeklish, using correct or incorrect spelling and with or without accents.

Swearword lemmas in TWIC and REDC were indeed much fewer than the respective lemmas of YTC, a finding which is consonant with the findings of the qualitative analysis. Occurrences of the six swearwords studied here, however, seem to suggest that the amount of conventionalized impoliteness on TWIC and REDC is approximately equal, which was not the result of the manual categorization of posts from the three samples. The explanation for the mismatch lies, once again, in the

extensive use of conventionally impolite hashtags on Twitter. As long as they include one or several such hashtags, users need not include additional swearwords in their tweets to perform face-attack.

In the instances studied here, Twitter's swearword lemmas slightly outnumber those of Reddit, which is reasonable if one takes the qualitative findings into account. This is the case for all individual lemmas except for one. The lemma *μαλακ** occurred twice as much on Reddit in comparison to Twitter in corpora of equal size. In light of the previous observation that Twitter involves more impoliteness than Reddit, this appears rather surprising. Concordances of *μαλακ** in both subcorpora were studied, but, apart from the numbers, there was no other significant difference in their uses. *Μαλάκα(ς)* and *μαλάκες* along with their different spelling versions were used either as insults (40) or as friendly terms of address (41) in both platforms while the use of *μαλακία* and *μαλακίες* was either close to what the formula of pointed criticisms describes (42), employed as an exclamation or as a set phrase expressing frustration at the beginning of sentences (43).

(40) *Μα εκτός των άλλων, ΠΟΣΟ ΜΑΛΑΚΑΣ πρέπει να σαι για να κάψεις χόρτα με 6+ μποφόρ ανέμους; Δηλαδή πραγματικά πόσο; (REDC)*

Everything else aside, WHAT KIND OF A DICKHEAD burns dry vegetation at winds of 6+ beaufort? Seriously?

(41) *Πω μαλακα τρόμος #κινετα #alphanews (TWIC)*

Fucking terrifying #kineta #alphanews

(42) *Βγήκε να πει την μαλακία του για να παραμείνει relevant όπως κάνει πάντα ο τράγος (REDC)*

He went on air to say the same bullshit as always to stay relevant that pig

(43) Τι άλλη μαλακία θα ακούσω Θεέ μου. - απόφοιτος Πατριωreeeeee σχολείου
(REDC)

God, no more bullshit. – Patrioreeeee school graduate

It is my contention that moderation is the most probable reason why Redditors employed *μαλακ** in its various forms more than Twitter users. In other words, users may have avoided stronger swearwords out of fear that their post would be censored. The words *μαλάκας* and *μαλακία* are commonly used in everyday interaction in many contexts, have lost much of their power to offend and were possibly chosen by users so as not to attract the attention of the moderators.

While studying the concordances of swearwords to decide on their offensive force, I came across some blends and compounds that users created and employed not only to attack face but also to poke fun at their interlocutors and be entertaining. All platforms theoretically allowed for this kind of creativity, though it was mostly exploited on Twitter and on YouTube, as in (44) and (45).

(44) Ανεβάζετε φωτο απο την #Πυρκαγια στην #Κινετα και κατηγορείτε τον Τσίπρα λες και έπαιζε σταχτοπουτάνα και του φυγε η κάφτρα. (TWIC)

You upload photos from the #Wildfire in #Kineta and blame Tsipras as if he was reenacting Cinderhoella and let a spark fly.

(45) #Πυρκαγια #Ματι #ΣΚΑΙ #syriza_χεftiles #Greecefires Εχει καταλαβει κανεις γιατι κανουν συνέντευξη τυπου οι συριζόπουστες; (TWIC)

#Wildfire #Mati #SKAI #syriza_disgrace #Greecefires Does anyone know the reason why the syrizassholes are holding a press conference?

5 Discussion

Overall, the analysis showed that YouTube included a considerable number of instances of impoliteness, while fewer instances were observed on Twitter and even fewer on Reddit. Considering that all data comes from online interactions which took place within the same context, the explanation of the findings must lie in the nature of each of the three platforms under scrutiny. A few key platform characteristics that are believed to be associated with the findings are discussed below. Apart from those that differentiate them, emphasis is also placed on features platforms supposedly share, whose manifestation varies in ways that greatly affect interaction.

It is my contention that lack of moderation is one of the reasons why impoliteness is more dominant on YouTube than on the other two platforms. Users may have chosen this platform because it offers them more freedom to express their opinions however they wish to. No one evaluates the comments and no one has the power to authorize, censor or delete them, so all users can practically interact on equal terms. This affordance seems to have made users more direct and spontaneous but also more easily aggravated. In an effort to make their own voice heard among countless of others', they seem to resorted to face-threatening behavior. It is, therefore, reasonable that conventionalized impoliteness and swearwords abounded in the data. It is likely that users who wanted to vent knowingly chose YouTube as the platform to interact in.

Moreover, YouTube users could easily elaborate on their thoughts since there is no restriction as to post length. Comments in YTC actually ranged from single-

word to 883-word comments. This fact, in conjunction with the observation that longer comments were generally more impolite than shorter ones which were more balanced, indicates that post length may have an unexpected impact on impoliteness.

Another factor that must have contributed to the brimming aggression on YouTube is the video stimulus. Sydnor (2018) has argued that sensory stimuli like audio and video seem to evoke incivility. When the same message was communicated to the participants of her study through various media types, video and audio versions of it were perceived as more uncivil compared to its text version, suggesting that the channel affects perceptions of incivility. Regarding the present study, video stimuli were the starting point of every interaction on this platform. Even though the content of the video was not necessarily aggressive or even provocative, an underlying tendency towards increased impoliteness was observed. This leads me to infer that the graphic depiction of destruction and human suffering instills the viewer with negative feelings that amplify aggression. Furthermore, the examination of the data showed that users attacking the person appearing on the video, whether they were politicians or journalists, was a very common occurrence in YTC. This probably shows that, afforded with the opportunity to comment on what they have just watched, users do not take time to process the input and, therefore, share their unfiltered views which are usually emotionally loaded and impolite.

Twitter, as mentioned earlier, was not initially a place for conflict and this is evident in its relatively high percentage of politic posts. The site was initially used for the exchange of information which was succeeded by the users' urge to criticize the governing parties and their supporters, which is why plenty of impolite tweets were nonetheless identified.

First, let me return to the discussion of hashtags and link it to the lack of moderation on the platform. The fact that users can so freely create and use hashtags containing not only insults, e.g., *#τσιπρας_χωρις_τσιπα* (*#shameless_tsipras*) but also vulgar language, e.g., *#συριζοπανα* (*#syrizacunts*), automatically suggests that the platform is tolerant of such linguistic behavior or even (indirectly) encouraging it, especially since hashtags are its distinctive feature. More often than not, hashtags like *#syrizanel_xeftiles* (*#syrizanel_disgrace*) were what marked tweets as conventionally impolite. This probably also explains the small percentage of swearwords in the corpus.

The 280-character limit also played a role in the above, urging users to be very succinct in what they wanted to communicate. Although the character limit has very recently doubled from that of 140 characters, avid Twitter users still prefer to post brief tweets. In fact, in many instances, tweets would present civil points of view which were quickly converted into impolite utterances on account of the insulting hashtag they included.

Thus, there are strong indications that, in addition to their pragmatic functions as sarcasm (Kunneman et al. 2015), non-apologetic (Matley 2018a) and self-praise markers (Matley 2018b), hashtags also fulfill another function that, to my knowledge, has not been mentioned in the literature. In this work, hashtags served as impoliteness markers to tweets that were already impolite but also to tweets whose content was not otherwise offensive.

Multimodality might be an affordance of all platforms but only Twitter users exploited it to the fullest and employed it for impoliteness purposes. Except for links to other websites and emoticons that were observed in all platforms, Twitter users posted but also customized their own pictures and gifs in creative ways. Most of them

were instances of (humorous) irony or plain humor, both of which were aimed at entertaining the user's followers while the former also realized the user's intention to ridicule the target. The use of modes other than textual, combined with performativity and play, was necessary for users to "overcome the expressive restrictions" of the platform (Papacharissi 2012: 1990).

Apart from hashtags and multimodality, the coining of new words observed mainly on Twitter was another example of how creativity contributed to impoliteness. The platform attracted users who posted playful and entertaining tweets even at the time of a crisis of this caliber. After all, the vain hope of users is to be retweeted as much as possible. In this effort, the tweets were aimed at uniting the platform's audience against the people who users thought of as responsible for the fires. So, users would attack the face of politicians by attaching negative attributes to their names and statuses, i.e. *γαιδούρου* and *πορδουπουργός*.¹⁹ The character constraint in tweets seems to have motivated users to "be creative [and entertaining one would add] with their use of the textual space they are given to work with" (Halavais 2014: 31, Sifianou & Bella 2019).

As dictated by Reddit's nature, which is roughly similar to that of a discussion forum, the platform focuses on text-based user interaction on topics posted by the users themselves. The political orientation of Reddit is strong as has already been mentioned. That being said, although political discourse is expected to be impolite, those who engage in political discussions on this website appear to be used to expressing and being exposed to different views on contentious issues and do not tend

¹⁹ *Γαιδούρου* is a compound of the Greek words *γαιδούρι* ('donkey') and *Δούρου* (the last name of the regional governor of Attica at the time of the wildfires). *Πορδουπουργός* is a portmanteau of the Greek words *πορδή* ('fart') and *Πρωθυπουργός* ('Prime Minister'). The former is used to characterize the regional governor as apathetic and inconsiderate while the latter is used to humiliate the PM.

to lash out at their interlocutors. Their discourse is generally developed on the basis of arguments, advocating or opposing certain views.

What is more, the community of Greek Redditors is rather small and most usernames are familiar to the regular visitors of the platform who, over the course of their online activity, have formed strong bonds with each other even though they are strangers who have probably never met in real life, what Agarwal, Liu, Murthy, Sen and Wang (2009) have referred to as “familiar strangers”. It is possible that the familiarity of usernames deterred posters from insulting one another, disagreements rarely led to face-threats and misunderstandings were quickly resolved with proper explanations (see examples 28 and 29). The amount of impoliteness, especially conventionalized, was very little, while the presence of humor was strong, at about 12% of all posts. These findings show that the purpose of the platform, even in this contentious context, was not to host verbal conflict but constructive dialogue.

This was made possible, among others, with the help of moderation whose mere existence seems to have guided users towards engaging in civil interaction. A case in point of the effect of moderation on Reddit users is Young’s (2018) study. It was found that abusive language decreased significantly once “AutoModerator bots” were introduced on the platform and it was suggested that automatic moderation can positively affect word quality in online fora. Redditors seem to be aware that the platform is not a place for them to vent their emotions or to be deliberately impolite. On another note, the few swearwords that were detected did not lead to post deletion by the moderators and were not necessarily considered impolite by the interlocutors. The posts whose offensiveness appears to have breached the website’s guidelines, thus leading to their deletion by the moderators, were only 18. This means that moderation is not so strict after all and that expletives do not automatically make an

utterance face threatening. So, freedom of speech is rather unhindered on the platform as long as it is not used as an excuse for displaying face-threatening behavior. To quote the Reddiquette, the very first values users should foster are “Remember the human: When you communicate online, all you see is a computer screen. When talking to someone you might want to ask yourself ‘Would I say it to the person’s face?’ or ‘Would I get jumped if I said this to a buddy?’” and “Adhere to the same standards of behavior online that you follow in real life”.

A feature of online discourse that links all three platforms to one another is anonymity. It was discussed extensively in a previous section (2.1) drawing from the relevant literature. After a closer look at the particularities of the platforms in conjunction with the findings regarding impoliteness, especially its types and means of realization, however, I believe that the concept of anonymity needs to be reconsidered. Twitter, YouTube and Reddit offer their users more or less the same degree of anonymity; a chosen username, often not related to real names, is what interlocutors see when reading one another’s comments. The same applies to the avatars users put next to their names whose use is optional and one can never know if they correspond to reality.

The difference arises once one clicks on that username and is transferred to a user’s profile page, though. On Reddit, all user profiles are public and posts are displayed on one’s personal page for everyone to see. On Twitter, users have the option of setting their account to private mode but, as I mentioned earlier (2.1.1), few make that choice. Regardless, this work only dealt with public accounts whose tweets and overall activity are displayed on the respective profile pages in reverse chronological order. On YouTube, although all accounts are public, comments are not displayed on users’ individual pages and one cannot refer back to them in any way.

This means that old posts on Reddit and on Twitter can be seen by anyone at any time, whereas this is not possible on YouTube. The practice of linking YouTube channels to Google+ profiles, adopted in 2013 could have potentially resolved this issue by encouraging the use of real identities and icons (Benson 2016: 40) but the decreasing popularity of this feature led the company to lift the mandatory maintenance of a Google+ profile in 2015.²⁰ So, it holds true that Reddit and Twitter users cannot escape their posts without deleting them completely; in contrast, YouTube users are able to comment on countless videos without having their comments gathered in one place, which makes studying their (linguistic) behavior rather difficult to say the least. The absence of this feature on YouTube seems to have made users feel invincible, in that they cannot be branded impolite outside the scope of a specific video no matter what they post in its comment section. This constitutes a point of divergence across online platforms, dividing them into two kinds; the former (which Twitter and Reddit belong to, among others) attracts users who do not mind having their posts tied back to their usernames, whereas the latter (YouTube being an example) attracts users who enjoy the freedom of constructing a new identity with each post. This is a generalization of a similar observation made by Bergstrom (2011: 7) who contrasted user behavior on Reddit with that on 4-chan, i.e. media belonging to the first and second category, respectively.

To end this discussion, I would like to include a user's tweet I encountered by chance about interaction on Twitter and YouTube (46). Not accompanied by one of the selected hashtags, it is not part of TWIC but it is relevant to the context since it was posted on July 25th, two days after the wildfires broke out. In a single tweet, the

²⁰ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Google%2B>

poster has managed to playfully summarize the findings of this work concerning user behavior on Twitter and YouTube.

(46) Νομιζα οτι εδω μεσα βγαζουν το αχτι τους (η/και το μεροκαματο τους) τα πολιτικα τρολ μεχρι που ειδα σχολια στο Γιουτιουμπ σχετικα με την πυρκαγια... εμετος, το τουιτερ ειναι παιδικη χαρα μπροστα στα ορκ του γιουτιουμπ.

I was under the impression that this is the place where political trolls lash out (and/or make a living) until I read some YouTube comments regarding the wildfire... disgusting, Twitter is a playground compared to the orcs of youtube.

6 Conclusion

Interaction through social media platforms has become a major part of social life in recent years. It seems that much of a person's everyday activity is performed online and the wide range of online platforms suggests that there is a place for everything; from getting informed or entertaining oneself to socializing and forming interpersonal relationships (Georgalou 2017: 3). It goes without saying that, when interacting, whether face to face or not, disagreements are bound to occur. Some are resolved civilly but others spiral out of control and naturally involve impoliteness. In fact, scholars investigating impolite discourse have turned to online communication since this is where verbal conflict abounds (Dynel 2015: 344).

However, studies have primarily focused on analyzing impoliteness within a specific platform. This lack of major contrastive studies in the field is what inspired the present research. Three social media platforms were selected for analysis, Twitter, YouTube and Reddit as they have both characteristics that they share and some that distinguish them from each other. It was hypothesized that the nature of a platform influences the impoliteness observed among its users and that, by analyzing online interaction on the same topic and context but across various social media platforms, any differences in impolite behavior could be explained on the basis of their different characteristics.

After compiling three corpora, one for each of the three platforms under examination (i.e. TWIC, YTC and REDC), it was decided that a two-pronged methodology would provide a better overview of the data. First, small samples of the

corpora were qualitatively analyzed and classified into types of impoliteness and certain face-threatening strategies were detected and discussed. Then, the corpora underwent a quantitative analysis by means of corpus analysis tools and, following the lead that the keyword lists revealed, a few frequent key swearword lemmas were analyzed in detail.

Both analyses corroborated the fact that out of the three platforms, YouTube involved the most impoliteness. Conventionalized impoliteness formulae were widely employed by YouTube users and the corpus was so packed with swearwords that a few of them were ranked among its most prominent words. The lack of restraint to employ impolite language could be due to some of the platform's features. The absence of moderation, of post length limit and of detailed personal profiles on YouTube probably attracted users who wanted to vent without being held accountable, while the presence of the video stimulus seems to have contributed to the higher number of impoliteness phenomena by activating viewers' emotions.

Twitter was second regarding the amount of impoliteness its users employed, with non-impolite posts slightly outnumbering the impolite ones. According to the users themselves, the platform's purpose changed during the one-month time period. The initial informative purpose was succeeded by a critical reaction to the news and this is reflected upon the somewhat balanced percentages of non-impolite and impolite posts. Though restricted by the 280-character limit and the permanent display of one's tweets on their profile, users proceeded to perform face-threatening acts by manipulating other Twitter features, namely hashtags and multimodality; the former specifically served as impoliteness markers and were strong indicators of conventionalized impoliteness. Lastly, the lack of moderation played a role in the increased use of impoliteness as well.

Interaction on Reddit was more civil compared to interaction within the other two platforms. Another significant difference was that implicational impoliteness, mostly irony and humorous irony, was employed far more frequently than conventionalized impoliteness. Among the possible explanations for these findings lie the internal and external moderation on the platform by users and administrators alike, the public user activity displayed on one's personal profile, along with the size and coherence of the community. It is also posited that users who interact on similar issues on a regular basis do so in a civil manner and do not tend to lash out at their interlocutors when advocating opposing views.

All in all, the findings suggest that not every social media platform is treated the same by users. The specific features of each platform seem to attract a certain type of audience, with its own set of intentions and moral code. These characteristics affect the amount and nature of impoliteness encountered on the platform, confirming my original hypothesis. Of course, if time had allowed it, a larger dataset could have been analyzed to verify or refute the derived conclusions. In addition, the corpus analysis tools could have been exploited to a greater extent if it were not for space constraints. Therefore, these results may be considered preliminary. In order to accurately pinpoint the link between impoliteness and platform features, more platforms and perhaps more contexts and topics should be investigated. Notwithstanding the academic significance of understanding human behavior and specifically impoliteness phenomena, a possible extension of this work could prove very useful in devising custom measures to safeguard civility in online environments.

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Appendix

The top 100 keywords of YouTube, Twitter and Reddit.

No.	YouTube	Twitter	Reddit
1	rou	πυρκαγια	rou
2	na	ματι	fake
3	kai	κινετα	εκκενωσης
4	den	ραφηνα	εδιτ
5	gia	πυρκαγιες	tin
6	apo	κινέτα	φωτια
7	einai	φωτια	na
8	tous	αττικη	του
9	tha	ραφήνα	πυροσβεστικη
10	ta	ποσοι_ειναι_οι_αγνοουμενοι	προπαγανδα
11	ton	τσιπρας	edit
12	sou	συνεντευξη_τυπου	εκκενωση
13	tin	νεαμακρη	δημος
14	oti	νεοσβουτζας	tha
15	του	τοσκας	δώθηκε
16	γαμω	φωτιες	εντολη
17	φωτια	μαραθωνας	den
18	πουτανασ	καμμενος	εκκέκνωση
19	tis	μονο_44_ετων	straw
20	επικ	πυρκαγιαric	bias
21	ti	atsipras	αντικειμενικα
22	se	τόσκας	αντιπολιτευση
23	γιε	δουρου	clickbait
24	sto	κινεττα	principle
25	thn	πεντελη	κινετα
26	καηκαν	πυρκαγια	ραφηνas
27	giati	φωτιες	συριζαιους
28	alla	μανδρα	μακρης
29	μαλακα	primeministergr	πολάκης
30	stin	παραιτηθειτε	ke
31	σπιτια	retweeted	πυρκαγιες
32	mas	πυργαγια	ine
33	oi	συριζανελ	rules
34	eisai	μαραθωνα	αρμοδιοτητα
35	μωρη	πυροσβεστικη	fedora
36	σου	ραφήναric	ti
37	oloi	αυθαιρετα	κινέτα
38	καηκε	ραφηνas	περιφερεια
39	exei	νεκροι	apo
40	sas	αττικηric	oti
41	βλακα	πυρόπληκτους	δασος

42	ψινακη	ποσοι_είναι_οι_αγνοούμενοι	pasta
43	αυθαιρετα	σκαι	αμβρόσιος
44	ψινακης	ραφηναρpic	sta
45	fotia	πολιτικη_ευθυνη	λεα
46	μουλε	μαρουσι	αντιπυρικός
47	ματι	συριζοπανα	αυτοματα
48	kala	πυργκαγια	flush
49	sta	βουτζάς	κλικμπειτ
50	δασος	παραιτησου_τωρα	downvotes
51	mono	κινέττα	μπούρνους
52	ψινάκης	βουτζας_ματι_ραφηνα	πολακης
53	eine	skaigr	fotia
54	αρχιδια	πυργκαγιεσpic	strawman
55	ena	φωτιαpic	μαραθωνος
56	exeis	τόσκα	dawkins
57	tora	δούρου	παπαδες
58	otan	βουτζας	πιεζαν
59	πουτανα	νεκρους	πολάκη
60	τσιπρα	kmitsotakis	reddit
61	ola	βουτζά	βαμπίρια
62	mou	ματιpic	sthn
63	τραβα	τραγωδια	λεωφορου
64	ston	αγνοούμενοι	κινέτας
65	γαμησου	panoskammenos	πευκα
66	νεκρους	τσιπρας_χωρις_τσιπα	ψινάκης
67	σκουπιδι	αττικήpic	εκαψε
68	ellada	πυργκαγιάpic	kati
69	ekei	φωτιάpic	πόσταρα
70	mia	συνεντευξη_ντροπης	ιδιωτικα
71	oxi	τσιπρα	kai
72	καει	ερχεται_πουτσα	narrative
73	ψινάκη	pyrosvestiki	νομους
74	φωτιες	μαραθώνος	τσουβαλι
75	σκατα	τοσκα	καναλια
76	μαλακιες	πληγείς	κομμουνισμος
77	ths	φυγετε	αυτοχειρία
78	παρανομα	αγνοουμενοι	canadair
79	sthn	renadourou	αμβρόσιου
80	pos	αττικής	φυγετε
81	σωθηκε	πολακης	ζητησε
82	πουστη	συγκυριακών	καταστροφες
83	μαλακας	ο_τσιπρας_ηξερε	μαραθώνος
84	νεκροι	νέαμάκρη	ματι
85	mesa	κοινοποιήστε	gia
86	πυργκαγια	ψινάκης	προστιμα
87	kati	πυρόπληκτων	νεας

88	χαθηκαν	πλημμυρες	sto
89	καουν	αγνοούμενους	δημαρχος
90	λεσ	d_tzanakopoulos	σκαι
91	twra	ενφια	συριζαίους
92	μαραθωνος	πολάκης	αρθογράφος
93	etsi	πθ	νεκρους
94	htan	rt	wiki
95	τσιπρας	συνέντευξη_τύπου	μεριδιο
96	ευθυνες	ολοι_μεσα	αποψεις
97	auta	μαραθώνα	logic
98	exoun	nikos_toskas	καπιταλισμος
99	βιντεο	exofitsio	περιοχες
100	ke	μαραθωνος	κούλη