## National and Kapodistrian University of Athens Department of English Language and Literature

MA Programme "Linguistics: Theory and Applications"

# "GAMES CAN GET HEATED, BUT SLURS HAVE NO PLACE IN LEAGUE": EXAMINING THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF STREAMERS' IDENTITY ON TWITCH

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## Κείμενο Λογοκλοπής

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AS

# **Declaration Page**

#### **Declaration**

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from, or description of, work of others is acknowledged herein by reference to the sources, whether published or unpublished.

Name

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Signature

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#### **Abstract**

Online gaming environments provide a distinctive context for linguistic analysis. The emerging spurt of research on live streaming has created an urgent need for scientific fields outside the technological domain, such as linguistics, to focus on such communities. The majority of research surrounding communication in the gaming context has focused on the interrelation between online discourse and aggression, impoliteness and toxicity. Nevertheless, such discourse has not been traced back to the online persona who produces it, i.e., the streamer, nor has it connected it with the discursive identity of 'streamer' thus constructed. Addressing this research gap, the present study aims to analyse the identity of the 'streamer'. Following the line of argumentation of contemporary identity research (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou 2017; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2018), this study examines the identity of 'streamer' by analysing the im/politeness strategies seven League of Legends (LoL) streamers use. Employing Brown and Levinson's ([1978]1987) politeness strategies and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich's (2010a) taxonomy of impoliteness strategies, the study found that streamers address their teammates by using mainly positive politeness strategies, but also positive, negative and off-record impoliteness strategies. Furthermore, they almost always address their opponents using impoliteness strategies, while they direct to their viewers an almost equal number of politeness and impoliteness strategies. Discussing these findings in terms of van Dijk's (1998; 2006a; 2006b) 'ideological square', the study uncovers the identity, or rather the combination of identities, streamers, as online personas, appear to enact while streaming. In particular, it was found that, through the use of 63 utterances involving politeness strategies and 136 utterances involving impoliteness strategies, streamers construct a twofold identity, that of 'in-group' and 'teammate' in their LoL team, and that of 'good player', a member of the group of skillful and experienced LoL players. To the best of my knowledge, this study has been the first to examine the discursive identity of 'streamer'; more studies are needed in the future to explore the construction of identities through streaming discourse even further.

Keywords: identity construction; politeness theory; impoliteness; inclusion; exclusion; ideological square; gaming; streaming; League of Legends

#### Περίληψη

Το περιβάλλον διαδικτυακών παιχνιδιών παρέχει ένα ιδιαίτερο πλαίσιο για γλωσσολογική ανάλυση. Η ανάδυση όλο και περισσότερων ερευνών στο κομμάτι της διαδικτυακής ζωντανής μετάδοσης έχει δημιουργήσει μία ανάγκη για άλλους επιστημονικούς τομείς, εκτός του τεχνολογικού, όπως τον τομέα της γλωσσολογίας, να ασχοληθούν με αυτές τις κοινότητες. Η πλειοψηφία των ερευνών γύρω από την επικοινωνία σε διαδικτυακά παιχνίδια έχει επικεντρωθεί στη διασύνδεση μεταξύ διαδικτυακής ομιλίας και επιθετικότητας. Ωστόσο, αυτού του είδους ο λόγος, δεν έχει ερευνηθεί ως προς το πρόσωπο που τον παράγει, δηλ. τον «streamer», ούτε έχει συνδεθεί με τη γλωσσολογική ταυτότητα που με αυτό τον τρόπο δημιουργεί ο «streamer». Προκειμένου να μελετηθεί αυτό το ερευνητικό κενό, ο στόχος αυτής της έρευνας είναι ο εντοπισμός και η ανάλυση της ταυτότητας του «streamer». Ακολουθώντας τις σύγχρονες έρευνες στην ταυτότητα (Bucholtz and Hall 2004; Darvin 2016; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou 2017; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2018), η παρούσα μελέτη ερευνά την ταυτότητα του «streamer» μέσα από την ανάλυση πρακτικών ευγένειας/αγένειας που χρησιμοποιούν επτά streamers του παιχνιδιού League of Legends. Χρησιμοποιώντας το μοντέλο των Brown και Levinson ([1978]1987) για τις πρακτικές ευγένειας και την ταξινομία της Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2010a) για τις πρακτικές αγένειας, η μελέτη δείχνει ότι οι «streamers» απευθύνονται στους συμπαίκτες τους χρησιμοποιώντας κυρίως πρακτικές θετικής ευγένειας, αλλά και πρακτικές αγένειας. Επιπλέον, σχεδόν πάντα απευθύνονται στους αντιπάλους με πρακτικές αγένειας, ενώ απευθύνουν περίπου τον ίδιο αριθμό πρακτικών ευγένειας και αγένειας και στους θεατές τους. Αξιολογώντας αυτά τα ευρήματα με βάση το *ιδεολογικό τετράγωνο* (ideological square) του van Dijk (1998; 2006a; 2006b), αυτή η έρευνα ανιχνεύει την ταυτότητα, ή καλύτερα το συνδυασμό των ταυτοτήτων, τις οποίες οι «streamers» φαίνεται να ενσαρκώνουν. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, βρέθηκε ότι, μέσα από 63 λεγόμενα που περιείχαν τακτικές ευγένειας, και 136 λεγόμενα που περιείχαν τακτικές αγένειας, οι «streamers» δημιούργησαν μία διττή ταυτότητα: την ταυτότητα της ομάδας, όντας μέλη της ομάδας των συμπαικτών τους, και της ομάδας των καλών παικτών, όντας μέλη της ομάδας των ικανών και έμπειρων παικτών του League of Legends. Αυτή η έρευνα είναι η πρώτη που μελετάει τη

γλωσσολογική ταυτότητα του «streamer». Περισσότερες έρευνες χρειάζεται να ερευνήσουν τη δημιουργία ταυτοτήτων μέσω της γλώσσας που χρησιμοποιείται σε ζωντανές διαδικτυακές μεταδόσεις.

Λέζεις-κλειδιά: δημιουργία ταυτότητας θεωρία ευγένειας αγένεια ενσωμάτωση αποκλεισμός ιδεολογικό τετράγωνο παιχνίδια διαδικτυακή ζωντανή μετάδοση βίντεο League of Legends

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#### Chapter 1

#### Introduction

This study is concerned with the exploration of gaming discourse; more specifically, it is concerned with streamers and the discursive online identity they construct. The aim of the present study is to explore the discourse of live streaming and to analyse the identity of the online persona who produces this discourse, i.e., the streamer. Live streaming pertains to the online real-time transmission of a video and involves a running commentary on it. It is the act of "broadcast[ing] (an event) over the Internet for live viewing" ("Live Stream", n.d.). Streamers are people who perform live streaming as a hobby or as a profession, and usually interact with their viewers.

In recent years, an interest in the community of game video live streaming, as a medium of social and cultural contact, has been noted. Online video streams provide a significant arena where systems of domination, like aggression and discrimination, are realised. Game studies, in general, also termed ludology, focus on the study of games as well as their players. The emerging spurt of research on live streaming has created an urgent need for scientific fields outside the technological domain, such as linguistics, to focus on such communities. Pragmatic and linguistic studies that focus on toxic discourse and aggression with relation to gaming already exist (these studies will be presented in detail in Chapter 2). However, no research has shown how such aggressive and toxic discourse is related to the construction of the identity of the streamer. In other words, even though research has been carried out on gaming and live streaming (e.g.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The Collins Dictionary (2012).

Recktenwald 2017; Graham 2018), and on the discourse of such communities (e.g. Zhiwei et al. 2020), no studies have focused on the identity of the online persona who produces this precise discourse, i.e., the streamer. Attempting to fill the abovementioned research gap, and intending to commence a research thread on streaming through a linguistic viewpoint, the objective of the present study is to explore the identity of 'streamer' through a linguistic analysis of their discourse while streaming. More specifically, the flowing discourse of game video live streaming is linguistically analysed and qualitatively assessed with a focus on the instances of im/politeness it involves. The study examines the discursive construction of the seven most viewed LoL streamers' identities on the most popular streaming platform, i.e., Twitch. The streamers whose discourse is analysed are loltyler1, Nightblue3, Doublelift, Trick2g, Jankos, TobiasFate and RATIRL.

As already mentioned, most studies carried out on gaming discourse focus on toxicity and aggression. Such studies (e.g. Kwak and Blackburn 2015; Märtens et al. 2015; Latham 2019; Tun and Libre Nyak 2020; Türkay et al. 2020; Ghosh 2021; Jaeheon et al. 2022; Yildirim et al. 2022) connect the gaming environment with toxic and aggressive linguistic behaviour among interactants. Therefore, online communication, especially in the gaming context, has been discussed in relation to aggressive, conflictual and toxic discourse. Due to genre-related expectations created by previous studies (see Chapter 2), it may be assumed that streamers are more likely to produce impolite language and a discourse of exclusion rather than politeness and a discourse of inclusion, since online communication is closely related to impoliteness, toxicity and aggression (see Chapter 2). Taking the above into consideration, the present study has formulated the following research questions:

- 1. Do streamers produce aggressive and toxic language when they stream? If yes, to what extent do they do that?
- 2. Is aggressive and toxic language the only kind of discourse streamers use?
- 3. How does streamers' discourse (aggressive or not) relate to the construction of their identity as online personas?

To pursue these aims, the study employs strategies of politeness (Brown and Levinson [1978]1987) and impoliteness (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2010a) in order to analyse the nature of streamers' discourse and to draw conclusions on the identity thus constructed. The linguistic choices people make are undoubtedly related to the identities they construct in interaction. The issue of identity has been a highly debated one, since it has been viewed either as a static characteristic (essentialism) of a person or as a dynamic process in contemporary identity research (constructivism). According to Tzanne (2019: 50, original emphasis) "identity is something that people *do* in social activities, and not something they *are*". The present study views identity construction as a powerful process, thus aligning with the dynamic nature of identity as put forth by current research on identity construction.

Identity can be formed through the specific discursive means that a person or a group of people favour over other linguistic items. According to Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou (2017), identity construction is highly related to (im)politeness research. More specifically, the authors (2017: 238) claim that (im)politeness is not just connected to face, but also to identity formation processes. Even more, the study of (im)politeness as an "indirect index in identity construction processes" can be beneficial to identity research, since "(im)politeness is highly functional and ideologically loaded" (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou 2017: 241). That is why, for the analysis of the

aforementioned streamers of the present study, the theoretical frameworks of politeness and impoliteness are employed, in order to explore the discursive construction of streamers' identities.

Studies that analyse the connection between language and identity formation include Locher's (2008) work on the connection between relational work, politeness and identity construction, in which she examined the overlap between interpersonal communication and relational work in the study of identity construction. Relational work is defined by Locher as the importance of "the way in which we use language [...] when enhancing, maintaining, and challenging relationships in interpersonal communication" (Locher 2008: 509). Even more, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich's (2018) research on the Latino identity analyses the connection between conflict talk and construction of intragroup identity through 'selective dissociation'. In addition, Tzanne (2019) explores identity construction in online communication. She analyses positive politeness in comments on food blogs; her findings stress the importance of in-group membership in Greece. In the same line, this paper aims to bring together identity construction through linguistic and pragmatic choices, and gaming discourse, namely the discourse of streamers.

The thesis is divided into six chapters: following the Introduction (Chapter 1), an overview of existing research related to this study is provided (Chapter 2), then the methodology and the subjects of the study are introduced, and the theoretical and conceptual frameworks which provide the foundation for this study are described (Chapter 3). Following the methodology, the results and their analysis are explained (Chapter 4), while the section of the discussion analyses and explicates the results, and uncovers the identity streamers construct (Chapter 5). Ultimately, the thesis shows new

paths for scientific examination by summarising the main findings and proposing original ideas for follow-up research (Chapter 6).

## Chapter 2

#### **Literature Review**

Even though previous linguistic studies on streaming and streamers exist (e.g. Recktenwald 2017; Zhiwei et al. 2020), there is still no research, to my knowledge, that has dealt with the identity streamers create by focusing on the examination of their discourse. Research in live streaming is still at an early stage, and therefore more studies need to be conducted in order to pave the path for its exploration from domains such as linguistics.

From the existing literature, most of the previous studies on streaming have focused on offensive language and the connection between gaming, online impoliteness and toxicity. Kwak and Blackburn (2015) analysed toxic behaviour in League of Legends from a linguistic perspective, in which they defined toxicity as "bad behavior that violates social norms, inflicts misery, continues to cause harm after it occurs, and affects an entire community" (Kwak and Blackburn 2015: 209) and they correlated it with griefing and cyberbullying. Their study tried to commence a research thread on toxic discourse within the gaming community; their findings suggest the need for a warning system for toxic discourse, but they highlight that "trash talk" and toxicity should not be equated in the gaming culture, since they found words that could be used by both toxic and typical players in their dataset. In the same line of thought, also in the area of online gaming, Märtens et al. (2015) correlated toxicity with linguistic choices and defined it as "the use of profane language by one player to insult or humiliate a different player in his own team" (Märtens et al 2015: 3). Like Kwak and Blackburn (2015), they also tried to create a method for detecting and classifying toxic utterances

in Multiplayer Online Battle Arena (MOBA) games, in order to enhance the in-game experience of players by warning them for potentially toxic players. In addition, Zhiwei et al. (2020) conducted a computational analysis of offensive language on a video live streaming chat and explained how "offensive expressions in live streaming chat could appear more frequently because users communicate with others in real time with less introspection during live streaming" (Zhiwei et al. 2020: 1936). In essence, they examined offensive language on the platform of Twitch by presenting a prototype chat room for the detection of such language. Moreover, Ghosh (2021) examined the prevalence of toxicity in online gaming communities; in his study, toxicity alludes to an umbrella term, in which racism and sexism are included. His findings show that "sexist behaviour is prevalent in this [the gaming] circle" (Ghosh 2021: 4448), and that online marginalisation stems from racism, sexism and political affiliations, among other factors which were not examined in the study. Jaeheon et al. (2022) examined the various features of visual toxic chat, by analysing undetectable forms of hateful expressions, and more specifically, the use of emotes<sup>2</sup> on the platform of Twitch. They highlighted that people in online communication are continuously searching for new ways to express toxic and hateful language in order to avoid machine detection techniques. Their research was of great methodological value, since they created a dataset of 29.721 emotes that could be used to replace letters. Through this, they managed to create a "neural network classifier" for detecting toxicity expressed via emotes. They successfully detected 1.3% more toxic utterances than they would without this study. Yildirim et al. (2022) studied sexism in online gaming, which they consider a form of bullying and toxic discourse through text mining, and stated that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Another word for emoticon/emoji, i.e., symbols that show or represent emotions.

words matter since the use of particular language and terms can dehumanize and harm particular groups, such as women. Identifying and reporting the toxic behavior, sexism, and harassment that occur in online games is a critical need in preventing cyberbullying, and it will help gender diversity and equality grow in the online gaming industry (Yildirim et al. 2022: 1),

while explicating that "toxic language and the large spectrum of types of toxicity [are] sexism, racism, insults" (Yildirim et al. 2022: 2). All the aforementioned studies focused on the connection between gaming discourse and toxicity. However, no study has traced such toxicity back to the online persona that produces such discourse or to the identification of the identity they construct through that. This is precisely the aim of the present study.

Furthermore, Türkay et al. (2020) explored the way language was used by 19 participants from a university esports club, and tried to understand the motives of toxic players. They highlighted that players tend to normalise toxic behaviour, by considering it as part of the gaming culture, and found that toxicity is more prevalent in lower level than professional gaming (Türkay et al. 2020: 1).

Recktenwald (2017) was concerned with transcription issues on Twitch and he conducted a micro-level study of "videomediated communication [which] focused on settings that were exclusively about communication" (Recktenwald 2017: 12) by examining the most appropriate way to transcribe online video game streams. In addition, he analysed twelve hours of streaming in order to explore the way in which the progress of a game could affect the discourse of the streamer as well as the active involvement of viewers. His findings show that the progress of the game affects the interactions of both the streamer and the audience, something which he called "pivoting", i.e.,, "participant communication with each other that is licensed by the

activity and not specifically directed to someone" (Recktenwald 2017: 12). His study has been useful to the present research, since his insights on the proper transcription of streams was used for the streams I examined.

Graham (2018) studied a corpus of 150 hours of live game streams and their chat tables and found that there exists a "prevailing *moral order* that allows and perhaps even encourages impoliteness against female gamers, positioning them as inferior, unwelcome, or peripheral" (Graham 2018: 303, original emphasis). Graham examined gendered practices with an emphasis on impoliteness against female gamers. However, she did not focus on the identity of the streamer who adopted such practices.

Furthermore, Tun and Libre Nyak's (2020) research linked gaming toxicity to language by showing that derogatory terms are interconnected to toxic behaviour. They found that the filtering system for toxic and curse words urges League of Legends players to "use more creative and elaborate curse words in order to avoid being filtered" and to make "more extremes choices of derogatory terms" (Tun and Libre Nyak 2020: 65). The authors (2020) discuss LoL exclusively in relation to toxicity; my study provides a more comprehensive account of LoL discourse by identifying elements of another type of discourse, that of positive politeness and inclusion.

Finally, Latham (2019) studied the "formation of toxic ludology and narratology in the gamer discourse community over the course of decades" (Latham 2019: vi). He originally proposed that games should be classified as hypertexts (i.e., digital texts with embedded hyperlinks) –instead of cybertexts (i.e., a term involving hypertexts) – so as to be analysed more specifically and allow for the inclusion of more attitudes in the game rhetoric. The present study seeks to account precisely for that: through a pragma-linguistic analysis of streamers' discourse, this research makes it possible for more attitudes (other than toxicity) to be included in the game rhetoric.

## Chapter 3

## Methodology

## 3.1 Approach

The research objective of this study is to analyse the identity of online streamers by examining their flowing discourse while streaming and by pointing out repetitive modes of interaction, such as impolite and toxic discourse, as well as stances of inclusion or exclusion. A qualitative approach is used to answer the study's research questions presented in Chapter 1.

In order to examine the linguistic construction of streamers' identity, the flowing discourse of seven streamers is analysed in terms of the im/politeness strategies these streamers use in order to show how the discursive choices they make influence the construction of their identities as online personas. In this way, impolite and toxic language, but also expressions that favour a sense of belonging are identified and discussed. The identification and categorisation of the utterances was the researcher's own interpretation, as, due to space and time limitations, the study did not examine the evaluation of these utterances as im/polite by other interactants (teammates, opponents or viewers).

#### 3.2 Platform and Subjects

The streamers whose discourse is examined in the study are loltyler1, Nightblue3, Doublelift, Trick2g, Jankos, TobiasFate and RATIRL.<sup>3</sup> These streamers,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> These are the streamers' original monikers; it was decided that they remain unchanged, because the videos which can lead to the streamers are accessible to everyone at all times. Thus "there is no real way to completely hide the identity of a user whose words you are reproducing" (Pihlaja 2016: 225-226).

in that order, compose the list of the League of Legends streamers with the most subscribers on Twitch (September 2022), according to twitchmetrics. Twitch is the most famous interactive livestreaming service for the broadcast of games and esports, among others. The reason that Twitch was chosen for the collection of streams in this study is because it is the most popular platform for streaming and therefore, given that the present study is the first to be conducted on the discursive identity of streamers, it seemed as the best choice to commence the line of research on this domain. Admittedly, the very selection of this platform constitutes, at the same time, a limitation of this study. Being the most popular platform for online video game streaming, Twitch allows no room for hateful and toxic discourse within its community. Therefore, while streaming, some streamers mention that they cannot express themselves as they would normally do, in fear of a ban from the platform of Twitch. However, this limitation would have existed in almost any platform for online streaming, though some platforms such as YouTube, do not examine in depth the presence or absence of hatred within the channels and do not have such strong policies against abusive discourse.

In the list of the streamers with the most subscribers on Twitch, the streamer Thebausffs was before RATIRL, but was excluded due to the fact that he is known for his non-interactive streams, since he does not provide much discourse and therefore, he was not suitable for a linguistic study. In addition, the streamer IWDominate was excluded given that, after his one-year ban from League of Legends Partner Program, his streams appear now to be available only to subscribers, as of June 2022. Gosu, who was also in the list with the most subscribers on Twitch, was excluded as well, due to the fact that he has started streaming without a microphone. The list with the most subscribers that appears on twitchmetrics includes streamers who were also excluded from this study because the language of their streams was other than English, like YoDa

(streams in Portuguese) and Elwind (Turkish), and channels, such as Riot Games and LCS, which were also ruled out.

All subjects share the same cultural background, being both gamers and streamers, which is highly important, since, according to Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 586) it is necessary to approach identity through a "general sociocultural linguistic perspective on identity – that is, one that focuses on both the details of language and the workings of culture and society". The server<sup>4</sup> in which the streamers currently play was not a factor for their classification, and, therefore, those streamers nowadays hold accounts in the NA server (North America), like Nightblue3 and Trick2g, while others, like RATIRL play in the EUW server (West Europe). Moreover, the role<sup>5</sup> they *main*,<sup>6</sup> i.e., which of the five primary roles (Top, Jungle, Mid, Adc and Support) they play the most, did not affect this hierarchical order nor their inclusion in or exclusion from the list.

As far as the subjects are concerned, loltyler1 is the most famous League of Legends players with 5,1 million followers on Twitch, as of October 2022. He is known as the most toxic NA player, because of the two-year ban he received in 2016 for unsportsmanlike behaviour (Friedman 2018). This ban is very rare, since it posited that loltyler1 was entirely banned from the game, because every account he would make within those two years would also be banned (Friedman 2018). Loltyler1 has stated that Riot ultimately banned 22 accounts that he created. He was awarded the "Best League of Legends Streamer" award on March 12, 2022 in the first ceremony of The Streamer Awards (20228). Nightblue3 is a League of Legends streamer with 2,7 million followers

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> In order to avoid the problem of high-latency, there are a few Riot servers around the world.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> In League of Legends, there are five different roles assigned to respective positions, i.e., Top, Middle Lane, Jungle, ADC and Support.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> In the gaming culture, when somebody *mains* a role, it means that he/she plays mostly or only that role.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> https://www.YouTube.com/watch?v=Ah5GKfg-qgQ&t=92s.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> https://thestreamerawards.com/winners

on Twitch, as of October 2022. Nightblue3 is considered among the first League of Legends streamers on Twitch, since he started playing the game in 2009, when the game was released. He received a 14-day suspension ban for violation of the appropriate code of conduct: namely he threatened his teammate that he would report him/her and get him/her banned (2019<sup>9</sup>). Doublelift was a professional League of Legends player. He has 1,7 million followers on Twitch as of October 2022. He was nominated for the "Best League of Legends Streamer" award in the 2022 Streamer Awards (2022). Doublelift has gained the most LCS<sup>10</sup> titles among League of Legends esports players ("Doublelift"). 11 Trick2g's account on Twitch has 1,5 million followers. He was the owner of the team Team Gates. He became highly famous for his split-pushing technique, <sup>12</sup> as well as for his distinctive skills on Udyr<sup>13</sup> (people started calling him Godyr- god+Udyr- because of that) and on Nasus<sup>14</sup> ("Trick2g"). <sup>15</sup> Jankos is a League of Legends player with 1.2 million followers on Twitch. He plays for the Jungler position in G2 Esports as of December 2017. He usually appears in his streams as a moderate and humble streamer, since he always says that there is room for improvement, promoting in this way a collaborative environment among players. TobiasFate is a rather new streamer, since he opened his Twitch account in 2015 and has, so far, 903.7 thousand followers. RATIRL's account on Twitch counts 754 thousand followers. He is known for his Twitch<sup>16</sup> abilities; his nickname is dedicated to his favourite champion, i.e., Twitch, a rat. He is fairly named as "the best Twitch in the world" (2020). <sup>17</sup> Along

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> https://happygamer.com/league-of-legends-streamer-nightblue3-gets-14-day-suspension-following-troll-controversy-14943/

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> LCS is the League Championship Series, where only the ten top teams compete against each other.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Doublelift (n.d.) In *Leaguepedia*. https://lol.fandom.com/wiki/Doublelift.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Split push is when a player splits from the rest of the team in order to get objectives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> A League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> A League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Trick2g (n.d.) In *Leaguepedia*. https://lol.fandom.com/wiki/Trick2g.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> A League of Legend champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> https://www.myboosting.gg/blog/boosting/Rat-IRL.

with Obsess, a current player of Eintracht Spandau, he created the L9 (also known as low nine) club in the EUW server. L9 became the most famous League of Legends club ever created; it was notorious for the extreme toxicity, highly abusive language and ingame disruptive behaviour (2020). It is also believed that the level of toxicity within the League of Legends community rose after players wanted to imitate RATIRL's toxic discourse as presented within L9 (2020).

#### 3.3 Materials

For each streamer, data were collected from two different days of streaming in order to exclude the possibility of selective sampling; under this spectrum, a streamer's discourse is evaluated not only by one day's sample in order for the data collection as well as their analysis to be more objective. More specifically, the two streams analysed by loltyler1 were "QUICK not wasted time .. MOVE! climb high with smart and play . WATCHED? LEADER AND ORDER PROTECT! APPLE orange . YELLOW . ok", which was broadcast on 6/10/2022 and "BEAST MODE BEATDOWN BEGIN! explain happen .. WELL JUST GOTTED WINNER BUD SIMPLES! oh so easy you . YES! BUILT DIFFERENT WITH SWAG POWER!", broadcast on 12/10/2022. The streams analysed by Nightblue3 were "SUP SUP Blitz Jungle + viewer games chilling" broadcast on 13/10/2022 and "End of season climb | webcam has been located | aggressive junglers today | k'sante jg when he comes out" broadcast on 19/10/2022. The only stream by Doublelift that was analysed was called " late night CQ 1" and was broadcast on 10/10/2022; Doublelift did not stream much in October, because he was mostly broadcasting as a commentator for the League of Legends World Championship

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Same reference.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Same reference.

(29/9/2022-5/11/2022). He provided, however, insightful data, since in that one stream, he played with his duo, <sup>20</sup> and therefore the identity of streamers while communicating directly with others was also examined. Trick2g's streams which were analysed were "Masters Climb" from 16/10/2022 and "Masters Climb | !Geologie #sponsored." from 17/10/2022. Jankos' streams were called "ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY WIN, ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND SEE !YT !DISCORD !PICKEM" broadcast on 28/9/2022 and "ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER", NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY WIN, ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND SEE !YT !DISCORD !PICKEM" from 29/9/2022. TobiasFate's streams were "Masters+ - TF / GP (Off meta building and trying things)" from 25/10/2022 and "Masters+ - TF / GP (Off meta building and trying things)" from 26/10/2022. RATIRL's streams were "Mentally 18, Bodywise 80, real age 25, = ♦ 🔊 ♦ 🛣 ♦ " broadcast on 24/9/2022 and "Chall Climb 🔽 Friendly 🔽 No Bard Incident F9 wins for Chall = \( \begin{aligned}
 \beq \begin{aligned}
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 \be broadcast on 25/9/2022.

#### 3.4 Theoretical Framework

In this section, I will present politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson [1978]1987) and impoliteness strategies (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2010a), on the basis of which I analyse my data. Brown and Levinson's ([1978]1987)<sup>21</sup> politeness theory focuses on

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Two players joining matchmaking queue and playing together.

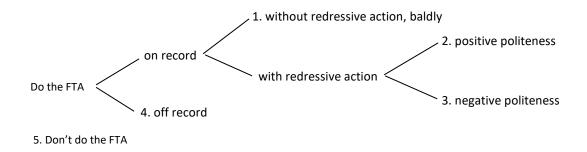
<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Even though there are other theories of politeness (e.g. Leech 1983), this study is based on the most influential theory of politeness proposed by Brown and Levinson ([1978]1987), the strategies of which have been considered by previous studies (Locher 2008; Tzanne 2022) to be appropriate for the analysis of social interaction and the discursive construction of identity.

social interactions and is based on the notion of face. Their theory analyses the ways in which people communicate while trying to deal with acts that may threaten their own and/or their interlocutor's face. The concept of 'face' is believed to originate in Chinese and "although it has been brought to the attention of the West through Goffman's seminal essay "On face-work", it has been Brown and Levinson's work which has popularised it" (Sifianou 2010: 25). According to Brown and Levinson ([1978]1987: 61), "all competent adult members of a society have (and know each other to have) face, [which consists of] two related aspects", which is negative face alluding to "freedom of action and freedom from imposition" and positive face, which coveys the "positive consistent self-image [...] claimed by interactants" (Brown and Levinson [1978]1987: 61). Therefore, negative face can be defined as "the want [to] be unimpeded by others", while positive face "the want [to] be desirable to at least some others" (Brown and Levinson [1978]1987: 62).

According to the authors ([1978]1987: 60), "it is in general in every participant's best interest to maintain each other's face", and, in general, interlocutors share a "mutual knowledge of members' public self-image or face, and the social necessity to orient oneself to it in interaction". Politeness theory posits that any act that threatens a person's positive or negative face is a face threatening act (FTA). In order to maintain face, people "counteract the potential face damage of the FTA by doing it in such a way, or with such modifications or additions, that indicate clearly that no such face threat is intended or desired" (Brown and Levinson [1978]1987: 69-70); such modifications or additions are called mitigating face-threat strategies, and they are bald on record without redressive action, bald on record with redressive action (positive politeness or negative politeness) and off record. The following figure shows the

possible strategies for doing FTAs, as proposed by Brown and Levinson ([1978]1987: 69):

Figure 1. Brown and Levinson's ([1978]1987: 69) strategies for performing FTAs.



Any activity or action (strategy) that aims at the maintenance of positive face is what Brown and Levinson call positive politeness, and any action that aims to maintain negative face is what they call negative politeness. In their theory, positive and negative politeness involve a number of strategies, some of which (the ones that are most relevant for my study) are presented below:

"The strategies of positive politeness involve three broad mechanisms [...]. Those of the first type involve S claiming 'common ground' with H, by indicating that S and H both belong to some set of persons who share specific wants, including goals and values" (Brown and Levinson [1978]1987: 101). This can be achieved by noticing/attending to H (interests, wants, needs), exaggerating, intensifying interest to H, using in-group identity markers (like the usage of jargon or slang), seeking agreement and avoiding disagreement, asserting common ground, asserting concert for H's wants, offering and promising, being optimistic, including S and H in an activity, giving reasons, asserting reciprocity, and cooperating and sympathising with H. On the other hand, some

indicative negative politeness strategies are being conventionally indirect, hedging, apologising, impersonalizing S and H by avoiding the pronouns I and you, and nominalising.

In general, "people cooperate (and assume each other's cooperation) in maintaining face in interaction, such cooperation being based on the mutual vulnerability of face" (Brown and Levinson [1978]1987: 61), since face "can be lost, maintained, or enhanced, and must be constantly attended to in interaction" (Brown and Levinson [1978]1987: 61). However, "[t]here are circumstances when the vulnerability of face is unequal and so motivation to cooperate is reduced" (Culpeper 1996: 354). Culpeper (1996; 2011) was the first to study impoliteness. The first studies on impoliteness "entered the field by discussing impoliteness as a mere opposite of politeness" (Tzanne 2022: 53). Culpeper (1996) created a framework of five impoliteness superstrategies, which he considered as direct opposites to Brown and Levinson's strategies of mitigating FTAs. Those superstrategies are:

- (1) Bald on record impoliteness the FTA is performed in a direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way in circumstances where face is not irrelevant or minimised. [...]
- (2) Positive impoliteness the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee's positive face wants.
- (3) Negative impoliteness the use of strategies designed to damage the addressee's negative face wants.
- (4) Sarcasm or mock politeness the FTA is performed with the use of politeness strategies that are obviously insincere, and thus remain surface realisations (Culpeper 1996: 356), [alluding to Leech's Irony Principle], and

(5) Withhold politeness – the absence of politeness work where it would be expected (Culpeper 1996: 357).

Another framework for the analysis of impoliteness strategies in discourse is that of Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2010a; 2018). The taxonomy she (2010a: 71) proposes for the classification of impoliteness strategies is the following:

**Table 1.** Taxonomy of Impoliteness Strategies.

On record impoliteness (ON-IMP)	Off record impoliteness
	(OR-IMP)
Positive impoliteness (PIMP):	
ignore/snub the other (ISO); exclude	
other from activity (EOA); dissociate	
from other (DFO); be disinterested,	
unconcerned, unsympathetic (DUU);	
use inappropriate identity markers	
(IIM); use obscure secretive language	
(OSL); make the other feel	
uncomfortable (MOFU); seek	Implicated impoliteness (IP)
disagreement (SD); use taboo words	
(TW); call the other names (CON)	
Negative impoliteness (NIMP):	
frighten (FR); condescend, scorn,	
ridicule (CSR); invade the other's space	
(IOS); explicitly associate other with a	
negative aspect (ANA); put the other	
indebtedness on record (PIR); hinder or	
block the other, either linguistically or	Sarasam (SDC)
physically (BO)	Sarcasm (SRC)
	Withhold politeness (WP)

According to this taxonomy, on-record impoliteness involves positive impoliteness, expressed through strategies like ignoring or snubbing the interlocutor (ISO), excluding them from an activity (EOA), dissociating from them (DFO), seeking disagreement (SD), using taboo words (TW), or calling the other names (CON). It also involves negative impoliteness, which can be manifested through strategies like frightening (FR),

condescending, scorning, ridiculing (CSR), invading the other's space (IOS), explicitly associating them with a negative aspect (ANA), or hindering or blocking the other, linguistically or physically (BO). On the other hand, the off-record impoliteness is distinguished between "implicated impoliteness' (cases where the implicated meaning could correspond to any of the myriad of impolite meanings realized on-record by the strategies listed in the taxonomy), 'sarcasm' (cases where the use of politeness is obviously insincere) and 'withhold politeness' (cases where politeness is absent where it should be expected or mandatory)" (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2010a: 71).

What is important here to note is that Garcés-Conejos Blitvich's (2010a) framework provides the ideal tool for the analysis of such notions, since it is an elaboration of the major frameworks of impoliteness, like Culpeper (1996), Bousfield (2007, 2008), Kientpointner (2008) and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2010b). In addition, her framework emphasises the distinction between on-record and off-record impoliteness, i.e., FTAs performed directly and indirectly respectively. Moreover, since identity "creates personal histories of becoming in the context of our communities" (Wenger 1998: 5), it seems reasonable to "analyze interactions within the framework of a community of practice" given that "each community of practice develops its own rules of engagement, including perceptions of (im)politeness, which usually reflect broader cultural norms and patterns" (Shardakova 2017: 221). Therefore, in our case, the best way to examine the identity of streamer is by analysing the context, and more specifically, the gaming platforms, streaming discourse and online communication, as well as the stances of the interactants.

## 3.5 Collection and Coding of Data

As far as procedure is concerned, the streams that were examined were recorded within a one-month period according to the number of streams streamers do per day; for example, Trick2g streams every day for approximately 8 hours, while loltyler1 has no schedule and his streams can last from 10 to 15 hours. Therefore, the data were collected according to time: the time limitation was 5 hours of streaming for each player, which appears as a sufficient amount of time for data collection of flowing discourse. This amount of time (5 hours for each streamer<sup>22</sup>) is, however, tentatively proposed as adequate, since no studies as such have been carried out in the past.

After the collection of data, all streams were carefully examined for utterances that conveyed loaded discourse of inclusion/cooperation or impoliteness (direct or implicated). All data were left as found, and the researcher did not change the examples in any way. These utterances were then coded according to Brown and Levinson's ([1978]1987) politeness strategies and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich's (2010a) impoliteness strategies. In the first case, utterances were coded as strategies of positive or negative politeness. For example, in his stream called "End of season climb | webcam has been located | aggressive junglers today | k'sante jg when he comes out" broadcast on 19/10/2022, and while waiting for the game to load, Nightblue3 mentions "we need this win. This win is important to us". This utterance was coded as an instance of positive politeness, since it involves discourse of inclusion through the use of the first person personal pronoun as an in-group marker; Nightblue3 literally means that he needs to win and that the win is important for him. However, through the discursive choice of "we" and "us" instead of "I" and "me", he includes the other members of the group, i.e.,

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> The only exception was Doublelift, whose stream lasted for approximately 2 hours.

his teammates, as well. An example of discourse that was coded as cooperative is Jankos' saying that "people make mistakes, that's how we win games", found in his stream<sup>23</sup> which was broadcast on 29/9/2022. In this utterance, the urge for a cooperative stance towards teammates by the streamer is evident, and thus, this utterance conveys discourse of in-game cooperation.

In the case of impoliteness, some cases of discourse were categorised as positively impolite, others as negatively impolite and others as indirectly (implicated) impolite. For instance, phrases like "get cancer" or "ge" said by loltyler1 in his stream "QUICK not wasted time .. MOVE! climb high with smart and play . WATCHED? LEADER AND ORDER PROTECT! APPLE orange . YELLOW . ok", which show a direct attack to the addressee's positive face, through the usage of taboo words (TW), were coded as instances of positive impoliteness. Indirect impolite (off-record) discourse, like "Oh she can hit a stun.<sup>24</sup> It's possible", which appeared in Nightblue3's stream "End of season climb | webcam has been located | aggressive junglers today | k'sante jg when he comes out", were coded as sarcastic off-record impolite cases of language: if a player "hits a stun", then he/she successfully stunned the enemy; if a player cannot hit a stun, then he/she is probably inexperienced, because he/she could not predict the opponent's movements and/or calculate their abilities properly, and therefore he/she missed it.

In addition, a fourth category was created that included discourse which combined more than one impoliteness strategy: this category consists of phrases that involve a combination of positive impoliteness, negative impoliteness and/or off-record

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER , NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY WIN, ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND SEE!YT!DISCORD!PICKEM

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Some champions in League of Legends have abilities that can stun opponents.

impoliteness. An example could be the comment loltyler1 writes on his in-game chat: "insanely/ dogshit/ players/ guys/ ff/ psl" during the broadcast of his stream called "QUICK not wasted time .. MOVE! climb high with smart and play . WATCHED? LEADER AND ORDER PROTECT! APPLE orange . YELLOW . ok". In this utterance, loltyler1 calls his teammates "dogshit players", which is an on-record impolite strategy (CON) of positive impoliteness. In addition, he asks for them to forfeit the game ("ff"), implying in this way, that he could win if he had better teammates, but, since his teammates are "dogshit players", then they are responsible for his defeat. In this way, he indirectly associates his teammates with a negative aspect (ANA) as he implies that they are bad players.

The number of utterances that were collected from each streamer were 26 for loltyler1, 36 for Nightblue3, 13 for Doublelift, 32 for Trick2g, 25 for Jankos, 20 for TobiasFate and 36 for RATIRL (see Appendix).

## Chapter 4

#### **Data Analysis and Results**

In this chapter, the findings of the study are presented, and instances of polite and impolite discourse are analysed. Interestingly, and as an answer to the first and second question of this thesis, the data provide evidence that streamers do not only employ impolite and aggressive discourse, but also positive politeness and discourse of inclusion. Upon first reading, my data seem to involve many more positive politeness strategies than negative. The utterances that convey negative politeness are very few, and are mostly in the form of apology, like "That was my bad. That was completely my bad", 25 or when loltyler1 writes on chat: "I am a dumb ass/ sorry". 26 In the set of data examined, streamers were found to produce 63 utterances involving politeness and twice as many (136) utterances involving impoliteness (all utterances involving politeness and impoliteness are presented in the Appendix, Tables 1-5, categorised by streamer). In this communicative context, impoliteness was well expected, while politeness was not, given that gaming communities are highly interconnected to toxicity and aggressive language (see Chapter 2).

This section is divided into two parts: the first part presents and explores some examples that convey positive politeness (Brown and Levinson, ([1978]1987), with a focus on inclusion and cooperation. The second part presents the discourse of impoliteness, namely the impolite utterances classified according to Garcés-Conejos Blitvich's framework (2010).

<sup>25</sup> Found in Nightblue3's stream "SUP SUP Blitz Jungle + viewer games chilling".

 $<sup>^{26}</sup>$  Found in his "QUICK not wasted time .. MOVE ! climb high with smart and play . WATCHED ? LEADER AND ORDER PROTECT ! APPLE orange . YELLOW . ok" stream

#### 4.1 Positive Politeness

Even though streaming falls under the category of online communication, where aggression and impoliteness generally prevail, almost all streamers used language which conveyed positive politeness strategies and connoted inclusion and cooperation in their discourse.

Positive politeness is oriented toward the positive face of H, the positive self-image that he claims for himself. Positive politeness is approach-based; it 'anoints' the face of the addressee by indicating that in some respects, S wants H's wants (e.g. by treating him as a member of an in-group, a friend, a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked). The potential face threat of an act is minimized in this case by the assurance that in general S wants at least some of H's wants; for example, that S considers H to be in important respects 'the same' as he, with in-group rights and duties and expectations of reciprocity, or by the implication that S likes H so that the FTA doesn't mean a negative evaluation in general of H's face (Brown and Levinson [1978]1987: 70).

In the dataset, positive politeness was employed mostly with the usage of first person personal pronouns as in-group markers, praising, establishing common ground, jokes, and game jargon.

4.1.1. Inclusion via the use of pronoun "we" as an in-group identity marker

The usage of the plural pronoun "we" instead of "I" in cases where the streamer wanted to include his teammates or his viewers within an embracing environment was evident. The following examples are representative:

Examples 1 and 2 [loltyler1 to viewers and teammates]

- 1. We need seven wins.
- 2. There is a window where we can win the game.

In the Example 1, loltyler1 uses the pronoun "we" instead of "I", when referring to himself and his viewers ("we need seven wins"). This phrase was directed to his viewers, because it was said as soon as the stream had started, before he even started playing. It is therefore evident that this "we" signifies himself and his viewers. However, he means that *he* needs seven wins, so that he can improve his rank. In Example 2, he uses again the plural form of the first pronoun ("we can win the game"), referring this time to himself and his teammates, evoking a feeling of commonality among himself and his fellow players. In this way, through employing the plural "we", loltyler1 creates a sense of rapport among viewers and teammates and a state of affinity and affiliation between them.

## 4.1.2. Praising

In addition, streamers often praise their teammates' efforts, especially when their team is winning. "The speech event of praising seems to have the expression of a positive judgement as its illocutionary purpose" (Wierbizcka 1987: 199 in Tzanne 2022: 86). Praising is a positive politeness strategy, since it presupposes that the speaker attends and notices the hearer's interests, wants and needs (Brown and Levinson [1978]1987: 102-103). In detail,

#### Examples 3 and 4 [Nightblue3]

- 3. Wait! [...] Genius play! Because he gave a kill to the person that was zero and six [0/6].<sup>27</sup> So now he's worth more gold. That's really really smart. We're all sitting here laughing at him for walking into Sion passive<sup>28</sup> but this guy is three steps ahead of us.
- 4. OH MY GOD! Send him to Goblin Town. Send him to see Jesus Christ. Well done man!

In Example 3 and Example 4, Nightblue3 praises his teammates for their in-game skills and strategies. More specifically, in Example 3, he realises how resourceful his teammate's strategy was: he says "wait!" in surprise, and after a few seconds, he acknowledges how "genius" his/her play was, since his teammate died on purpose to an opponent and in this way he/she made their opponent to "worth gold". This is considered a "really really smart" *macro play* and this is the reason why Nightblue3 admits that he and his viewers were "all sitting here laughing at him" for dying on purpose, but "this guy [was] three steps ahead of [them]". In Example 4, Nightblue3 again praises his teammate's in-game mechanics with consecutive metaphors: "send him to Goblin Town. Send him to see Jesus Christ". In this way he equalises his teammate with Gandalf's power, since the Glamdring, i.e., the sword that killed the Great Goblin, was later owned by Gandalf.<sup>29</sup> He also implies that his teammate is so good that he can reveal himself to Jesus Christ, as if he/she has fulfilled the purpose of his/her life and is ready to "meet the Maker".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Meaning zero kills, six deaths.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> The fifth ability of the champions, which is not bound to any key because it can't be activated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Intertextual reference to The Hobbit and The Lord of the Rings.

### Examples 5 [Doublelift to his duo]

- 5. Did you see what I did there?
  - You fucked his mum over there.

In this interaction with his duo (Example 5), Doublelift praises his duo's play by saying "you fucked his mum over there". This phrase could be easily considered as impolite, if it was said to an opponent, i.e., *I fucked your mum over there*. However, he addresses it to his duo, and even though the phrase per se has a taboo word ("fuck") and conveys sexism, he means it as praise, instead of disrespect, for his teammate's skillful play.

## Examples 6 and 7 [Jankos]

- 6. Top diff. <sup>30</sup> Five levels. Our team can take any fight as long as Aatrox <sup>31</sup> is in the fight.
- 7. Perfect, flawless.

Jankos in Example 6 praises his teammate playing in the top lane, namely Aatrox, and claims that "as long as Aatrox is in the fight", they cannot lose. This seems rather important because Jankos acknowledges that the main reason they are winning is not himself, but he traces their victory to "top diff", a phrase used when there is an apparent difference between opponents, in this case between the two Top players. He also does not hesitate to praise his teammates' plays as "perfect" and "flawless" (Example 7) or even clap after a good teamfight.

 $<sup>^{30}</sup>$  Short for difference, used when two players (in this case the players on Top Lane) have a skills gap between them.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> League of Legends champion.

### Examples 8 and 9 [RATIRL]

- 8. [A teammate surviving] what is that? 20 hp?<sup>32</sup> He just knew. I guess. He legit just knew that he was going to live. That guy is the best player in the world. That guy is the best.
- 9. That was clean by the Lulu. That was fuckin' clean. He E, Q'd the MF.<sup>33</sup> What the fuck. Goddamn, goddamn.

In Example 8, RATIRL assigns the characterisation of "the best player in the world" to his teammate, an exaggeration (a positive politeness strategy), because he managed to survive, which, apparently, was very well-calculated, since he barely pulled it through with 20 hp. In addition, in Example 9, he praises his teammate's (Lulu's) engagement in a fight, characterising it as "clean", a word used by gamers when a perfect fight occurs.

#### 4.1.3 Asserting common ground

Another strategy of positive politeness found in the corpus is the discourse of cooperation through establishing common ground.

Positive-politeness utterances are used as a kind of metaphorical extension of intimacy, to imply common ground or sharing of wants to a limited extent even between strangers who perceive themselves, for the purposes of the interaction, as somehow similar (Brown and Levinson [1978]1987: 103).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Health points showing how much 'health' one has got left.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Short for Miss Fortune, i.e., a League of Legends champion.

Indeed it was found that streamers often assert common ground with their teammates and their viewers. More specifically,

Example 10 and 11 [Nightblue3 to teammates and viewers]

10. Did he just miss every Q?<sup>34</sup> you're gonna love PBE<sup>35</sup> baby. Did he miss every Q? It's all good bro. We play to improve, don't worry. You'll get better. When I first started playing League, I was so trash. I remember dude, I remember. I was so garbage when I first started to play League. Like I was so bad, dude I swear to God, chat, I would buy the newest champion the second it came out and play it in ranked<sup>36</sup> because I believed- I had a theory that the new champions right at release were always like overtuned and that was the best way to climb to high elo.<sup>37</sup> To play new champions. Hahaha. So bad.

11. What do you guys think would be good for the runes?<sup>38</sup> Anybody have any idea on that?

In Example 10, Nightblue3 asserts common ground with his teammates, when his fellow player misses all his/her abilities ("did he just miss every Q?") and he creates an environment of shared background in terms of attitudes and in-group membership. More specifically, he identifies himself as someone who used to make mistakes like his teammates and stresses that "we play to improve […] you'll get better". He also explains the reasons why he was "so garbage when [he] first started to play League". In Example 11, Nighblue3 addresses his viewers and asserts common ground stressing

<sup>37</sup> "A mathematical rating system for a player's relative skill level" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> All champions have 4 abilities, i.e., Q, W, E and R, which are bound to the relative keyboard letters by default.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> PBE stands for Public Beta Environment, a server of LoL where gamers can try features that have not yet been implemented in the game.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Competitive games that affect a player's ranking.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> "Runes are enhancements that add new abilities or buffs to the champion" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

similarity in terms of interests and goals, since he asks his viewers the kind of runes he should play his champion with, knowing that, for viewers it is more engaging to watch his play with the kind of runes they would opt for.

#### Examples 12 and 13 [Jankos to teammates and viewers]

- 12. Jarvan<sup>39</sup> was very thirsty for my booty there. If Jarvan wasn't so thirsty for my booty, I think we would have lost fight, if Jarvan just stayed with team. But people make mistakes, that's how we win games.
- 13. Did we just threw the game? [after reading a comment] what you mean I did?

  The team is winning it's we, but if someone tosses it's I. Hmm sorry I forgot it's that simple.

In Example 12, Jankos explains jokingly the reason why they won a team fight, and creates an environment of inclusion and cooperation between his teammates by highlighting that "people make mistakes, that's how we win games". In this way he reminds his viewers that mistakes are part of the gaming process and therefore having a zero-tolerance attitude towards teammates' mistakes is not a beneficial choice as a gamer. Towards the end of his last stream (Example 13) he wonders, "did we just threw the game?", to which a viewer responds that Jankos threw the game. Then Jankos provides a rather interesting viewpoint on the polarity between inclusion and exclusion in gaming, depending on in-game mechanics: "what do you mean I did? The team is winning, it's we, but if someone tosses, 40 it's I. Hmm sorry I forgot it's that simple". By that, Jankos highlights the fact that inclusive attitude occurs when the team is winning –also confirmed by relevant studies (viz. Recktenwald 2017), but whenever

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> A League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> The phrase "toss a game" is used when a player tries to sabotage their own team.

the team is starting to lose, then each player blames the other. The ironic expression "hmm sorry I forgot it's that simple" shows Jankos' disapproval of this stance, since he prefers an inclusive in-game environment, where the whole team is responsible for both victories and defeats.

#### Example 14 [loltyler1 to teammate]

14. [Cassiopia<sup>41</sup> multiple pings<sup>42</sup> him] he writes on chat: ill be better]

In the Example 14, a teammate multiple pings loltyler1, an action which is considered as a characteristic of in-game toxicity and unsportsmanlike behaviour. Loltyler1 realises and acknowledges that his teammate is right, and that his in-game mechanics at that moment cost them a teamfight, so, instead of him responding in the same attitude, he writes to him/her on chat: "ill be better", creating goal commonality, since in order to win, he needs to "be better" and he communicates this to his tilted teammate.

#### 4.1.4 Jokes

Making jokes is another strategy of positive politeness employed by streamers. In the following examples, such jokes seem to provide an affiliative stance between interactants:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> A League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> "Pings are visual alerts used as a means of communication between players of a team during a match" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

#### Example 15 and 16 [Nightblue3 to viewers]

- 15. No, we're good. SON OF A... it's fine. I didn't want gold anyway. Tryin' to live a less materialistic life. Tryin' to live a life of a... more simple life.
- 16. We should have stuck with ap. We kinda trolled. I blame chat.

In Example 15, Nightblue3 does not manage to kill an opponent and claims that he "didn't want gold anyway", because he is "tryin' to live a less materialistic life". This utterance is humorous, since he mixes virtual in-game life (the gold in the game) with his real life ("tryin' to live [...] a... more simple life"). In Example 16, he considers his viewers as not only watching the stream, but also playing along with him, since, when a game is not going well, he jokingly mentions that "we kinda trolled. I blame chat", as if Twitch chat, i.e., his viewers, were taking the decisions on the game strategies and playing along with him. Both examples create an inclusive atmosphere and are used to stress the shared background between teammates and viewers.

#### Example 17 [Jankos]

17. Wait, did we just not ff?<sup>43</sup> Surrender vote failed? Oh my god. Okay, well we are gonna play this game until it's over I guess. Shouldn't take too long, huh?

In example 17, Jankos realises that his team did not surrender the game, which was surprising to him, since it was apparent that they would lose. He then jokes about it: "well we are gonna play this game until it's over I guess. Shouldn't take too long, huh?".

The rhetorical question "shouldn't take too long, huh?", produces a humorous effect to

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Short for forfeit, to surrender the game.

his viewers, since in this way, he implies that they are losing for good and therefore the opponents will not need much time to defeat them.

#### 4.1.5 Jargon

The last category of positive politeness strategies found in the set of data was the usage of gaming jargon, namely League of Legends jargon. Using LoL jargon and expecting others to understand it is what makes streamer and other players appear as members of the same group, i.e., LoL players. It is obvious that almost all cases of discourse convey such jargon; two indicative examples are analysed below:

Example 18 [Doublelift to his duo]

18. W in 5. No hook. 44

In Example 18, while playing with his duo, Doublelift seems to adopt a collaborative stance by providing information on the game. In this case, he informs his duo: "W in 5. No hook", a phrase completely incomprehensible by someone who does not know League of Legends jargon. However, both his duo and his viewers could easily understand that he will have his second ability, i.e., W, in 5 seconds, and that the opponent's first ability (Q), which is a hook, has been recently used and is now in cooldown.<sup>45</sup> Given all those, his duo and his viewers understood that Doublelift urges his duo to engage in a fight against their opponents.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> "Ability which prevents movement and brings an enemy towards the champion's position" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> The amount of time a player needs to wait before repeating an action or an ability.

#### Example 19 [Nightblue3 to a viewer]

19. Someone wanted me to showcase how Zhonya's works. Like this [does Zhonya's] 2,5 seconds, count.

In Example 19, Nightblue3 responds to a viewer who asked him to showcase how Zhonya's works. In League of Legends jargon, "showcase" is used when somebody demonstrates how an ability or an item is used. Zhonya's is short for Zhonya's Hourglass, an item which, when activated, makes the champion invulnerable and *untargetable* for 2.50 seconds. When asked to do that, Nightblue3 showcased how the item works immediately; this is rather important, because this item may be necessary in teamfights<sup>46</sup> and its cooldown is 120 seconds. Given that, it becomes apparent that, for Nightblue3, it was more important to help his viewer understand the usage of the item, so he risked not being able to use it again in case he needed it.

# 4.2 Impoliteness and Offence

At the other end of the spectrum, streamers used impolite language and discourse of exclusion. In this case, their language was found to involve positive impoliteness strategies (PIMP), negative impoliteness strategies (NIMP), off-record impoliteness strategies (OR-IMP) and mixed phrases containing more than one category of strategies:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> A fight between all players of both teams.

**Table 2. Classification of Impolite Utterances** 

Impoliteness				
On-Record Impoliteness (ON-IMP)		Off-Record	Mixed	
Positive	Negative	Impoliteness (OR-IMP)	Wiixed	
Impoliteness	Impoliteness			
22	24	16	74	

#### 4.2.1. Positive Impoliteness (PIMP)

All streamers except for Doublelift employed positively impolite discourse. The strategies of on-record positive impoliteness found in the dataset are ignoring/snubbing the other (ISO), excluding other from activity (EOA), dissociating from other (DFO), being disinterested, unconcerned, unsympathetic (DUU), making the other feel uncomfortable (MOFU), seeking disagreement (SD), and, the most common ones were the use of taboo words (TW) and calling other names (CON). Some representative instances are analysed below:

# Example 20 [TobiasFate to his teammates]

20. There's a big wave, just dive<sup>47</sup> this fuckin' bitch.

In Example 20, TobiasFate calls his opponent names (CON) and uses taboo words (TW): "fuckin' bitch". This example is presented in order to show that, as would be expected, streamers use impolite and offensive terms to refer to their opponents.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Diving refers to 'diving into' an enemy turret and focusing on one target.

### Example 21 [loltyler1 to a teammate]

# 21. My fuckin' point. Get cancer.

In Example 21 loltyler1 uses a taboo word (fuckin') and even wishes to his teammate to "get cancer". The phrase "my fuckin' point" presupposes that he had already criticised his teammate's skills; indeed, four minutes before he had said that, he had written to the same teammate: "yep/ gc". Except for taboo words (TW), he also seems unsympathetic and unconcerned (DUU) towards his teammate, since the abbreviation "gc" means get cancer, and it is a highly toxic and offensive phrase to use among gamers.

#### Example 22 [loltyler1 to his teammates]

# 22. Disgusting animals.

In this case, loltyler1 calls his fellow players names (CON) by calling them "disgusting animals", which serves as a direct (on-record) attack on his teammates' positive face.

#### Example 23 and 24 [Trick2g to viewers and teammates]

- 23. They think kill kill kill. It's not about killing dumbass [...] hopefully they lost their fuckin' promos.
- 24. What the fuck you want me to do j4,48 you stupid fuck? Fuckin' braindead man. Fuckin' dogshit jungler.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Short for Jarvan IV, a League of Legends champion.

In Example 23 and Example 24, Trick2g uses taboo words and calls his teammates names, like "stupid fuck", "fuckin' braindead man", "fuckin' dogshit jungler", among others. In addition, he is being disinterested and unsympathetic (DUU) towards them, when he wishes that his teammates would lose their promotional games: "hopefully they lost their fuckin' promos".

Examples 25 and 26 [RATIRL to his LoL friend]

25. [chatting with friend]

-u typed ban reksai elise/probably last yasuo yone

-ratirl: i/stream/u ape/go watch vid

26. Sett,<sup>49</sup> I mean yasuo [his chat friend], I know you're listening. You little gozy piece of shit.

When his friend accused him of banning his/her main champion, RATIRL, he responded: "i/stream/u ape/go watch vid", which appears as a direct attack since the word "ape" can be considered as taboo and calling the other names (TW and CON), and as an effort to make the other feel uncomfortable (MOFU), because he did not ban his/her main champion, something known by the viewers of that stream. After that, he called him/her "you little gozy<sup>50</sup> piece of shit", which is considered again TW as well as calling him/her names (CON). It is quite interesting how a phrase like this is aimed at his League of Legends friend, and not at an unknown person; this may be attributed to the online context where aggression is ubiquitous or it may be an expected behaviour among friends and teammates in the specific context of League of Legends.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Probably implying the meaning of madness, from go and crazy.

Surprisingly, Examples 21-26 involve instances of positive impoliteness addressed to streamers' own teammates and friends. This finding will be discussed in Chapter 6 in relation to the identity streamers construct in cases like these.

#### 4.2.2. Negative Impoliteness (NIMP)

Strategies of on-record negative impoliteness were employed by all streamers. More specifically, in the dataset, the most common strategies seem to be condescending, scorning and/or ridiculing the other (CSR) and explicitly associating others with a negative aspect (ANA), while other strategies, like frightening (FR), invading the other's space (IOS) and hindering or blocking the other linguistically (BO) were also found in the corpus. In detail,

Examples 27 and 28 [loltyler1 to viewers]

- 27. You guys are such little babies. It's crazy like how Twitch chat has changed.
- 28. [while watching the replay] it's so disgusting to play.

Loltyler1, in examples 27 and 28, exclusively associates others with a negative aspect (ANA). More specifically he associates not only his viewers with a negative aspect when he calls them "little babies" and says that "it's crazy how Twitch chat has changed", associating in this way Twitch viewers with a phrase ('little babies') that has negative connotations when used to address adults, but also his teammates, when, while watching the replay of his game, he complains that "it's so disgusting to play" with these people.

#### Example 29 [loltyler1]

29. Writes at the end of the game in chat: maybe/ff next time/ggez.

In Example 29, loltyler1 is condescending (CSR) when his team is winning and not only does he say "that's gotta be an ff<sup>51</sup> bro", but he also types in chat at the end of the game "maybe/ff next time/ggez.<sup>52</sup> This also serves as a toxic utterance, since he implies that the victory was easy and therefore the opponents should surrender the game earlier next time, so that they do not waste his time.

Examples 30 and 31 and 32 [Nightblue3 and Doublelift and Jankos to viewers]

- 30. Sorry for the lag guys. NA<sup>53</sup> internet. Just as good as their NA pro teams.
- 31. NA sort of brain.
- 32. If this guy plays only Katarina,<sup>54</sup> which his name heavily indicates, or if this guy is toxic, because Katarina players normally are toxic 90 % of the time, no fuckin' way should you be allowed to play champions queue.

In Example 30, Nightblue3 associates the bad internet connection to the NA server, and to NA professional teams (ANA). Similarly, in Example 31, Doublelift associates NA with lack of skills, when he attributes an in-game mistake to "NA sort of brain". In Example 32, Jankos claims that "Katarina<sup>55</sup> players normally are toxic 90% of the time" and therefore "no fuckin' way should you be allowed to play champions queue"; in this

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Abbreviation for forfeit, to surrender a game.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Abbreviation for good game, easy.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Abbreviation for North America server.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> League of Legends champion.

way he associates all Katarina players with toxicity (ANA) and he expresses his wish to block them entirely (BO) from champions queue.

# Example 33 [TobiasFate to teammate]

# 33. You're such a virgin.

In Example 33, TobiasFate calls his teammate a "virgin"; this seems as a condescending utterance, since the word virgin in this case can be correlated both to lack of experience and to passivity. By using this strategy, the streamer seems to consider himself as superior to inexperienced players.

#### Example 34 [RATIRL to viewers]

34. There are two braincells just trying to keep it up together. These people.

In Example 34, RATIRL condescends and ridicules (CSR) his teammates' lack of skills by saying that "these people" "are two brain cells just trying to keep it up together". In this way, he associates his teammates (ANA) with not only inexperience, but also with limited intellectual ability.

#### Example 35 [RATIRL to teammate]

1. [watching humzh<sup>56</sup>] he's gonna open my stream and he's gonna see me watch him maybe. [reading humzh's in game chat comment: ure piss low] hahaha [...] you are piss low into muted.

[watching humzh's stream: humzh: who the fuck even are you? Have a fucking co-op first time and then call me]

*RATIRL: That was your best advice for a beginner?* 

While streaming, RATIRL starts to watch another streamer's (called humzh) broadcast (it seems that it was the support player of the previous game) and he says: "he's [humzh] gonna open my stream and he's gonna see me watch him maybe". During humzh's stream, humzh wrote in the game chat to another player "ure piss low", and RATIRL said "you are piss low into muted". Apparently humzh's viewers informed him on RATIRL's comment, because he then addressed RATIRL through his stream saying "who the fuck even are you? Have a fucking co-op<sup>57</sup> first time and then call me", to which RATIRL jokingly responds "that was your best advice for a beginner?". In this interaction, RATIRL clearly invades the other streamer's space (IOS), he hinders him linguistically by threatening to "mute" him (BO) and he ridicules him (CSR) when he asks if that was the best advice he could offer to a beginner, because both humzh and the viewers know that RATIRL is not a beginner, and therefore humzh's utterance seems completely off-context.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> A streamer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Co-op is considered the game in which players play against AI bots and not against people. It is played from beginners until they become more experienced and start playing against real players.

#### Example 36 [RATIRL]

# 2. This guy flamed everyone and then just locked camera, full viewed it.

In Example 36, RATIRL condescends and ridicules (CSR) his teammate's lack of skills by saying "this guy flamed everyone and then just locked camera, full viewed it". In League of Legends, only beginner players lock the screen until they are more experienced; the phrase "locked camera" is connected to absence of map awareness in the game, and thus to lack of experience and in-game abilities.

All the cases of discourse that convey negative impoliteness are presented in the Appendix.

#### 4.2.3. Off-Record Impoliteness (OR-IMP)

Off-record impoliteness was the rarest category of impolite discourse. Such language conveyed implicated impoliteness (IP), sarcasm (SRC), or withholding politeness (WP). More specifically,

Example 37 and 38 [loltyler1 and Nightblue]

- 37. This Elise<sup>58</sup>... is good.
- 38. Oh she can hit a stun. <sup>59</sup> It's possible.

Both Examples 37 and 38 were addressed to teammates and not opponents. In example 37, loltyler1 makes use of sarcasm (SRC) when he says "this Elise…is good", because he implies the exact opposite, i.e., the player who is playing Elise is not skilled, since for the first ten minutes of the game, Elise had not managed to stun an enemy,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Some champions in League of Legends have abilities that can stun opponents.

implicating that the player playing Elise is inexperienced and unskilled. Similarly, Nightblue3, in Example 38, sarcastically mentions that his teammate can successfully use their ability in order to stun the enemy. This is an off-record impolite comment, because, through sarcasm, he means that his teammate is not skillful and therefore he did not even think that he/she could use their ability successfully.

# Example 39 and 40 [Jankos and RATIRL to viewers and teammates]

39. Ff. just ff. like after this it's ff. like after this happened, it's just open. It's very tilting. 60 Very very tilting.

40. R [to Yuumi]. Why? Why can't you just R? [chat: PLZ/JUST R /HIM/BRO/R/HIM] what are you waiting for? Whatever, now I'm tilted. [shouting] why can't you just R him so I can escape? I flashed in to escape [...] I'm so fuckin' tilted now actually. [...] then they blame me for being toxic.

In Example 39, Jankos complains that his team should surrender because his teammates tossed the fight, which stands as an implicated impoliteness strategy (IP), since he implies that his teammates are not skilled (implicated ANA) and therefore he is tilted and they should forfeit the game: "ff. Just ff. Like, after this it's ff. Like after this happened, it's just open. It's very tilting. Very very tilting". Under the same spectrum, in Example 40, RATIRL, after shouting to his teammate: "R! Why? Why can't you just R?", he claims that he is "so fuckin' tilted now" and that "then they blame [him] for being toxic". This stands as an utterance of implicated impoliteness (IP) since he

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> In gaming culture, tilting refers to the brief emotional frustration due to multiple mistakes or unlucky loss. Tilting has been highly correlated to the concept of toxicity.

implies that the reason for his toxicity is his teammates' lack of skills and that the support (Yuumi) is not playing well (cases of implicated ANA).

#### Example 41 [Jankos to viewers]

41. [reading comment by xxgamer6<sup>61</sup>: doublelift brings viewership, nemesis doesn't]

I mean that's like very stupid reason. That's just stupid. That is just stupid bro.

If I have to play in champions queue with people that bring viewerships and they are terrible at the game then that's just stupid.

In Example 41, Jankos seems to associate his viewer's comment with a negative aspect ('stupid') when he responds with "that's just stupid. That is just stupid bro". The fact that he calls his viewer's utterance stupid is in this case impolite because of the context it was presented (WP). More specifically, since streamers are supposed and expected to be polite to their viewers in order to attract even larger audiences, this serves as an impolite phrase, given the communicative context where it was presented.

# 4.2.4. Mixed Impoliteness

Most of the cases of discourse in the corpus appeared to involve a combination of Positive Impoliteness (PIMP), Negative Impoliteness (NIMP) and/or Off-Record Impoliteness (OR-IMP), some examples of which will be analysed in this section. The most usual combination is positive impoliteness, namely call other names (CON) and/or

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> The name of the commentator has been concealed for protection of his/her anonymity. Unlike streamers, the comments of Twitch chat are not always visible after the live transmission, and therefore such elements are not always accessible.

use taboo words (TW), with negative impoliteness, usually condescend and ridicule (CSR). For instance,

Examples 42 and 43 and 44 [loltyler1 and Trick2g to teammates]

- 42. writes in chat: insanely/dogshit/players/guys/ff/psl
- 43. Worst fuckin' players man [...] absolutely fuckin' braindead, they don't know how to play the game.
- 44. Gotta be the one of the fuckin' worst junglers. Two fuckin' towers he said. Like are you fuckin' stupid? A free baron? You drop the rift, you get the one and you get the fuckin' baron. I just kinda wanna fuckin' call it [meaning to surrender].

The above examples convey the most usual combination of impolite strategies, i.e., calling the other names (CON), using taboo words (TW) and condescending, scorning, or ridiculing the other (CSR). In Example 42, loltyler1 calls his teammates "dogshit players" condescendingly. Similarly, in Example 43, Trick2g considers his teammates the "worst fuckin' players" and calls them "absolutely fuckin' braindead". In Example 44, Trick2g calls his fellow player "one of the fuckin' worst junglers" and he uses an unpalatable question "are you fuckin' stupid?" (Culpeper 2011) in order to condescend and ridicule his teammate's lack of skills.

#### Example 45 [Trick2g to viewers]

45. My brain now is lagging. When I see these guys playing, the decisions they make. Trick2g claims that his "brain is lagging"; he uses the word "lag<sup>62</sup>" metaphorically, in order to emphasise how unpleasant it is for him to watch his teammates play. In addition,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Lag is a time delay between a player's action and what is visible on the screen, usually caused because of internet connection issues.

he dissociates himself from his fellow players (DFO) by highlighting that he cannot tolerate their in-game mechanics: "When I see these guys playing, the decisions they make...", which can be also viewed as a case of implicated ANA (IP), since he implies that what he is watching is associated with a negative aspect. In this way, the streamer is implicitly associating his teammates with negative aspects.

# Example 46 [Nightblue3 to his teammates]

46. Stop pinging me you bastards [and types in chat: we get it/ ur mom/ doesn't love u/ stfu]

In Example 46, Nightblue3 calls his teammates "bastards" (CON and TW). He also types "we get it/ur mom/doesn't love u/stfu", which appears to be a positively impolite utterance, since he is being unsympathetic (DUU) and is trying to make the addressee feel uncomfortable (MOFU) by delving into his/her personal and private life. The phrase "ur mom/ doesn't love u" is considered rather disrespectful, while the abbreviation stfu, i.e., shut the fuck up, intensifies the intentionality of the offensive utterance, by blocking them linguistically (BO).

#### Example 47 [loltyler1 to a viewer]

47. I'm saying they suck [...] I don't care bro they're trash. The most embarrassingly pathetic games I've ever seen in my life. [...] it's so cringe. [...] it's horrible, bro. You're terrible.

In Example 47, loltyler1 dissociates himself from other NA players, e.g. his teammates, (DFO) by using the pronoun "they": "I'm saying they suck". Such dissociation is also

evident when he describes the games he may play with them as "the most embarrassingly pathetic games I've ever seen in my life" (my emphasis), while he would be expected to say "the most embarrassingly pathetic games I've ever played in my life". Through such dissociation, he behaves as if he is only a viewer of the games he participates in, in the sense that he wants to dissociate himself from his teammates as if he is not a member of the same team. In addition, this dissociation occurs by means of CON, when he addresses his teammates and tells them "you're terrible".

#### Example 48 [loltyler1 to viewers]

48. Twitch chat these days. Bro you guys are so spoiled like if something is I don't know. Even when I briefly raise my voice, all chat does is "WAYTOODANK, 63" WAYTOODANK. Oh my god". Back in the day when I used to yell, it was like a normal occurrence. You guys are little bitches. Shut your asses up.

In Example 48, loltyler1 calls his viewers names through the usage of taboo words ("you guys are little bitches") and he explicitly associates them with a negative aspect (ANA), namely he attributes the characteristic of being "spoiled" to "Twitch chat", i.e., his viewers. In addition, he hinders them linguistically with the last words of his utterance, which were addressed to his viewers: "shut your asses up". Given that this phrase was directed towards his viewers, it could be assumed that phrases like this are not thought (by streamers) to be (terribly) offensive to viewers.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Twitch emote.

# Example 49 [loltyler1 to viewer]

49. [reading comment by xxgamer<sup>64</sup>: the other mic has a scratch sound at the end of every sentence] yes dumbass. I've used this mic for six years. I know the difference. What I was testing if it was actually the mic or a setting change when you plug in the new mic. But it's actually the mic it's broken in. Yes, dumbass. Don't tell me the fuckin' difference.

In Example 49, loltyler1 appears to combine the use of calling the other names ("dumbass") and taboo words ("don't tell me the fuckin' difference") with the strategy of condescending, ridiculing and scorning the other (CSR). He scorns and ridicules his viewer by calling him/her a "dumbass", even though his viewer only wanted to ask about the differences between loltyler1's two microphones.

# Example 50 [loltyler1]

50. Absolute garbage player bro [...] this is crazy how bad these kids are.

In Example 50, loltyler1 calls his teammate an "absolute garbage player" (CON) and condescendingly ridicules his teammates' skills (CSR) by saying it "is crazy how bad these *kids* are" (given emphasis). The use of the word *kids*, instead of players, emphasises more the condescending attitude of the streamer.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> The name of the commentator has been concealed for protection of his/her anonymity.

#### Example 51 [Nightblue3 to viewers and teammate]

51. He didn't even ping. 65 Oh my god we have an ape. Oh wait. He might have pinged. I just have him muted. Hahaha [...] Hey asshole I have you muted [...] he was spamming me for no reason he was annoying he deserved to be muted.

In Example 51, after muting a teammate Nightblue3 complains that "he [his teammate] didn't even ping. Oh my god we have an ape" (CON). He soon realises that he had muted him, and so he says, "oh wait. He might have pinged. I just have him muted. Hahaha [...] Hey asshole I have you muted [...] he was spamming me for no reason he was annoying he deserved to be muted", which, except again for calling the other names (CON) and the use of taboo words (TW), this provides evidence that the streamer has already used the BO strategy (blocking the other linguistically).

# Example 52 [Nightblue3]

52. TTV loltyler1 see? Better jungler wins. Told you guys. Everyone kept saying tyler is a better jungler but he's losing so I don't know. I don't know mate.

In Example 52, Nighthblue3 scorns (CSR) another streamer, namely loltyler1, he seeks disagreement (SD) by having contempt for loltyler1, i.e., the most viewed streamer nowadays, and, through that, he behaves in an unexpected way, because such streamers do not generally scorn one another, since they are all professional players.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> "Pings are visual alerts used as a means of communication between players of a team during a match" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

# Example 53 [Trick2g to viewer]

53. Get the fuck out of my chat man [...] relax man you just ask stupid questions.

In Example 53, Trick2g uses on-record impoliteness. However, he combines positive impoliteness with negative impoliteness. More specifically, he says to a viewer "get the fuck out of my chat man [...] relax man you just ask stupid questions", which can be seen as snubbing his viewer (ISO), ridiculing him (CSR) and trying to exclude him (EOA) from his chat. Interestingly, 'You just ask stupid questions' (ANA) is the strategy he probably uses to justify the use of the other impoliteness strategies he used before.

### Example 54 [TobiasFate]

54. You fuckin' autist low you little retards. You backseat gaming you fuckin' trollabites, I'm gonna ban every one of you right now, you each getting fuckin' banned. You kids are so annoying bro. Your parents can't stand you, I can't stand you, society can't stand you. You're a fuckin' pest bro you're a fruit fly, Jesus Christ you kids are annoying. Holy fuck.

Except for the large amount of toxicity observed in Example 54, calling the other names (e.g. "little retards") and the use of taboo words are observed (e.g. "fuckin' autist low you little retards"), as well as frightening (FR) ("you each getting fuckin' banned") that he will block his teammates (BO) ("I'm gonna ban every one of you right now"). In addition, TobiasFate is being disrespectful and offensive towards his teammates ("your parents can't stand you, I can't stand you, society can't stand you. You're a fuckin' pest bro you're a fruit fly") and in this way he seems to be unsympathetic (DUU) and utterly condescending (CSR) towards them.

# Example 55 [TobiasFate]

55. Fuckin' loser ass Viktor<sup>66</sup> players [...] completely uninteractive boring sleeper fuckin' experience.

In example 55, TobiasFate combines the use of positive impoliteness with negative impoliteness, namely he calls Viktor players "fuckin' loser ass players" (CON and TW), and he explicitly associates them with the negative aspect (ANA) of playing in a boring and "uninteractive" way.

# Example 56 [TobiasFate to his duo]

56. -Yo how are things 2nd best GP<sup>67</sup> NA?

-Uh you know it's really good 3rd best GP NA [...] I come before you bitch [...]

I just wanna win I don't give a fuck.

The above interaction between TobiasFate and his duo was quite interesting, since it provided insight on how streamers communicate with each other and, therefore, on the identity they construct through direct interaction. In this case, TobiasFate is being condescending and scornful to his duo (CSR), by saying that he is a better GP player than him ("third best GP NA"), he snubs him by highlighting that he "do[es] not give a fuck" (ISO), and calls him names ("bitch").

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> League of Legends champion.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> League of Legends champion.

#### Example 57 [TobiasFate to viewers]

57. Alright it's sub mode you fuckin' retards. Enjoy not speaking dumbasses. It's also very laggy. And my team was also cancer as fuck but whatever.

In Example 57, TobiasFate combines the use of strategies of positive impoliteness and negative impoliteness: he calls his viewers "fuckin' retards" and "dumbasses" (CON and TW). In addition, he blocks them linguistically (BO) by excluding them (EOA) from his stream.

#### Example 58 [RATIRL]

58. Good job team. Let's not go for the Leona<sup>68</sup> that doesn't have flash.<sup>69</sup> Let's just go for the MF.<sup>70</sup> Oh yea let's just take all my minions<sup>71</sup> well I will totally play serious

[while writing in chat: Twitch: im totally/ Gna play serious now

[Viego] IM GIVING u/Hearl<sup>72</sup> / Are u/Esirous?

[RATIRL] dw<sup>73</sup> take more cs<sup>74</sup>

[Viego] giving u 5 plates<sup>75</sup>

[RATIRL] and fail gank<sup>76</sup>

[Lulu] muted

[Viego] child]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Spell with which a champion can dash in a short distance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Short for Miss Fortune, a League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Another word for the enemy's creeps, which are killed by opponents to gain gold.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Misspelling of herald, i.e., a neutral jungle monster.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Abbreviation for don't worry.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Abbreviation for creep score, meaning the number of creeps, i.e., jungle neutral entities, or enemy's entities, a player kills in order to gain gold.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Towers have plates, from which extra gold is earned.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> When one or more players from a team appear in a different lane from their own, in order to help that lane's player kill his/her opponent.

RATIRL, in the Example 58, combines sarcasm (SRC) and condescend/ridicule (CSR). Through this interaction, RATIRL condescends and ridicules his teammates for trying to kill MF, instead of Leona ("Let's not go for the Leona that doesn't have flash. Let's just go for the MF"). He also condescends his jungler, because he did not do a successful gank, and he sarcastically announces in the game's chat: "im / totally/ Gna play serious now". He is also being sarcastic when he says "good job team" and "dw take more cs".

Example 59 [RATIRL to xxgamer who had written him a comment]

59. [Reading comment by xxgamer<sup>77</sup>: WHAT ABOUT AP TWITCH GAME?:DDD] how about you talk normally so I don't ban you?

RATIRL frightened (FR) to block his viewer from his chat, i.e., his stream (BO): "how about you talk normally so I don't ban you?".

Example 60 [RATIRL to teammate]

60. [supposedly to Yuumi] W! W bitch. Wow you're telling me they just play like this?

In Example 60, RATIRL calls his teammate "bitch" (CON and TW) and he also employs implicated impoliteness (IP), since he wonders "wow you're telling me they just play like this?". Through this question, he implies that his teammates are not playing well.

My findings suggest that streamers employed both impolite discourse and discourse of politeness and inclusion. Contrary to genre-related expectations, almost all

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> The name of the commentator has been concealed for protection of his/her anonymity.

streamers appeared to use some inclusive and friendly-cooperative discourse, either towards their viewers or towards their fellow players. Discourse of inclusion and cooperation was mostly realised through the usage of positive politeness strategies. In essence, the positive politeness strategies found in the data were praising, claiming common ground, jokes, and in-game jargon. In addition, all streamers used on-record impoliteness, usually a combination of positive and negative impoliteness. Discourse that illustrates a certain degree of arrogance, especially while having to do with in-game mechanics or strategy, was observed, which serves as an interesting and unexpected finding, since streamers' use of impoliteness strategies does not appear to be related to the same team membership, but to good in-game skills (to be discussed in the next chapter). Another important and quite interesting finding is the usage of conflicting strategies, namely impolite and polite discourse in the same communicative context. It seems that this choice depends mostly on who the addressee is each time (teammate or opponent) and/or on the addressee's in-game skills. More specifically, streamers tend to employ polite discourse when a player performs better regarding in-game mechanics and strategy, while they appear to be impolite to players whose skills do not meet the streamers' expectations. It is crucial to highlight here that the use of polite or impolite discourse was not affected by whether the addressee was in the same team or in the enemy team. On the contrary, it was more common for streamers to use impolite discourse towards their teammates, which is most probably due to the fact that the latter's mistakes could affect the outcome of the streamers' games, or maybe because there is usually less inhibition with our own people. In the following section, the findings from the dataset will be used to identify and analyse the identity of the streamer.

# Chapter 5

#### **Discussion**

In this section, the findings of the study will be discussed in relation to the groups in which League of Legends Twitch streamers appear to claim membership and the final question of this study will be answered. The ultimate aim of the discussion is to draw conclusions on the identity/ies streamers construct. As already stated, it has been found that streamers use not only impolite, but also positively polite and inclusive discourse. A careful look at the findings indicates that the use of the one (polite) or the other (impolite) type of discourse is probably related to whom streamers address each time, and to the group in which they claim membership as a result. To further explore group membership, the ideological square proposed by van Dijk (1998; 2006a; 2006b) will be employed, a framework that has been applied in identity research (e.g., Tzanne and Sifianou 2019). According to van Dijk (2006b),

ideologies often have a polarized structure, reflecting competing or conflicting group membership and categorization in ingroups and outgroups. [...] These mental models control the contents of discourse, and if they are polarized, it is likely that discourse will thus also show various types of polarization. Thus, much research has shown that ideological discourse often features the following overall strategies of what might be called the ideological square (van Dijk 2006b: 734).

On the one hand, it means that we emphasise our good things, while emphasising their bad things, and on the other, we de-emphasise our bad things, while de-emphasising their good things (van Dijk 2006b: 734). Van Dijk's framework provides an interesting path for the present research: the polarity between the

"us" versus "them" can explicate both the inclusive, polite discourse, as well as the impolite one, since

[l]anguage use, text, talk and communication (together subsumed here under the overall term of 'discourse) are needed and used by group members to learn, acquire, change, confirm, articulate, as well as to persuasively convey ideologies to other ingroup members, to inculcate them in novices, defend them against (or conceal them from) outgroup members or to propagate them among those who are (as yet) the infidels (van Dijk 1998: 6).

In addition, depending on whom streamers include and whom they exclude, the identity they construct can be easily comprehended, because "the identity category of a group ideology organizes the information as well as the social and institutional actions that define membership: who belongs to the group, and who does not; who is admitted and who is not" (van Dijk 1995: 19). Under this spectrum, streamers claim a group identity in which they include whoever falls under the same in-group categorisation, while they exclude anyone who, according to their opinion, does not. Such inclusion and exclusion occurs through the repetition of specific discursive and pragmatic choices, like the use of positively polite or impolite language, respectively.

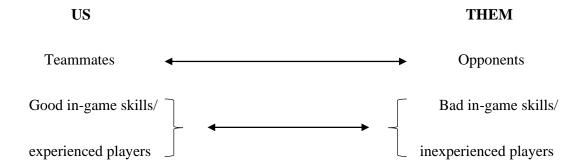
From the collected data, streamers mostly used inclusive discourse towards their teammates, and sometimes towards their viewers. As far as impolite discourse of exclusion is concerned, streamers, again, mostly employed such discourse against their teammates, sometimes against their opponents and on very few occasions against their viewers. The detailed classification of the data according to who the addressee was, can be found in the Appendix (Tables 6 and 7). The following table shows the number of the utterances according to the aforementioned categorisation:

Table 3. Classification of Utterances according to Addressee(s).

	Politeness and Discourse	Impoliteness and
Addressee(s)	of Inclusion	Discourse of Exclusion
Teammates	41	93
Opponents	1	27
Viewers	21	16
Total	63	136

According to the above classification, streamers used discourse of inclusion and polite language mostly to their teammates (41 out of 63 utterances). Only 1 such utterance addressed to an opponent was found in the data, while 21 out of the 63 utterances were addressed to their viewers. Such classification is based on the "underlying ingroup—outgroup polarization of ideologies: *Our* good things and *Their* bad things will tend to be emphasized, as is the case for the mitigation of *Our* bad things and *Their* good things" (van Dijk 2006a: 124). Given this, and taking into consideration van Dijk's "us", in which we emphasise *our* good things and *their* bad things, while we de-emphasise *our* bad things and *their* good things (van Dijk 2006b: 734), it can be understood that, as far as inclusion is concerned, streamers construct a twofold identity: that of a teammate, and that of a good LoL player, while, for exclusion and impolite discourse, the "them" seems again to be the categories of opponents and of bad players, respectively:

Figure 2. Streamers' twofold identity.



According to the above figure, streamers seem to claim the in-group identity of a teammate, in other words, of a player playing in a team; they are a member of an ingroup, and this group is their teammates. Discursive choices like the usage of the pronoun "we", which is "one of these structures, typically used to deictically refer to the ingroup of the current speaker" (van Dijk 2006a: 124), like in Example 1 and 2 ("We need seven wins" and "There is a window where we can win the game"), the use of praising like in Examples 3 and 4 ("Wait! [...] Genius play! Because he gave a kill to the person that was zero and six. So now he's worth more gold. That's really really smart. We're all sitting here laughing at him for walking into Sion passive but this guy is three steps ahead of us" and "OH MY GOD! Send him to Goblin Town. Send him to see Jesus Christ. Well done man!"), or the use of exaggeration, like in Example 8 ("That guy is the best player in the world. That guy is the best"), are employed by streamers when claiming the identity of the in-group, of a teammate playing in a team with his/her fellow players. Inclusive discourse of positive politeness were addressed to their teammates, which is reasonable, since streamers and their fellow players try to win together, as a team.

What is highly interesting, though, is that being teammates does not ensure acceptance and inclusion. More specifically, streamers direct such discourse to their teammates, only when the latter are, at least according to the streamers' opinion, good players. In essence, discourse of inclusion and polite language were employed by streamers only in the case when their teammates displayed experienced in-game skills and met the streamers' expectations. The utterances that conveyed discourse of exclusion and impoliteness were twice as many as the polite and inclusive ones. What is worth mentioning, though, is that the vast majority of such utterances (93 out of 136) were again addressed to their teammates. As already mentioned, streamers play with their teammates in the same group in order to win; thus, they expect their teammates to be skillful in order to ensure the victory. Whenever streamers encounter players whom they consider of less experience than themselves, they employ such discursive means (discourse of exclusion) in order to exclude such players from their "skilled in-group" and dissociate themselves from them. Therefore, it seems that in this way streamers enact another identity, that of the good player; they consider themselves a member of the skillful and powerful group of players, and thus, they praise and congratulate anyone who belongs to the same group. It seems, thus, that streamers do not only produce offensive and impolite discourse, but they also use discourse of approach and inclusion; however, they claim the identity of the good player and teammate only when they consider their fellow players part of their second aspect of identity, i.e., good players.

An aspect of streamers' identity that cannot be overlooked relates to their use of toxic discourse. According to contemporary research on toxicity, toxic discourse<sup>78</sup> is defined as "any behaviour that negatively impacts other players' experience" (Leiman

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Other researchers equate toxicity to *griefing* (viz. Yang Foo and Koivisto, 2004) or cyberbullying (viz. Kwak and Blackburn, 2015).

and Herner, 2019, p. 5) and "rude, disrespectful, or unreasonable behaviour that is likely to make one leave a discussion" (Sengün et al., 2019, p. 18). For the purposes of this study, toxic discourse is defined as any linguistic or visual item used while communicating in order to affront other people. As already mentioned, the community of online gaming has been highly correlated to toxicity and hate speech. It is wellknown that League of Legends, one of the most popular online videogames, which counts more than 124 million players as of August 2022 (Esguerra, 2022), is notorious for the toxicity and harassment prevalent in the game (Messner, 2020). As RATIRL mentions in his stream Chall Climb Friendly No Bard Incident F9 wins for Chall = , "it's fun to see what they [toxic players] type, plus I feel that some of you guys want to see what they type too. I already tilt too much from it so it's whatever to me, I'm too used to it" (emphasis added). According to a survey conducted by the Anti-Defamation League in 2021, 75% of the users of LoL reported to have been victims of in-game harassment (Anti-Defamation League 2021). Thus, it is not surprising that the dataset includes utterances like the ones found in Example 20 ("get cancer") or Example 54 ("You fuckin' autist low you little retards. You backseat gaming you fuckin' trollabites, I'm gonna ban every one of you right now, your each getting fuckin' banned. You kids are so annoying bro. Your parents can't stand you, I can't stand you, society can't stand you. You're a fuckin' pest bro you're a fruit fly, Jesus Christ you kids are annoying. Holy fuck"). Streamers themselves form an identity through their flowing discourse while playing games and transmitting live. As shown in previous studies (see Chapter 2), toxic discourse, as well as impolite language is widely employed in such communities. Therefore, since toxicity seems to be part of the specific gaming community, by using it, streamers enact, among others, the identity of a League of Legends player.

Surprisingly, the construction of the identity of the toxic League of Legends player does not seem to be of much significance, given that, as already stated, streamers enact the identity of in-group and supportive teammate as well. Except for belonging in the in-group of their teammates and the in-group of the powerful players, streamers seem to consider themselves members of another community, that of Twitch chat, i.e., their viewers. Some cases of inclusive discourse were addressed to their viewers, which is reasonable, given that streamers need to attract more viewers and subscribers. As Fu and Hsu (2019) have mentioned, "emotional attachment and group identification influence viewers' continuous watching, donation, and subscription intentions based on the theoretical lens of common identity and common bond" (Fu and Hsu 2019: 1). However, a few impolite and offensive utterances were also employed against their viewers. This can be explained through a close examination of the context where those cases were found. More specifically, such cases were addressed to viewers, only when streamers were already tilted<sup>79</sup> from the game and/or from their teammates. Besides, studies have shown that in-game toxicity seems to be one of the main triggers for *tilting* (viz. Fuentes 2021). Therefore, once *tilted*, the streamer is aggressive towards everyone, including viewers; it is thus clear that such discourse occurs in linguistic contexts where toxicity prevails.

Another important finding was that streamers did not address offensive or impolite discourse only to people they did not know. Research has shown that anonymity and deindividuation affect the use of aggression in online contexts (viz. Suler 2004; Santana 2014; Rösner, L., and Krämer, N. C. 2016; Parvaresh 2019). However, instances like Example 56, where TobiasFate was addressing his duo as

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> In gaming culture, *tilting* refers to the brief emotional frustration due to multiple mistakes or unlucky loss. Tilting has been highly correlated to the concept of toxicity.

"bitch", and Examples 28 and 29, where RATIRL calls his LoL friend an "ape" and "little *gozy* piece of shit", were also found in the corpus. Perhaps this is standard and expected behaviour among friends and teammates in League of Legends, and therefore such utterances were not employed in order to cause offence. However, it cannot be overlooked that such findings do not coincide with previous research on the triggers of toxicity and discourse of aggression, incivility and impoliteness, since anonymity and deindividuation did not seem to play a role in the case of streamers. Therefore, further research needs to be conducted on whether such impoliteness is politic behaviour according to the discursive approach to im/politeness called relational work (viz. Locher and Watts 2005).

Streamers' discursive construction of identity seems, thus, to be enacted on different levels. Firstly, there is the inclusive discourse and the use of positive politeness strategies when streamers claim the identity of the in-group of the team, namely playing in a team with their fellow players. Moreover, there are the identity of the in-group of the skillful and powerful players, and the identity of the member of Twitch chat. On the other hand, there is the employment of impoliteness and discourse of exclusion when streamers want to exclude people from the aforementioned groups. Therefore, impolite discourse of exclusion is addressed to opponents, since they do not belong to the first category of the team in-group, and to inexperienced and unskilled players, because, given that streamers consider themselves as experienced and powerful players, they want to exclude and dissociate from anyone who does not have in-game mechanics and skills of the same high standards. The few impolite utterances addressed to viewers can be explained given the wider linguistic context where toxic discourse prevails and/or the specific conflictual moments in which such language is produced.

## Chapter 6

## **Conclusion**

The overall research aim of this study has been the examination of the discursive construction of the identity of LoL streamers on Twitch. To this end, the way language was used by seven Twitch streamers was analysed, namely loltyler1, Nightblue3, Doublelift, Trick2g, Jankos, TobiasFate and RATIRL. Unlike the commentators' nicknames, whose comments are not always accessible, the streamers' monikers were not concealed, since all the content is accessible to everyone at all times, and thus "there is no real way to completely hide the identity of a user whose words you are reproducing" (Pihlaja 2016: 225-226). Data were collected within a one-month period, while for each streamer, data were collected from two different streams, in order to exclude the possibility of selective sampling. Identity was investigated on the basis of polite and impolite strategies, given that im/politeness research and identity research are closely connected to each other (viz. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou 2017; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2018). Utterances were, thus, classified according to whether they alluded to politeness and the discourse of inclusion, or whether they conveyed impoliteness and the discourse of exclusion.

The study posed three research questions:

- 1. Do streamers produce aggressive and toxic language when they stream? If yes, to what extent do they do that?
- 2. Is aggressive and toxic language the only kind of discourse streamers use?

3. How does streamers' discourse (aggressive or not) relate to the construction of their identity as online personas?

Regarding the extent of aggressive and toxic discourse, as well as whether streamers employ only such language, it was found that out of the 199 utterances, 63 conveyed the discourse of inclusion, while the rest 136 were impolite and formed the discourse of exclusion. Within the streaming environment, i.e., a context of online communication where aggression and impoliteness are prevalent, it was surprising that positive politeness and utterances of inclusion were found in that number in the dataset.

The third research question focused on the identification and exploration of the discursive identity construction of streamers. Taking into account van Dijk's (1998, 2006a, 2006b) ideological square, which posits that, in communities of practice and communication, members of a group emphasise their own good qualities, while emphasising the Others' bad qualities, streamers seem to create a twofold identity, which is based on the polarity of "us" versus "them". More specifically, streamers claim the identity of 'group member', an 'in-group', namely a member of their League of Legends team, and the identity of 'good player', since the utterances that conveyed positive politeness and discourse of inclusion, were addressed to players whom streamers considered skillful and powerful. On the other hand, impolite discourse was addressed to players whom streamers considered to lack experience and in-game skills, in an effort to exclude them from the identity group the latter claim to belong to. Another important finding was that streamers employed polite discourse when communicating with people they had not previously met or played with. Previous findings showing that deindividuation and anonymity are the main triggers for online aggression were not confirmed in the present study.

This is the first study conducted on the discursive identity of streamers; as such, it may pave the way for more research on this field to be conducted. Further studies should analyse more streamers, as well as include female streamers in the dataset, in order to examine whether gender plays a role in the discursive construction of streamers' identity.

Additionally, further studies could be carried out in order to examine the conceptualizations of impolite and toxic discourse by gamers and non-gamers. It would be interesting to see whether such discourse is considered impolite (whether they cause offence) by gamers and whether they are considered impolite by non-gamers, in order to comprehend better the identity of the streamer, and of the gamer as well.

Moreover, future research should focus on whether the use of impoliteness strategies among online friends, in the streaming context, is politic behaviour, that is simply expected and appropriate behaviour in this context (relational work, Locher and Watts 2005). To this end, possible orientation for further research would be to examine not only streamers' discourse, but also their viewers' responses as found, for example, in Twitch chat.

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## **Appendix**

• Table 1. Expressions of Inclusion and Cooperation.

# **Expressions of Inclusion and Cooperation** loltyler1 In: QUICK not wasted time .. MOVE! climb high with smart and play. WATCHED? LEADER AND ORDER PROTECT! APPLE orange. YELLOW. ok 00:05:00 We need seven wins. 00:09:30 There is a window where we can win the game. 1:01:43 We do not win level 1 [...] oh we do win level 1. 1:02:00 [writes in chat: I am a dumb ass/ sorry] I am stupid. I'm so fuckin' dumb. 1:45:00 [Cassiopia<sup>81</sup> multiple pings<sup>82</sup> him and he writes on chat: ill be better] 1:45:25 Oh I could have healed that guy. I'm bullshitting bro. I'm not gonna lie. 1:46:00 We must be better. Nightblue3 In: SUP SUP Blitz Jungle + viewer games chilling 00:04:30 Who's with me? 00:09:00 What do you guys think would be good for the runes? Anybody have any idea on that? 00:11:00 We're gonna try Blitzcrank<sup>83</sup> in this account. 00:13:00 That was my bad. That was completely my bad.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> A League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> "Pings are visual alerts used as a means of communication between players of a team during a match" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

<sup>83</sup> A League of Legends champion, also called "Blitz".

00:16:00 Okay, check out this clear speed. 84 Ready? Don't blink as you're gonna miss it. Tell me that's not nuts. Tell me with a straight face that that's not nuts.

00:19:41 I played that pretty bad to be honest.

00:23:00 I don't know what to get after this. You guys have any idea? You guys go full ap?85

00:24:00 Amumu<sup>86</sup> you're my hero, I love you bro. I'll give you a blowie<sup>87</sup> later. I love this guy. I love this little Amumu dude. He's so good. He's so good.

00:29:00 You guys think it's a good idea?

00:57:00 Actually if there's anything else you guys wanna see that is more interesting let me know [...] new items, new jungle.

1:06:16 [response to xxgamer1<sup>88</sup>: blitz in PBE<sup>89</sup> can set camp monster<sup>90</sup> flying to the moon @Nightblue3] Yea I saw that change on the notes. It's funny.

1:11:00 Did he just miss every Q?91 you're gonna love PBE baby. Did he miss every Q? It's all good bro. We play to improve, don't worry. You'll get better. When I first started playing League, I was so trash. I remember dude, I remember. I was so garbage when I first started to play League. Like I was so bad, dude I swear to God, chat, I would buy the newest champion the second it came out and play it in ranked<sup>92</sup> because I believed- I had a theory that the new champions right at release were always

<sup>88</sup> The name of the commentator has been concealed for protection of his/her anonymity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> The speed with which minions, i.e., units that use basic attacks, are killed.

<sup>85</sup> Short for Ability Power, "a stat that increases the effectiveness of some abilities, items and runes" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> A League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Slang word for blowjob.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Short for "Public Beta Environment, a testing realm for upcoming content" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> A jungle's monster at the place where it spawns.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> All champions have 4 abilities, i.e., Q, W, E and R, which are bound to the relative keyboard letters by default.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Competitive games that affect a player's ranking.

like overtuned and that was the best way to climb to high elo. 93 To play new champions. Hahaha. So bad.

1:14:00 Oh, oh nice. I wish I got the kill but it's okay. Thank you. He gives me the other one though. What a support.

1:21:00 No, we're good. SON OF A.... it's fine. I didn't want gold anyway. Tryin' to live a less materialistic life. Tryin' to live a life of a... more simple life.

1:50:00 One thousand ap Fiddlesticks<sup>94</sup> or Leona<sup>95</sup> jungle? What are we gonna do? I'm actually to play everything again like we did before.

1:53:00 Let's do high noon, yes.

1:57:00 We should decide what mythic 96 we're gonna do here.

2:10:00 Wait! [...] Genious play! Because he gave a kill to the person that was zero and six [0/6]. 97 So now he's worth more gold. That's really really smart. We're all sitting here laughing at him for walking into Sion passive 98 but this guy is three steps ahead of us.

2:14:00 OH MY GOD! Send him to Goblin Town. Send him to see Jesus Christ. Well done man!

2:18:00 I'm starting to have my doubts for ap bruiser<sup>99</sup> Leona. Is anyone else also having doubts?

2:19:00 This is why we're here though. We're here to experiment and lose games for the sake of Twitch chat [...] and YouTube. So you guys not do the same mistakes I do.

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<sup>93 &</sup>quot;A mathematical rating system for a player's relative skill level" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> A League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> A League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> A category of items.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>97</sup> Meaning zero kills, six deaths.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>98</sup> The fifth ability of the champions, which is not bound to any key because it can't be activated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>99</sup> A fighter.

2:26:00 We should have stuck with ap. We kinda trolled. I blame chat.

In: End of season climb | webcam has been located | aggressive junglers today |

k'sante jg when he comes out

00:07:15 Alright bro what are we playing?

00:08:47 We are playing against TTV<sup>100</sup> loltyler1.

00:32:10 Someone wanted me to showcase how Zhonya's works. Like this [does

Zhonya's] 2,5 seconds, count.

1:21:00 We need this win. This win is important to us.

2:19:00 What a play by us. What a play. I was so good bro.

#### **Doublelift**

In: Olate night CQ Ol

00:25:00 Wanna go to bot lane and see if they do something really dumb?

00:56:00 W in 5 [meaning seconds]. No hook<sup>101</sup>

57:00 - He has no ignite<sup>102</sup>

- Hold on, I'm just gonna hold the wave<sup>103</sup> here
- Yea

59:00 -I'm gonna try to gain vision

-Okay

1:00:00 - Did u see what I did there?

-You fucked his mum over there

1:00:20 Nice try, nice try.

1:06:00 Hopefully you'll live cuz I'm not gonna be there.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>100</sup> Abbreviation for Twitch.tv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>101</sup> "Ability which prevents movement and brings an enemy towards the champion's position" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>102</sup> A summoner spell that deals damage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>103</sup> A wave consists of six minions.

1:11:00 [missed his R] oh my god [in disappointment]

-It's fine it's fine (his duo)

1:24:00 The time you're buying though.

1:26:00 I enjoyed it a lot. See you next game gg. 104

1:31:00 I'm playing like dogshit. It's very obvious that I'm crazy rusty.

1:32:00 Despite the fact that I lost the two last games [with his duo], I had real fun [with him].

#### Jankos

In: ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY WIN,
ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND
SEE!YT!DISCORD!PICKEM(28/9)

1:48:00 Wait, did we just not ff?<sup>105</sup> Surrender vote failed? Oh my god. Okay, well we are gonna play this game until it's over I guess. Shouldn't take too long, huh?

In: ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY WIN,
ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND
SEE !YT !DISCORD !PICKEM (29/9)

00:24:00 [clapping after a good teamfight]

00:25:00 Top diff.<sup>106</sup> Five levels. Our team can take any fight as long as Aatrox is in the fight.

00:26:30 That was a bit greedy because I didn't realise like not to do it [...] I think this fight could be cleaner.

00:31:19 Perfect, flawless.

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>104</sup> Short for good game.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>105</sup> Short for forfeit, to surrender the game.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>106</sup> Short for difference, used when two laners (in this case Top) have a skills gap between them.

00:56:00 My mouse there. My mouse there. I promise you something really weird happened with my mouse. Like there was a demon, there was a demon taking possession over my mouse. I swear [readin comment by xxgamer7<sup>107</sup>: the demon is called age] it's called age? Hahaha fuck that's not good.

1:04:00 Jarvan<sup>108</sup> was very thirsty for my booty there. If Jarvan wasn't so thirsty for my booty, I think we would have lost fight, if Jarvan just stayed with team. But people make mistakes, that's how we win games.

1:14:00 Katarina is playing well. He's disengaging when asked to [when needed].

1:25:00 Learning the game together can be very fun compared to learning the game alone.

2:23:00 I'm not sure how she got so fed. 109 But she did. Now we are fucked.

2:57:00 Did we just threw the game? [after reading a comment] what you mean I did? The team is winning it's we, but if someone tosses it's I. Hmm sorry I forgot it's that simple.

2:30:00 Probably I should have helped her more.

#### **RATIRL**

In: Mentally 18, Bodywise 80, real age 25, = 🐿 🤌 🔊 👌 🛣 👌

00:01:53 [A teammate surviving] what is that? 20 hp?<sup>110</sup> He just knew. I guess. He legit just knew that he was going to live. That guy is the best player in the world. That guy is the best.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>107</sup> The name of the commentator has been concealed for protection of his/her anonymity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>108</sup> A League of Legends champion.

 $<sup>^{109}</sup>$  "A champion becoming disproportionately powerful after obtaining multiple kills on enemy champions" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

<sup>110</sup> Health.

00:02:51 I understand Katarina<sup>111</sup>'s play. It was a smart play if we were all with him. If it was a 5v5 at nash<sup>112</sup> then sure; but if the entire team decides to give the nash and then one player decides to go solo...

In: Chall Climb 🖊 Friendly 🖊 No Bard Incident 🖊 F9 wins for Chall 🗹 = 눌

1:34:00 That was clean by the Lulu. That was fuckin' clean. He E, Q'd the MF. 113 What the fuck. Goddamn, goddamn.

2:04:00 (Response to whether he mutes players): it's fun to see what they type, plus I feel that some of you guys want to see what they type too. I already tilt too much from it so it's whatever to me, I'm too used to it.

• Table 2. Positive Impoliteness (PIMP).

On-record Impoliteness (ON-IMP)
Positive Impoliteness (PIMP)
loltyler1
In: QUICK not wasted time MOVE! climb high with smart and play.
WATCHED? LEADER AND ORDER PROTECT! APPLE orange. YELLOW. ok
00:29:10 Like fuckin GET THE FUCK OUT OF MY GAME. PUSSY. GO!
1:19:00 Writes to his teammate in chat: yep/ gc. <sup>114</sup>
1:23:00 My fuckin' point. Get cancer.
1:29:00 Disgusting animals.
2:17:00 Are you mad bro? Do you play like trash?
2:24:00 Fuckin' dumbass.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>111</sup> A League of Legends champion.

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<sup>112</sup> Short for Baron Nashor, a powerful jungle monster.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>113</sup> Short for Miss Fortune, i.e., a League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>114</sup> Abbreviation for 'get cancer'.

In: BEAST MODE BEATDOWN BEGIN! explain happen.. WELL JUST GOTTED

WINNER BUD SIMPLES! oh so easy you . YES! BUILT DIFFERENT WITH

SWAG POWER!

00:03:52 Let's talk about NA. 115 You disgusting. Disgusting pieces of shit. Your sorry scrub bum paychecks healing bitch ass motherfucking bastards couldn't win one game. [...] you guys make zero content. You have no brands. You do not show up anywhere. You barely get flamed by anybody except maybe on twitter dms, 116 bro. I'm live ten hour-ish a day every sing- five days a week. I get that. Do you understand: I take the harassment 99% of the time. So when you lose, reminder: you're losing for me.

## Trick2g

In: Masters Climb | !Geologie #sponsored·

00:09:50 I don't understand why these fuck guys put me on smurf<sup>117</sup> queue.

00:45:00 They think kill kill kill. It's not about killing dumbass [...] hopefully they lost their fuckin' promos.

1:06:00 Hello pussy. You're traaash. You're traaash.

In: Masters Climb

00:28:00 What the fuck you want me to do j4, 118 you stupid fuck? Fuckin' braindead man. Fuckin' dogshit jungler.

1:53:00 Oh it's a fuckin beautiful day [...] they always help this trash Fiora man.

2:04:00 Aah you stupid bitch.

2:09:00 Come and fight me pussy.

2:11:00 [writes on chat: GRAVES NO BRAIN] Aah fuck it man I'm tilted now.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>115</sup> Abbreviation for North America, meaning the players on that server.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>116</sup> Abbreviation for direct message.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>117</sup> A player who deliberately plays with lower-ranked, i.e., less skilled players.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>118</sup> Short for Jarvan IV, a League of Legends champion.

2:20:00 When you have experience of thirteen years diving motherfuckers, and you done it before. Like I said experience, I can end the game there, cuz I know what the fuck I'm doing.

#### **Jankos**

In: ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY WIN, ONLY
TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND
SEE !YT!DISCORD!PICKEM (29/9)

1:32:50 You know if I become very bad at the game, then probably yea I would just retire, but I don't see a reason why I should retire when there are so many players that are worse. Like who? I don't wanna make drama. I can't give you names. But I just say that I'm confident in my ability to play the game.

#### **TobiasFate**

In: Masters+ - TF / GP (Off meta building and trying things) (25/10)

2:06:00 [multiple pinging Janna<sup>119</sup>] fuck this guy bro. Fuck this dude.

In: Masters+ - TF / GP (Off meta building and trying things) (26/10)

1:46:00 Kai'sa's kind of a bitch. Look at that. Nevermind. Bro I think Kaisa's trolling.

1:49:00 There's a big wave, just dive this fuckin' bitch.

#### RATIRL

In: Mentally 18, Bodywise 80, real age 25, = \$\infty\$ \$\int \mathbb{A} \infty\$ \$\int \mathbb{A} \infty\$ \$\int \mathbb{A} \infty\$

00:02:12 [chatting with friend]

-u typed ban reksai elise/probably last yasuo yone 120

-ratirl: i/stream/u ape/go watch vid

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>119</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>120</sup> League of Legends champions.

00:02:18 Sett,<sup>121</sup> I mean yasuo [his chat friend], I know you're listening. You little gozy piece of shit.

• Table 3. Negative Impoliteness (NIMP).

## **On-record Impoliteness (ON-IMP)**

## **Negative Impoliteness**

## loltyler1

In: QUICK not wasted time .. MOVE! climb high with smart and play.

WATCHED? LEADER AND ORDER PROTECT! APPLE orange. YELLOW. ok

00:28:00 That's gotta be an ff bro. Let's go!

00:37:00 You guys are such little babies. It's crazy like how Twitch chat has changed.

1:22:00 Why is this guy blaming Fiora? Give me the fuck out before I lose my fuckin mind. Like oh my god Fiora is on a 1v9 demon mode. Like bro she's not even playing. She didn't play the game. She sat in the fuckin side lanes. But you guys literally ran

1:25:00 [while watching the replay] it's so disgusting to play [with these people]

1:45:00 Writes in chat to teammates: u really suck.

In: BEAST MODE BEATDOWN BEGIN! explain happen.. WELL JUST GOTTED

WINNER BUD SIMPLES! oh so easy you . YES! BUILT DIFFERENT WITH

SWAG POWER!

1:58:00 Hit your shots kid. Holy fuck man.

00:24:00 Auto, 122 you fuckin freak man.

00:35:00 Writes at the end of the game in chat: maybe/ff next time/ggez.

it the fuck down.

of Legellus chain

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>121</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>122</sup> Meaning auto-attack.

## Nightblue3

In: End of season climb | webcam has been located | aggressive junglers today |

k'sante jg when he comes out

00:21:02 Go behind me! Dude!! You're playing for fun!

In: SUP SUP Blitz Jungle + viewer games chilling

00:28:00 Sorry for the lag guys. NA internet. Just as good as their NA pro teams.

### **Doublelift**

In: *Olate night CQ Ol* 

1:37:00 NA sort of brain.

## Trick2g

In: Masters Climb | !Geologie #sponsored-

2:28:00 You guys are gonna be fuckin' juiced.

#### **Jankos**

In: ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY WIN,
ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND
SEE!YT!DISCORD!PICKEM (29/9)

00:21:08 I mean this gameplay is so toxic. Someone is playing toplane and is not really playing toplane [...] such a pointless gameplay.

00:29:01 [after killing Kalista] GET SMASHED!

00:50:01 If this guy plays only Katarina, 123 which his name heavily indicates, or if this guy is toxic, because Katarina players normally are toxic 90 % of the time, no fuckin' way should you be allowed to play champions queue.

#### **TobiasFate**

In: Masters+ - TF / GP (Off meta building and trying things) (25/10)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>123</sup> League of Legends champion.

00:38:00 You're such a virgin.

In: Masters+ - TF / GP (Off meta building and trying things) (26/10)

2:08:00 Where's Ekko? (multiple pinging him) guys just get out of this game. I'm done, who cares?

#### **RATIRL**

00:03:21 There are two braincells just trying to keep it up together. These people.

In: Chall Climb Friendly No Bard Incident F9 wins for Chall = 5

1.21:00 Is it that hard to play Yuumi?<sup>125</sup> [...] He just instantly leaves. Every fuckin' support. Listen bro, don't jump out.

1:42:00: He had a brain early. He legit had a brain early. And then he just lost it.

2:02:00 I will devour this Lulu. 126 Dude it's just a typical like... at first he's supp 127 man, so his IQ is always illimited.

2:13:00 [watching humzh<sup>128</sup>] he's gonna open my stream and he's gonna see me watch him maybe. [reading humzh's in game chat comment: ure piss low] hahaha [...] you are piss low into muted.

[watching humzh's stream: humzh: who the fuck even are you? Have a fucking coop first time and then call me]

RATIRL: That was your best advice for a beginner?

2:15:00 I'm gonna soft int<sup>129</sup> this game so this guy flames so it's gonna be some incidents this game unfortunately.

2:23:00 This guy flamed everyone and then just locked camera, full viewed it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>124</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>125</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>126</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>127</sup> Short for support.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>128</sup> A streamer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>129</sup> Intentionally sabotage your team.

• Table 4. Off-Record Impoliteness (OR-IMP).

## **Off-Record Impoliteness (OR-IMP)**

## loltyler1

In: BEAST MODE BEATDOWN BEGIN! explain happen.. WELL JUST GOTTED

WINNER BUD SIMPLES! oh so easy you . YES! BUILT DIFFERENT WITH

SWAG POWER!

1:07:00 This Elise... is good.

## Nighblue3

In: SUP SUP Blitz Jungle + viewer games chilling

00:02:20 Na is 0-9. Disgusting. Actually disgusting. I am actually a little upset because, you know why? Champions queue is exclusive. Only pro players can play champions queue, it's good for the server. Seven ping guys. We have seven ping. Seven. Single digit. Surely we'll perform now. We have four imports on every team. Surely we can perform now.

In: End of season climb | webcam has been located | aggressive junglers today | k'sante jg when he comes out

00:13:23 Oh she can hit a stun. It's possible.

00:18:53 Okay if he's dodging my spears, alright maybe I'm just bad at throwing spears. But if he's dodging Blitzcrank's- *this* Blitzcrank's hooks he's scripting.

#### Jankos

In: ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY WIN,
ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND
SEE !YT !DISCORD !PICKEM (28/9)

2:04:00 Ff. just ff. like after this it's ff. like after this happened, it's just open. It's very tilting. Very very tilting.

In: ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY WIN,
ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND
SEE!YT!DISCORD!PICKEM (29/9)

00:50:52 I also see people saying RATIRL is not toxic, but they are giga toxic.

1:17:00 [reading comment by xxgamer6<sup>130</sup>: doublelift brings viewership, nemesis doesn't] I mean that's like very stupid reason. That's just stupid. That is just stupid bro. If I have to play in champions queue with people that bring viewerships and they are terrible at the game then that's just stupid.

1:54:00 Is that American humour?

2:12:00 I'm so glad you were there Camille. Without you we wouldn't had made it happen.

#### **RATIRL**

In: Mentally 18, Bodywise 80, real age 25, = 🔊 🤌 🔊 👌 😭 👌

00:02:53 [when streaming] if you watch my baus video you get all these normie fanboys not to be like that but the YouTube comments on my newest video where baus is involved are so special. Half of them are like this guy is so toxic I don't wanna watch this. Why is he so toxic? Like this guy. And then I hit them with logic. Like the typical baus viewer. [...] and then u read this: [reading comm: just tired of ratirl's toxicity]. And then I say so why are you here watching? You're watching for 2 years [...] just cross the fuckin video then [...] man if I don't like a YouTube video I just fuckin leave the YouTube video. If I don't like a stream I leave the stream.

In: Chall Climb Friendly No Bard Incident F9 wins for Chall = 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>130</sup> The name of the commentator has been concealed for protection of his/her anonymity.

2:02:00 [reading Azir's<sup>131</sup> comm: gg wp<sup>132</sup> x9<sup>133</sup> twitch] my dude you just got caught 1v5 and died. And I did ping again. See? My bad guys sorry my bad

2:24:00 Oh no. Unfortunate Lulu. We almost had it, we'll get them the next time.

2:24:00 I'm pretty sure this guy, I mean he's trolling because he's going ap varus and I'm trolling because I have this guy. So it's like whoever soft ints<sup>134</sup> the hardest wins the game, or loses. I don't know

2:36:00 flash ready okay [flashes] I mean he [Lulu] pinged my flash. I had to use it.

2:38:00 typing to Lulu: next game is ours lulu

3.24:00 R [to Yuumi <sup>135</sup>]. Why? Why can't you just R? [chat: PLZ/JUST R /HIM/BRO/R/HIM] what are you waiting for? Whatever, now I'm tilted. [shouting] why can't you just R him so I can escape? I flashed in to escape [...] I'm so fuckin' tilted now actually. [...] then they blame me for being toxic.

• Table 5. Mixed Impoliteness.

#### Mixed

#### loltyler1

In: QUICK not wasted time .. MOVE ! climb high with smart and play .

WATCHED? LEADER AND ORDER PROTECT! APPLE orange. YELLOW. ok

00:38:00 Twitch chat these days. Bro you guys are so spoiled like if something is I don't know. Even when I briefly raise my voice, all chat does is "WAYTOODANK, 136 WAYTOODANK. Oh my god". Back in the day when I used

90

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>131</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>132</sup> Abbreviation for well played.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>133</sup> It is used when a player suggests that all the other players (9) should report the remaining one.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>134</sup> To intentionally throw the game.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>135</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>136</sup> A Twitch emote.

to yell, it was like a normal occurrence. You guys are little bitches. Shut your asses up.

00:45:00 [reading comment by xxgamer<sup>137</sup>: the other mic has a scratch sound at the end of every sentence] yes dumbass. I've used this mic for six years. I know the difference. What I was testing if it was actually the mic or a setting change when you plug in the new mic. But it's actually the mic it's broken in. Yes, dumbass. Don't tell me the fuckin' difference.

1:18:00 writes in chat: insanely/ dogshit/ players/ guys/ ff/ psl

1:23:25 I'm not gonna lie I'm pretty fuckin' tilted. Not gonna lie. I'm pretty tilted. [he abandoned the game]. So despite how like this dogshit who looks like one trick<sup>138</sup> twitch or whatever [...] bro we had a huge lead and not one of them did anything at any point of the game. We took baron, <sup>139</sup> no siege, no vision control, no rotating down botlane. Nothing. And even after that, didn't- like "oh Fiora 140's too strong" while she was side laning. [...] you fuckin' retards [...]

1:41:00 One reason I want to win this game is that so this dogshit Viego<sup>141</sup> loses. That's it.

2:10:00 It's a waste of my fuckin' time bro.

2:44:00 Absolute garbage player bro [...] this is crazy how bad these kids are.

2:30:00 Support diff you fuckin' shitters.

2:55:00 I got the same jungler. Yea we can't win. We can't win lads. He is horseshit.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>137</sup> The name of the commentator has been concealed for protection of his/her anonymity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>138</sup> When a gamer plays only one champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>139</sup> A jungle monster.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>140</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>141</sup> League of Legends champion.

In: BEAST MODE BEATDOWN BEGIN! explain happen.. WELL JUST GOTTED

WINNER BUD SIMPLES! oh so easy you . YES! BUILT DIFFERENT WITH

SWAG POWER!

00:05:10 I'm saying they suck [...] I don't care bro they're trash. The most embarrassingly pathetic games I've ever seen in my life. [...] it's so cringe. [...] it's horrible, bro. You're terrible.

1:55:00 Bitch (after hitting Zac with tornado)

1:56:00 [to a viewer] Yo deepshit I'm talking about him (pinging Olaf)

## Nightblue3

In: End of season climb | webcam has been located | aggressive junglers today | k'sante jg when he comes out

00:14:56 Stop pinging me you bastards (and types in chat: we get it/ ur mom/ doesn't love u/ stfu)

00:26:09 He didn't even ping. Oh my god we have an ape. Oh wait. He might have pinged. I just have him muted. Hahaha [...] Hey asshole I have you muted [...] he was spamming me for no reason he was annoying he deserved to be muted.

00:30:32 TTV loltyler1 see? Better jungler wins. Told you guys. Everyone kept saying tyler is a better jungler but he's losing so I don't know. I don't know mate.

00:43:00 What a bunch of pussies. How do we get them out of our jungle? [writes in all chat: get out of my jg<sup>142</sup> kappachinos]. You think that works? You think that will work? [...] it worked yea they actually got out of my jungle man. They got scared. They got scared bro. they got Rengar<sup>143</sup> flashbacks, right?

## Trick2g

In: Masters Climb | !Geologie #sponsored.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>142</sup> Abbreviation for jungle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>143</sup> League of Legends champion.

00:14:00 Yo what's up pussy Kindred? If you're listening, you're dog shit. You hear me? Doooog shit.

00:20:54 Hey holy fuck he's so bad [...] just fuckin' braindead.

00:35:00 What are you doing bitch? Eh bitch? You're trash.

00:39:45 I wish I didn't build ap man, these guys are so bad I kinda just wanna fuckin' lose, these guys are just too stupid man [...] so dumb man.

00:44:00 Worst fuckin' players man [...] absolutely fuckin' braindead, they don't know how to play the game.

00:53:00 Get the fuck out of my chat man [...] relax man you just ask stupid questions.

00:54:00 You guys have been following since 2016. Why are you all typing dumb shit? I mean there's no way you are watching me at fuckin' five years old and now you're thirteen.

1:20:00 Why do I get this fuckin guy on my team?

## In: Masters Climb

00:22:00 Fuckin' disgusting this fuckin' player. I don't understand why. It changes the whole game like the game is over.

00:31:00 I swear to God she doesn't know what she's doing [...] I'll show you why. I swear to God this guy looks like a fuckin' absolute first time, doesn't know how to play the champion just plays it because everyone is playing it.

1:00:00 I ain't losing to some guy named Garry.

1:02:00 Wow this guy's fuckin awful.

1:22:00 Olaf is a fuckin loser.

1:56:00 I gotta play against this ape fuckin' Fiora<sup>144</sup> man.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>144</sup> League of Legends champion.

1:58:00 Hahaha you're trash. Call your fuckin' mid laner. Fuckin' trash player man.

2:08:00 DON'T FUCKIN' SAVE ME. WTF. WTF. ARE YOU GUYS DOING (writing the same on chat)

2:10:00 Gotta be the one of the fuckin' worst jungler. Two fuckin' towers he said. Like are you fuckin' stupid? A free baron? You drop the rift, 145 you get the one and you get the fuckin' baron. I just kinda wanna fuckin' call it [meaning to surrender].

2:12:00 Yo Twitch baby a big shout out to you for being such a dogshit player. This guy's been blown up four times in a row. That's just the worst death possible. Worst fuckin' death.

2:17:00 My brain now is lagging. When I see these guys playing, the decisions they make.

2:18:00 types in all chat: YHOU NOT ME UDYR

2:19:00 What the fuck you gonna do? Get the fuck out of my champion.

2:20:00 This dumbfuck took 2 towers. I'm sorry but you don't go two towers there.

2:24:00 You buy fuckin' Tiamat<sup>146</sup> and you go side lane you useless fuck, you know?

#### Jankos

In: ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY WIN,
ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND
SEE !YT!DISCORD!PICKEM (28/9)

00:30:30 I'm not depressed. I'm chilling bro. you can't be so happy every day you know. [...] you just gotta chill bro, look at the fuckin' game and let me play the fuckin' game and it's fine. No? what's the fuckin' problem?

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>145</sup> Jungle monster.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>146</sup> An item in League of Legends.

## In: ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY WIN, ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND SEE !YT !DISCORD !PICKEM (29/9)

00:38:02 YES, YES KURWA. 147 Tryhard meta mimicking pro play. That point already makes my dick giga hard. [...] Already I'm so happy. Already it's not a failure, it's a fuckin success.

1:14:00 People say I'm toxic right? Bro stop spamming or Imma ban you. Spamming is not fun.

2:45:00 Why is this jerk all over my stream?

#### **TobiasFate**

In: Masters+ - TF / GP (Off meta building and trying things) (25/10)

00:19:00 You fuckin' autist low you little retards. You backseat gaming you fuckin' trollabites, I'm gonna ban every one of you right now, your each getting fuckin' banned. You kids are so annoying bro. Your parents can't stand you, I can't stand you, society can't stand you. You're a fuckin' pest bro you're a fruit fly, Jesus Christ you kids are annoying. Holy fuck.

00:25:00 Fuckin' loser ass Viktor<sup>148</sup> players [...] completely uninteractive boring sleeper fuckin' experience.

00:32:00 You guys are fuckin' losers (for a build<sup>149</sup>).

00:40:00 Oh my god you kids are useless [...] you guys are dumb. No, I'm not baiting either you [Lucian wrote on chat: ur muted baiting us] you guys are just dumb you don't even fight you're so scared, you're winning... oh you're not winning. I thought they were winning, nevermind.

<sup>148</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>147</sup> Polish insult meaning whore.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>149</sup> The items chosen and bought by a player.

00:47:00 Enjoy the lp<sup>150</sup> loss you fuckin' losers.

00:48:00 Gimme the free win you little tumor ass champs.

2:10:00 -yo how are things 2nd best GP NA?

-uh you know it's really good 3rd best GP NA [...] I come before you bitch [...] I just wanna win I don't give a fuck.

Masters+ - TF / GP (Off meta building and trying things) (26/10)

00:32:00 Alright it's sub mode you fuckin' retards. Enjoy not speaking dumbasses.

It's also very laggy. And my team was also cancer as fuck but whatever.

00:34:00 I'm playing for fun bro. Fuck this cancer community. I'm having fun next game. Kinda wanna go support. I don't really feel like trying today.

1:34:00 We deserve to lose bro. This team is trash. I say take the L move on you know? That's what I say.

2:15:00 Adc players are the worst they're all fuckin' retarded.

2:17:00 All ad carries [i.e., adc] are virgins, they're also losers and they're not self-sufficient fuckin' dogshit animals. [...] my adc is retarded and my nasus top is irrelevant.

2:18:00 Guys you talk about being bad at the game. Yea I think you're bad 15k [damage] I did 12,3 [with tank Kled support] Jesus guys. Holy smokes. Ad carries are retarded bro. They're the worst fuckin' vermins in this community. They're parasites, they feed off of the support. They're parasites, they're really bad.

2:18:58 If I was ever an adc main I would never complain once about the supp. If the supp feeds or does anything like bro you can still perform as a solo ad carry. You dumbfuckin' idiots. It's like you've never played a solo lane in your life. Go play mid lane. You perform mid lane, you can perform bot lane bro. Your supp roams, the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>150</sup> Abbreviation for League Points, with which a player can level up.

supp's doing stuff what do you want about? You're fine. Farm. It's so cringe. Playing solo's gonna make you so much of a better player. If you're only gonna play ad carry you're gonna know nothing. You're just bad.

2:20:00 It's like they can't perform any other task but suckin' off the support's giant dick, at least in my case.

#### RATIRL

In: Mentally 18, Bodywise 80, real age 25, = **2 6 2 6 2 6 2 6** 

00:01:33 Now this guy doesn't know what to ban. Hahaha it's just too many bans so he doesn't know what to ban. He's confused. What a fuckin' dumb piece of shit.

In: Chall Climb 🖊 Friendly 🖊 No Bard Incident 🖊 F9 wins for Chall 🗹 = 🎾

1:24:00 They're just like kindergarten? And there's like. Everybody's got a bad game move on, no you're stupid asking? That's the question you gotta answer before I ban you. We're playing in pretty much the highest elo in the video game and you're like "they're having a bad game". They can't even do the simplest of things [...] they're expected to know how to play a champion. There's nothing to do with a bad game.

1:25:00 The fact that you're trying to defend these people while they're absolutely shit. Do you know how I know they're shit? Because they play in nlc<sup>151</sup>2.

1:40:00 Good job team. Let's not go for the Leona that doesn't have flash. Let's just go for the MF. Oh yea let's just take all my minions well I will totally play serious [while writing in chat: Twitch: im totally/ Gna play serious now

Viego: IM GIVING u/ Hearl/ Are u/ Esirous?

Twitch: dw take more cs

Viego: giving u 5 plates

Twitch: and fail gank

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>151</sup> Abbreviation for the Northern League of Legends Championship.

Lulu: muted

Viego: child]

1:46:00 (for Aatrox<sup>152</sup>) hahah that stupid failed that thing on the wall [meaning his El.

1:51:00 Lulu come on man. Whose fault is that now? Imma ping him and he gets insanely mad. Watch. That's all Lulu's fault. [...] piece of shit.

1.55 He stopped? Use your fuckin' ability. Okay, I'm gonna fuckin' die idiot. But nothing is dying. Like what is that shit? What? The fuck? [...] No need antiheal. When did I ever say. What? Like, my dude, Lulu, I know you're listening to the stream, I understand you're probably fedding 153 me for attention but did I say anything about anti-heal?

1:57:00 Look. I never even mentioned Mikael's. 154 I haven't been Sejuani's 155 ulted single time, I haven't been hit by Leona a single time, [reading Lulu's comment: imagine first timing twitch Xd] See? It's just a fat boy. First he calls me RATIRL and then he calls me first timing Twitch. Makes sense. He has a goldfish memory.

1:58:00 This is the highlight of the day probably. Of the week. There's a schitzo<sup>156</sup> typing, [reading Lulu's comment: report twitch thanks] See? [Lulu's comment: for being braindead] RATIRL types: lulu is a fan.

2.08:00 [Reading comment by xxgamer8 157: WHAT ABOUT AP TWITCH GAME?:DDD] how about you talk normally so I don't ban you?

2:18:00 [for Lulu going roaming] see? Now he's doing the same thing again. Like what is this? He's doing the exact same play again. [multiple pinging question marks

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>152</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>153</sup> Short for fed up.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>154</sup> An item in League of Legends.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>155</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>156</sup> Short for schizophrenic.

<sup>157</sup> The name of the commentator has been concealed for protection of his/her anonymity.

on Lulu] Like, where are you? And now we can't do anything bot. Oh yea ping on your way. You fuckin' ape.

2:19:00 What a fuckin' ape [...] The thing is that he's flaming. He says use map. He's like trying to do macro plays. Every single game.

2:28:00 My team is trying to dive an Ornn<sup>158</sup> [Lulu almost dies and flashes away] Hahaha you can't be serious. What the fuck am I watching. I mean I'm soft inting but this guy isn't even soft inting. He's just awful.

2:32:00 [reading Lulu's comment: why we stay ashe <sup>159</sup> side] that guy doesn't understand that I'm not playing serious. There's no way his IQ is that low. He wrote last game that he knows who I am. He literally has goldfish memory. He flamed me for being RATIRL last game and now he's just pretending to not know who I am. Like what do you want me to say? That guy is not the brightest.

2:49:00 [reading comment: you're 20 iq] what you mean? [...] Write that again and you're perma<sup>160</sup> banned.

3:09:00 [supposedly to Yuumi] W! W bitch. Wow you're telling me they just play like this? [meaning bad].

Table 6. Classification of Streamers' Utterances of Politeness according to Addressee(s).

## ${\bf Expressions\ of\ Politeness\ and\ Discourse\ of\ Inclusion}$

## **Addressee(s): Teammates**

loltyler1 in QUICK not wasted time .. MOVE! climb high with smart and play.

WATCHED? LEADER AND ORDER PROTECT! APPLE orange. YELLOW. ok

00:09:30 There is a window where we can win the game.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>158</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>159</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>160</sup> Slang for permanently.

1:01:43 We do not win level 1 [...] oh we do win level 1.

1:02:00 [writes in chat: I am a dumb ass/ sorry] I am stupid. I'm so fuckin' dumb.

1:45:00 [Cassiopia<sup>161</sup> multiple pings<sup>162</sup> him and he writes on chat: ill be better]

1:45:25 Oh I could have healed that guy. I'm bullshitting bro. I'm not gonna lie.

1:46:00 We must be better.

**Nighblue3** in SUP SUP Blitz Jungle + viewer games chilling

00:13:00 That was my bad. That was completely my bad.

00:19:41 I played that pretty bad to be honest.

00:24:00 Amumu<sup>163</sup> you're my hero, I love you bro. I'll give you a blowie<sup>164</sup> later. I love this guy. I love this little Amumu dude. He's so good. He's so good.

1:11:00 Did he just miss every Q?<sup>165</sup> you're gonna love PBE baby. Did he miss every Q? It's all good bro. We play to improve, don't worry. You'll get better. When I first started playing League, I was so trash. I remember dude, I remember. I was so garbage when I first started to play League. Like I was so bad, dude I swear to God, chat, I would buy the newest champion the second it came out and play it in ranked<sup>166</sup> because I believed- I had a theory that the new champions right at release were always like overtuned and that was the best way to climb to high elo.<sup>167</sup> To play new champions. Hahaha. So bad.

1:14:00 Oh, oh nice. I wish I got the kill but it's okay. Thank you. He gives me the other one though. What a support.

<sup>165</sup> All champions have 4 abilities, i.e., Q, W, E and R, which are bound to the relative keyboard letters by default.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>161</sup> A League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>162</sup> "Pings are visual alerts used as a means of communication between players of a team during a match" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>163</sup> A League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>164</sup> Slang word for blowjob.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>166</sup> Competitive games that affect a player's ranking.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>167</sup> "A mathematical rating system for a player's relative skill level" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

2:10:00 Wait! [...] Genious play! Because he gave a kill to the person that was zero and six [0/6]. So now he's worth more gold. That's really really smart. We're all sitting here laughing at him for walking into Sion passive but this guy is three steps ahead of us.

2:14:00 OH MY GOD! Send him to Goblin Town. Send him to see Jesus Christ. Well done man!

2:19:00 This is why we're here though. We're here to experiment and lose games for the sake of Twitch chat [...] and YouTube. So you guys not do the same mistakes I do.

**Nighblue3** in End of season climb | webcam has been located | aggressive junglers today | k'sante jg when he comes out

2:19:00 What a play by us. What a play. I was so good bro.

**Doublelift** in *late night CQ l* 

00:25:00 Wanna go to bot lane and see if they do something really dumb?

00:56:00 W in 5 [meaning seconds]. No hook<sup>170</sup>

57:00 - He has no ignite<sup>171</sup>

- Hold on, I'm just gonna hold the wave<sup>172</sup> here
- Yea

59:00 -I'm gonna try to gain vision

-Okay

1:00:00 - Did u see what I did there?

-You fucked his mum over there

. .

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>168</sup> Meaning zero kills, six deaths.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>169</sup> The fifth ability of the champions, which is not bound to any key because it can't be activated.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>170</sup> "Ability which prevents movement and brings an enemy towards the champion's position" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>171</sup> A summoner spell that deals damage.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>172</sup> A wave consists of six minions.

1:00:20 Nice try, nice try.

1:06:00 Hopefully you'll live cuz I'm not gonna be there.

1:11:00 [missed his R] oh my god [in disappointment]

-It's fine it's fine (his duo)

1:24:00 The time you're buying though.

1:26:00 I enjoyed it a lot. See you next game gg. 173

1:31:00 I'm playing like dogshit. It's very obvious that I'm crazy rusty.

1:32:00 Despite the fact that I lost the two last games [with his duo], I had real fun [with him].

Jankos in ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY
WIN, ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND
SEE!YT!DISCORD!PICKEM (28/9)

1:48:00 Wait, did we just not ff?<sup>174</sup> Surrender vote failed? Oh my god. Okay, well we are gonna play this game until it's over I guess. Shouldn't take too long, huh?

Jankos in ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY
WIN, ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND
SEE!YT!DISCORD!PICKEM(29/9)

00:24:00 [clapping after a good teamfight]

00:25:00 Top diff. <sup>175</sup> Five levels. Our team can take any fight as long as Aatrox is in the fight.

00:26:30 That was a bit greedy because I didn't realise like not to do it [...] I think this fight could be cleaner.

00:31:19 Perfect, flawless.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>173</sup> Short for good game.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>174</sup> Short for forfeit, to surrender the game.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>175</sup> Short for difference, used when two laners (in this case Top) have a skills gap between them.

1:04:00 Jarvan<sup>176</sup> was very thirsty for my booty there. If Jarvan wasn't so thirsty for my booty, I think we would have lost fight, if Jarvan just stayed with team. But people make mistakes, that's how we win games.

1:14:00 Katarina is playing well. He's disengaging when asked to [when needed].

1:25:00 Learning the game together can be very fun compared to learning the game alone.

2:23:00 I'm not sure how she got so fed. 177 But she did. Now we are fucked.

2:57:00 Did we just threw the game? [after reading a comment] what you mean I did? The team is winning it's we, but if someone tosses it's I. Hmm sorry I forgot it's that simple.

2:30:00 Probably I should have helped her more.

RATIRL in Mentally 18, Bodywise 80, real age 25, = \$\infty\$ \$\inft

00:01:53 [A teammate surviving] what is that? 20 hp?<sup>178</sup> He just knew. I guess. He legit just knew that he was going to live. That guy is the best player in the world. That guy is the best.

00:02:51 I understand Katarina<sup>179</sup>'s play. It was a smart play if we were all with him. If it was a 5v5 at nash<sup>180</sup> then sure; but if the entire team decides to give the nash and then one player decides to go solo...

**RATIRL** in Chall Climb Friendly No Bard Incident F9 wins for

*Chall* = **5** 

<sup>179</sup> A League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>176</sup> A League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>177</sup> "A champion becoming disproportionately powerful after obtaining multiple kills on enemy champions" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

<sup>178</sup> Health

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>180</sup> Short for Baron Nashor, a powerful jungle monster.

1:34:00 That was clean by the Lulu. That was fuckin' clean. He E, Q'd the MF. 181 What the fuck. Goddamn, goddamn.

## **Addressee(s): Opponents**

loltyler1 in QUICK not wasted time .. MOVE! climb high with smart and play.

WATCHED? LEADER AND ORDER PROTECT! APPLE orange. YELLOW. ok

00:17:00 See, you are not supposed to R like that, but he was pissed. Relax bro.

#### **Addressee(s): Viewers**

loltyler1 in QUICK not wasted time .. MOVE! climb high with smart and play.

WATCHED? LEADER AND ORDER PROTECT! APPLE orange. YELLOW. ok

00:05:00 We need seven wins.

**Nightblue3** in SUP SUP Blitz Jungle + viewer games chilling

00:04:30 Who's with me?

00:09:00 What do you guys think would be good for the runes? Anybody have any idea on that?

00:11:00 We're gonna try Blitzcrank 182 in this account.

00:16:00 Okay, check out this clear speed. Ready? Don't blink as you're gonna miss it. Tell me that's not nuts. Tell me with a straight face that that's not nuts.

00:23:00 I don't know what to get after this. You guys have any idea? You guys go full ap?<sup>184</sup>

00:29:00 You guys think it's a good idea?

00:57:00 Actually if there's anything else you guys wanna see that is more interesting let me know [...] new items, new jungle.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>181</sup> Short for Miss Fortune, i.e., a League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>182</sup> A League of Legends champion, also called "Blitz".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>183</sup> The speed with which minions, i.e., units that use basic attacks, are killed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>184</sup> Short for Ability Power, "a stat that increases the effectiveness of some abilities, items and runes" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

1:06:16 [response to xxgamer1<sup>185</sup>: blitz in PBE<sup>186</sup> can set camp monster<sup>187</sup> flying to the moon @Nightblue3] Yea I saw that change on the notes. It's funny.

1:21:00 No, we're good. SON OF A... it's fine. I didn't want gold anyway. Tryin' to live a less materialistic life. Tryin' to live a life of a... more simple life.

1:50:00 One thousand ap Fiddlesticks<sup>188</sup> or Leona<sup>189</sup> jungle? What are we gonna do? I'm actually to play everything again like we did before.

1:53:00 Let's do high noon, yes.

1:57:00 We should decide what mythic 190 we're gonna do here.

2:18:00 I'm starting to have my doubts for ap bruiser<sup>191</sup> Leona. Is anyone else also having doubts?

2:26:00 We should have stuck with ap. We kinda trolled. I blame chat.

**Nightblue3** in End of season climb | webcam has been located | aggressive junglers today | k'sante jg when he comes out

00:07:15 Alright bro what are we playing?

00:08:47 We are playing against TTV<sup>192</sup> loltyler1.

00:32:10 Someone wanted me to showcase how Zhonya's works. Like this [does Zhonya's] 2,5 seconds, count.

1:21:00 We need this win. This win is important to us.

**Jankos** in *ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER* , *NOT TOXIC*, *HONEST xdd*. *ONLY* WIN, ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND SEE !YT !DISCORD !PICKEM (29/9)

<sup>191</sup> A fighter.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>185</sup> The name of the commentator has been concealed for protection of his/her anonymity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>186</sup> Short for "Public Beta Environment, a testing realm for upcoming content" (League of Legends Wiki, n.d.).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>187</sup> A jungle's monster at the place where it spawns.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>188</sup> A League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>189</sup> A League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>190</sup> A category of items.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>192</sup> Abbreviation for Twitch.tv.

00:56:00 My mouse there. My mouse there. I promise you something really weird happened with my mouse. Like there was a demon, there was a demon taking possession over my mouse. I swear [readin comment by xxgamer7<sup>193</sup>: the demon is called age] it's called age? Hahaha fuck that's not good.

**RATIRL** in Chall Climb Friendly No Bard Incident F9 wins for

Chall 🖊 = 🎾

2:04:00 (Response to whether he mutes players): it's fun to see what they type, plus I feel that some of you guys want to see what they type too. I already tilt too much from it so it's whatever to me, I'm too used to it.

• Table 7. Classification of Streamers' Impolite Utterances according to Addressee(s).

# **Impolite Utterances and Discourse of Exclusion**

#### **Addressee(s): Teammates**

 $\textbf{loltyler1} \ \text{in} \ \textit{QUICK not wasted time} \ .. \ \textit{MOVE ! climb high with smart and play} \ .$ 

WATCHED? LEADER AND ORDER PROTECT! APPLE orange. YELLOW. ok

1:18:00 writes in chat: insanely/ dogshit/ players/ guys/ ff/ psl

1:19:00 Writes to his teammate in chat: yep/gc. 194

1:22:00 Why is this guy blaming Fiora? Give me the fuck out before I lose my fuckin mind. Like oh my god Fiora is on a 1v9 demon mode. Like bro she's not even playing. She didn't play the game. She sat in the fuckin side lanes. But you guys literally ran it the fuck down.

1:23:00 My fuckin' point. Get cancer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>193</sup> The name of the commentator has been concealed for protection of his/her anonymity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>194</sup> Abbreviation for 'get cancer'.

1:23:25 I'm not gonna lie I'm pretty fuckin' tilted. Not gonna lie. I'm pretty tilted. [he abandoned the game]. So despite how like this dogshit who looks like one trick twitch or whatever [...] bro we had a huge lead and not one of them did anything at any point of the game. We took baron, 196 no siege, no vision control, no rotating down botlane. Nothing. And even after that, didn't- like "oh Fiora 197's too strong" while she was side laning. [...] you fuckin' retards [...]

1:25:00 [while watching the replay] it's so disgusting to play [with these people]

1:29:00 Disgusting animals.

1:41:00 One reason I want to win this game is that so this dogshit Viego<sup>198</sup> loses. That's it.

1:45:00 Writes in chat to teammates: u really suck.

2:10:00 It's a waste of my fuckin' time bro.

2:24:00 Fuckin' dumbass.

2:44:00 Absolute garbage player bro [...] this is crazy how bad these kids are.

2:55:00 I got the same jungler. Yea we can't win. We can't win lads. He is horseshit.

loltyler1 in BEAST MODE BEATDOWN BEGIN! explain happen.. WELL JUST

GOTTED WINNER BUD SIMPLES! oh so easy you . YES! BUILT DIFFERENT

WITH SWAG POWER!

00:24:00 Auto, 199 you fuckin freak man.

00:03:52 Let's talk about NA.<sup>200</sup> You disgusting. Disgusting pieces of shit. Your sorry scrub bum paychecks healing bitch ass motherfucking bastards couldn't win one game. [...] you guys make zero content. You have no brands. You do not show

<sup>197</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>195</sup> When a gamer plays only one champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>196</sup> A jungle monster.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>198</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>199</sup> Meaning auto-attack.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>200</sup> Abbreviation for North America, meaning the players on that server.

up anywhere. You barely get flamed by anybody except maybe on twitter dms,<sup>201</sup> bro. I'm live ten hour-ish a day every sing- five days a week. I get that. Do you understand: I take the harassment 99% of the time. So when you lose, reminder: you're losing for me.

00:05:10 I'm saying they suck [...] I don't care bro they're trash. The most embarrassingly pathetic games I've ever seen in my life. [...] it's so cringe. [...] it's horrible, bro. You're terrible.

1:07:00 This Elise... is good.

1:58:00 Hit your shots kid. Holy fuck man.

**Nightblue3** in End of season climb | webcam has been located | aggressive junglers today | k'sante jg when he comes out

00:13:23 Oh she can hit a stun. It's possible.

00:14:56 Stop pinging me you bastards (and types in chat: we get it/ ur mom/ doesn't love u/ stfu)

00:18:53 Okay if he's dodging my spears, alright maybe I'm just bad at throwing spears. But if he's dodging Blitzcrank's- *this* Blitzcrank's hooks he's scripting.

00:21:02 Go behind me! Dude!! You're playing for fun!

00:26:09 He didn't even ping. Oh my god we have an ape. Oh wait. He might have pinged. I just have him muted. Hahaha [...] Hey asshole I have you muted [...] he was spamming me for no reason he was annoying he deserved to be muted.

**Nightblue3** in SUP SUP Blitz Jungle + viewer games chilling

00:02:20 Na is 0-9. Disgusting. Actually disgusting. I am actually a little upset because, you know why? Champions queue is exclusive. Only pro players can play champions queue, it's good for the server. Seven ping guys. We have seven ping.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>201</sup> Abbreviation for direct message.

Seven. Single digit. Surely we'll perform now. We have four imports on every team.

Surely we can perform now.

00:28:00 Sorry for the lag guys. NA internet. Just as good as their NA pro teams.

**Doublelift** in *late night CQ l* 

1:37:00 NA sort of brain.

**Trick2g** in *Masters Climb | !Geologie #sponsored*·

00:09:50 I don't understand why these fuck guys put me on smurf<sup>202</sup> queue.

00:14:00 Yo what's up pussy Kindred? If you're listening, you're dog shit. You hear me? Doooog shit.

00:20:54 Hey holy fuck he's so bad [...] just fuckin' braindead.

00:39:45 I wish I didn't build ap man, these guys are so bad I kinda just wanna fuckin' lose, these guys are just too stupid man [...] so dumb man.

00:44:00 Worst fuckin' players man [...] absolutely fuckin' braindead, they don't know how to play the game.

00:45:00 They think kill kill. It's not about killing dumbass [...] hopefully they lost their fuckin' promos.

1:20:00 Why do I get this fuckin guy on my team?

#### Trick2g in Masters Climb

00:22:00 Fuckin' disgusting this fuckin' player. I don't understand why. It changes the whole game like the game is over.

00:28:00 What the fuck you want me to do j4,<sup>203</sup> you stupid fuck? Fuckin' braindead man. Fuckin' dogshit jungler.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>202</sup> A player who deliberately plays with lower-ranked, i.e., less skilled players.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>203</sup> Short for Jarvan IV, a League of Legends champion.

00:31:00 I swear to God she doesn't know what she's doing [...] I'll show you why. I swear to God this guy looks like a fuckin' absolute first time, doesn't know how to play the champion just plays it because everyone is playing it.

1:22:00 Olaf is a fuckin loser.

1:53:00 Oh it's a fuckin beautiful day [...] they always help this trash Fiora man.

2:08:00 DON'T FUCKIN' SAVE ME. WTF. WTF. ARE YOU GUYS DOING (writing the same on chat)

2:10:00 Gotta be the one of the fuckin' worst jungler. Two fuckin' towers he said. Like are you fuckin' stupid? A free baron? You drop the rift,<sup>204</sup> you get the one and you get the fuckin' baron. I just kinda wanna fuckin' call it [meaning to surrender].

2:11:00 [writes on chat: GRAVES NO BRAIN] Aah fuck it man I'm tilted now.

2:12:00 Yo Twitch baby a big shout out to you for being such a dogshit player. This guy's been blown up four times in a row. That's just the worst death possible. Worst fuckin' death.

2:17:00 My brain now is lagging. When I see these guys playing, the decisions they make.

2:20:40 This dumbfuck took 2 towers. I'm sorry but you don't go two towers there.

2:24:00 You buy fuckin' Tiamat<sup>205</sup> and you go side lane you useless fuck, you know?

Jankos in ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY
WIN, ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND
SEE!YT!DISCORD!PICKEM (28/9)

2:04:00 Ff. just ff. like after this it's ff. like after this happened, it's just open. It's very tilting. Very very tilting.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>204</sup> Jungle monster.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>205</sup> An item in League of Legends.

# Jankos in ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY WIN, ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND SEE!YT!DISCORD!PICKEM (29/9)

00:21:08 I mean this gameplay is so toxic. Someone is playing toplane and is not really playing toplane [...] such a pointless gameplay.

00:50:01 If this guy plays only Katarina,<sup>206</sup> which his name heavily indicates, or if this guy is toxic, because Katarina players normally are toxic 90 % of the time, no fuckin' way should you be allowed to play champions queue.

1:32:50 You know if I become very bad at the game, then probably yea I would just retire, but I don't see a reason why I should retire when there are so many players that are worse. Like who? I don't wanna make drama. I can't give you names. But I just say that I'm confident in my ability to play the game.

2:12:00 I'm so glad you were there Camille. Without you we wouldn't had made it happen.

**TobiasFate** in *Masters+ - TF / GP (Off meta building and trying things) (25/10)* 

00:19:00 You fuckin' autist low you little retards. You backseat gaming you fuckin' trollabites, I'm gonna ban every one of you right now, your each getting fuckin' banned. You kids are so annoying bro. Your parents can't stand you, I can't stand you, society can't stand you. You're a fuckin' pest bro you're a fruit fly, Jesus Christ you kids are annoying. Holy fuck.

00:25:00 Fuckin' loser ass Viktor<sup>207</sup> players [...] completely uninteractive boring sleeper fuckin' experience.

00:32:00 You guys are fuckin' losers (for a build<sup>208</sup>).

<sup>207</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>206</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>208</sup> The items chosen and bought by a player.

00:40:00 Oh my god you kids are useless [...] you guys are dumb. No, I'm not baiting either you [Lucian wrote on chat: ur muted baiting us] you guys are just dumb you don't even fight you're so scared, you're winning... oh you're not winning. I thought they were winning, nevermind.

2:06:00 [multiple pinging Janna<sup>209</sup>] fuck this guy bro. Fuck this dude.

2:10:00 -yo how are things 2nd best GP NA?

-uh you know it's really good 3rd best GP NA [...] I come before you bitch [...] I just wanna win I don't give a fuck.

**TobiasFate** in *Masters+ - TF / GP (Off meta building and trying things) (26/10)* 

00:34:00 I'm playing for fun bro. Fuck this cancer community. I'm having fun next game. Kinda wanna go support. I don't really feel like trying today.

1:34:00 We deserve to lose bro. This team is trash. I say take the L move on you know? That's what I say.

1:46:00 Kai'sa's kind of a bitch. Look at that. Nevermind. Bro I think Kaisa's trolling.

1:49:00 There's a big wave, just dive this fuckin' bitch.

2:08:00 Where's Ekko?<sup>210</sup> Where's Ekko? (multiple pinging him) guys just get out of this game. I'm done, who cares?

2:15:00 Adc players are the worst they're all fuckin' retarded.

2:17:00 All ad carries [i.e., adc] are virgins, they're also losers and they're not self-sufficient fuckin' dogshit animals. [...] my adc is retarded and my nasus top is irrelevant.

2:18:00 Guys you talk about being bad at the game. Yea I think you're bad 15k [damage] I did 12,3 [with tank Kled support] Jesus guys. Holy smokes. Ad carries

~

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>209</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>210</sup> League of Legends champion.

are retarded bro. They're the worst fuckin' vermins in this community. They're parasites, they feed off of the support. They're parasites, they're really bad.

2:18:58 If I was ever an adc main I would never complain once about the supp. If the supp feeds or does anything like bro you can still perform as a solo ad carry. You dumbfuckin' idiots. It's like you've never played a solo lane in your life. Go play mid lane. You perform mid lane, you can perform bot lane bro. Your supp roams, the supp's doing stuff what do you want about? You're fine. Farm. It's so cringe. Playing solo's gonna make you so much of a better player. If you're only gonna play ad carry you're gonna know nothing. You're just bad.

2:20:00 It's like they can't perform any other task but suckin' off the support's giant dick, at least in my case.

RATIRL in Mentally 18, Bodywise 80, real age 25, = \$\infty\$ \$\inft

00:01:33 Now this guy doesn't know what to ban. Hahaha it's just too many bans so he doesn't know what to ban. He's confused. What a fuckin' dumb piece of shit.

00:03:21 There are two braincells just trying to keep it up together. These people.

**RATIRL** in Chall Climb Friendly No Bard Incident F9 wins for

Chall 🗹 = 🏖

1.21:00 Is it that hard to play Yuumi?<sup>211</sup> [...] He just instantly leaves. Every fuckin' support. Listen bro, don't jump out.

1:24:00 They're just like kindergarten? And there's like. Everybody's got a bad game move on, no you're stupid asking? That's the question you gotta answer before I ban you. We're playing in pretty much the highest elo in the video game and you're like "they're having a bad game". They can't even do the simplest of things [...] they're expected to know how to play a champion. There's nothing to do with a bad game.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>211</sup> League of Legends champion.

1:25:00 The fact that you're trying to defend these people while they're absolutely shit. Do you know how I know they're shit? Because they play in nlc<sup>212</sup>2.

1:40:00 Good job team. Let's not go for the Leona that doesn't have flash. Let's just go for the MF. Oh yea let's just take all my minions well I will totally play serious [while writing in chat: Twitch: im totally/ Gna play serious now

Viego: IM GIVING u/ Hearl/ Are u/ Esirous?

Twitch: dw take more cs

Viego: giving u 5 plates

Twitch: and fail gank

Lulu: muted

Viego: child]

1:42:00: He had a brain early. He legit had a brain early. And then he just lost it.

1:46:00 (for Aatrox<sup>213</sup>) hahah that stupid failed that thing on the wall [meaning his E].

1:51:00 Lulu come on man. Whose fault is that now? Imma ping him and he gets insanely mad. Watch. That's all Lulu's fault. [...] piece of shit.

1:55:00 He stopped? Use your fuckin' ability. Okay, I'm gonna fuckin' die idiot. But nothing is dying. Like what is that shit? What? The fuck? [...] No need antiheal. When did I ever say. What? Like, my dude, Lulu, I know you're listening to the stream, I understand you're probably fedding <sup>214</sup> me for attention but did I say anything about anti-heal?

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>212</sup> Abbreviation for the Northern League of Legends Championship.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>213</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>214</sup> Short for 'fed up'.

1:57:00 Look. I never even mentioned Mikael's. <sup>215</sup> I haven't been Sejuani's <sup>216</sup> ulted single time, I haven't been hit by Leona a single time, [reading Lulu's comment: imagine first timing twitch Xd] See? It's just a fat boy. First he calls me RATIRL and then he calls me first timing Twitch. Makes sense. He has a goldfish memory.

1:58:00 This is the highlight of the day probably. Of the week. There's a schitzo<sup>217</sup> typing, [reading Lulu's comment: report twitch thanks] See? [Lulu's comment: for being braindead] RATIRL types: lulu is a fan.

2:02:00 I will devour this Lulu.<sup>218</sup> Dude it's just a typical like... at first he's supp<sup>219</sup> man, so his IQ is always illimited.

2:02:20 [reading Azir's<sup>220</sup> comm: gg wp<sup>221</sup> x9<sup>222</sup> twitch] my dude you just got caught 1v5 and died. And I did ping again. See? My bad guys sorry my bad

2:13:00 [watching humzh<sup>223</sup>] he's gonna open my stream and he's gonna see me watch him maybe. [reading humzh's in game chat comment: ure piss low] hahaha [...] you are piss low into muted.

[watching humzh's stream: humzh: who the fuck even are you? Have a fucking coop first time and then call me]

RATIRL: That was your best advice for a beginner?

2:15:00 I'm gonna soft int<sup>224</sup> this game so this guy flames so it's gonna be some incidents this game unfortunately.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>215</sup> An item in League of Legends.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>216</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>217</sup> Short for 'schizophrenic'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>218</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>219</sup> Short for support.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>220</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>221</sup> Abbreviation for 'well-played'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>222</sup> It is used when a player suggests that all the other players (9) should report the remaining one.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>223</sup> A streamer.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>224</sup> Intentionally sabotage your team.

2:18:00 [for Lulu going roaming] see? Now he's doing the same thing again. Like what is this? He's doing the exact same play again. [multiple pinging question marks on Lulu] Like, where are you? And now we can't do anything bot. Oh yea ping on your way. You fuckin' ape.

2:19:00 What a fuckin' ape [...] The thing is that he's flaming. He says use map. He's like trying to do macro plays. Every single game.

2:23:00 This guy flamed everyone and then just locked camera, full viewed it.

2:24:00 Oh no. Unfortunate Lulu. We almost had it, we'll get them the next time.

2:24:30 I'm pretty sure this guy, I mean he's trolling because he's going ap varus and I'm trolling because I have this guy. So it's like whoever soft ints<sup>225</sup> the hardest wins the game, or loses. I don't know

2:28:00 My team is trying to dive an Ornn<sup>226</sup> [Lulu almost dies and flashes away] Hahaha you can't be serious. What the fuck am I watching. I mean I'm soft inting but this guy isn't even soft inting. He's just awful.

2:32:00 [reading Lulu's comment: why we stay ashe 227 side] that guy doesn't understand that I'm not playing serious. There's no way his IQ is that low. He wrote last game that he knows who I am. He literally has goldfish memory. He flamed me for being RATIRL last game and now he's just pretending to not know who I am. Like what do you want me to say? That guy is not the brightest.

2:36:00 flash ready okay [flashes] I mean he [Lulu] pinged my flash. I had to use it.

2:38:00 typing to Lulu: next game is ours lulu

3:09:00 [supposedly to Yuumi] W! W bitch. Wow you're telling me they just play like this? [meaning bad].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>225</sup> To intentionally throw the game.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>226</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>227</sup> League of Legends champion.

3:24:00 R [to Yuumi <sup>228</sup>]. Why? Why can't you just R? [chat: PLZ/JUST R /HIM/BRO/R/HIM] what are you waiting for? Whatever, now I'm tilted. [shouting] why can't you just R him so I can escape? I flashed in to escape [...] I'm so fuckin' tilted now actually. [...] then they blame me for being toxic.

# **Addressee(s): Opponents**

 $\textbf{loltyler1} \ \text{in} \ \textit{QUICK} \ \textit{not} \ \textit{wasted} \ \textit{time} \ .. \ \textit{MOVE} \ ! \ \textit{climb} \ \textit{high} \ \textit{with} \ \textit{smart} \ \textit{and} \ \textit{play} \ .$ 

WATCHED? LEADER AND ORDER PROTECT! APPLE orange. YELLOW. ok

00:28:00 That's gotta be an ff bro. Let's go!

00:29:10 Like fuckin GET THE FUCK OUT OF MY GAME. PUSSY. GO!

2:17:00 Are you mad bro? Do you play like trash?

2:30:00 Support diff you fuckin' shitters.

loltyler1 in BEAST MODE BEATDOWN BEGIN! explain happen.. WELL JUST

GOTTED WINNER BUD SIMPLES! oh so easy you . YES! BUILT DIFFERENT

WITH SWAG POWER!

00:35:00 Writes at the end of the game in chat: maybe/ff next time/ggez.

1:55:00 Bitch (after hitting Zac with tornado)

**Nightblue3** in End of season climb | webcam has been located | aggressive junglers today | k'sante jg when he comes out

00:30:32 TTV loltyler1 see? Better jungler wins. Told you guys. Everyone kept saying tyler is a better jungler but he's losing so I don't know. I don't know mate.

00:43:00 What a bunch of pussies. How do we get them out of our jungle? [writes in all chat: get out of my jg<sup>229</sup> kappachinos]. You think that works? You think that will

-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>228</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>229</sup> Abbreviation for jungle.

work? [...] it worked yea they actually got out of my jungle man. They got scared.

They got scared bro. they got Rengar<sup>230</sup> flashbacks, right?

**Trick2g** in *Masters Climb | !Geologie #sponsored*·

00:35:00 What are you doing bitch? Eh bitch? You're trash.

1:06:00 Hello pussy. You're traaash. You're traaash.

2:28:00 You guys are gonna be fuckin' juiced.

## Trick2g in Masters Climb

1:00:00 I ain't losing to some guy named Garry.

1:02:00 Wow this guy's fuckin awful.

1:56:00 I gotta play against this ape fuckin' Fiora<sup>231</sup> man.

1:58:00 Hahaha you're trash. Call your fuckin' mid laner. Fuckin' trash player man.

2:04:00 Aah you stupid bitch.

2:09:00 Come and fight me pussy.

2:18:00 types in all chat: YHOU NOT ME UDYR

2:19:00 What the fuck you gonna do? Get the fuck out of my champion.

2:20:00 When you have experience of thirteen years diving motherfuckers, and you done it before. Like I said experience, I can end the game there, cuz I know what the fuck I'm doing.

Jankos in ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY
WIN, ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND
SEE !YT !DISCORD !PICKEM (29/9)

00:29:01 [after killing Kalista] GET SMASHED!

2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>230</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>231</sup> League of Legends champion.

00:38:02 YES, YES KURWA.<sup>232</sup> Tryhard meta mimicking pro play. That point already makes my dick giga hard. [...] Already I'm so happy. Already it's not a failure, it's a fuckin success.

**TobiasFate** in *Masters+ - TF / GP (Off meta building and trying things) (25/10)* 

00:47:00 Enjoy the lp<sup>233</sup> loss you fuckin' losers.

00:48:00 Gimme the free win you little tumor ass champs.

00:38:00 You're such a virgin.

RATIRL in Mentally 18, Bodywise 80, real age 25, = 20 6 20 6 20 6

00:02:12 [chatting with friend]

-u typed ban reksai elise/probably last yasuo yone<sup>234</sup>

-ratirl: i/stream/u ape/go watch vid

00:02:18 Sett,<sup>235</sup> I mean yasuo [his chat friend], I know you're listening. You little gozy piece of shit.

## Addressee(s): Viewers

loltyler1 in QUICK not wasted time .. MOVE! climb high with smart and play.

WATCHED? LEADER AND ORDER PROTECT! APPLE orange. YELLOW. ok

00:37:00 You guys are such little babies. It's crazy like how Twitch chat has changed.

00:38:00 Twitch chat these days. Bro you guys are so spoiled like if something is I don't know. Even when I briefly raise my voice, all chat does is "WAYTOODANK,<sup>236</sup> WAYTOODANK. Oh my god". Back in the day when I used to yell, it was like a normal occurrence. You guys are little bitches. Shut your asses

up.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>232</sup> Polish insult meaning 'whore'.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>233</sup> Abbreviation for League Points, with which a player can level up.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>234</sup> League of Legends champions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>235</sup> League of Legends champion.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>236</sup> A Twitch emote.

00:45:00 [reading comment by xxgamer<sup>237</sup>: the other mic has a scratch sound at the end of every sentence] yes dumbass. I've used this mic for six years. I know the difference. What I was testing if it was actually the mic or a setting change when you plug in the new mic. But it's actually the mic it's broken in. Yes, dumbass. Don't tell me the fuckin' difference.

loltyler1 in BEAST MODE BEATDOWN BEGIN! explain happen.. WELL JUST

GOTTED WINNER BUD SIMPLES! oh so easy you . YES! BUILT DIFFERENT

WITH SWAG POWER!

1:56:00 [to a viewer] Yo deepshit I'm talking about him (pinging Olaf)

**Trick2g** in *Masters Climb | !Geologie #sponsored*·

00:53:00 Get the fuck out of my chat man [...] relax man you just ask stupid questions.

00:54:00 You guys have been following since 2016. Why are you all typing dumb shit? I mean there's no way you are watching me at fuckin' five years old and now you're thirteen.

**TobiasFate** in *Masters+ - TF / GP* (Off meta building and trying things) (26/10)

00:32:00 Alright it's sub mode you fuckin' retards. Enjoy not speaking dumbasses. It's also very laggy. And my team was also cancer as fuck but whatever.

Jankos in ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY
WIN, ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND
SEE!YT!DISCORD!PICKEM(28/9)

00:30:30 I'm not depressed. I'm chilling bro. you can't be so happy every day you know. [...] you just gotta chill bro, look at the fuckin' game and let me play the fuckin' game and it's fine. No? what's the fuckin' problem?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>237</sup> The name of the commentator has been concealed for protection of his/her anonymity.

Jankos in ULTRAMENTAL69 DISASTER, NOT TOXIC, HONEST xdd. ONLY
WIN, ONLY TILT, NO NEGATIVE, ONLY POSITIVE VIBE, COME AND
SEE !YT !DISCORD !PICKEM (29/9)

00:50:52 I also see people saying RATIRL is not toxic, but they are giga toxic.

1:14:00 People say I'm toxic right? Bro stop spamming or Imma ban you. Spamming is not fun.

1:17:00 [reading comment by xxgamer6<sup>238</sup>: doublelift brings viewership, nemesis doesn't] I mean that's like very stupid reason. That's just stupid. That is just stupid bro. If I have to play in champions queue with people that bring viewerships and they are terrible at the game then that's just stupid.

1:54:00 Is that American humour?

2:45:00 Why is this jerk all over my stream?

RATIRL in Mentally 18, Bodywise 80, real age 25, = \$\frac{1}{2} \lefta \infty \infty \lefta \lefta \infty \lefta \lefta \infty \lefta \lefta \infty \lefta \lefta \infty \infty \lefta \lefta \infty \infty \lefta \infty \

00:02:53 [when streaming] if you watch my baus video you get all these normie fanboys not to be like that but the YouTube comments on my newest video where baus is involved are so special. Half of them are like this guy is so toxic I don't wanna watch this. Why is he so toxic? Like this guy. And then I hit them with logic. Like the typical baus viewer. [...] and then u read this: [reading comm: just tired of ratirl's toxicity]. And then I say so why are you here watching? You're watching for 2 years [..] just cross the fuckin video then [...] man if I don't like a YouTube video I just fuckin leave the YouTube video. If I don't like a stream I leave the stream.

**RATIRL** in Chall Climb Friendly No Bard Incident F9 wins for

Chall = 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>238</sup> The name of the commentator has been concealed for protection of his/her anonymity.

2.08:00 [Reading comment by xxgamer8 <sup>239</sup>: WHAT ABOUT AP TWITCH

GAME ? :DDD] how about you talk normally so I don't ban you?

2:49:00 [reading comment: you're 20 iq] what you mean? [...] Write that again and you're perma<sup>240</sup> banned.

 $<sup>^{239}</sup>$  The name of the commentator has been concealed for protection of his/her anonymity.  $^{240}$  Slang for 'permanently'.