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Editor-in-chief

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Conventionalised Impoliteness Formulae Used by Tweeters against Trump

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Abstract:

Computer-mediated communication (CMC henceforth) is a fertile ground for research into impoliteness and face-threatening acts (FTAs). Additionally, CMC is inclined to be more confrontational than other modes of communication, such as face-to-face interaction (FtF) (Hardaker 2012: 71). Twitter is emerging as a rich research venue in studying a variety of disciplines, such as impoliteness towards politicians. In this study, Donald J. Trump, the 45th President of the United States (POTUS) is the target of impoliteness by politicians and journalists on Twitter during his first impeachment trial. The current study is unique in that impoliteness against Trump by politicians and journalists on Twitter has not been investigated. Another significant rationale for opting for this topic is that "impoliteness formulae" research has been ignored in the Iraqi scholarly domain of impoliteness; most researchers are still employing Culpeper's (1996; 2005) approach which handles strategies, rather than formulae .

Using a corpus of 18469 words that constitute 409 tweets of participants, the study mainly investigates conventionalised impoliteness formulae directed against Trump on Twitter during impeachment. It analyses tweets qualitatively, using Culpeper's (2011a) model of analysis. The study aims at answering research questions relating to discovering the preferred conventionalised impoliteness structures and formulae used against a person of such power as the POTUS. Results are preliminarily in line with Culpeper's model, and conclusions were reached successfully regarding questions asked and statements hypothesized .

Keywords: Pragmatics, Sociolinguistics, Impoliteness, Twitter.

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1. Introduction

At the turn of the 21st century, emerging Social Networking Sites (SNSs henceforth) have drastically changed communication procedures (Ean, 2011). People have started to regard emerging communication tools as an essential method for establishing a new model for everyday communication worldwide. Scholars also proposed that as SNSs have increased in prominence, they provide the opportunity for deliberative communication features (e.g. Baek et al., 2011; Manosevitch and Walker, 2009; Papacharissi, 2004 as cited in Oz et al., 2018). Twitter, as one of the most rapidly growing and successful CMC medium today is also evolving as a rich research platform for researchers studying social communication, knowledge sharing, and a variety of other topics. One of these topics is impoliteness against politicians, in this case, Donald Trump, the 45th POTUS.

Impoliteness, the domain of this study, has become commonplace in a number of CMC platforms, including Twitter. In this case, Twitter acts as a platform for showing impoliteness by explicitly insulting others. Impoliteness is described as an offensive expression aimed at the face of another individual (Culpeper, 1996). When speakers engage in impolite behaviour, they do so not only to avoid maintaining the addressee's face, but also to target them with insulting language (Bousfield, 2007). Despite the fact that the majority of people around the world already use the internet in their daily interactions, SNSs continue to be powerful platforms for engaging and interacting with people all around the planet (Acevedo, 2017). Because of the popularity of social media, this behaviour may be both supportive and harmful. In other situations, SNSs allow everyone to post, comment, criticize, insult, attack, and so forth. This fact, however, may lead people to ignore the proper way to perform online interaction. Most people assume that using SNSs preserve their rights; hence, some of them behave recklessly and disregard the importance of politeness. Thus, we conclude that human behaviour has changed as a result of modern technology, more specifically CMC, such as Twitter, Facebook, and other SNSs. Likewise, studies on politicians' usage of Twitter have revealed that they mainly use Twitter as a broadcasting medium (Theocharis et

al., 2016). Thus, politicians are a frequent subject of attacks in online exchanges. Culpeper (2005) also states that when people engage in impolite acts, they deliberately use insulting language to attack the target. In addition, Twitter and other SNSs are used to keep the rest of the world informed about global issues. For example, but not limited to, routinely disputes on Twitter between Donald Trump and other United States politicians, between Republicans and Democrats, and more specifically, impolite language usage against Trump by his rivals during the impeachment trial at the end of 2019 and the beginning of 2020, the current thesis domain. Though, the researcher does not intend to show Trump as either innocent or guilty throughout the study. Trump has frequently used impolite language during his presidency, more specifically through his Twitter handle @realDonaldTrump. Due to using offensive language that violated Twitter Rules, the account was permanently suspended by the company on January 8, 2021.

As Trump was known for his daily controversial tweets against his adversaries, a *New York Times* article on the internet counted 598 people and entities Donald Trump had insulted on Twitter until May 24, 2019 (Lee & Quealy 2019). The researcher has found out that 63 people, mostly politicians and journalists have counterattacked Trump as reactions to attacks already made by him. As such, there were 33 politicians and 26 journalists, as well as 4 other entities among them. The criteria for including people as participant to this study are simple: they have reacted to Trump and their Twitter accounts are verified; then, their tweets are investigated during Trump's impeachment trial to find various linguistic impoliteness formulae in their tweets.

Following the introductory section, the second section states the problem of the study and the research questions, section three tackles the aims of the study, and section four proposes research hypotheses. The next section reviews prominent literature on (im)politeness, paying more credit to impoliteness formulae. Section six includes data collection and methodology. While in section seven the discussion will include various tweets and analyses them qualitatively. The outcome of the process of analyses is represented in this section, that is the corpus is elaborated qualitatively,

analysing examples of tweets to find out different impoliteness formulae used against Trump applying Culpeper's (2011a) model of analysis, it handles conventionalised impoliteness formulae exclusively. The study shows that all impoliteness formulae were applicable to the Twitter corpus of this study, except both "condescensions", and "dismissals". Finally, the researcher discusses the results of the analysis as a whole and explains the findings, and the percentage of the formulae occurred in the analysis section in order to prepare a comprehensive conclusion for the research in section eight.

It should be noted that the researcher is aware that the specific home for (im)politeness phenomena is interactional socio-pragmatics (Culpeper 2011a; Culpeper et al., 2017). However, this study is conducted to take into account sociolinguistic variables, such as occupation, since the study's participants (tweeters) are mostly politicians and journalists. Politicians who represent the voice of the people, and journalists, as members of the media tasked with reporting the news; similarly, the target of the offence—Trump—is also attributed to a social class.

2. Statement of the Problem

There is a gap in knowledge to be filled here since impoliteness and offence towards Donald Trump have received less attention to the extent that they are almost ignored in the literature. The focus of this study is placed on such notions and more specifically conventionalised impoliteness formulae against Trump on Twitter, as an essential CMC medium, by politicians and journalists.

Furthermore, in the Iraqi scholarly circle of linguistics, literature on impoliteness has mostly neglected "impoliteness formulae" research, which is more recent than "impoliteness strategies". This problem has encouraged the current work to fill in the gap by looking at impoliteness from another perspective. It specifically pursues to answer the following research questions:

1. What are the structures of conventionalised impoliteness formulae in politicians' and journalists' Twitter posts targeted at Donald Trump?
2. What are the conventionalised impoliteness formulae used by politicians and journalists against Donald Trump on Twitter?

3. Have politicians and journalists used impoliteness formulae differently against Trump on Twitter?

3. Aims of the Study

In line with the research questions posed regarding impoliteness towards Trump by politicians and journalists on Twitter, this study tackles the following aims:

1. Identifying the structures of conventionalised impoliteness formulae used by politicians and journalists against Trump on Twitter.
2. Revealing the conventionalised impoliteness formulae used by politicians and journalists against Trump on Twitter.
3. Finding out the differences between conventionalised impoliteness formulae used by politicians and journalists against Trump on Twitter.

4. Hypotheses

In terms of the previously mentioned aims, the following hypotheses are proposed regarding impoliteness towards Trump by politicians and journalists on Twitter:

1. The structure of insults in conventionalised impoliteness formulae is different in a CMC platform like Twitter.
2. The conventionalised impoliteness formulae are used by politicians and journalists against Trump on Twitter.
3. Some impoliteness formulae against Trump, such as threats, are used by politicians but not journalists on Twitter.

5. Literature Review: Impoliteness

Socio-pragmatics is the primary area for impoliteness studies but most noticeably communication studies and interactional sociolinguistics. Most work on politeness has been developed in this domain so, it seems rationale that impoliteness, should also be here, since impoliteness is oriented towards 'explaining communicative behavior'. Another factor is that impoliteness suits with the socio-pragmatics study agenda. (Culpeper, 2011a: 5).

Impoliteness, according to Culpeper (2011a), is a multidisciplinary area of research that can be studied in various fields such as sociology, psychology, history, industry, and literary studies. He also believes that impoliteness occurs during social interaction. On the other hand, according to Brown and Levinson's (1987 [1978])

principle, any behaviour that seeks to preserve the addressee's face is polite; by contrast, any behaviour that threatens the addressee's face is impolite, that is, an impolite act is the lack of politeness. Furthermore, impoliteness is characterized as a premeditated attack on the face of another (Archer, 2008; Bousfield, 2008; Limberg, 2009).

Contrary to Bousfield (2008), and Wieczorek (2013), Leech believes that "the best way to start theorizing about impoliteness is to build on a theory of politeness, which is clearly related phenomena and, in fact the opposite of politeness" (Leech, 2014, p. 219). Culpeper did exactly that in his first influential paper. It is pretty simple to explain harsh speaking at this stage. But it is not clear how to tell the difference between impoliteness and mock politeness on a linguistic level.

However, when it comes to detecting impoliteness, the speaker's intentions is critical, but determining the speaker's intent is difficult. Impoliteness is said to be intentional if the speaker's purpose is to damage the hearer's feelings. According to Culpeper, certain linguistic elements are impolite both in and out of context. He refers to this as "experiential norms," which he describes as the most important aspect in determining politeness and impoliteness, that is, where a behaviour is founded on one principle, it is considered polite; when it is based on another, it is considered impolite (Culpeper, 2008: 29).

Impoliteness, according to Culpeper, is defined as "the use of strategies that are designed to have the opposite effect – that of social disruption. These strategies are "oriented towards attacking face, an emotionally sensitive concept of the self" (Culpeper, 1996: 350). This is the first definition, and it reflects Brown and Levinson's definition of politeness. Impoliteness, according to Culpeper, is directed at the addressee's face desires (whether positive or negative), rather than encouraging social unity. Later on, Culpeper et al. (2003: 1546) expands on this concept, rephrasing it as "communicative strategies designed to attack face, and thereby cause social conflict and disharmony". Following that, Culpeper's (2005: 38) concept was expanded further when he included the speaker's "intention" as an essential factor in conducting

impoliteness, "impoliteness comes about when: (1) the speaker communicates face attack intentionally, or (2) the hearer perceives and/or constructs behavior as intentionally face-attacking, or a combination of (1) and (2)."

In Culpeper's later works, (for example, Culpeper 2010: 3233; 2011a: 23) he proposes a revised definition of impoliteness that takes into account negative behaviour, context, potential intentions, and perceptions of participants: "Impoliteness is a negative attitude towards specific behaviours occurring in specific contexts. It is sustained by expectations, desires and /or beliefs about social organisation, including, in particular, how a person's or a group's identities are mediated by others in interaction. Situated behaviours are viewed negatively – considered 'impolite ' – when they conflict with how one expects them to be, how one wants them to be and/or how one thinks they ought to be. Such behaviour always has or is presumed to have emotional consequences for at least one participant, that is, they cause or are presumed to cause offence. Various factors can exacerbate how offensive an impolite behaviour is taken to be, including for example whether one understands a behaviour to be strongly intentional or not". However, this definition is explained all over Culpeper' (2011a) and remained the same.

According to Locher & Bousfield (2008: 3) impoliteness "is face-aggravating in a particular context." Bousfield's (2008: 72) description of impoliteness is the intentional communication of gratuitous and conflictive verbal face-threatening acts that are delivered: (1) unmitigated, in contexts where mitigation is needed, and/or (2) with deliberate aggression, that is, with the face threat exacerbated, 'boosted,' or maximised in some way to heighten the face damage inflicted.

In addition, impoliteness is defined by Holmes et al., 2008 as "linguistic behaviour assessed by the hearer as threatening her or his face or social identity, and infringing the norms of appropriate behaviour that prevail in particular contexts and among particular interlocutors, whether intentionally or not". Besides, Tracy and Tracy (1998: 227) define impoliteness as: "communicative acts perceived by members of a social community (and often intended

by speakers) to be purposefully offensive". Furthermore, Culpeper (2018: 2) refers to "linguistics impoliteness" as: "language that is used to cause offence or is perceived to cause offence". Finally, Culpeper and Tantucci (2021: 147) redefine im/politeness and adopt Culpeper (2011)'s general concept of im/politeness, with some modifications: "([i]m)politeness is an evaluative attitude, ranging on a positive-negative continuum, towards specific in-context-behaviours. Such behaviours are viewed positively – considered "polite" – when they are in accord with how one wants them to be, how one expects them to be and/or how one thinks they ought to be. The converse is the case for behaviours considered 'impolite'".

5.1 From Impoliteness Strategies to Impoliteness Formulae

The debate about whether linguistic expressions are inherently polite or impolite has raged on for decades. However, some of the debate is "mis-framed" (Culpeper 2016: 208). The researcher is with the view, parallel to that of Culpeper that impoliteness is not inherent in language. Some scholars, such as Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that (im)politeness is inherent in linguistic expressions and is included inside the conceptual context of a statement. They are "form-driven and speaker-driven" (Culpeper 2011a: 122).

Watts (2003: 168), Locher and Watts (2005: 78), and again Locher (2006: 250) are among those who disagree with this viewpoint. Nonetheless, Terkourafi (1999) recommends examining both concrete linguistic expressions, such as formulae, and specific contexts of use, such as frames correlated with impoliteness.

Some scholars have challenged and criticised impoliteness strategies mostly for the same reasons Brown and Levinson's (1987) model has been questioned; and most criticisms was towards superstrategies (Culpeper 2016: 427; Culpeper et al., 2017: 209). Bousfield (2008), for example, proposed two adjustments for superstrategies. The first one is merging positive and negative impoliteness together, since it is hard to make a meaningful distinction otherwise; and the second realisation is that the bald on-record type includes the face too. Nevertheless, it is essential to mention three issues concerning the context (ibid). The first issue is that Culpeper's list of strategies is derived from "British English culture"; there might be variations with other societies. The second

one is that the variety of a group like British English "belies" its existence. Many professional societies build highly specialised impoliteness strategies. Finally, the general argument to emphasize is that we should never presume that an impoliteness strategy is always performing impoliteness. Calling someone's name, for instance, may be meant as a joke and thereby serves to strengthen bonds rather than causes insult. Another scholar who also criticised the strategies was Blas Arroyo (2001) (as cited in Culpeper 2016; Culpeper et al., 2017), who was not satisfied with the concept of strategy; impoliteness strategies, according to him, range from those defined by precise linguistic specifics (for example, 'personalise, usage of the pronouns "I" and "you") to general functional types (for example, 'frighten'). Besides, organising impoliteness strategies along a dimension of directness are difficult because of the difficulties inherent in deducing directness. (Culpeper et al., 2017: 210).

The cornerstone of Culpeper's model is Terkourafi's (2001) frame-based approach to politeness (Culpeper 2011a: 113; Culpeper 2016: 421). Culpeper (2011a: 255-6) considers linguistic structures as well as sociocultural experiences of specific communities of practice and routines. Culpeper's impoliteness triggers, as shown in Figure 1, incorporate conventionalised impoliteness formulae with non-conventionalised impoliteness (implicational impoliteness). In addition, Culpeper (2016: 442) asserts that the proposed model "is not based on uncertain dimensions like directness, but on the regularities of linguistic behaviours in particular social contexts". However, the list of formulae was compiled solely from his findings, and his study participants regarded the instances in the data as impolite, hence there might be more formulae and strategies in other social contexts (Culpeper 2016: 442-3).
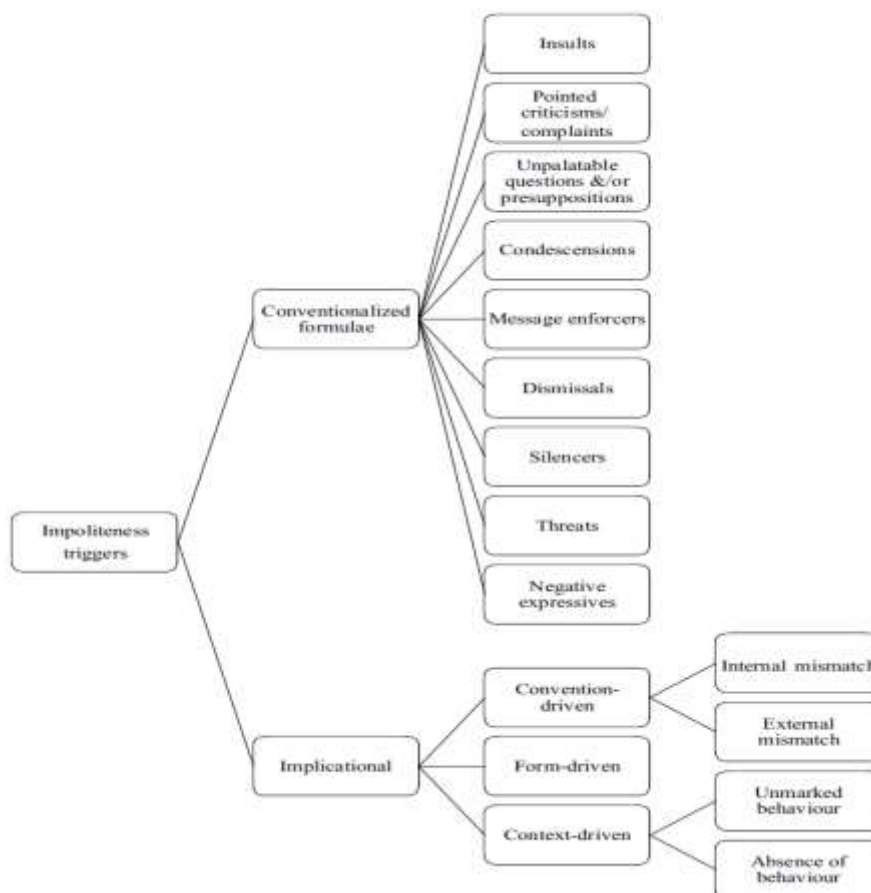
Figure 1: A bottom-up model of impoliteness triggers

5.2 Conventionalized Impoliteness Formulae

For building impoliteness impacts, Culpeper proposed conventionalised impoliteness formulae, that is, linguistic and behavioural elements. The concern was how an impoliteness formula could be conventionalised. This can be accomplished when it is applied often in certain contexts (Culpeper 2011a: 135-136). Consequently, Culpeper (2010: 3240) promotes impoliteness strategies, and proposes the conventionalised impoliteness formulae and then further expands the model in Culpeper (2011a).

Culpeper (2011a) also chose to survey two rudeness "manuals" aimed at daily situations, including private. Both have to do with the

cultural background of North America. The first one is Jill A. Montry's (2002) *How To Be Rude!* A Training Manual for Mastering the Art of Rudeness which is a humorous parody of etiquette manuals. Rather than teaching the reader how to be polite, it teaches them how to be impolite. Culpeper takes the humorous guidelines for being impolite, removes non-communicative behaviours, such as sneezing without covering your mouth, and then groups the items of the manual. A synopsis of an item in the book is shown below (as cited in Culpeper 2011a: 109):

> *Insults (including derogatory statements and implications):*
> *Producing or perceiving a display of low values for some target*
> *(cf. Face (any type))*
> - Make derogatory statements about people of another race, religion, or lifestyle, preferably when those people are within earshot. (p. 6)

The second rudeness manual Culpeper (2011a) surveyed is Catherine Rondina and Dan Workman's (2005) *Rudeness: Deal With It If You Please*. The objective of the book is to tell the reader 'how to deal with rudeness whether you are the offender, the offended or the witness' (ibid). After grouping the items of this second manual, "the same groups… emerged", except "the addition of Taboo behaviours" (Culpeper 2011a: 111).

These rules were easy to identify even from a British cultural viewpoint. All the items, surprisingly, fit into Culpeper's (1996), which suggested a taxonomy of impoliteness strategies. In essence, it is at the pragmatic level where this approach may have the most effect: it excels at catching pragmatic strategies in which impoliteness formulae may or may not be involved (Culpeper 2010: 3241). Thus, the scope of impoliteness study is expanded. The concern is that, while this approach is useful for identifying impolite pragmatic strategies, it does not assess individual linguistic expressions (Culpeper 2011a: 153). Hence, Culpeper focused on particular contexts in which impolite expressions were commonly prevalent, such as exploitative TV shows, and army recruit training, as well as data collected from participants of his study who identified them as impolite (Culpeper 2011a: 130). Then, he

categorised the results by similarities and examined their occurrence as well as their identification as impolite entities using the *Oxford English Corpus*, resulting in a pattern. As a result, he proposes the impoliteness formulae shown below. The square brackets are intended to indicate some of the formulae's structural characteristics, and slashes are used to represent alternatives. (Culpeper 2011a: 135):

Insults

1. **Personalized negative vocatives**
– [you] [fucking/rotten/dirty/fat/little/etc.]
[moron/fuck/plonker/dickhead/
berk/pig/shit/bastard/loser/liar/minx/brat/slut/squirt/sod/bugger/etc.]
[you]

2. **Personalized negative assertions**
– [you] [are] [so/such a]
[shit/stink/thick/stupid/bitchy/bitch/hypocrite/
disappointment/gay/nuts/nuttier than a fruit cake/hopeless/pathetic/
fussy/terrible/fat/ugly/etc.]
– [you] [can't do] [anything right/basic arithmetic/etc.]
– [you] [disgust me] / [make me] [sick/etc.]

3. **Personalized negative references**
– [your] [stinking/little]
[mouth/act/arse/body/corpse/hands/guts/trap/
breath/etc.]

4. **Personalized third-person negative references** (in the hearing of the target)
– [the] [daft] [bimbo]
– [she]['s] [nutzo]

Pointed criticisms/complaints
– [that/this/it] [is/was] [absolutely/extraordinarily/unspeakably/etc.]
[bad/rubbish/crap/horrible/terrible/etc.]

Unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions
– why do you make my life impossible?
– which lie are you telling me?
– what's gone wrong now?
– you want to argue with me or you want to go to jail?

– I am not going to exploit for political purposes my opponent's youth and
inexperience.

Condescensions *(see also the use of 'little' in Insults)*
– [that] ['s/ is being] [babyish/childish/etc.]

Message enforcers
– listen here (preface)
– you got [it/that]? (tag)
– do you understand [me]? (tag)

Dismissals
– [go] [away]
– [get] [lost/out]
– [fuck/piss/shove] [off]

Silencers
– [shut] [it] / [your] [stinking/fucking/etc.] [mouth/face/trap/etc.]
– shut [the f*ck] up

Threats
– [I'll/I'm/we're] [gonna] [smash your face in/beat the shit out of you/box your
ears/bust your fucking head off/straighten you out/etc.] [if you don't] [X]
– [you'd better be ready Friday the 20th to meet with me/do it] [or] [else] [I'll]
[X]
– [X] [before I] [hit you/strangle you]

Negative expressives *(e.g. curses, ill-wishes)*
– [go] [to hell/hang yourself/fuck yourself]
– [damn/fuck] [you]

<div align="center">(Culpeper 2011a: 135-6)</div>

The impoliteness formulae are exclusive to Culpeper's study and do not constitute a body of English-conventionalized impoliteness formulae. Furthermore, the proposed formulae are not a series of defined expressions; each component has certain optionality. Impolite phrases and taboo terms, such as swear words, occur less often in Culpeper's (2011a: 130) data than polite expressions, such

as *please* and *thank you*. These taboo terms are commonly used in combination with the impoliteness formulae described above.

6. Data Collection and Methodology

The study's data is gathered from an online platform, Twitter, as part of social networking service. A corpus of (18469) tokens which constitutes 409 tweets is gathered to be analysed qualitatively. Thus, the data is naturally occurring data, that is, the researcher has no influence on the occurrence of the data, which means it happened in spite of researcher's position (Potter, 1996). The data collection procedure was time consuming as all tweets were collected manually as described below. It is also obvious that Trump's impeachment trial occurred on December 18, 2019 and lasted for 1 month, 2 weeks and 4 days (48 days), who was then acquitted on February 5, 2020. Thus, the final date of impeachment represents the start of data collection from participants, and the data represents the same time period of impeachment (tweets of 48 days).

After finding a list of people on a *New York Times (2019)* article which includes 598 people and other entities Trump has attacked on Twitter since he had taken over the reins of power as the POTUS (Lee & Quealy 2019), the researcher opted for those tweeters with verified Twitter accounts who attacked Donald Trump during his impeachment trial.

7. Discussions and Analysis

"The President is claiming that he "saved pre-existing conditions."
He's lying. Again. Let's review the record"

(@SenBobCasey, 2020)

In this section a detailed description is given of how tweets are used to cause offence towards Donald Trump by politicians and journalists on Twitter. This description is based on a corpus of 409 tweets as shown in Table 1 below. The analysis of the data is based on Culpeper's (2011a) model of impoliteness formulae.

#	Occupation	No. of Tweeters	No. of Tweets
1	Politicians	33	207
2	Journalists	26	154
3	Attorneys	2	23
4	Actors/Actresses	1	9
5	Climate Activists	1	16
	Total no.	63	409

Table 1: List of analysed tweets per occupation

My corpus comprises 485 occurrences of impoliteness triggers, that is, linguistic formulae which can be classified as incorporating language use which is open to an interpretation as impolite. Figure 2 shows a summary of the distribution of impoliteness formulae as defined by Culpeper (2011a). In qualitative studies, nonetheless, absolute objectivity in labeling linguistic codes is undoubtedly elusive, and the same code may be assigned to categories differently by different researchers, since it is related to the researcher's personal understanding (see also Paltridge & Phakiti 2010: 41).
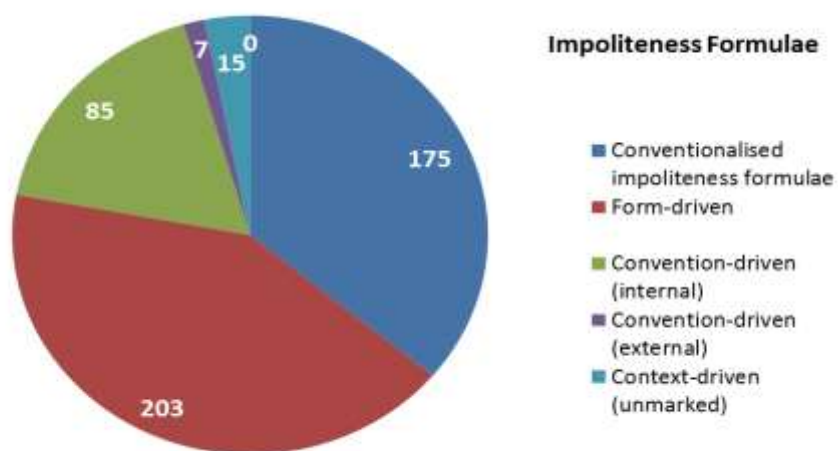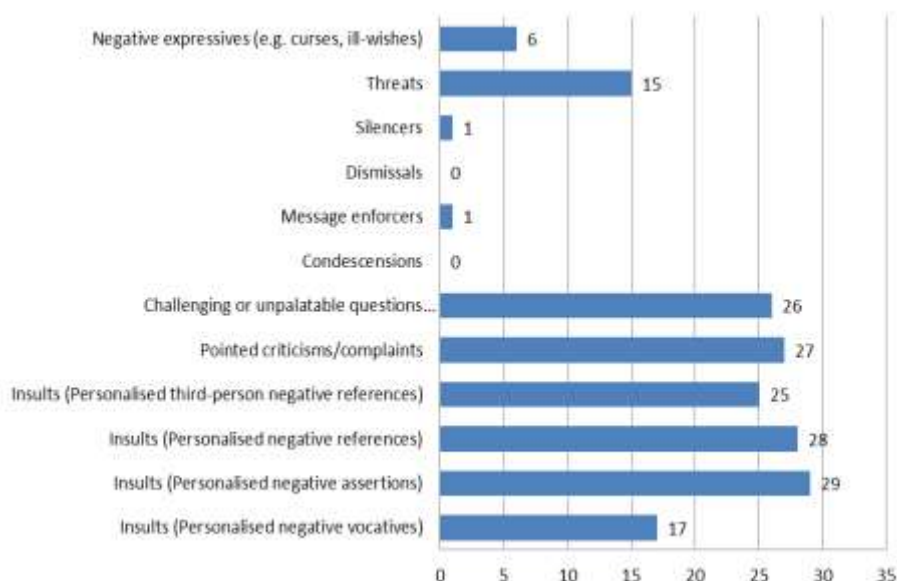

Figure 2: Distribution of impoliteness formulae in tweets

7.1 Conventionalised Impoliteness Formulae

This sub-section aims at exploring different types of conventionalised impoliteness formulae to find out which formulae are favoured by tweeters in their tweets towards Trump as the following:

As shown in Figure 3 below, "personalised negative assertions", "personalised negative references", "pointed criticisms/complaints", "challenging or unpalatable questions and/or presuppositions", and "personalised third-person negative references", respectively, are preferable selections of conventionalised impoliteness formulae by tweeters. It can also be noted that all of Culpeper's (2011a) conventionalised impoliteness formulae can be found in my data, except "dismissals" and "condescensions".

Figure 3: Distribution of conventionalised impoliteness formulae

In the following, instances of each of the conventionalised impoliteness formulae in Figure 3 will be discussed, following the same sequence as introduced by Culpeper (2011a: 135).

7.1.1 Insults

In this part, the usage of insults as conventionalised impoliteness formulae is analysed in tweets by politicians and journalists, and other participants where applicable. This classification includes four types of insults as proposed by Culpeper (2011a: 135). Figure 4

shows the frequency and percentage of each type of insults which together make up 99 formulae or %57 of conventionalised impoliteness formulae, as will be discussed below:
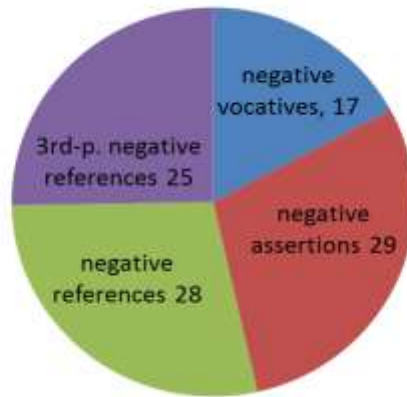
Figure 4: Frequency of insults

7.1.1.1 Personalised negative vocatives

The data includes 17 instances of personalised negative vocatives. In this type of insult, four similar structures are used to insult Trump, for example the structure [noun] which is used by a journalist, who favoured an insult of this kind such as referring to Trump as "coward" which makes a derogatory remark to the target. Note the typographically capitalized referent "YOU" at the beginning of the tweet refers to Trump, which will make him feel upset and annoyed. Note also the noun "coward" is usually perceived as a negative or impolite term in everyday interactions and in the context of example (1) below it solely refers to Trump, as well as GOP Chairwoman, Ronna McDaniel, who was also tagged in the tweet. It seems that the tweeter attacks Trump's morality, assuming that Trump is manipulating and cheating in the GOP primary election. Besides, the same tweet contains 2 "challenging/unpalatable questions", which will be discussed in (7.1.1.6).

(1)
[Situation: Trump, supposedly canceling primaries and keeping other GOPs off the election]

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"Why are YOU and @GOPChairwoman rigging the GOP primary by canceling primaries and keeping others off the ballot? What are you afraid of, coward?"

7.1.1.2 Personalised negative assertions

Personalised negative assertions occurred 29 times in my corpus. Note that personalized negative assertion is used by almost most tweeters in their tweets against Trump. This type of formula tends to be used by tweeters to state or declare disbelief against Trump, especially when the latter acted in a suspicious manner or what was said by Trump was considered a lie or a false/untrue deed. Consider (2) by Michael Avenatti, who is an attorney, tweets "Trump is a liar" after Trump said the Iranian General Qassem Solemeini was plotting "imminent" attacks on U.S. interests but later on many American media outlets reveal that Trump has already authorised the mission 7 months before the assassination was performed. Consider also (3), tweeted by a politician, Paul Begala, expressing impolite belief that "@realDonalTrump is not fit to carry Mr. Dingell's boots" as a reaction to defend former congressman, John Dingell, after being attacked by Trump, assumingly unjustly. Note here the tweeter tags Trump's Twitter handle @realDonalTrump, i.e., he mentions Trump's Twitter username so can he be notified of the insult as well directly, not just the followers.

(2)

[situation: Trump said the Iranian General Qassem Solemeini was plotting "imminent" attacks on U.S. interests, but American media outlets reveal that Trump has already authorised the mission 7 months before the assassination was performed]

"I guess "imminent" means 7 months ago. Trump is a liar."

(3)

[situation: Trump attacks former congressman, John Dingell]
"John Dingell served our country in World War II. He was the longest-serving Member of the House in history, was instrumental in passing Medicare, Civil Rights, Clean Air

Act, & more. @realDonaldTrump is not fit to carry Mr. Dingell's boots. How dare Trump disparage his memory."

The underlined is clearly a personalised negative assertion bearing in mind that it is personalised in the third-person sense, with Culpeper's condition of the hearer being 'present' represented by the handle @realDonaldTrump which directly addresses the target. Note also this type of insult is used by politicians when there is something important at risk, such as climate activism.

7.1.1.3 Personalised negative references
My data contain 28 instances of personalised negative references. In this type of insult, a distinctive trait of Trump, such as his body part, is disparaged or mentioned in a negative manner. It should be noted that some tweeters refer to an aspect of Trump's personality, behaviour, ideology, belief; while others comment on his policy, decision, judgment, etc. See (4), in which, an attorney like Michael Avenatti refers to Trump's ass, which is impolite; or (5), where Rick Wilson uses the same formula:

> (4)
> "Graham and McConnell: "We are outraged that the Democrats will not send us the impeachment articles so we can ignore our constitutional duty, clear the President immediately with a bogus trial, put party over country, and generally continue to kiss Trump's ass.""
> (5)
> "A friend asks: "How can any Republican's head end up on a pike if it's already stuck up Trump's ass?""

7.1.1.4 Personalised third-person negative references
Personalised third-person negative references are used 25 times in the dataset. See (6) where a journalist, Lawrence O'Donnell refers to Trump as "the stupidest man". The structure of this formula is (demonstrative + adjective + noun), which is the same as the one proposed in Culpeper (2011a).

> (6)
> "If Trump lawyers are trying to defend Trump against the accusation that he's the stupidest man in the world, here's

more evidence they must suppress: he thinks an American invented the wheel."

7.1.1.5 Pointed Criticisms/Complaints

My data contain 27 occurrences of pointed criticisms/complaints, all of which are in line with the structure [that/this/it] [is/was] [adv] [adj] proposed in (Culpeper 2011a: 135) such as "this is absolutely bad". With 17 instances of usage, this type of conventionalized impoliteness formula is a preferred choice by politicians among others, and considering Joe Biden, to be the most frequent tweeter of this type with 5 occurrences in his tweets, such as "it's a disgrace", "the idea…… is disgusting". Consider (7) in which he criticises Trump's decision to ban immigrants based on wealth, which he calls "a cruel betrayal".

> (7)
> [Situation: Trump imposes travel ban against immigrants based on wealth]
> "<u>The decision</u> to allow the Trump Administration to discriminate against immigrants based on wealth <u>is a cruel betrayal</u> of our values. The next four years could have a generational impact on our federal courts — we have to make Donald Trump a one-term president."

7.1.1.6 Challenging or Unpalatable Questions and/or Presuppositions

With 26 occurrences of usage this type is also relatively prevalent compared to other types of conventionalized impoliteness formula discussed so far. With 17 instances of usage used by 13 tweeters, politicians are the most frequent users of this type of formula, while the rest of the occurrences are used by journalists who do not seem to prefer this impoliteness formula. An unpalatable question such as the one proposed in Culpeper (2011a: 135) "which lie are you telling me?" is widely used against Trump among the occurrences. See (8) by former Senator Al Franken who tweets an unpalatable question for White House counsel which presupposes an impolite belief held by his Twitter followers that Trump has never cared

about corruption or being "AGAINST" it. Note the use of typographical capitalisation by the addresser which represents prosody of anger and shouting as noted in Krohn (2004: 323) "Anger and shouting are indicated by typing in all capital letters".

> (8)
> [situation: Trump's impeachment trial]
> "Question for WH counsel: <u>Do you have any evidence that Donald Trump has ever cared about corruption?</u> And by that we mean being AGAINST it? #ImpeachmentTrial"

7.1.1.7 Message Enforcers and Silencers

Message enforcers such as "you got it/that" (Culpeper 2011a: 135) occur merely one time in the data as shown below in (9). In this instance the tweeter, Tony Schwartz, after accusing Trump of seeking revenge upon his critics and comparing him with assumingly non-democratic leaders, terminates the utterance with a message enforcer so that his followers think about what has been said beforehand at the beginning of the tweet. I am aware that this formula is not exclusively intended to offend Trump in its own, but what makes it impolite in this context is its usage with an implicational impoliteness trigger.

> (9)
> [situation: Unites States 2020 Presidential campaign]
> "No American who has publicly criticized Donald Trump is safe if he is reelected. This is the reality all Russians face with Putin; North Koreans with Kim Jong-Un; Filipinos with Duterte; Syrians under Al-Assad; Turks under Erdogan. And others. <u>You get the point</u>."

Silencers also occur merely one time in the data which corresponds to the formula "shut [the fuck] up" proposed in (Culpeper 2011a: 135). See (10) in which a journalist Tony Schwartz preferred a usage of silencer "shut the hell up" which is mixed with two genuine insults, a personalized negative assertion "you are a horrendous human being" and a personalized negative reference "your deep inner emptiness". What is noted in this tweet is that the interlocutor aims at Trump directly by uttering "Here's what I want to say to Donald Trump", addressing his first and last name then uses a silencer, our formula under scrutiny. Furthermore, it is not

the mixing strategy that guarantees the offence but it exacerbates the impolite assumption toward Trump. In doing so, that is, using a silencer, the journalist is "[p]roducing [……….] a display of behaviours considered emotionally repugnant" (Culpeper 2011a: 256).

> (10)
> [situation: Trump's impeachment trial]
> "Here's what I want to say to Donald Trump: <u>Shut the hell up</u>. You have committed countless crimes, you are a horrendous human being who seeks only to become a dictator, and even that won't make you feel any better. We are the victims of your deep inner emptiness."

7.1.1.8 Threats

This type of conventionalised impoliteness formulae occurs 15 times in my corpus, which is used exclusively by politicians in their tweets, against Trump. Subsequently it means that journalists and other interlocutors did not employ any threat towards Trump in the dataset. It might be because of the nature of their career and relative power differential with Trump. It is noteworthy to mention that 11 threats of these are used by four Democratic nominees running for 2020 U.S. President[1]. We should consider that these threats are used to counterattack one of Trump's actions (e.g., abuse of power, travel ban), and in each threat a critical aspect of Trump's character is at stake that has negative consequences to his face (e.g., removing from office, conviction at impeachment trial). Consider (11) where Mike Bloomberg threatens to remove Trump from office if the Senate, which is Trump's Republican majority, does not act doing so. Note here during impeachment trial Trump was accused of abuse of power and obstruct the Congress.

> (11)
> [situation: Trump's impeachment trial at the Senate]
> "It's time for the Senate to act and remove Trump from office. <u>If they won't do their jobs, this November you and I will</u>."

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[1] The *NYT* list of 2020 Presidential nominees
https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/us/politics/2020-presidential-candidates.html

7.1.1.9 Negative Expressives (curses, ill-wishes)

The last type of conventionalised impoliteness formula is a dispreferred strategy by participants of Twitter in the corpus. Negative expressives such as [damn/fuck] [you] (Culpeper 2011a: 135) only occurred 6 times in the corpus which was used by 2 politicians, 1 activist and 1 attorney. For instance this formula is used by Kathy Griffin in two tweets such as (12) where she terminates her attack against Trump with a negative expressive after the latter imposes travel ban on immigrants. Note how she uses typographical capitalisation of all letters of the insult, indicating her anger and prosody.

> (12)
> [situation: Trump imposes travel ban against immigrants]
> "We Americans cannot survive without immigrants. My grandparents were immigrants. That means my parents were just plain lucky. That means I got lucky. Anyone of us born here in the US, just got lucky, no more American than anyone who wants to contribute to our society.
> FUCK TRUMP"

8. Conclusions

Several conclusions can be drawn based on the results in the analysis section. In general, the present conclusions are related to the study's aims and hypotheses. Nonetheless, as a consequence of the findings, several other conclusions have been reached, but will not be listed because of the limits of space. Thus, the following is a list of conclusions:

1. The structures of conventionalised impoliteness formulae used by politicians and journalists towards Trump are in parallel to the structures that are proposed in Culpeper (2011a). However, the structures of the four sub-categories of "Insults" are slightly different and not applicable to a CMC medium like Twitter—they are specific to face-to-face interactions. This finding supports the hypothesis proposed in (1), with exceptions being considered.

2. The impoliteness formulae were used by both politicians and journalists against Trump on Twitter with some exceptions. On the one hand, politicians disregarded some

conventionalised impoliteness formulae in their tweets such as "condescensions", "message enforcers", "dismissals", and "silencers"; On the other hand, journalists did not use "condescensions", "dismissals", "threats", and "negative expressives" formulae. This finding lends credence to the hypothesis suggested in (2), with exceptions recognised. It also was found that "conventionalised impoliteness formulae" were common in politicians' tweets with 99 (%57) occurrences, and 55 (%31) times by journalists out of 175 occurrences in total.

3. Some impoliteness formulae against Trump on Twitter are used by politicians but not journalists such as "threats", and "negative expressives" with 14 occurrences of usage. Whereas, "message enforcers", and "silencers" with 1 occurrence for each are only used by journalists. This finding provides support to hypothesis number (3).

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صيغ الوقاحة التقليديَّة التي يستعملها المغرِّدون ضد ترامب

سلار قاسم رشيد *

أشرف رياض عبدالله **

المستخلص

يُعدُّ الاتصال بوساطة الكمبيوتر أرضًا خصبة للبحث في السمات غير المهذبة (الوقاحة)، والأَفعال التي تهدد الوجه المعروفة بـ(FTA)، تميل الاتصال بوساطة الكمبيوتر إلى أن تكون وسيلة أكثر تصادمية من وسائل الاتصال الأُخرى، مثل التفاعل وجهاً لوجه (Hardaker 2012: 71) ، يظهر موقع تويتر بوصفه مكانًا لبحث ثري للباحثين الذين يدرسون مجموعة متنوعة من التخصصات، مثل قلة الأُدب (الوقاحة) تجاه السياسيين. في هذه الرسالة، تمثّل دونالد ج.ترامب، الرئيس الخامس والأَربعين للولايات المتحدة هدفًا لوقاحة السياسيين والصحفيين على تويتر خلال محاكمة عزله الأولى.

إنَّ الدراسة الحالية فريدة من نوعها؛ إذ يعتقد الباحث أَنَّ الوقاحة تجاه ترامب من السياسيين والصحفيين على تويتر لم يتم العمل عليه في هذا المجال، وثمة مبرر كبير آخر لاختيار هذا الموضوع وهو أَنَّه تم تجاهل البحوث المتعلقة بـ"صيغ الوقاحة" في المجال الأَكاديميّ العراقي، ولا يزال معظم الباحثين يستعملون نهج (1996; Culpeper 2005)الذي يتعامل مع الاستراتيجيات، بخلاف الصيغ. جوناثان كولبيبر، بصفته رائدًا في "صيغ الوقاحة"، انتقل عمله بالفعل من "استراتيجيات" الوقاحة إلى "صيغ" الوقاحة (انظر Culpeper 2010: 3238؛430–4:2016؛ ,.Culpeper et al., 2017: 15–208).

باستعمال مجموعة من ١٨٤٦٩ كلمة تشكل ٤٠٩ تغريدة للمشاركين، تبحث الدراسة بشكل أَساسيّ في صيغ الوقاحة التقليديَّة الموجهة ضد ترامب على تويتر أَثناء

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المساءلة، يحلل التغريدات من الناحية النوعية باستعمال أُنموذج تحليل كولبيبر (٢٠١١ أ). تهدف الدراسة إلى الإجابة على الأسئلة البحثية المتعلِّقة باكتشاف هياكل وصيغ الوقاحة التقليدية المفضلة المستعملة ضد شخص يتمتع بهذه القوة مثل الرئيس الأَمريكي. تتوافق النتائج مبدئيًا مع أُنموذج Culpeper، وتم التوصل إلى الاستنتاجات بنجاح فيما يتعلق بالأَسئلة المطروحة والبيانات المفترضة.

الكلمات المفتاحية: التداولية، علم اللغة الاجتماعي، تويتر.