

# “Would you shut up, man?” The Translation of Forms of Address in the Portuguese Press

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## 1. Introduction

In October 2020, the then manager of the Lisbon-based football team *Benfica*, Jorge Jesus, testified in court in connection to the *Football Leaks* case, an investigation on corruption in football, addressing one of the judges in session using the pronoun of address *você*. According to the press, he was reprimanded, with the judge telling Jesus that the appropriate form would be “Senhora Procuradora” (Ms Public Prosecutor). This reprimand, and the fact that it was considered serious enough to make headlines,<sup>1</sup> illustrates the sensitive sociocultural nature of address in European Portuguese (EP), whilst also pointing to the strong nexus between address forms

1. List of the media coverage of the case: *Jornal de Notícias*, “Jesus tratou a procuradora por ‘você’. Porque é que não deve fazê-lo?” <https://www.jn.pt/justica/jesus-tratou-a-procuradora-por-voce-porque-e-que-nao-deve-faze-lo-12942310.html> 20th Oct. 2020., retrieved 30th March 2021; *SIC Notícias*, “Manual de instruções para pessoas que vão a tribunal e não estão habituadas a ir, 20th Oct. 2020. <https://sicnoticias.pt/opiniao/2020-10-20-Manual-de-instrucoes-para-pessoas-que-vao-a-tribunal-e-nao-estao-habituadas-a-ir>, retrieved 30th March 2021.; *TVI 24*, “Caso Rui Pinto: Jorge Jesus trata procuradora por ‘você’ e é repreendido em tribunal, ” 1:17 min., 20th Oct 2020. <https://tvi24.iol.pt/videos/sociedade/caso-rui-pinto-jorge-jesus-trata-procuradora-por-voce-e-e-repreendido-em-tribunal/5f8eec330cf2ec6e470d6207>, retrieved 30th March 20201; *Tribuna Expresso*, “Jesus tratou insistentemente a procuradora por ‘você’, os três magistrados avisaram-no que era ‘senhora procuradora’. Foi repreendido”, 20th Oct. 2020. <https://tribunaexpresso.pt/football-leaks/2020-10-20-Jesus-tratou-insistentemente-a-procuradora-por-voce-os-tres-magistrados-avisaram-no-que-era-senhora-procuradora.-Foi-repreendido>, retrieved 30th March 2021.

and im/politeness seen as evaluation of verbal behaviours. (Grainger 2011, Haugh 2007, Haugh *et al.* 2013, Locher 2015, Locher & Graham 2010, Locher & Watts 2005, Locher & Watts 2008, Mills 2003, Mills 2017, Watts 2003) With a view to furthering our understanding of the interplay between forms of address and im/politeness shaping interpersonal relationships, and given that press translations are usually “underpinned by acculturation strategies”, (Bassnett 125) this study examines how Joe Biden’s *would you shut up, man?*, directed at Donald Trump during their first presidential debate on 29<sup>th</sup> September 2020, was translated in the Portuguese press, with a focus on forms of address. Jesus’s case, on the other hand, provides a relevant illustration of the interwoven intricacies of address and im/politeness in EP, and we will refer to it throughout this study.

Section 2 examines forms of address in European Portuguese (EP); section 3 discusses the most useful concepts of “im/politeness” for this research and section 4 examines the data collected, giving an analysis of the translation choices of the Portuguese press. Finally, and to provide an emic perspective on the data, the results of a questionnaire comprising 100 EP speakers who assessed these translation choices and their im/politeness values are discussed.

## 2. Forms of Address in European Portuguese

Forms of address are verbal representations of interlocutors (“a speaker’s linguistic reference to his/her collocutor(s) – Braun 7) and involve different interpersonal facets ranging from the more static criteria of age, gender and geography to more fluid issues of identity or context-based aspects of interactional negotiation. (Clyne *et al.* 2009, Norrby & Warren 2012, Norrby & Wide 2015)

EP is a language of complex pragmatic and syntactical encoding of address, which ranges from pronominal and verb forms to syntactically embedded nominal forms. As such, the English sentence “Are you ok?” could be rendered in a plethora of linguistic forms, as displayed below:

<i>Are you ok?</i>			
SUBJECT FORMS	PRAGMATIC FUNCTION		
	+ familiarity - social distance/T	- familiarity + social distance/N	- familiarity + social distance /V
PRONOUN	<i>Tu estás</i> 2SG <i>bem?</i> <i>Vocês estão</i> 3PL <i>bem?</i>	<i>Você está</i> 3SG <i>bem?</i> <i>Vocês estão</i> 3PL <i>bem?</i>	<i>Você está</i> 3SG <i>bem?</i> <i>Vocês estão</i> 3PL <i>bem?</i> ???
VERB (pro-drop)	<i>Estás</i> 2SG <i>bem?</i> <i>Estão</i> 3PL <i>bem?</i>	<i>Está</i> 3SG. <i>bem?</i> <i>Estão</i> 3PL. <i>bem?</i>	(pro-drop forms)
NOUN	(a variety of nominal forms + 3 <sup>rd</sup> p. verb forms). For example: Terms of endearment: <i>A minha querida está</i> 3SG. <i>bem?</i> [Is my darling ok?]	(semi-honorific – Hon.) <i>O senhor/a senhora:</i> <i>A senhora está</i> 3SG <i>bem?</i> [Is the lady/Ms. ok?] First Name (FN): <i>A Ana</i> 3SG <i>está bem?</i> [Is Ana ok?] Last Name (LN): <i>O Silva está</i> 3SG <i>bem?</i> [Is Silva ok?] Others: <i>O meu amigo está</i> 3SG <i>bem?</i> [Is my friend ok?], etc.	Title: <i>A Doutora está</i> 3SG <i>bem?</i> [Is the Doctor ok?] Hon.+Title+FN+LN: <i>A Senhora Doutora Ana Silva está bem?</i> [Is the Ms. Doctor Ana Silva ok?]

Figure 1 – Forms of address in contemporary EP.

Figure 1 is based on Carreira's (2003, 2005) description of forms of address in EP along a familiarity/distance axis. This figure also illustrates important aspects of address behaviour, starting with the controversial use of the pronoun *você* (hence the question marks in the V column), a grammaticalised reduction deriving from the nominal form *Vossa Mercê* and thus keeping 3<sup>rd</sup> p. verb agreement (as its plural counterpart *vocês*). Depending on their respective dialect or sociolect, some EP speakers use *você* to politely address parents and grandparents, whereas others attribute a politeness value to the form due to its semantics of *tu*-avoidance, or simply use it to signal social distance. However, the politeness value of this pronoun remains

controversial because of the lack of fixed socio-cultural criteria governing its usage, (Carreira 2003, Duarte 2011, Gouveia 2008, Lara & Guilherme 2018, Lopes & Mota 2019, Hummel 2019) effectively blocking inferences of politeness across the board. Indeed, in certain social strata, those that Hummel defines as “middle class speakers”, (20) *você* is either rejected or relegated to the locus of intimacy as a means to avoid *tu*. The noticeable “discursive struggle” regarding the usage of this pronoun – in other words, the “disagreement among participants” (Watts 274) with regard to their subjective understanding of *você* – partly explains the judge’s admonishment of Jorge Jesus. Furthermore, the contentious nature of *você* illustrates the issues of social class involved and what Hammermüller defines as “many-layered islands of address-norm systems” in EP, corresponding to disparate “socioglosses.” (288)

The advancement of nominal forms and the consequent expansion of the 3<sup>rd</sup> p. (Luz 1958, Cintra 1972, Faraco 2017) were driven by the obsolescence of the pronoun *vós* (the original deferential pronoun of address in EP),<sup>2</sup> the honorific value of which was transferred to the semantically rich nominal forms. The pervasiveness of 3<sup>rd</sup> p. verb forms with a pragmatic and addressive function surpassing their “delocutive” (or morphological and grammatical) meaning, (Carreira 1997, 2003, 2005) at the expense of a receding 2<sup>nd</sup> p., results in 3<sup>rd</sup> p. forms now gathering the non-truth conditional, conventional features of meaning attributed to T/V pronouns triggering a conventional implicature. (Levinson 1983) Even in the absence of an expressed subject, the addressive value of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person specifically signalling social distance does not invite radically differing context-sensitive interpretations and no inference is needed to disambiguate its addressive significance. Indeed, the inferences “derived from super-ordinate pragmatic principles like the maxims” (Levinson

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2. It is worth noting that *vós* survives in regional dialects as 2<sup>nd</sup> person plural address, having lost its V semantics. The archaic form *vossemecê* is also in place in some regional varieties as a *de facto* V pronoun. (Cintra 1972, Hammermuller 2020) Marques & Duarte (2019) also note a stylistically marked use of *vós* in the context of online discourse with a multiplicity of meanings – from signalling politeness by strategically avoiding *vocês* or, on the contrary, to signalling irony.

127) are not activated because the addressive meaning of 3<sup>rd</sup> p. prevails across the board (in line with what Terkourafi 2005 and Vergis & Terkourafi 2015 posit for the T/solidary meaning of forms of address in Cypriot Greek). This means that the non-truth conditional, conventional features of meaning attributed to T/V pronouns (Levinson 1983) in EP apply to 3<sup>rd</sup> person with a specific addressive meaning of social distance taken as a facet of what Locher & Watts (2005, 2008) call “relational work”, a continuum of verbal behaviour where politeness and impoliteness would fall at opposite ends of the spectrum. We place social distance on the “unmarked”, “non-polite” middle, that is, appropriate behaviour “to the social context of the interactional situation” amongst non-intimate, equal participants, yet not warranting “potential evaluation by the participants (or others) as polite”. (Locher & Watts 17) This conforms to the “non-intimate,” “symmetric” character that Brown & Levinson (1987) attribute to social distance.<sup>3</sup> However, implicatures of politeness “proper” invited by forms of address are much more disputed given the aforementioned discursive struggle, which in effect blocks a conventional meaning of politeness indexed to certain forms, namely the pronoun *você*.

It is also clear from Figure 1 that the binary T/V distinction does not apply to the EP address system, which is in fact tripartite (as pointed by Cintra as early as 1972) due to a “neutral” (N) middle platform (Cook 1997, 2013, 2019) consisting of “T-V avoidance strategies”. (Cook 2019). Potential “N” encoders would be *você* (assuming that it has been progressively shedding its impolite connotations), with the pro-drop option providing a safe “backup” of “unquestionable neutrality” (Cook 286) – what Carreira (2003, 2005) calls the “zero degree of deference.”

As an analytical tool, the N-platform is advantageous because it can account for the move in EP towards less ritualised and more negotiated address behaviours (Gouveia 2008, 2017; Oliveira 1994, 2009, 2013) guided by speakers’ own communicative goals. The move to democracy after the 1974 “Carnation Revolution”, which overthrew

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3. See Spencer-Oatey & Žegarac 2017 and Spencer-Oatey 1996 for a further discussion of this notion.

40-odd years of dictatorship in Portugal, may in fact have promoted more egalitarian forms such as *tu* or *você*;<sup>4</sup> however, negotiation and creativity denote “a very individualistic perception of address” which does not always hold for societies where aspects of hierarchy remain, (Hummel 21) as we believe is the case of Portugal. That is why the prevalence of “discernment politeness” (Hill *et al.* 1986, *Idem* 1989) should not be discounted in EP – on the contrary, why else would the language maintain such complexity of address, if not for deep concerns regarding the stable match between form and context/interlocutor? Discernment serves “to show one’s sense of place or role (...) according to social norms”, (*idem* 230) guiding speakers to select a “linguistic form or behaviour” (Hill *et al.* 348) accordingly. To this, we should add the importance of “deference” (Fraser & Nolen 1981) as it relates to address selection – the adequate deployment of form is paramount to convey “a giving of personal value to the hearer, the giving of status”, behaviour that defines “deference”. (Fraser & Nolen 97; and Brown & Levinson 1987, who equate giving deference to a politeness strategy conveying the higher status of the addressee). The derision of *você* may in fact result from its perceived lack of honorific value and imperviousness to the V semantics of specialised nominal forms appropriate to the addressee’s status.

To conclude, the current EP address system appears to oscillate between “discernment” and what Hill *et al.* (1986) and *Idem* (1989) call “volition,” “the aspect of politeness which allows the speaker a considerable more active choice”. (Hill *et al.* 348) The dimension of “volition” is responsible for greater negotiation and creativity to achieve particular communication goals, whilst the aspect of “discernment” explains the concern with matching adequate address forms to particular interlocutors and contexts.

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4. See Hummel 2020 and Lara-Bermejo & Guilherme 2021 for a diachrony of address in EP.

### 3. The notion(s) of Im/Politeness.

Im/politeness studies have broadened their scope since Brown & Levinson's 1987 work on politeness taken as an implicature and constituting "principled reasons for deviations" (Brown & Levinson 5) from the Cooperative Principle, across the board and in all languages. Politeness, from this perspective, consisted of a set of universal strategies attempting to mitigate threats to face – face-threatening acts or FTAs. The core notion of "face", or speakers' self-esteem, was understood in a dual sense, by the notion of "positive face", an individual's self-image "including the desire that his self-image be appreciated and approved of", and "negative face", a claim to "freedom of action and freedom from imposition". (Brown & Levinson 61) When dealing with an FTA, positive politeness and negative politeness would be linguistic attempts to redress positive and negative faces respectively and would thus be tantamount to "facework."

Countering Brown & Levinson's strategic approach to politeness, Eelen (2001) and Watts (2003) draw a distinction between first-order im/politeness, or im/politeness<sub>1</sub> (emic and lay conceptualisations of the term), and second-order im/politeness, or im/politeness<sub>2</sub>, underpinning the theoretical understandings of the term. First-order concepts are, according to Watts (2003), paramount to arriving at a suitable construal of im/politeness<sub>2</sub> based on "the flow of social interaction", (Watts 8) that is, on the flow of discourse. One of the consequences of this "discursive" view of im/politeness (a notion encompassing the continuum from polite to impolite behaviour – what Locher & Watts 2005, 2008 call "relational work") is that linguistic forms are not seen as inherently polite or impolite – it is how they are evaluated as such by participants during the course of interactions that counts. (Haugh 2007, Locher 2006, Locher 2012, Locher 2015, Locher & Watts 2005, Locher & Watts 2008, Mills 2003, Mills 2017, Watts 2003) This discursive view places a "post-modernist emphasis on speakers' intentions and hearers' perceptions", (Grainger 167) countering Brown & Levinson's set of *a priori* strategies available to fully rational speakers. The discursive construal of im/politeness is

taken further by the concept of interpersonal pragmatics, (Haugh *et al.* 2013, Locher 2015, Locher & Graham 2010) a broader term including im/politeness studies so as to better capture “how relationships are indexed through linguistic choices” (Locher 6) and how these linguistic cues shape interpersonal relationships.

There is also the recognition that impoliteness itself “deserves to have distinct theoretical frameworks developed for it” (Dynel 330) in which the role of intentionality becomes paramount, despite the fact that pinning down the “intention” of speakers is a notoriously difficult task. (Culpeper *et al.* 2003, Culpeper 2011, Culpeper & Hardaker 2017, Culpeper & Terkourafi 2017) Although intention might not be a necessary consideration for impoliteness, it is however “completely counterintuitive to suggest that people do things without any intention-like notions in their heads”, (Culpeper 49) and it would be similarly counterintuitive to eliminate “intention” from impoliteness studies. For Bousfield (2008), for example, impoliteness comes about when performed with “deliberate aggression” demanding both “intention” and “perception”, that is “the intention of the speaker (or ‘author’) to ‘offend’ (threaten/damage face) must be understood by those in a receiver role”. (Bousfield 132) Similarly, Terkourafi draws a distinction between impoliteness, where “face-threat is taken to be accidental, i.e. attributed to the speaker’s ignorance or incompetence”, (62) and rudeness, where face-threat is aggravated because it is intentional. This distinction is relevant to this study as we aver that impoliteness evaluations emerging from address selection in EP usually arrive as “perlocutionary effects” (Terkourafi 2005, 2008) more so than intentional ones. Forms of address lend themselves to evaluations of impoliteness due to the *a posteriori* interpretations of addressees, rather than attribution of an impolite speaker’s intention. For all intents and purposes, impoliteness becomes “an effect over which the speaker has no direct control”. (Terkourafi 251) The case of Jorge Jesus is pertinent here, as it is highly improbable that Jesus had the intention of performing a deliberate face threat when he chose *você* to address the judge; it is far more likely that he was acting on the assumption that the conventional meaning of social distance



attached to a form taking 3<sup>rd</sup> p. would suffice. Due to their differing socioglosses (Hammermüller 2020) and differing expectations of address, the judge admonished Jesus, not because she identified a rude intent, but because of what she perceived as his “ignorance,” a perception that led her to lecture the football manager about the forms of address appropriate to the occasion.

As we navigate the vast field of im/politeness literature searching for concepts applicable to this study, we find that Brown & Levinson’s terminology remains particularly useful, although we will need to supplement their ideas with a concept that encapsulates the interplay of forms of address and im/politeness in EP. From a theoretical standpoint, we need a concept which renders not only the context-sensitive aspects of “volition”, but also the attachment to form which is inherent to “discernment politeness”, and therefore more independent from context. This is the reason why Culpeper’s (125) distinction between “semantic (im)politeness” and “pragmatic (im)politeness” is appealing, since it is based respectively on whether im/politeness is “more determined by a linguistic expression” or “more determined by context.” For Culpeper, impoliteness itself surfaces when “situated behaviours are viewed negatively” (23) as they conflict with previous expectations derived from individual or group identities, or formed on the basis of sociocultural normative patterns.

The notion of “moral order” (Haugh 2013, Kádár & Haugh 2013, Kádár 2017) is equally useful as it comprises the demands of expected interactional rituals constituting “the perceived order of linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour both in first-time encounters and in pre-existing interpersonal relationships”. (Kádár 5) As such, the moral order provides a tacit “moral standard” against which speakers perform their assessments of im/politeness and can enlighten us as to the expectations associated with linguistic forms (i.e., forms of address) that participants bring to verbal interactions. It is the failure to meet such expectations that leads to evaluations of impoliteness – again, we see this standard at work when the judge perceived the use of *você* by Jorge Jesus as a breach of the moral order, a reflection of the fact that the latter is not a set of unmovable

principles but is rather “conjointly co-constituted by participants”. (Mitchell and Haugh 245 cited in Mills 45) When this joint construal fails, perceptions of impoliteness arise.

The moral order is of further interest as it is based on ritual, “a conventionalised and recurrent act, which is relationship forcing”; (Kádár & Haugh 272) this is relevant to address behaviour insofar as the deployment of forms of address countering addressee’s expectations can indeed lead to a negotiation of the terms on which the interaction was based. As highlighted by Haugh & Kádár, (252) even in languages where there are regular matches between grammatical forms and im/politeness (such as address forms in EP), the moral order remains subjected to “different social actions and interpersonal meanings.”

#### **4. Data and Discussion – the Impoliteness of “Would you shut up, man” and its Translation in the Portuguese Press**

The first Biden vs. Trump presidential debate took place on September 29<sup>th</sup>, 2020, with Biden’s “would you shut up, man?” directed at Trump, generating particular interest in the media. The method of collecting news articles pertaining to the debate was straightforward, consisting of a Google search using the keywords “Trump Biden first debate” in Portuguese (“primeiro debate Trump Biden”), preceded by a more immediate collection of reports in the mainstream media (i.e., well known outlets in Portugal such as the broadsheets *Público* or *Expresso*). After scanning the results of the general Google search, the same keywords were used to look for news items in the “news” section of Google. This is how we arrived at 15 publicly available reports extracted from the Portuguese press (Appendix I), which were then examined for their rendering of the line “would/will you shut up, man?”, yielding nine different translations.

Our data analysis is divided into two stages: the first stage (section 4.1.) examines the pragmalinguistic choices of the press translations, highlighting the relevance of address selection. The second stage

(section 4.2) provides an emic perspective on the data by comparing these translation choices against a questionnaire of 100 EP speakers, who were asked to evaluate the adequacy of the translations and their respective im/politeness values.

#### 4.1. The Translation of “Would you shut up, man” in the Portuguese Press

Press translations are relevant to this study primarily because of their target-orientedness, that is, because of their aim to conform to the socio-cultural normative expectations of the target audience, with acculturation playing a defining role. (Bassnett 2005; and also Vald on 2005, Bielsa & Bassnett 2009, Holland 2013, Sch affner 2018 and Chovanec 2019 for a discussion of the translation of news items).

When the press itself is the translator, the act of translating impoliteness implies a choice between transferring impoliteness “intact in another language” or interfering with the “facework” of the source text. (Sidiropoulou 26-27) We argue that address selection was the primary linguistic solution found by the media to preserve the impoliteness of the source. However, the indexicality of address forms “may or may not be readily recoverable from context”, (Baker 2018) which means that the translation of the English “you” into EP presents difficult challenges. (Cook 2019, Lucena 1997, Odber De Baubeta 1992, Rosa 2000; and also Kluge 2019 for the different effects of the translation of pronominal or nominal address) The following translations illustrate how the Portuguese media faced such a challenge:

“Would you shut up, man?”	
<b>Press translation</b> <b>[Back translation]:</b>	<b>News websites:</b>
1. Cala-te homem. Cala IMPERATIVE -te COMPLEMENT PRONOUN, 2SG, homem. VOCATIVE. [Shut up, man.]	<i>R�dio Renascena</i>

2. Vais-te calar, homem? Vais SUBJECT (NULL) 2SG., INDICATIVE -te COMPL. PRO. 2SG calar, homem VOC.? [Are you going to shup up, man?]	<i>Correio da Manhã, Jornal de Negócios, Diário de Notícias, RTP, Sábado, Sapo, Sic-Notícias, Visão</i>
3. Porque não te calas, homem? Porque não te COMPL. PRO. 2SG calas 2SG, INDICATIVE, homem VOC.? [Why don't you shut up, man?]	<i>TSF</i>
4. Podes calar-te, homem? Podes SUBJ. (NULL) 2SG., INDICATIVE calar-te COMPL. PRO. 2SG, homem VOC.? [Can you shut up, man?]	<i>Expresso</i>
5. Oh homem, mas tu calas-te? Oh homem VOC., mas tu SUB. PRON. 2SG. calas 2SG., INDICATIVE -te COMPL. PRO. 2SG? [Man, but will you shut up?]	<i>Jornal de Notícias</i>
6. Pode calar-se, homem? Pode SUBJ. (NULL) 3SG., INDICATIVE calar-se COMPL. PRO. 3SG, homem VOC.? [Can you shut up, man?]	<i>Observador</i>
7. Importa-se de se calar, homem? Importa- SUBJ. (NULL) 3SG., INDICATIVE se PRON. COMPL. 3SG de se PRON. COMPL. 3SG calar, homem VOC.? [Do you mind shutting up, man?]	<i>Público</i>
8. Peço o favor de se calar. Peço SUBJ. (NULL) 1SG., INDICATIVE o favor de se COMPL. PRO. 3SG calar. [I ask for the favour of you shutting up.]	<i>(Sol)<sup>5</sup></i>
9. Faça o favor de se calar. Faça SUBJ. (NULL) 3SG., IMPERATIVE o favor de se COMPL. PRO. 3SG calar. [Do (me) the favour of shutting up.]	

Figure 2 – Translation choices of the Portuguese press.

5. This newspaper opted for semi-reported speech: "(...) disse o candidato Democrata, que chegou a pedir a Trump 'o favor de se calar' ['(...) the Democratic candidate told Donald Trump, to whom he even asked 'the favour of shutting up']. The closest options in direct speech are the ones presented in 8 and 9.

Biden's utterance was a polar question initiated by an epistemic modal verb with the subject "you" with the purpose of performing a conventionally indirect request. Despite the fact that a degree of face attack is expected in presidential debates, (García-Pastor 2008, Laslop 2020, Tracy 2017) the phrase lent itself to evaluations of impoliteness because rather than redressing face damage by giving the addressee an "out". (Brown & Levinson 1987) it questioned the epistemic certainty of Trump shutting up, therefore heightening the illocutionary force of the speech act and countering legitimate expectations concerning the nature of Biden and Trump's relationship – as his campaign opponent of equal standing, Biden did not hold the authority to issue such a heightened directive towards Trump. The subjective or "dialogic" nature of the epistemic modality (White 2008) further reinforced the impoliteness of the speech act – by questioning the certainty of Trump shutting up, Biden was not in fact questioning truth conditions, but was fulfilling an interpersonal function (Coates 1987) of face-attack.

The translation of Biden's utterance in the Portuguese media kept its modality and conventional indirectness largely intact, with most translations preserving the conventional indirectness of the request, apart from option 1. Translations 2 to 7 were conventionally indirect directives by means of a polar question, whereas options 8 and 9 were also conventionally indirect, in this case resorting to conventional formulae ("peço o favor" [I ask for the favour] and "faça o favor" [do me the favour]) and to a declarative form. Epistemic modality was equally mirrored in the translations of the Portuguese media – options 4 and 6 signalled it by means of the modal verb "poder" (can/may) and a polar question; as for options 2, 3, 5 and 7, the indicative mood was the main epistemic marker, (Mateus *et al.* 2003, Casanova 2009) coupled with a yes/no question. Options 8 and 9 followed deontic modality but the conventional indirectness of the request remained. As for the vocative "man", all translations opted for the literal equivalent "homem".

This leaves us with the translation of the subject "you", whose fluctuations attest to the marked character of address selection. Figure 2 shows how, in a context of impoliteness, the preferred form of address

was by far the 2<sup>nd</sup> p. singular (options 1 to 5, corresponding to 12 out of 15 media outlets). Unlike 3<sup>rd</sup> p. singular pro-drop address, 2<sup>nd</sup> p. singular does not offer a variety of subject selection options such as nominal forms – the only possibility for an expressed subject is the pronoun “tu”. The latter is in direct opposition to the conventional meaning of social distance attached to 3<sup>rd</sup> p. singular and as such is a marked address selection to signal impoliteness.

#### 4.2. The Evaluation of Translation and Im/Politeness by EP Speakers

In order to gather first-order evaluations of the media translations and their im/politeness values, a questionnaire<sup>6</sup> was applied to 100 speakers of EP. The questionnaire was open to L1, L2 and foreign-language EP speakers because we were interested in speaker validation, not necessarily “native-speaker” validation. This decision was guided by Lowe’s (2020) observations of “native-speakerism” as a label to politically and ideologically classify people, despite their equivalent levels of linguistic proficiency. We did, however, assume proficiency given that the informants were professors and students from the Catholic University of Portugal in Lisbon, the University of Lisbon, the University of Minho and the Nova University of Lisbon, and thus fairly acquainted with both EP and English. The participants were told that the questionnaire was fully anonymous and for research purposes and they received a link for its completion on Google-forms sent by their professors, who could also respond if they so wished. Participation was entirely voluntary and not for extra credit in any way.

The questionnaire displayed below was kept as simple as possible to maximise full completion and asked informants to assess the media translations and their respective im/politeness values on a 5-point Likert scale, with a comment box at the end so as to obtain a qualitative perspective on the data:

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6. Link to the questionnaire on Google forms: <https://docs.google.com/forms/d/10rUURGfqnd7KI0kZob-1WGe-7u3jVE5jhtQWf9lnl/edit>

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 EP speakers questionnaire: "Would you shut up, man?"
 

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Figure 3 – EP speakers questionnaire (translated from EP).

The majority of respondents were L1 EP speakers (80,8% L1 speakers and 19,2% L2 or foreign-language speakers). Figure 4 below displays their assessments of media translations:

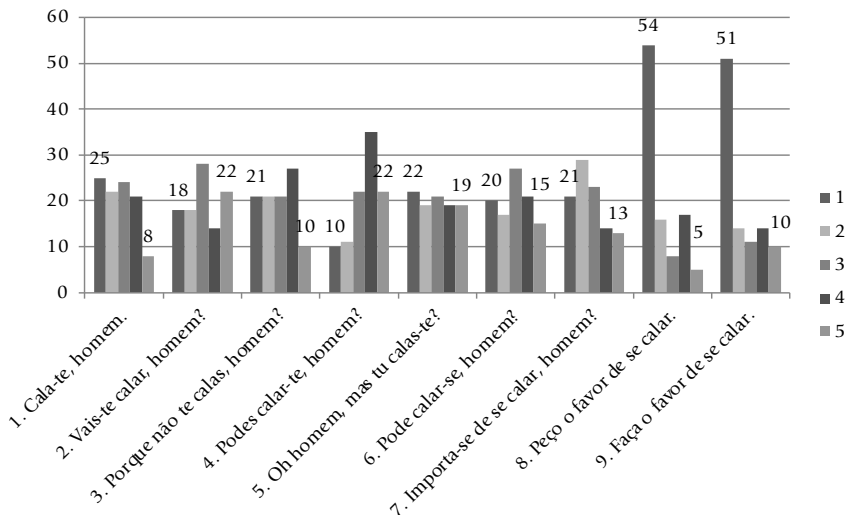


Figure 4 – Question 2 results: On a scale of 1 to 5, how would you assess the following translations (1= very bad translation; 5 = very good translation)?

What immediately stands out from Figure 4 is that options 8 and 9 were deemed the most unsuitable translations. Not only do they select 3<sup>rd</sup> p. singular address, but they also exhibit the greatest formal elaboration, performing a conventionally indirect request by means of formulae traditionally associated with politeness, such as "to ask for a favour". In our view, discernment politeness and its association with form in EP is at work here, leading speakers to assess 2<sup>nd</sup> p. singular and less formal elaboration as more appropriate translations of impolite facework. There is not, however, any one translation choice

deemed particularly adequate and evaluations are considerably scattered when it comes to options 1 to 7. Some clarity can be achieved, however, by looking at Figure 5 below showing the weighted average of each option, ranked higher to lower:

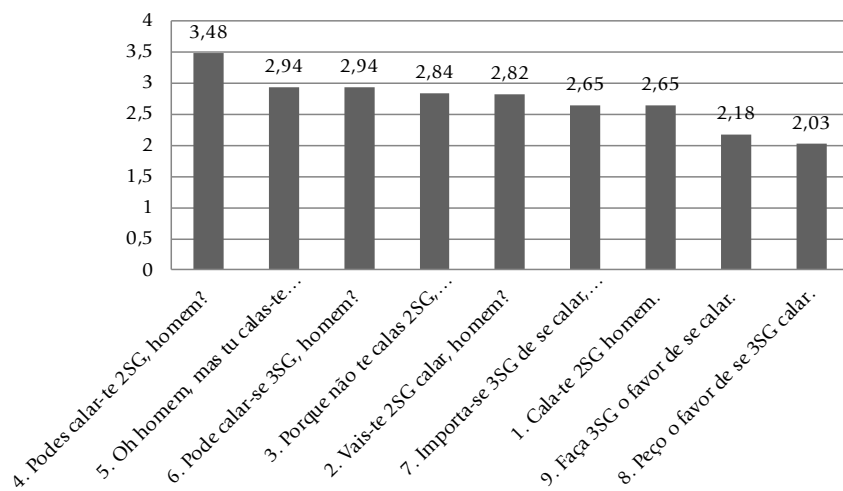


Figure 5 – Q2 results: weighted averages of translation assessment.

Although respondents do not show a clear preference for any media translation, the only option ranking higher than 3 is option 4, a clear conventionally indirect request by means of the modal verb “poder” coupled with 2<sup>nd</sup> p. singular. All other translations were deemed unsuitable as none reached the 3-point threshold. However, and focusing on the scattered assessment of all other options, forms of address do not seem to have played a specific role when judging the appropriateness of the translations – options 5 and 6 rank the same despite the fact that 5 uses 2<sup>nd</sup> p. singular and 6, 3<sup>rd</sup> p. singular. Speaker assessment seems to have been more sensitive to the pragmatic form of the speech act and to favour clear conventional indirectness and, when translating impoliteness, to devalue the elaboration of form usually reserved for polite contexts,



such as 8 and 9. It is probably due to this sense of inadequacy that two speakers (indicated as “S” below) used the comment box to offer alternative translations:

S1: Traduziria por “És 2SG capaz de calar a boca, pá?” [I would translate it as “Are you able to shut your mouth, man?” (Can you shut your mouth, man?)]

S2: Outras possibilidades: “Oh pá, estavas 2SG melhor caladinho DIMINUTIVE” ou “Mas tu nunca te calas 2SG, homem?” [Other possibilities: “Look, man, you’d do better to be quiet” or “But do you ever shut up, man?”]

These comments show a number of interesting options. Firstly, both S1 and S2 resorted to 2<sup>nd</sup> p. singular in the three alternatives provided; secondly, both resorted to “pá” as a suitable vocative, a distinctive feature of EP (absent from Brazilian Portuguese, for example), used as an interjection and often as a form of address marked for informality and/or familiarity.<sup>7</sup> Thirdly, and despite some preference for conventional indirectness, S2 proposed a more creative option to counter convention, namely the diminutive of the adjective “calado” (“quiet”), standing here as an example of “pragmatic impoliteness.” This leads us to the question of knowing how im/polite the translations were thought to be, which Figure 6 illustrates:

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7. Maçãs describes “pá” as suitable address amongst friends from all social classes. (200)

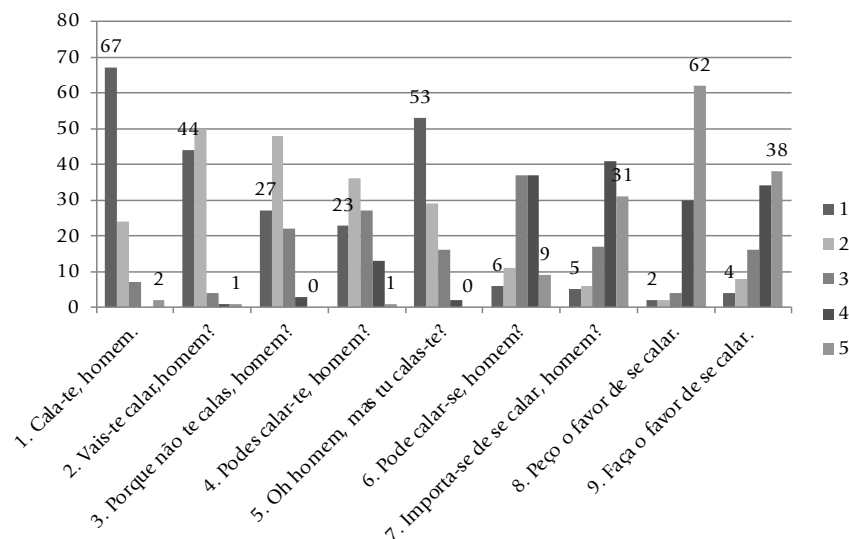


Figure 6 – Question 3 results: On a scale of 1 to 5, how polite do you think the previous sentences are (1 = very impolite; 5 = very polite)?

Figure 6 is almost the symmetrical opposite of chart 4 – this time, the highest evaluations are concentrated on options 8 and 9, deemed the most polite. Overall, speaker assessment of im/politeness seems sensitive to address selection, as politeness is ranked higher from option 6 onwards, when address shifts from 2<sup>nd</sup> p. singular to 3<sup>rd</sup> p. singular. As with the previous results, deferential form and discernment stand out, as the most polite options are conventionally indirect requests exhibiting the highest elaboration of form and putting the “indebtedness” of the speaker towards a socially distant addressee on record. (Brown & Levinson 1987) Not surprisingly, and in stark contrast to 8 and 9, the most impolite option was 1, a direct request using the imperative and 2nd p. singular. Figure 7 shows the weighted average of im/politeness for each translation:

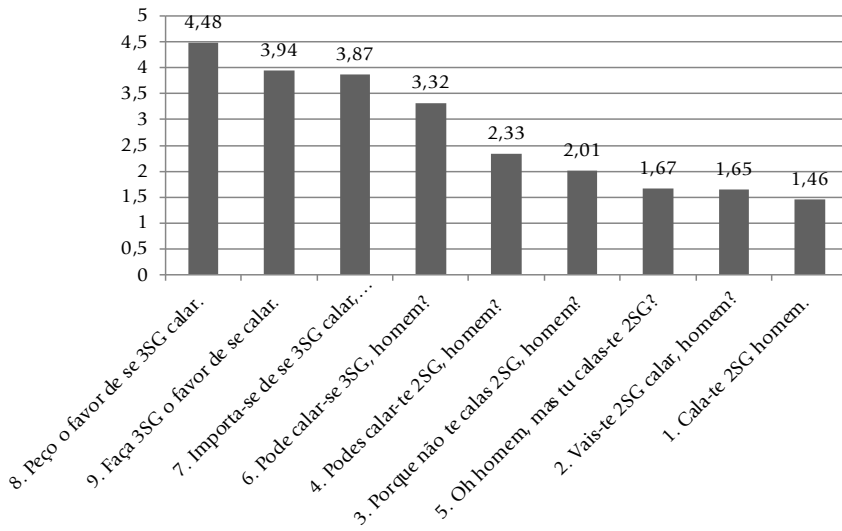


Figure 7 – Question 3 results: weighted averages of im/politeness assessments.

This time, a clear sensitivity to address is revealed, as no option using 2<sup>nd</sup> p. singular achieved the 3-point threshold required to rank positively for politeness. The only difference between options 6 and 4 is precisely the form of address, while the 3<sup>rd</sup> p., triggering the conventional implicature of social distance, is enough to make option 6 rank positively at 3.32, as opposed to the 2.33 median evaluation for option 4. Furthermore, the salience of the addressee seems paramount for evaluations of politeness – an important difference between option 8, ranked highest for politeness, and option 9, is that the latter positions the addressee in a subject position due to use of the imperative (“[you] do me the favour of shutting up”), whereas in option 8 the subject is 1<sup>st</sup> p. singular pro-drop, meaning the responsibility for the potential FTA falls mainly on the speaker. In fact, in option 8 the presence of the addressee is minimal and indicated solely by the 3<sup>rd</sup> p. singular complement pronoun “se”, pointing to a certain “addressee effacement,” and consequent face threat mitigation, which may explain why this option was deemed more polite.

Figure 7 thus reiterates the importance of discernment in im/politeness assessments in EP – the more formal (i.e., the more elaboration of form) the request and the more formulaic polite expressions to which it resorts (option 7, “importa-se de” – “do you mind,” option 9, “faça o favor” – “do (me) the favour,” option 8, “peço o favor” – “I ask for the favour”), the more polite it is deemed to be. A clear conclusion deriving from this questionnaire is that informants seem to have strong ideas of what counts as polite or impolite in EP based on fairly fixed conventional forms – “semantic im/politeness” seems to be paramount. As to the context of Biden’s utterance, S3 offered an invaluable comment clarifying its impoliteness:

S3: “Acredito que Joe Biden tenha sido propositadamente indelicado, tendo em conta o contexto”. [I believe Joe Biden might have been impolite on purpose, given the context.]

## 5. Conclusion

By examining how the utterance “would you shut up, man?” was translated in the Portuguese press, we draw the conclusion that address forms are sensitive linguist means to signal impoliteness in EP, as most translations selected 2<sup>nd</sup> p. singular to mark it. In addition, speaker validation confirmed a strong nexus between form and im/politeness in EP, with elaboration of form, 3<sup>rd</sup> p. conventional implicature and conventional formulae associated with indirect requests ranking high for politeness. Whilst the usage of forms such as “você” may point to speakers who are interested in pursuing their own interactional goals, these results reinforce the importance of discernment, and most likely “semantic im/politeness”, and seem to indicate that speakers remain attached to sociocultural, conventional constraints mirrored in their deployment of forms of address, which hold even outside the heavily ritualised language practices of courtrooms, where a rigid concordance between form and context is expected, as shown in the example of the football manager Jorge Jesus.

The ideological load of the data is equally noteworthy, (Mills 2009, 2017) as not only the informants of this study but also the journalists who acted as translators and mediators of im/politeness are in all likelihood university-educated, standard-EP speakers to whom issues of social class, rank and deference are important, a fact that may explain the preference for 3<sup>rd</sup> p. and deferential form in directive speech acts. This is also why the reprimand handed out to Jorge Jesus for using the “wrong” form of address in court is relevant – he was probably not aware that the constraints imposed by the expected linguistic rituals of the situation were of such import, leading the judge to perceive his use of “você” as a breach of the moral order.

Finally, there are research strands that this study did not have the scope to explore but which are promising avenues of research. The exploration of issues of power, social class and the importance of hierarchy in Portuguese society is fundamental in understanding the role of forms of address in shaping interpersonal relationships, as Jesus’s case and the translation of the pronoun “you” illustrate. Equally important as a future research strand, at least in EP, is the question as to how discernment relates to volition, and how the 3<sup>rd</sup> p. conventional implicature and the politeness values attributed to form can be countered by more flexible address behaviours that defy normative sociocultural patterns.

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## Appendix – List of Portuguese News Articles

1. *Correio da Manhã*, “Acusações, farpas e insultos: O primeiro debate entre Donald Trump e Joe Biden ponto a ponto.”, 30th Sept. 2020 <https://www.cmjornal.pt/mundo/detalhe/acusacoes-farpas-e-insultos-o-primeiro-debate-entre-donald-trump-e-joe-biden-ponto-a-ponto>
2. *Diário de Notícias*, “Eleições. Biden manda calar Trump em debate caótico,” 30th Sept. 2020 <https://www.dn.pt/mundo/debate-biden-manda-calar-trump-em-debate-caotico-12795902.html>
3. *Expresso*, “EUA 2020. “Fiz um trabalho fantástico”. “Continua com o blá blá”. Como foi o debate mais caótico de sempre (live coverage),” 30th Sept. 2020 <https://expresso.pt/internacional/2020-09-29-EUA-2020.-Fiz-um-trabalho-fantastico.-Continua-com-o-bla-bla.-Como-foi-o-debate-mais-caotico-de-sempre>
4. *Jornal de Negócios*, “Joe Biden diz a Trump que se cale em debate conflituoso,” 30th Sept. 2020 <https://www.jornaldenegocios.pt/economia/politica/detalhe/joe-biden-diz-a-trump-que-se-cale-em-debate-conflituoso>
5. *Jornal de Notícias*, “ O debate: Trump instiga caos, insultos, atropelos e Biden chama-lhe palhaço,” 30th Sept. 2020 <https://www.jn.pt/mundo/canal/eleicoes-nos-eua/o-debate-trump-instiga-caos-insultos-atropelos-e-biden-chama-lhe-palhaco-12798784.html>
6. *Observador*, “Insultos e acusações marcam primeiro debate entre Donald Trump e Joe Biden - como aconteceu (live coverage),” 30th Sept. 2020 <https://observador.pt/liveblogs/trump-e-biden-aproximam-se-do-primeiro-debate-com-supremo-tribunal-e-impostos-de-trump-no-topo-dos-temas-quentes/>
7. *Público*, “Trump ameaça atizar extremistas nas eleições, no debate em que Biden lhe chamou ‘palhaço’”, 30th Sept. 2020 <https://www.publico.pt/2020/09/30/mundo/noticia/trumpbiden-debate-correr-mal-correu-pior-1933416>
8. *Rádio Renascença*, ““Cala-te, homem.” Dez momentos da campanha presidencial Trump vs Biden,” 3rd Nov. 2020 <https://rr.sapo.pt/2020/11/03/mundo/cala-te-homem-dez-momentos-da-campanha-presidencial-trump-vs-biden/noticia/213228/>
9. *RTP Notícias*, “Biden manda calar Trump em debate conflituoso,” 30th Sept. 2020 [https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/mundo/biden-manda-calar-trump-em-debate-conflituoso\\_n1262963](https://www.rtp.pt/noticias/mundo/biden-manda-calar-trump-em-debate-conflituoso_n1262963)

10. *Sábado*, "No 1.º debate entre Trump e Biden, quem perdeu foi a democracia," 30th Sept. 2020 <https://www.sabado.pt/mundo/detalhe/no-1-debate-entre-trump-e-biden-quem-perdeu-foi-a-democracia>
11. *Sapo 24*, "Trump vs Biden. Sem apertos de mão, sem respeito e com tudo o que divide a América," 30th Sept. 2020 <https://24.sapo.pt/atualidade/artigos/trump-vs-biden-sem-apertos-de-mao-sem-respeito-e-com-tudo-o-que-divide-a-america>
12. *SIC-Notícias*, "Primeiro debate Trump/Biden: insultos, impostos e acusações," 30th Sept. 2020 <https://sicnoticias.pt/especiais/eleicoes-nos-eua/2020-09-30-Primeiro-debate-Trump-Biden-insultos-impostos-e-acusacoes>
13. *Sol*, "Primeiro debate presidencial dos EUA marcado por acusações e insultos," 30th Sept. 2020 <https://sol.sapo.pt/artigo/710268/primeiro-debate-presidencial-dos-eua-marcado-por-acusacoes-e-insultos->
14. *TSF*, "Trump à defesa, Biden ao ataque mas a desperdiçar golos," 30th Sept. 2020 <https://www.tsf.pt/mundo/trump-a-defesa-biden-ao-ataque-mas-a-desperdicar-golos-12794443.html>
15. *Visão*, "Joe Biden diz a Trump que se cale em debate conflituoso," 30th Sept. 2020 <https://visao.sapo.pt/atualidade/politica/2020-09-30-eua-eleicoes-joe-biden-diz-a-trump-que-se-cale-em-debate-conflituoso/>