

This electronic thesis or dissertation has been downloaded from the King's Research Portal at <https://kclpure.kcl.ac.uk/portal/>



**Lay im/politeness evaluations in interaction  
the case of Greek friendship groups**

Saloustrou, Vasiliki

*Awarding institution:*  
King's College London

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author and no quotation from it or information derived from it may be published without proper acknowledgement.

**END USER LICENCE AGREEMENT**



**Unless another licence is stated on the immediately following page** this work is licensed

under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International

licence. <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

You are free to copy, distribute and transmit the work

Under the following conditions:

- Attribution: You must attribute the work in the manner specified by the author (but not in any way that suggests that they endorse you or your use of the work).
- Non Commercial: You may not use this work for commercial purposes.
- No Derivative Works - You may not alter, transform, or build upon this work.

Any of these conditions can be waived if you receive permission from the author. Your fair dealings and other rights are in no way affected by the above.

**Take down policy**

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact [librarypure@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:librarypure@kcl.ac.uk) providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

**LAY IM/POLITENESS EVALUATIONS  
IN INTERACTION:  
THE CASE OF GREEK FRIENDSHIP GROUPS**

A thesis submitted to King's College London in partial fulfilment of  
the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in Language, Discourse and Communication

by

**Vasiliki Saloustrou**

**Supervisors**

Dr. Eva Ogiermann

Prof. Alexandra Georgakopoulou-Nunes

**Word count: 99, 995**

London, April 2023

# Contents

<b>List of Abbreviations</b> .....	7
<b>List of Extracts</b> .....	7
<b>List of Figures</b> .....	9
<b>List of Tables</b> .....	10
<b>Dedication</b> .....	11
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	12
<b>Abstract</b> .....	13
<b>CHAPTER 0. INTRODUCTION</b> .....	15
0.1. The problem space .....	15
0.2. Thesis structure .....	19
<b>CHAPTER 1. LITERATURE REVIEW</b> .....	21
1.1. The landscape of im/politeness research: developments and main trends .....	21
1.1.1. From 20 <sup>th</sup> century beginnings to 21 <sup>st</sup> century extensions: A brief history of im/politeness research .....	21
1.1.2. Major trends in current im/politeness research .....	27
1.2. Im/politeness- and identities-in-interaction: a productive synergy .....	40
1.2.1. Links between identities- and im/politeness-in-interaction .....	41
1.2.2. Identity models for studying im/politeness-in-interaction .....	53
1.3. Lay evaluations of im/politeness in interaction .....	54
1.3.1. Classificatory schemes for studying im/politeness evaluations in interactional data ...	55
1.3.2. Empirical work on im/politeness evaluations in interaction: main insights and research gaps	57
1.4. Summary .....	63
1.5. Research Questions .....	63
<b>CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY</b> .....	65
2.1. The epistemological framework: Synthesising an interactional pragmatic approach to im/politeness with participant observation .....	65
2.2. The Data.....	67
2.2.1. Recruiting participants .....	67
2.2.2. Mixing data collection methods .....	71
2.3. Reflexivity and ethics.....	78
2.3.1. Reflexivity and positionality .....	78
2.3.2. Ethics.....	80
2.4. Analytical framework .....	81
2.4.1. Conversation analysis .....	81

2.4.2.	Small stories research and positioning analysis .....	84
2.5.	Data preparation and research design considerations .....	89
2.5.1.	Data preparation: an overview of different stages .....	90
2.5.2.	Transcription and translation .....	91
2.5.3.	Coding and distribution of analytical categories in different discourse activities .....	97
2.6.	Summary .....	106
<b>ANALYSIS</b>	.....	<b>107</b>
<b>CHAPTER 3. ‘STOP TO LET ME FINISH’: IMPOLITENESS EVALUATIONS IN ONGOING INTERACTIONS</b>	.....	<b>108</b>
3.1.	Introduction.....	108
3.2.	Categories of impoliteness evaluations in ongoing interactions: from implicit cues to explicit comments .....	109
3.2.1.	Implicit evaluations of impoliteness in ongoing interactions.....	110
3.2.2.	Communication-oriented metacommunicative comments in ongoing interactions .....	116
3.2.3.	Categorising metacommunicative comments in ongoing interactions.....	122
3.3.	Responses to impoliteness evaluations in ongoing interactions: from implicitness to overt non-seriousness .....	129
3.3.1.	Responding to implicit impoliteness evaluations in ongoing interactions .....	129
3.3.2.	Responding to communication-oriented metacommunicative comments in ongoing interactions.....	133
3.3.3.	Responding to categorising metacommunicative comments in ongoing interactions .....	136
3.4.	Participants’ reflexive evaluations in playback interviews: shifting to explicitness.....	139
3.4.1.	Reframing implicit cues in reflexive accounts produced in playback interviews .....	140
3.4.2.	Reframing communication-oriented metacommunicative comments in reflexive accounts produced in playback interviews.....	143
3.4.3.	Reframing categorising metacommunicative comments in reflexive accounts produced in playback interviews .....	147
3.5.	Summary .....	152
<b>CHAPTER 4. ‘THAT WAS SERIOUSLY RUDE’: RETROSPECTIVE ORIENTATIONS TO IMPOLITENESS IN RETELLINGS OF SHARED EVENTS</b>	.....	<b>155</b>
4.1.	Introduction.....	155
4.2.	Categories of impoliteness evaluations in retellings of shared events about present others: reevaluating impoliteness seriously .....	156
4.2.1.	Categorising metacommunicative comments in retellings of known events about present others.....	157
4.2.2.	Communication-oriented metacommunicative comments in retellings of known events about present others .....	162
4.2.3.	Affective metacommunicative comments in retellings of known events about present others.....	167



4.3. (Non-)serious responses to impoliteness-related evaluations in retellings of known events about present others .....	171
4.3.1. Responding to categorising comments in retellings of known events about present others .....	172
4.3.2. Responding to communication-oriented comments in retellings of known events about present others .....	175
4.3.3. Responding to affective comments in retellings of known events about present others...	178
4.4. Participants' reflexive evaluations in interviews: shifting to seriousness and justifying situated non-seriousness .....	181
4.4.1. Categorising comments in reflexive accounts in playback interviews .....	181
4.4.2. Communication-oriented comments in reflexive accounts in playback interviews.....	184
4.4.3. Affective comments in reflexive accounts in playback interviews.....	188
4.5. Summary .....	193
<b>CHAPTER 5. 'THEY ARE THE RUDEST PEOPLE!': IMPOLITENESS STORIES ABOUT THIRD PARTIES.....</b>	<b>196</b>
5.1. Introduction.....	196
5.2. Impoliteness evaluations and small story genres: Constructing impolite others in the story-world .....	198
5.2.1. Marking deviations from communicative norms in the conduct of others .....	199
5.2.2. Categorising other(s) as impolite .....	205
5.2.3. Expressing negative emotions on account of others' transgressions .....	214
5.3. Social action of impoliteness evaluations and interactional negotiation in the narrating event .....	219
5.3.1. Displaying affiliation in complaint-tellings .....	222
5.3.2. Subtle disattending to complaint-tellings.....	227
5.3.3. Reclaiming power upon securing affiliation .....	230
5.4. From positioning other to self-identities: Constructing ethical selves and (re)asserting the moral order.....	233
5.5. Summary .....	241
<b>CHAPTER 6. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION.....</b>	<b>245</b>
6.1. Contribution to im/politeness research .....	245
6.1.1. Advancing research on im/politeness evaluations in interaction .....	245
6.1.2. Addressing the current trends in im/politeness research.....	251
6.1.3. Contributing to im/politeness research in Greek.....	252
6.2. Contribution to narrative-and-identities research in its interconnections with im/politeness research .....	254
6.2.1. Insights into the indexical association between im/politeness and identities.....	254
6.2.2. The validity of small stories research and positioning analysis for im/politeness research	257

6.2.3. The implications of im/politeness research for small stories research and positioning analysis	261
6.3. Final remarks	264
6.4. Future research avenues	265
<b>7. REFERENCES</b>	268
<b>8. APPENDICES</b>	296
Appendix 1 – Figures	296
Figure 1.1. Approaches to analysing im/politeness	296
Figure 1.2. Approaches to analysing the metapragmatic side of im/politeness1	297
Figure 1.3. Approaches to analysing identity	298
Figure 1.4. Features of categorising and communication-oriented impoliteness evaluations in ongoing talk or field notes, and in retellings of known events	299
Figure 1.5. Communication-oriented comments in narratives about third parties	301
Figure 1.6. Word cloud of categorising labels in narratives about third parties	304
Figure 1.7. Small story genres in interactional data	304
Figure 1.8. Affective comments in narratives about third parties	304
Appendix 2 – Information sheet for study	307
Appendix 3 – Consent form	311
Appendix 4 – Ethical approval letter	313
Appendix 5 – Survey	314
Appendix 6 – Ethical approval letter for survey	316
Appendix 7 – CA apparatus, transcription notations, and IGT key	317
Appendix 8 – Full versions of data extracts	322
Event 1, ‘The sick marmalade’ (COP-32)	322
Event 2, ‘Serious rudeness’ (LON-15)	328
Event 3, ‘Stop to let me finish’ (LON-08)	336
Event 4, ‘They are the rudest and most hypocritical people’ (LON-11)	345
Event 5, ‘They challenge you’ (LON-18)	351
Event 6, ‘Lack of compliment’ (COP-12)	370
Event 7, ‘It annoys me that she doesn’t respond’ (LON-13)	373
Event 8, ‘He got on my nerves’ (COP-01)	383
Event 9, ‘Don’t discuss it with him!’ (LON-37)	385
Event 10, ‘She mocked me!’ (LON-10)	387
Event 11, ‘It was not ethical’ (LON-34)	401
Event 12, ‘You know how it saddened me?’ (LON-29)	408
Appendix 9 – Vignettes from field notes	429

Vignette 1 <i>Ioli got angry</i> (Field notes).....	429
Vignette 2 <i>Paris forgot about Ectoras's trip</i> (Field notes).....	430
Vignette 3 <i>Ioli talks to her colleague Ram about her bad appraisal</i> (Field notes).....	430
Appendix 10 – Additional ongoing interactions data extracts .....	430
a) ‘We won’t be seeing you anymore’ (LON-15).....	430
b) ‘{Re}, you put too much oil!’ (LON-2).....	432
c) ‘We won’t be seeing you anymore’ (LON-15).....	433
d) ‘You’re always making comments’ (COP-34) .....	435
e) ‘That was offensive’ (COP-13).....	436
f) ‘{Re} you don’t have a jot of respect!’ (LON-5).....	436
Appendix 11 – Additional data extracts on retellings of shared events .....	438
a) ‘It was very unthoughtful!’ (COP-25) .....	438
b) ‘You were all too grumpy!’ (LON-13) .....	439
c) ‘Forgetting me over there!’ (LON-28).....	440
d) ‘You told me to stop talking!’ (COP-21).....	441
e) ‘You got a bit on our nerves’ (LON-8).....	442
f) ‘You drove me mad’ (LON-9).....	444
Appendix 12 – Additional data extracts on narratives about third parties .....	444
1) ‘She doesn’t let me speak’ (LON-4) .....	445
2) ‘I talk to her and my heart is trembling’ (LON-18) .....	447
3) ‘I’m not challenging you!’ (LON-22).....	448
4) ‘They did very unethical things’ (LON-33).....	458
5) ‘Despicable Danish’ (COP-15).....	465
6) ‘You don’t need to scream to insult me’ (LON-29).....	466
7) ‘You’d better veer towards rudeness’ (LON-11).....	468
8) ‘You don’t insult the other like that’ (LON-29).....	469
9) ‘This is not a nice manner’ (LON-8) .....	470
10) ‘He behaved in a childish manner’ (COP-16).....	471
11) ‘It is unfair’ (LON-02) .....	474
12) ‘These things are unethical’ (LON-41).....	478
13) ‘She could have said this’ (LON-13) .....	481
14) ‘She should have given you the key!’ (COP-03) .....	482
15) ‘You don’t say it. It’s rudeness’ (LON-24).....	484
16) ‘I literally got sad’ (LON-08).....	486
17) ‘He broke my nerves’ (COP-05).....	494
18) ‘I felt uneasy’ (COP-09) .....	495

19) ‘He shouts all the time!’ (COP-10) .....	496
20) ‘How rude was he!’ (LON-16).....	497
Appendix 13 – Interview data extracts .....	498
Extract 1 ‘I don’t like public criticism’ (INT-1) .....	498
Extract 2 ‘It was very bad on her part’ (INT-2) .....	499
Extract 3 ‘You did not say a nice word’ (INT-3).....	500
Extract 4 ‘It bothers me when one speaks on my voice’ (INT-4) .....	502
Extract 5 ‘This was not an interaction’ (INT-5).....	506
Extract 6 ‘It’s typical rudeness’ (INT-6).....	507
Extract 7 ‘I wanted to avoid the tension’ (INT-7).....	507
Extract 8 ‘I take it non-seriously’ (INT-8).....	509
Extract 9 ‘I comment in a calm manner’ (INT-9) .....	510
Extract 10 ‘I always let it go’ (INT-10) .....	511
Extract 11 Despair and humour (INT-11).....	512
Extract 12 ‘To lighten up the atmosphere’ (INT-12).....	513

## List of Abbreviations

Appx – Appendix

CA – Conversation Analysis

CMC – Computer-mediated communication

I. – line

II. – lines

Narrative Positioning level 1/2/3 – NP L1/2/3

INT – Interview

§ - Section

## List of Extracts

**Extract 2.1.** ‘She mocked me’ (p. 94)

**Extract 2.2.** ‘You are a scoundrel’ (p. 100)

**Extract 2.3.** ‘You are being offensive’ (p. 101)

**Extract 2.4.** ‘Stop to let me finish!’ (p. 101)

**Extract 2.5.** ‘How rude was he!’ (p. 102)

**Extract 2.6.** ‘They are the rudest and most hypothetical people’ (p. 103)

**Extract 3.1.** Sick marmalade (p. 110)

**Extract 3.2.** ‘Don’t discuss it with him!’ (p. 112)

**Extract 3.3.** Lack of compliment (p. 116)

**Extract 3.4.** ‘Stop to let me finish’ (p. 119)

**Extract 3.5.** ‘I can’t when he is sour like that’ (p. 123)

**Extract 3.6.** ‘You’re being offensive’ (p. 126)

**Extract 3.7.** ‘Fine. Don’t eat it’ (p. 130)

**Extract 3.8.** ‘Shouts, I’m hearing shouts’(p. 132)

**Extract 3.9.** ‘It’s perfect’ (p. 133)

**Extract 3.10.** ‘My future is at stake now’ (p. 135)

**Extract 3.11.** ‘Who’s sour?’ (p. 137)

**Extract 3.12.** ‘He is treating me with the stick’ (p. 138)

**Extract 3.13.** ‘I don’t like public criticism’ (p. 140)

**Extract 3.14.** ‘It was very bad on her part’ (p. 142)

**Extract 3.15.** ‘You did not say a nice word’ (p. 144)

**Extract 3.16.** ‘It bothers me when one speaks on my voice’ (p. 145)

**Extract 3.17.** ‘This was not an interaction’ (p. 148)

**Extract 3.18.** ‘It’s typical rudeness’ (p. 150)

**Extract 4.1.** Serious rudeness (p. 157)

**Extract 4.2.** ‘If you are so aggressive to me’ (p. 160)

**Extract 4.3.** ‘I said one thing, you said fifteen’ (p. 162)

**Extract 4.4** ‘You told me to stop talking’ (p. 165)

**Extract 4.5.** ‘You nagged us!’ (p. 167)

**Extract 4.6.** ‘He got on my nerves’ (p. 170)

**Extract 4.7.** ‘Little angels’ (p. 172)

**Extract 4.8.** ‘Who was aggressive?’ (p. 173)

**Extract 4.9.** ‘Was it me who said fifteen things?’ (p. 175)

**Extract 4.10.** ‘I just made a comment’ (p. 176)

**Extract 4.11.** ‘Who me?’ (p. 178)

**Extract 4.12.** ‘I admit I made a mistake’ (p. 179)

- Extract 4.13.** ‘I wanted to avoid the tension’ (p. 182)
- Extract 4.14.** ‘I take it non-seriously’ (p. 183)
- Extract 4.15.** ‘I comment in a calm manner’ (p. 185)
- Extract 4.16.** ‘I always let it go’ (p. 187)
- Extract 4.17.** Despair and humour (p. 188)
- Extract 4.18.** ‘To lighten the atmosphere’ (p. 191)
- Extract 5.1.** ‘She mocked me’ (p. 201)
- Extract 5.2.** ‘They challenge you’ (p. 203)
- Extract 5.3.** Being abrupt (p. 206)
- Extract 5.4.** ‘The behaviour was not right, it wasn’t ethical’ (p. 208)
- Extract 5.5.** ‘They are the rudest and most hypocritical people’ (p. 212)
- Extract 5.6.** ‘It annoys me that she doesn’t respond’ (p. 215)
- Extract 5.7.** ‘This was crass’ (p. 222)
- Extract 5.8.** ‘What a mule!’ (p. 223)
- Extract 5.9.** ‘This is not a (nice) manner’ (p. 224)
- Extract 5.10.** ‘You should understand each other’ (p. 225)
- Extract 5.11.** ‘She mocks me all the time’ (p. 227)
- Extract 5.12.** ‘I want start swearing at you’ (p. 228)
- Extract 5.13.** ‘I will tell her I can’t (stand) the rudeness of her character!’ (p. 230)
- Extract 5.14.** ‘This is a polite manner’ (p. 234)
- Extract 5.15.** ‘‘Asap’ has something abrupt in it’ (p. 236)
- Extract 5.16.** ‘My discontent is expressed politely’ (p. 238)
- Extract 5.17.** ‘Fofi versus the stupid Lesley’ (p. 239)

## **List of Figures**

- Figure 2.1.** Invitation to recruit participants (p. 68)
- Figure 2.2.** Scratch and field notes (p. 75)
- Figure 2.3.** Coding of recorded data in excel (p. 90)
- Figure 2.4.** Organising interview data in NVivo (p. 91)
- Figure 2.5.** Transcribing in ELAN (p. 92)
- Figure 2.6.** Marking visible conduct with transcriber comments (p. 95)

**Figure 2.7.** Supplementing transcriber comments with video frame grabs (p. 96)

**Figure 2.8.** Coding scheme (p. 98)

**Figure 6.1.** Continuum of in/explicit forms of im/politeness evaluations (p. 247)

**Figure 6.2.** Im/politeness and identity positions (p. 255)

### *In Appendices*

**Figure 1.1.** Approaches to analysing im/politeness (p. 296)

**Figure 1.2.** Approaches to analysing the metapragmatic side of im/politeness1 (p. 297)

**Figure 1.3.** Approaches to analysing identity (p. 298)

**Figure 1.4.** Features of categorising and communication-oriented impoliteness evaluations in ongoing talk/ field note and in retellings of known events (p. 299)

**Figure 1.5.** Communication-oriented comments in narratives about third parties (p. 301)

**Figure 1.6.** Word cloud of categorising labels in narratives about third parties (p. 304)

**Figure 1.7.** Small story genres in interactional data (p. 304)

**Figure 1.8.** Affective comments in narratives about third parties (p. 304)

**Figure 7.1.** Categories of overlap onset (p. 319)

**Figure 7.2.** Dis/preferred turn shape (p. 320)

## **List of Tables**

**Table 2.1.** Data collection methods and data (p. 71)

**Table 2.2.** Audio- and video-recordings per group (p. 74)

**Table 2.3.** Playback interviews per participant (p. 78)

**Table 2.4.** Frequency of evaluative categories in the data (p. 99)

**Table 2.5.** Types of im/politeness evaluations per context (p. 104)

**Table 5.1.** Categories of impoliteness evaluations in small story genres (p. 200)

**Table 5.2.** Second evaluations in complaint-tellings (p. 222)

## **Dedication**

For my parents, Antouanetta and Dimitris, for bringing eternal sunshine into my life



## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my supervisors, Doctor Eva Ogiermann and Professor Alexandra Georgakopoulou for their valuable support, guidance, and insightful feedback from the beginning of this research project to its final stages. It has been a real privilege to work with them in this thesis as well as in associated research activities. I would also like to thank Prof. Ben Rampton for being my upgrade examiner and giving me detailed feedback at the outset of my data collection. Warm thanks are also extended to all my previous lecturers who helped me reach the PhD, including those at the Department of Philology at the University of Patras (especially to Prof. Argyris Archakis for introducing me to the world of Sociolinguistics and for being a constant source of inspiration for me) and those at the LDC at King's College London during my MA studies.

Moreover, I am grateful to my fellow doctoral researchers at King's College London, especially to Christos Sagredos, who have generously offered their advice and support over the last four years. I would also like to thank Paula Villablanca Agurto, Dr. Stamatina Katsiveli-Siachou, Dr. Vasia Tsami and Dr. Eleni Kapogianni, for our fruitful collaboration in a host of research activities over the last years.

I also gratefully acknowledge the contribution of the Arts and Humanities Research Council that funded this thesis and a variety of related activities, and which provided me with important research training and a safe community space throughout my doctoral experience.

Importantly, I am particularly indebted to my participants for allowing me to record and observe them, for their generosity with their time, and for being enthusiastic and supportive throughout.

Last, but not least, I warmly thank my friends, since finishing this PhD would have been impossible without their encouragement, care, and support. I would particularly like to thank Stergios for the inspiration and encouragement; Konstantinos for his loving care and support; Dimitris, Christos, and Justine for our endless, therapeutic discussions; Eva, Eva and Efi for being there in the craziest moments; and Theofilos for his 'presence', for allowing me to grow even in the darkest of hours. The greatest debt of gratitude is, finally, owed to my parents who have always been incredibly supportive, generous, and caring.

## Abstract

My thesis cross-fertilises im/politeness research with identities analysis (e.g. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou, 2017; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Georgakopoulou, 2021) by examining lay understandings of im/politeness in face-to-face naturally-occurring interactions. It particularly seeks to understand how members of two Greek friendship groups living abroad (co-)construct and negotiate more or less explicit evaluations of im/politeness both in ongoing interactions and in narratives talk in their informal coffee meetings. This topic has proved hard to investigate, given that participants scarcely evaluate their co-interactants' behaviour in the flow of interaction (Haugh, 2007). And while the implicit aspects of im/politeness evaluations have received scant attention (but see e.g., Haugh, 2013; Ogiermann, 2019), more ink has been spilled on explicit (metapragmatic) comments, yet mainly in elicited data and corpus analyses. My aim is to address these gaps by exploring the entire spectrum of implicit and explicit evaluations mobilised by participants in spontaneous everyday interactions.

To attain this, I mainly drew on audio- and video-recorded interactions (c. 73 hours), supplemented by participant observations and playback interviews. The micro-analyses of interactional data drew from the CA apparatus, which has only partially been integrated with im/politeness scholarship, while the analysis of interactional narratives relied on Georgakopoulou's (2007) small stories research and on Bamberg's (1997) model of positioning.

The analysis yielded the following findings: first, it uncovered systematic links between the form of evaluations, and the discourse activity under way and the participation framework. Hence, implicit/indexical (multimodal) cues featured mainly in ongoing interactions with targets being present, while explicit metapragmatic comments of various types, including affective ones, were more dominant in naturally-occurring narratives about co-present or absent parties, as well as in elicited narratives during playback interviews.

A second key finding relates to the redrafting of situated evaluations in different contexts and over time. Participants tended to shift from implicit or mitigated explicit evaluations in ongoing talk towards lexicalised and more serious modes of evaluating in retellings of known events and in playback interviews, which both attests to the dynamicity and context-contingency of evaluations, and points to the affordances of storytelling and playback interviews.

Thirdly, the analysis demonstrated the importance of considering all members' contributions in multi-party interactions when it comes to evaluations of im/politeness. This is because both in ongoing interactions and in retellings of known events where the target was a co-present interlocutor and an intimate party, unaddressed recipients intervened by introducing a jocular frame that was subsequently embraced by all members involved, thereby forestalling the escalation of conflict.

Finally, the analysis of narratives about third parties foregrounded the existence of systematic relations between impoliteness and small stories which are conducive to the positioning of absent targets as impolite and of the complainant-teller as a suffering victim. It also put forth a cross-fertilisation between other-positionings and self-identity construction, as participants performed their stories about un/ethical others to basically position themselves as ethical and thus to jointly restore the moral order.

## CHAPTER 0. INTRODUCTION

This thesis aims to give a picture of the ways in which members of Greek friendship groups living abroad evaluate present or absent others' behaviour with respect to im/politeness<sup>1</sup> norms in interaction. The starting point of the research is my experience living and studying in London and thus inhabiting a world of intercultural encounters, in which evaluations of others as polite or rude appeared very prominently. This observation sharply contrasted to my concurrent engagement with the literature on im/politeness-in-interaction, which suggests that evaluations of im/politeness appear scarcely in face-to-face naturally-occurring interaction, and are therefore hard to examine in this context (e.g. Haugh, 2010b; Ogiermann, 2019). This tension between experience of everyday intercultural conversations on the one hand, and exploration of a specific body of work on the other, is what sparked my initial interest in lay understandings of im/politeness in interactions among young Greek friends living abroad. These two seemingly incompatible experiences made up the problem space of this research, which seeks to explore the ways in which im/politeness evaluations are co-constructed in everyday face-to-face interactions, and thereby to make an original contribution to the field of im/politeness research.

### 0.1. The problem space

'Im/politeness' may serve as a technical term that has been at the heart of research into Sociopragmatics<sup>2</sup> for almost half a century, yet 'politeness' and 'impoliteness' also feature as vernacular words which lay members use to refer to a variety of phenomena of daily experience. Impoliteness, in particular, is of great social and interpersonal importance, and in fact it is much more frequent than politeness in a variety of contexts (e.g. Culpeper, 2011a: xii; Haugh, 2015: 152); public signs and legal documents regulating social behaviour in public spaces condemn impoliteness-related behaviours, while the media often cover phenomena of verbal abuse, bullying, harassment and so on, which are intimately linked to impoliteness or incivility. Impoliteness also appears in spontaneous, everyday interactions 'to characterize (other) people's behaviour' (Eelen, 2001: 35). Indeed, impoliteness evaluations of characters and actions of daily experience are of utmost importance as ways of interpreting social phenomena, processing the emotional impact of them, and indicating one's own understandings of moral norms. They are also of great interpersonal significance, as they hold

---

<sup>1</sup> Throughout this thesis I will be using the term 'im/politeness' as a shorthand for both politeness and impoliteness.

<sup>2</sup> Impoliteness, in particular, has been approached from a variety of disciplines, including sociology, social psychology, conflict studies, and so on (Culpeper, 2011a: 3-8). However, I here adopt the view that impoliteness is best situated in Sociopragmatics, firstly, because most work on politeness has been generated in this field and, secondly, as it involves the investigation of communicative behaviour, which coincides with the main research agenda of Sociopragmatics (Leech, 2003: 104).

others responsible for moral breaches and thereby have clear consequences on one's relationships with others. Finally, characterisations of others' behaviour as impolite open up a window into politeness norms which usually remain tacit and undiscussed (Kasper, 1990), by pointing to behaviours that break these norms and, as such, are reprehended as impolite. It has already become clear that im/politeness is closely intertwined with morality insofar as our evaluations towards others' actions are to a great extent underpinned by our expectations and assumptions of moral norms (e.g. Fraser, 1990; Spencer-Oatey, 2005; Culpeper, 2011a). Hence, the present study approaches im/politeness as 'a negative attitude towards specific behaviours occurring in specific contexts' (Culpeper, 2011a: 23), and being informed by moral and cultural understandings (see §1.1.1.), operating at a wider or even at a local/ smaller scale.

Despite its ubiquity, impoliteness was ignored by the classic politeness theories (e.g. Brown & Levinson, 1978; Leech, 1983) as an interactional anomaly not worthy of consideration. It was only after the discursive turn within politeness research (Eelen, 2001; Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003; see §1.1.) that scholars started to look at impoliteness within overarching frameworks of interpersonal communication (e.g. Locher & Watts, 2005), with the aim of teasing out lay peoples' understandings of impoliteness as they emerge in discourse. This said, the paucity of explicit comments on the part of participants in spontaneous discourse on the one hand (cf. Eelen, 2001: 255), and the lack of an analytical framework that would enable the identification of various forms of impoliteness evaluations in that context, on the other, led im/politeness scholars (e.g. Spencer-Oatey, 2011; Fukushima & Sifianou, 2017) to heavily rely on elicitation techniques (e.g. Bella & Ogiermann, 2019) or on digital data (e.g. Graham, 2007), where explicit comments about impoliteness feature more frequently and are thus more easily collected. Hence, the ways in which evaluations of impoliteness are co-constructed in spontaneous face-to-face interactions remain significantly under-researched, yet they are important for a full understanding of the phenomenon. This research gap has been the main driving force of this project which adopts an interactional pragmatic approach to impoliteness (Haugh, 2007) to study how lay evaluations of impoliteness occur in talk and what role they play in the negotiation of the interactants' identities and relationships.

An interactional pragmatic approach to impoliteness involves considering not only explicit commentary about impoliteness but also implicit ways of signalling impoliteness in situated talk, including prosody and non-verbal features. Despite the widely-accepted claim that im/politeness is a multimodal phenomenon, interactional studies on im/politeness have scarcely looked at the multimodal aspects of the phenomenon (but see Ogiermann, 2019). Nonetheless, analysing the wide range of cues by which participants indicate impoliteness evaluations may enrich our understanding of the phenomenon as in different interactional activities different (in/explicit) forms of impoliteness evaluations may be more prominent.

Furthermore, because impoliteness evaluations may occur in interactions involving multiple participants rather than the speaker-hearer dyad, it is important to examine the role of different participants in the way an evaluation develops in multi-party interactions. Notwithstanding the significant body of conversation analytic (e.g. C. Goodwin, 1986) and narrative analytic work (e.g. De Fina & Georgakopoulou, Ch. 4) that has tapped into the varied roles/ alignments that multiple interlocutors may assume in talk and the implications these may have for the progression of an interaction, different participants' responses to impoliteness evaluations occurring in multi-party conversations have seldom been examined with respect to impoliteness-in-interaction (but see Haugh, 2013).

Finally, impoliteness evaluations do not only target co-present interlocutors in ongoing interactions but may well involve talk about third parties which is expected to appear in the form of storytelling. Despite the well-documented affinity between im/politeness and identities (e.g. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou, 2017), not least because of the common epistemological shifts in the two areas towards discursive approaches in the early 2000s (see §1.2.), and the proved validity of storytelling for studying impoliteness understandings (e.g. Georgakopoulou, 2013b), conversational stories about third parties' transgressions remain under-explored. Exploring impoliteness talk about third parties in spontaneous interactions can, however, contribute different insights into the ways impoliteness evaluations are co-constructed in interaction.

By adopting an interactional pragmatic approach to impoliteness (Haugh, 2007), this thesis aspires to tap into the ways im/politeness evaluations emerge in face-to-face interactions, either as part of conversations whereby participants judge their interlocutors' behaviour, or in conversational stories about third parties. To attain this, it will refrain from exclusively relying on participants to identify turns that 'might be open to interpretation...as im/polite' (Watts, 2003: 143), and will instead endeavour to tease out both explicit and implicit (indexical) forms of evaluations by combining an interactional pragmatic approach to impoliteness with an ethnographic epistemology (Rampton, 2007). Such an integration will not only compensate for the potential weaknesses of interactional approaches to im/politeness (see Haugh, 2010b), but it will also afford a heightened emic sensibility and an enriched access to tacit and allusive understandings (see §2.1.).

In order to study impoliteness-in-interaction, I have decided to work with groups of friends, as this would allow me to investigate the impact of different participant roles on the management of impoliteness evaluations in interaction. I have particularly chosen to work with Greek groups of friends living abroad because I am interested in phenomena that, to my experience, do not appear very prominently in everyday, ordinary conversations. However, people with an intercultural type of contact habitus can be speculated to discuss the ways in which their own understandings of norms may differ from those of others in various contexts of communication. Whilst doing monocultural (i.e.

Greek) encounters with their close friends, my participants' surroundings are those of cultural contact, which exposes them to different empirical and moral norms (Bella & Ogiermann, 2019: 189). This exposure to the 'cultural other' tends to heighten awareness of potential differences and to enhance self-reflexivity, in the sense that people in-between different cultures and normativities may develop new understandings of their identities and of norms of appropriacy (e.g. Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009: 169; Locher & Luginbühl, 2019: 252).

At the point at which I embarked on my doctoral research, I was inhabiting such an environment, a world of intercultural encounters as a Greek studying in London. I, myself, had participated in conversations whereby interactants more or less explicitly evaluated others' conduct with respect to impoliteness, especially in stories targeting absent others, while exploring a specific body of work on im/politeness-in-interaction that had documented a difficulty in identifying such evaluations in situated talk (e.g. Haugh, 2010). Having these personal experiences, I decided to work with my own groups of friends, not least because of cultural familiarity, but mainly because I wanted to operate in a network where I had increased emic sensibilities. This would facilitate my access to the data, would give me a broader perspective, and would also enhance the subjectivity which is an inherent part of 'home-ethnographic' approaches, that is, of 'detailed studies of sites that the researcher may have linguistic and cultural proximity with' (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 20).

Last, but not least, the decision to study Greeks was also driven by the paucity of research work on Greek understandings of impoliteness in naturally-occurring talk. Whilst we have ample studies looking at im/politeness strategies/choices (e.g. Sifianou, 1992; Georgakopoulou & Vasilaki, 2018; Vasilaki, 2020), studies focusing on lay impoliteness understandings have been rare (e.g. Sifianou & Tzanne, 2010). Rarer, still to the point of uniqueness, has been to explore lay understandings of impoliteness in spontaneous interactions, since the vast majority of studies on lay evaluations of im/politeness in Greek have relied on elicited, survey or interview, data (e.g. Fukushima & Sifianou, 2017; Ogiermann & Saloustrou, 2020). As a result, Greek im/politeness scholarship has privileged the analysis of explicit understandings of the phenomenon, while implicit evaluations emerging in sequences in talk have been neglected. It is to these less explicit evaluations that the present thesis aspires to shed most light on, without overlooking though explicit commentary on the matter, and the ways it often combines with indexical cues to convey impoliteness understandings in talk-in-interaction.

## 0.2. Thesis structure

This thesis is organised in six chapters: the first two chapters map out the theoretical and methodological framework of the thesis. Chapters 3-5 cover analyses of different discursive and narrative phenomena, while the final chapter provides a concluding discussion.

In particular, Chapter One provides the theoretical framework for my thesis focusing on research on im/politeness and identity. It begins with an overview of the main developments and current trends in im/politeness research, and proceeds with presenting the main links between im/politeness and identities research, which provide a rationale for cross-fertilising the two areas so as to study im/politeness evaluations in interaction. Following this, this chapter reviews the extant literature that has tapped into evaluations of im/politeness in naturally-occurring everyday interactions, summarises the main insights drawn from these studies, and identifies a series of research gaps to be addressed in the thesis.

Chapter Two introduces the groups of participants in the study, and offers an account of my methods of data collection and analysis. Firstly, it presents my epistemological framework that synthesises an interactional pragmatic approach to im/politeness with an ethnographic perspective; provides background information on the participants; and outlines my data collection methods, which involve audio- and video-recordings of naturally-occurring interactions, participant observation and playback interviews. Subsequently, it discusses my positionality and ethical considerations, before describing the analytical framework employed for the data of this thesis, which involves Conversation Analysis, Small Stories Research and Narrative Positioning. Finally, it presents my research design considerations in representing (i.e. transcribing and translating) the words and non-verbal actions of my participants in discourse.

Chapters Three, Four and Five are the analytical chapters of the thesis. These chapters take us from participants' situated evaluations of impoliteness in ongoing interactions in Chapter Three, through retrospective orientations to impoliteness in retellings in Chapter Four, to impoliteness evaluations in stories about third parties in Chapter Five. More specifically, in Chapter Three the participants' implicit and explicit evaluations of impoliteness directed at co-present interlocutors are examined. I show that implicit, multimodal cues are more salient than explicit metapragmatic comments which, when used, are mitigated or keyed as overdone/mock. I also focus on how the different forms of evaluation are negotiated in interaction by different participants. Finally, I investigate the participants' post-hoc comments and conceptualisations in playback interviews conducted a year later.

Chapter Four investigates the ways in which participants re-orientate to recent past evaluations of impoliteness in stories about shared events involving both the initiator and the target of evaluations. Here, I show how participants redraft their situated evaluations of impoliteness by shifting from



implicit cues or mitigated explicit comments (see Chapter Three) towards unmitigated verbalised evaluations. I also explore the role of (ratified) unaddressed participants in introducing a humorous frame and thus forestalling the escalation of ongoing conflict. Participants' elicited evaluations of impoliteness in playback interviews are also analysed.

In my penultimate analytical chapter (Chapter Five), I look at stories about third parties. I specifically analyse the ways in which impoliteness evaluations emerge in this context, and the self- and other-positioning processes in which they partake. I demonstrate that participants orient to third parties' misconduct seriously by employing both implicit cues and explicit metapragmatic comments in particular small story genres, mainly in breaking news. Subsequently, the focus turns to the interactive situation and the co-tellers' affiliative contributions in the here-and-now of the telling. Finally, I investigate the tellers' more enduring understandings and positions as indexed by the sequential contiguity of different story genres, the retellings of emblematic events, and by the participants' reflexive talk in interviews, amongst others.

In Chapter Six, I provide a concluding discussion that relates my core findings to the theoretical issues covered in Chapter One, and thereby outlines the contribution of my thesis to im/politeness research and to narrative-and-identity analysis.

## CHAPTER 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review will begin by mapping the landscape of im/politeness research within sociopragmatics (§1.1.). I will first discuss the evolution of im/politeness studies that has been described in terms of three main waves, before zooming in on the current trends that are expected to shape theoretical developments in the field in the years to come, and which the present study aspires to address. These include, but are not limited to, the rise of impoliteness, the relationship of im/politeness with morality and emotions, the role of metapragmatics, and the importance of multimodality.

The second part (§1.2.) addresses the theoretical discussion on the interconnections between im/politeness- and identities-in-interaction, in light of the growing momentum around integrating the two concepts to approach im/politeness from a more inclusive and interdisciplinary base. After I distil the epistemological and conceptual links between the two fields, and discuss the main insights drawn from scholarship that has studied im/politeness by tying it to identity, I will join this critical mass of studies to specifically inquire impoliteness evaluations in everyday face-to-face interactions, which remain a largely neglected area in im/politeness research.

It is to this area that the third part (§1.3.) of this review is devoted. It, first, outlines the theoretical distinctions that have so far been proposed to delve into im/politeness evaluations in interactional data, before turning to the ways in which previous researchers have attempted to empirically establish how im/politeness evaluations manifest in ongoing talk. The issues interrogated in this review bring to the fore several gaps and furnish a series of questions (§1.5.) about im/politeness evaluations in interaction, which this thesis intends to address.

### 1.1. The landscape of im/politeness research: developments and main trends

Since the inception of the field of im/politeness research in the 1970s, its developments can be characterised as appearing in ‘three major waves of thought’ (Culpeper, 2011b; Grainger, 2011). The main aspects of these waves are summarised in Figure 1.1. Approaches to analysing im/politeness (Appx1).

#### 1.1.1. From 20<sup>th</sup> century beginnings to 21<sup>st</sup> century extensions: A brief history of im/politeness research

The first wave of politeness research took place in the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, and was inaugurated by the maxim-based works of Lakoff (1973) and Leech (1983), and by Brown and Levinson's (1987 [1978]) face-based politeness theory. It also includes early approaches to impoliteness (e.g. Beebe, 1995; Culpeper, 1996). These approaches had their roots in Gricean pragmatics and Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1975), and were thus concerned with the indirect performance of speech acts which gave rise to conversational implicatures. Put it differently, they sought to account for all everyday linguistic expressions which seemed rational albeit deviating from the most efficient (i.e. according to Grice's maxims of conversation) way of getting things done through language. Searle (1975) was the first to draw a connection between indirectness and politeness, suggesting that the latter was achieved through the former. This explains many of the major characteristics of politeness scholarship of that period, particularly the investigation of politeness at the level of individual or paired utterances, its emphasis on speaker's intention, the view that politeness is proportionate to indirectness, and the focus on propositional and illocutionary meaning outside of context, *inter alia*. Brown and Levinson (1987) went a step further and reached out for an explanation of indirect language use into sociology and psychology, by borrowing Goffman's (1981) concept of 'face' as concern for one's public image to account for indirectness. This may have opened the door to politeness scholars for analysing politeness from an interdisciplinary basis, yet it also exposed the limited analytical power of concepts developed within the philosophy of language (e.g. speech acts, intention, etc.) for addressing face-related phenomena.

Therein lay many of the limitations of these early approaches. As first outlined by Eelen (2001) in his penetrating meta-theoretical critique, these limitations mainly include:

- The bias towards speaker production and the disregard for the hearer's understandings (Eelen, 2001: 96-97);
- The promotion of a strategic and cognitivist view of human interaction based on speaker intention (2001: 106);
- The focus on the analyst's interpretation of speaker meaning (2001: 253);
- The failure to adequately account for impoliteness in its own right (2001: 245); and
- The normative and essentialist conceptualisation of languages, cultures and societies as homogenous entities and predefined tools to explain differences in politeness forms across different groups (Eelen, 2001: 165-167).

The seeds of this critique had already been sown in the early 1990s through Watts, Ide and Ehlich's (1992) seminal distinction between first-order and second-order politeness aimed at investigating the phenomenon both in theory and in practice; 'first-order' politeness refers to 'the various ways in which politeness is perceived and talked about by members of sociocultural groups' (1992: 3), while 'second-order' politeness' is 'a more technical notion which can only have a value within an overall

theory of social interaction' (1992: 4). Nonetheless, contrary to that earlier study which was interested in second-order politeness, Eelen (2001) elaborated on the distinction between Politeness1 (first-order politeness) and Politeness2 (second-order politeness) to actually turn the everyday notion of politeness into the starting point of any theoretical endeavour that 'should be made to fit the data and not vice versa' (2001: 253).

For Eelen, it was crucial that analysts maintain this distinction to avoid conflating the two epistemological perspectives (Eelen, 2001: 31), given that 'politeness' is both a lay and a scientific term, and there lies a danger of ambiguity in theoretical discussions. Blurring the boundaries between lay and scientific accounts risks both elevating commonsense notions to the status of politeness2 terms (Watts, Ide & Ehlich, 1992: 4), and imposing politeness2 concepts on the realm of everyday practice, that is, allowing second-order accounts of im/politeness to masquerade as first-order views of the concept (cf. Culpeper, O'Driscoll & Hardaker, 2019: 196). In other words, the oscillation between two epistemological standpoints not only endangers the conceptual rigour of theories, but it also runs the risk of reifying scientific assessments of im/politeness, therefore becoming normative in nature, and losing sight of the plurality of perspectives and of the constant struggle over describing reality (Eelen, 2001: 46)<sup>3</sup>.

By setting clear boundaries between the two concepts and shifting the focus from the scientific to the lay one, Eelen (2001) laid the foundations for an alternative approach to politeness which set out to embrace the idea that politeness1 understandings are evaluative, argumentative, focused on 'politeness', normative, and modal/reflexive (2001: 32-48) and, crucially, began to ask why that is so and what this means about the functions of politeness in everyday communication. In this new approach, the search was then not for the content of politeness norms (i.e. what forms are im/polite, or who is imp/polite), but for the process by which these forms are dynamically and intersubjectively constructed in discourse and in relation to the socio-historical circumstances (2001: 247). This shift of analytical focus therefore meant a change of the object of investigation, notwithstanding the partial overlap in the terms used by older and newer approaches.

Eelen's lead was followed by many scholars in the early 2000s and gave rise to a second-wave of thought that was constituted by discursive/post-modern (Eelen, 2001; Watts, 2003; Mills, 2003) and relational approaches to politeness (e.g. Spencer-Oatey, 2000, 2005; Locher & Watts, 2005). The term 'post-modern', albeit elusive, serves as an umbrella term for a plethora of perspectives, which are grounded in a constructionist epistemology (Haugh, 2007a: 297-298). According to Harris and Rampton (2003: 8), constructionists assume that acts of communicative nature are crucial to the

---

<sup>3</sup> Later scholars have suggested additional reasons as to why politeness1 understandings should be the starting point of all research, including the need to pay attention to culture-specific understandings as these are reflected in the metalinguistic terms speakers of different languages use to describe im/politeness, amongst others (e.g. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2012: 82-85; Kádár & Haugh, 2013: 9; Taylor, 2015: 133, 2017: 211; Haugh, 2018b: 159).

processes through which ‘social realities and social identities get reproduced, resisted or created anew’. In other words, they regard macro-sociological processes as being instantiated in the micro-interactive order (Giddens, 1984: xvi), while they embrace cultural and individual relativism. This paradigm did not come out of nowhere but was rather informed by the real-world changes in the threshold of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, such as, globalisation, mobility, the ‘diversification of diversity’ in societies hosting migrants (Vertovec, 2007: 1025), and the concomitant development of transnational communities (Portes, 1997: 16), which have challenged the fixity of communities, identities, and other macro-categories. As a result of these social changes and the genesis of social constructionism, many early 21<sup>st</sup> century scholars across social sciences, including pragmatics, turned to discourse as the only viable locus for the investigation of social phenomena<sup>4</sup>.

A defining feature of discursive approaches to politeness (e.g., Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003) was that the very definition of politeness is a matter of discursive dispute among lay members of society (Watts, 2003: 8). The participants’ perspective was thus given centre-stage given the realisation that politeness resides in the ‘evaluative moment’ that involves both ‘speakers producing behaviour’ and ‘hearers evaluating that behaviour’ (Eelen, 2001: 110). This brought about a concomitant reduction of the role of intention in interaction, and a simultaneous shift to an emphasis on the context-contingency and emergence of politeness-as-practice (2001: 21) in long stretches of discourse. Relatedly, explanations of politeness phenomena have shifted to the notions of norms and accountability. To offer a grasp on the group-specific or broader social norms guiding politeness evaluations (e.g. Eelen, 2001: Ch. 4), discursive scholars veered towards the social practice theories of Foucault (1972) or Bourdieu (1977) or, and also embraced meso-level concepts, such as that of ‘communities of practice’ (e.g. Mills, 2003) to offer situated accounts of politeness phenomena. Additionally, in recognition of the fact that politeness inheres in intersubjective practices, a number of scholars advocated for studying the phenomenon within overarching frameworks of interpersonal communication (e.g. ‘relational work’, Locher & Watts, 2005; ‘rapport management’, Spencer-Oatey, 2005; and ‘face constitution theory’, Arundale, 2006). These approaches, most importantly, accommodated the analysis of impoliteness as a distinct phenomenon rather than as the binary opposite of politeness, while they also set the grounds for interdisciplinary work given the centrality of relationality in sister disciplines, such as in identities studies (cf. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Georgakopoulou, 2021: 297).

However, these studies have themselves been criticised for a number of reasons. A major point of criticism is that these approaches have not been fully discursive as they have employed second-order concepts which do not sit well with a preoccupation with participant understandings. For instance,

---

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the spur of the discursive approach in social psychology (e.g. Potter, 1992) and identity studies (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006), *inter alia*.

Locher (2006: 256) herself concedes that the concept of ‘politic’<sup>5</sup> behaviour is a second-order term, while the concept of ‘frame’ that both Watts (2003) and Locher (2004) have embraced to explain the basis of evaluations, is hardly a lay term. The same applies to Spencer-Oatey’s (200) rapport-management framework, where the terms ‘quality face’ or ‘equity rights’ cannot be considered first-order, as well as to Watts’s (2003) and Mills’s (2003) argument that relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson, 1996) could suit a discursive analysis of politeness. Arguably, the central role of intentions and cognitive constructs in this theory in parallel with its undocumented analytical power for analysing natural interactions (Watts, 2003: 212), makes its usefulness equivocal.

Additionally, with respect to the terminology used, it is often hard to set neat boundaries between terms such as ‘politic’ and ‘polite’, and it turns out that the differentiation between the two rests in the quantity of linguistic structures, which Watts (2003) has called ‘expressions of procedural meaning’, that is, in clearly a second-order criterion. As Ogiermann (2015: 113) comments in this respect, discursive approaches rejected linguistic structures in theory, yet in practice they largely relied on them in their analyses. I would add that the problem here is not so much that they did draw on linguistic structure, since there is clearly a linguistic component in im/politeness, and most recent work (e.g. Culpeper, 2011a) has indeed attested to a degree of conventionalisation and stability of meaning in it. What is utterly problematic, however, is that the way discursive approaches drew on structure is reminiscent of first-wave analyses of language outside of context. It would thus be plausible to argue that such frameworks have integrated terms and tenets of both orders which has caused analytical and epistemological fuzziness (cf. Culpeper, 2011b).

A second point of criticism relates to the dismissal of the role of the analyst. By shifting squarely their focus to participants’ endogenous understandings and aspiring to significantly attenuate the degree of imposition on the data, discursive scholars suggested that analysts could identify turns that ‘might be open to interpretation by interlocutors as im/polite’ (Watts, 2003: 143; Locher & Watts, 2005: 17). As Holmes (2005: 115) and Haugh (2007a: 303), amongst others, have aptly argued though, this approach heavily relies on participants’ mobilising explicit comments to establish whether im/politeness has indeed occurred in interaction. The issue with this is, *first*, that participants seldom employ such overt judgements in talk (e.g. Eelen, 2001; Haugh, 2007, 2010b). Hence, due to the paucity of explicit evidence, the selection of data for discursive analyses often depends on analysts’ weak claims that they have located ‘potential’ im/politeness, which resembles politeness<sup>2</sup> studies of naturally-occurring interactions. *Secondly*, it runs the risk of conflating the analyst-participant perspectives. And while a theory of politeness should not lose grasp of common-sense notions, it will necessarily at some point depart from those, and will embrace an etic perspective to better examine

---

<sup>5</sup> In Locher and Watts’s (2005) framework of ‘relational work’, ‘politic’ behaviour is defined as ‘[I]n linguistic behaviour which is perceived to be appropriate to the social constraints of the ongoing interaction, i.e. as non-salient’ (Watts, 2003: 19), while ‘polite’ behaviour ‘is perceived to go beyond what is expectable’ (2003: 19).

and explain the phenomenon under study (cf. Eelen, 2001: 252). By disempowering the analyst discursive approaches therefore compromised their explanatory power and rigour, and did not offer any systematic, internally coherent account as to how (inter)subjective judgements of im/politeness manifest in interaction, and what role they play in interpersonal relations (Haugh & Watanabe, 2017: 67)<sup>6</sup>. Politeness, therefore, became elusive and complex and analyses of naturally-occurring interactional data extremely scarce.

As a result of this critique of discursive approaches to im/politeness, a third-wave emerged at the beginning of the 2000s and continues still. The upshot of this wave is the cross-pollination between lay (first-order) and scientific (second-order) perspectives (Haugh & Watanabe, 2017: 67; Ogiermann & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2019: 7). This wave does not abandon the post-modern focus on the micro-interactional construction of meaning, yet it combines it with technical theorisations aiming to explicate participants' im/politeness understandings (Grainger, 2011b: 172). These technical theorisations are not, however, drawn from a coherent theoretical framework. Instead, a plethora of approaches have emerged with different epistemological premises, different goals, and different methods of analysis. These include discursive-materialist (e.g. Mills, 2017); frame-based (Terkourafi, 2005); genre (e.g. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2010); socio-interactional (Haugh, 2013, 2015); maxim-based (e.g. Leech, 2014); and Neo-Brown and Levinson approaches (e.g. Holmes *et al.*, 2012), amongst others<sup>7</sup>. As Haugh and Watanabe (2017: 68) comment, these approaches may seem complementary *prima facie*, but they do not add up to a grand theory of social interaction, since such a theory would have to be itself overly complex to the point that it would most likely become untenable for researchers to put into practice. Instead, each of these approaches illuminates certain phenomena, while it backgrounds other possible understandings.

Nonetheless, there are attendant problems with the fragmentation entailed in this. As Culpeper and Haugh (2021: 320) comment, this jungle of frameworks does not facilitate comparability across studies, nor does it enhance the evolution within one approach. On the other hand, by affording a wide range of choices of theoretical frameworks, this vast mosaic of approaches allows for flexibility and opens new doors for researchers to investigate different objects of inquiry. It also provides the opportunity to combine different approaches, inasmuch as their epistemological underpinnings are not utterly incompatible. In this respect, Culpeper and Haugh (2021: 320) suggest that the distinction between first-order and second-order politeness could be a heuristic tool for gauging which approach or set of approaches to draw on. I subscribe to the view that merging both first- and second-order interpretations is what actually defines this wave of research. In this thesis, participant interpretations constitute the starting point of my research; however, to formulate a systematic and coherent account

---

<sup>6</sup> This said, Locher and Watts (2005) did not forbid the use of a politeness2 conceptual apparatus to examine politeness1 by claiming that 'we first of all have to establish the kind of relational work the interactants in question employ to arrive at an understanding of the then-current norms of interaction' (Locher, 2006: 262).

<sup>7</sup> For a thorough overview of third-wave approaches to im/politeness, see Haugh and Watanabe (2017).

of the ways in which they manifest in everyday interactional data, I also draw on contextual knowledge acquired through participant observation, as well as on the conceptual apparatuses of CA and Narrative Analysis (see §2.4.).

Having provided a brief overview of the major developments in im/politeness research to date, I will now concentrate on five current trends that I regard as key driving forces in the field at the moment, and which I consider most relevant to my research priorities, that is, to the investigation of im/politeness evaluations in interactional data.

### 1.1.2. Major trends in current im/politeness research

#### *From politeness to impoliteness*

Despite the early realisation that language can well be used to cause offence just as much as to convey politeness, and the long history of studies on related topics such as swearing (Montagu, 1967, cited in Culpeper, 2011a: 6), impoliteness was overlooked by the classic politeness theories (e.g. Brown & Levinson, 1978) under the impression that it is an irregular behaviour or a form of pragmatic failure (e.g. Eelen, 2001: 98-100; Mills, 2003: 124; Culpeper, 2011a: 6). This was due to those theories' preoccupation with harmonious interactions, as well as to theirs not having a complete conceptual and methodological apparatus to account for the range of conflictual behaviours that are deemed as impolite. This said, momentum has been increasing with the arrival of Lachenicht (1980), Craig *et al.* (1986), Lakoff (1989), Kasper (1990), Beebe (1995), Culpeper (1996), Kientpointner (1997), and Tracy and Tracy (1998)<sup>8</sup>, who showed that impoliteness can indeed present systematicity and be commonplace in everyday communication. However, these first attempts reflected first-wave approaches to politeness in that they took the form of classificatory schemes (see e.g. Culpeper, 1996, who posited five strategies of face-attack mirroring Brown and Levinson's 1987 politeness strategies), and thus extended the limitations of the classic models to the study of impoliteness. In the early 2000s, Culpeper and his colleagues (2003) remedied some of these problems by examining impoliteness at the discourse-level and by considering the role of prosody and context (cf. Culpeper, 2005), which was in tune with a second-wave approach to politeness.

It was actually after the discursive turn in politeness studies that impoliteness was elevated to an object of study in its own right, so much that the field gained the prefix 'im-' in front of its name to indicate the equal focus on both politeness and impoliteness. Scholars coming from a discursive paradigm (e.g. Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003) underlined that the very concept of impoliteness is a matter

---

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Goffman's (1967) mention of 'aggressive facework', which was first linked to politeness by Craig *et al.* (1986: 437) in their study of face aggravation in relation to requests.



of struggle, for the focus of analysts should squarely shift to the negotiation of impoliteness in discourse. This said, discursive models did not accommodate the analysis of natural data, and were thus devoid of concrete details as to how the analyst might proceed. Whilst making a more systematic attempt at addressing impoliteness in its own right, Locher and Watts's (2005) relational framework not only suggested some fuzzy terms to theorise about relational phenomena (e.g. politic, polite, impolite), but it also defined impoliteness in terms of a negative evaluation as opposed to a positive evaluation that is aligned to politeness. While politeness and impoliteness are undoubtedly interrelated phenomena, defining impoliteness in terms of a negative cannot do justice to the distinct qualities and manifestations of the phenomenon (cf. Culpeper, 2011b: 411). Finally, while Mills (2003) suggested that CA could be fruitfully employed for analysing authentic data from a discursive perspective, this remained more of a proposal within discursive approaches.

It is within the third wave that we begin to see a dramatic increase in works studying impoliteness. As Sifianou and Tzanne (2010: 663) have claimed, 2008 could be named the 'year of impoliteness', given the arrival of the first monograph devoted to impoliteness (Bousfield, 2008), the first volume of papers (Bousfield & Locher, 2008), and the first dedicated journal issue (Bousfield & Culpeper, 2008). Indeed, Bousfield's monograph was the first to examine impoliteness in interactional data, looking at triggers of impolite acts and hearers' uptake, whilst retaining a first-wave focus on strategies. Crucially, these studies opened up new avenues for theorising impoliteness on the basis of its distinct features and not as the diametric opposite of politeness. For instance, Culpeper (2011a) showed that the metalinguistic terms used to describe impoliteness (e.g. patronising) often lack an opposite term for politeness, something that also applies to the emotional reactions triggered by the two phenomena. Also, impoliteness has been found to have its own formula-types that are conventionally used in specific contexts. Culpeper (2011a: 256), for example, found that impoliteness is most frequently conveyed through insults which appear in the form of personalised negative vocatives, references, or assertions. Others have demonstrated that it can well be performed implicitly without the use of conventional formulae, as in the cases of mock impoliteness (e.g. Haugh & Bousfield, 2012) and sarcasm (Taylor, 2015), whereby the propositional meaning of the formulae is revoked by the extra-textual information.

Notably, the availability of digital data has accelerated the 'impoliteness trend' by revealing new patterns and genres that are specific to impoliteness (Terkourafi, 2019: 20). Considering the rise of impoliteness in the public domain, scholars started to examine impoliteness as a form of confrontation, flaming, and trolling in the digital media (e.g. Graham, 2007; Hardaker, 2010), particularly pointing to factors such as the anonymity or the sharp increase of lay voices on social media as causes for these phenomena. Others have looked at online polylogues (e.g. Lorenzo-Dus *et al.*, 2011) to better explore the 'discursive struggle' on impoliteness *in situ*, given the availability of conflicting comments by multiple commentators. In addition, the offline/online nexus generated by

the surge in online communication has led to the legitimization of impoliteness as a means of reasserting the moral order in public spheres (Georgakopoulou & Vasilaki, 2018), while it has made instances of hate speech to be considered appropriate yet socially sanctioned (e.g. Terkourafi *et al.*, 2018). As commented by Terkourafi (2019: 20), these developments raise concerns with the real-world implications of transgressive behaviours in public that cannot be addressed by existing politeness theories.

The significance of these types of data in driving methodological and theoretical developments in im/politeness research is something that cannot be questioned. The same applies to explorations of impoliteness in traditional media (e.g. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich *et al.*, 2010; Culpeper, 2011a; Dynel, 2012) such as ‘exploitative’ reality shows, which ‘openly stage maximally offensive face-threat’ and thus afford ‘access to aspects of impoliteness not easily revealed elsewhere’ (Lorenzo-Dus, 2009: 166). However, the proliferation of mediated data has led im/politeness scholars to neglect everyday language use, and focus instead on what ‘stands out’, with a few notable exceptions though (e.g. Haugh, 2015; Ogiermann, 2019). My thesis will attempt to advance this line of inquiry by looking at impoliteness evaluations in spontaneous everyday interactions. I will return to this in §1.3.

### *The relationship of im/politeness with morality*

Another area of intense activity in im/politeness research is the connection of im/politeness with the notion of morality. In fact, politeness and morality have been intertwined in everyday parlance since ancient times (see Terkourafi, 2011), while their intimate relationship has been foregrounded by philosophers, such as Rawls (1987) and Buss (1999) who drew a line between morals and good manners, early on. Im/morality has also been at the epicenter of sociological research on in/civility (e.g. Pearson *et al.*, 2001; Calhoun, 2002), a term closely related to yet broader than im/politeness (see Sifianou, 2019). Despite these links and the common evolution of the two concepts from being conceptualised in terms of universal principles and systems of rules to being regarded as context- and practice-based evaluations (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Kádár, 2021: 395), im/politeness and im/morality have only recently been cross-pollinated.

In light of an increasing interest in moral issues in current im/politeness theorising (e.g. Culpeper, 2011a; Haugh, 2013; Kádár & Haugh, 2013; Kádár & Márquez-Reiter, 2015; Kádár, 2017; Davies, 2018; Georgakopoulou & Vasilaki, 2018; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Kádár, 2021), Xie (2018) spoke of a ‘moral turn’ in im/politeness research which looks at the influence of morality, and especially of the related concept of the moral order, on evaluations of im/politeness. The above studies have been inspired by discussions on morality in sociology (especially in Goffman’s 1967 work on the

interaction and social order) and in psychology<sup>9</sup>, and primarily by ethnomethodological studies on the ‘moral order’. To link the two notions, Parvaresh & Tayebi (2018: 93) have argued that ‘morality’ is rather abstract, and it is only instantiated in situated activity through ‘interactionally constituted moral orders’. The latter notion goes back to Garfinkel’s (1967) work on ethnomethodology, and refers to the ‘taken-for-granted’ understandings that allow lay members to make sense of the ‘familiar scenes of everyday life’ (1967: 35). For Garfinkel, these understandings are imbued with morality, and thus serve as the basis for gauging the acceptability of one’s own and others’ behaviour, leading Haugh (2013: 57) to argue that ‘the moral order is what grounds our evaluations of social actions and meanings as ‘good’ or ‘bad’..., ‘polite’, ‘impolite’, ‘overpolite’ and so on’.

One would arguably consider the notion of the moral order itself rather intangible, for the relationship between im/politeness-as-evaluation and the moral order is usually mediated by the meso-level concept of ‘norm’. This concept is indeed fundamental to the widely-accepted definition of impoliteness as a negative attitude towards behaviours that counteract our expectations about the appropriate modes of acting (Culpeper, 2011a: 254). This view of im/politeness as being tied to social norms goes back to the 1990s, and particularly to Fraser’s (1990: 220) claim that ‘a positive evaluation (politeness) arises when an action is in congruence with the norm, a negative evaluation (impoliteness = rudeness) when an action is to the contrary’. In the post-2000 era, more and more scholars, me included, have been espousing this view that im/politeness-related evaluations are underpinned by individuals’ expectations and conceptualisations of norms that appeal to some facet of the moral order (e.g. Eelen, 2001: Ch. 4; Spencer-Oatey, 2005: 97; Locher, 2006: 250; Fukushima & Sifianou, 2017: 530).

Importantly, recent studies have advanced the discussion around im/politeness and morality in a series of ways: *first*, they have identified distinct yet intersected types of norms, namely, ‘empirical’ and ‘moral’ norms (Eelen, 2001: 141; Haugh, 2010a: 11; Haugh & Chang, 2018: 3), whereby the former refer to typical/iterative practices that are shaped on the basis of context- and relationship-bound experiences, and reflect our understandings of how one is *likely* to act in context (Chang & Haugh, 2011a: 412-413); the latter, on the contrary, ‘have their basis in the structures of society’ (Culpeper, 2008: 15), and thus represent our perceptions of how one *should* act, i.e. our moral standards or values<sup>10</sup>. As Culpeper (2011a: 36) and Bella and Ogiermann (2019: 164) rightly comment, though, these two categories are closely interwoven, as social habits (cf. Bourdieu’s 1977 ‘habitus’) give rise

---

<sup>9</sup> For an overview of the development of the notion of morality from being theorised as operating within overarching principles or innate foundations (e.g. Turiel, 1983, Haidt, 2008) to being seen as a form of evaluation driven by moral motifs that are relationship- and context-bound (e.g. Rai & Fiske, 2011), see Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Kádár (2021).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Culpeper’s (2008: 15) and Culpeper & Haugh’s (2014: 201) distinction between ‘experiential’ and ‘social’ norms, as well as Spencer-Oatey and Kádár’s (2016: 80-81) similar distinction between ‘descriptive’ and ‘injunctive’ norms, where the former cover what typically happens, while the latter refer to the moral rules of a group.

to norms and values, which are in turn further regimented or contested by means of routinised practices.

*Secondly*, discursive/relational work has produced more sophisticated accounts of the relationship between im/politeness and morality by shifting from entire societies to small-scale units, where the argumentativity and variability of norms can become more visible (e.g. Graham, 2007; Cashman, 2008; Mullany, 2011). Whilst not rejecting a micro-interactional focus altogether, most recent, third-wave studies have expanded the scope of inquiry by embracing a multi-layered view of the moral order (e.g. Kádár & Haugh, 2013; Spencer-Oatey & Kádár, 2016). This means that they acknowledge the embeddedness or the ‘polycentricity’ (Blommaert, 2008: 85) of moral norms, i.e. that individuals may orient to im/politeness norms which exist in relation to multiple centers and operate on different scales (i.e. communities of practice, societies). This layered account allows analysts to zoom in on micro-interactional moments and then zoom out again to consider higher-order configurations, whereby they can provide a broader picture of how individual evaluations are tied both to different layers (e.g. Ferenčík, 2017; Locher & Luginbühl, 2019) and to different facets (e.g. epistemic order, deontic order; Haugh, 2013) of the moral order. Most recently, nuanced analyses of online interactions have also shown that the relationship between im/politeness and im/morality is not straightforward, but rather locally negotiated and bound to ideology (e.g. Georgakopoulou & Vasilaki, 2018; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Kádár, 2021).

Most of the studies mentioned above have relied on digital data, with Haugh’s (2013) work being a notable exception. As Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Kádár (2021: 401) suggest, however, ‘the study of meticulously transcribed and analysed interactional data would certainly contribute to further research both in pragmatics and in other disciplines delving into moral issues’. The present study will attempt to advance this line of work by looking at naturally-occurring interactions where moral understandings emerge not at the level of abstract im/politeness meta-discourses (see e.g. Locher & Luginbühl, 2019) but in situated conversations where participants may deploy explicit meta-comments and/or indexical cues to pinpoint a present or absent other’s impropriety, and thereby hold her/him accountable to the moral order.

### *Im/politeness and affect*

Emotions<sup>11</sup> have mainly been discussed in relation to the effects of moral transgressions within im/politeness scholarship. As early as in the 60s, Goffman (1967: 6, 23) explicitly referred to the ‘feelings’ attached to face suggesting that threatening the hearer’s face provokes anguish, while

---

<sup>11</sup> As noted by Alba-Juez (2021: 341) scholars have yet to reach a consensus as to the terms used to point to the phenomenon of emotion. Hence, ‘affect’, ‘feeling’, ‘emotion’ and ‘mood’ are often employed interchangeably.

damage to one's own face causes anger. Within first-wave approaches to politeness, Brown and Levinson (1987: 16) conceded that 'liking' may affect the choice of politeness strategy and mentioned the need to avoid potential aggression (1987: 1), or the uncontrolled expression of emotions, since this might be face-threatening (1987: 28). Ide (1989: 225) and Lakoff (1989: 102) spoke of the minimisation of the risk of confrontation and of smooth communication, respectively, while Leech (2014: 139) pointed to the role of emotions in Brown and Levinson's 'distance' variable, arguing that affect and intimacy are crucial to weighing the degree of an imposition (cf. Kientpointner, 2008: 246-247). And while most of these first-wave studies referred only in passing to emotions, Arndt and Janney (1985) were among the few scholars of that time who reserved a broader role for affect in their model, claiming that politeness should be interpreted within the 'emotive dimensions to speech' (Arndt & Janney, 1985: 286-292). Their model was valuable as it set the grounds for a multimodal approach to emotion talk by considering the various cues whereby positive/negative affect is signalled in communication, while it also acknowledged 'the conscious, strategic modification of affective signals to influence others' behavior' (Arndt & Janney, 1991: 529).

The role of emotions may not have been sufficiently addressed by early approaches, but there has now been a growing interest in affect in im/politeness theorising. This is closely related to what is seen as one of the big paradigm shifts of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, namely, the 'emotional turn' (LeDoux, 2000) in the humanities<sup>12</sup>, prompting Lakoff (2016: 272) to suggest that 'the conceptual is inseparable from the emotional, and vice-versa'. Screening the literature, we find a number of contributions that are concerned with the links between face and emotions (e.g. Spencer-Oatey, 2002; Culpeper, 2011a) on the one hand, and studies looking at the resources participants mobilise to display emotions in interaction (e.g. Locher & Langlotz, 2008, 2013; Culpeper *et al.*, 2014), on the other.

Beginning with the first strand, Spencer-Oatey (2002), for instance, in her discussion of rapport management, showed that participants' judgements of im/politeness may trigger particular 'emotional reactions' (e.g. joy, anger), which may in turn affect their negotiation of face concerns and their perceptions of rapport (2005: 116). Drawing both on Spencer-Oatey's (2002, 2005) work and on Haidt's (2003) research on moral emotions, Culpeper (2011a) advanced the link between face and emotions, particularly suggesting that breaches of sociality rights are expected to yield 'other-condemning emotions' (e.g. anger, contempt), whereas face-damages are more likely to incite 'self-conscious emotions' (e.g. embarrassment, shame). On a relevant note, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2013), suggested that we should draw a line between identity, face, and emotions, as emotions are integral both to the maintenance/enhancement/threat of face and to the (non-)verification of identity (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013: 17; cf. Ruhi, 2009: 170). In terms of the 'communicative

---

<sup>12</sup> The scope of this thesis does not allow an extensive review of how emotions have been approached in other areas of Sociopragmatics, except im/politeness, as well as in other disciplines (e.g. in functional linguistics, cognitive linguistics, etc.). For a comprehensive overview of the topic, see Locher & Langlotz (2017) and Alba-Juez (2021).

observables' (Langlotz & Locher, 2017) of emotions, Culpeper *et al.* (2010), drawing on participants' reports about negatively-valenced events, demonstrated the variety of lay emotion labels that participants use to talk about impoliteness-related incidents. Likewise, Spencer-Oatey (2011) elicited metapragmatic emotion and im/politeness comments in interviews about workplace project partnerships, and showed the variability in lay emotion predicates pointing to positive or negative affect. Finally, Langlotz and Locher (2013, 2017) conducted sophisticated analyses of less explicit facial, body, or vocal cues by which emotions are signalled in interaction, alongside explicit meta-comments, and showcased their influence on the negotiation of interpersonal relationships.

Notably, we should note that the majority of these studies have relied on elicited interview data (e.g. Spencer-Oatey, 2011), mediated interactions (Locher & Langlotz, 2017), or even comic strips (Langlotz & Locher, 2013), thus neglecting how emotions occur in naturally-occurring face-to-face conversations. Locher and Langlotz (2008), Ruhi (2009), and Chang and Haugh (2011b) constitute a few notable exceptions. Locher and Langlotz (2008), particularly, looked at lay understandings of social norms in interactional data, as these were indexed by explicit meta-comments on negatively marked relational work, as well as by the display of related emotions through tone of voice (2008: 179-180). Likewise, Ruhi (2009) illustrated the impact of authentic emotive discourse, including explicit references to emotions (e.g. anger, embarrassment, etc.), to self-/ other-face and self-/ other-presentation, while she also showed that the expression of feelings may be used strategically to help attain one's interactional goals. Finally, Chang and Haugh (2011b) took a more focused interactional approach by looking at interactional, prosodic, and non-verbal features as implicit indices of the emotion of embarrassment in business interactions. Overall, these studies have been instrumental in displaying the intricate ways in which emotions occur in actual talk, and are interdependently inked with morality, relationality, and identity.

From this perspective, they could be taken as a starting point to further exploring the productive cross-fertilisations between im/politeness and emotivity in relation to three areas: *Firstly*, more research is needed to examine the varied resources participants use to formulate natural emotion comments, and how their manifestations may vary according to the context and the discourse activities in which they occur. Display rules (Ekman & Friesen, 1975) are of utmost relevance to this, as they pertain to cultural norms governing expectations about how, when, and where one should express their feelings. As Locher and Langlotz (2017: 311-315) showed in their analysis of a scripted shop interaction in Britain, the breach of the emotional display rules by the shop-assistant triggered negative emotions in the client, which were best apparent in a range of multimodal cues and metacommunicative comments about im/politeness in his responses.

*Secondly*, further work could throw additional light on the association between emotions, im/politeness, and identity, that is, on the indexical power of emotional displays in ongoing talk or

talk about third parties. In this respect, it would be useful to explore how emotion comments and cues can serve as different yet intertwined evaluations of im/politeness and instances of stance-taking. The tight relationship between evaluation/attitude/appraisal and emotions has been well documented in various theories within linguistics (e.g. Martin & White, 2005; Schwarz-Friesel, 2015)<sup>13</sup>, especially within interpersonal pragmatics where interpersonal attitudes and evaluations are both viewed as emotionally-laden and are linked to ensuing emotional reactions (Haugh *et al.*, 2013: 4; Kádár & Haugh, 2013: 61; Culpeper & Haugh, 2014: 197). This thesis will attempt to advance these lines of inquiry, by considering emotion comments and cues not least as reactions to impoliteness evaluations but as forms of evaluations themselves, which may occur in situated activities involving a complex participation framework (Goffman, 1981).

### *Im/politeness and metapragmatics*

Another great trend in im/politeness research is the growing significance attached to ‘metapragmatic’ aspects of the phenomenon. The term ‘metapragmatic’ was coined by the linguistic anthropologist Silverstein (1976) and was defined as the ‘reflexive pragmatic functioning’ (1976: 36). In other words, it involves the study of language users’ awareness of their language use in context, and how this manifests in their situated language use (Kádár & Haugh, 2013: 184; Culpeper, Haugh, & Kádár, 2017: 334). Importantly, this reflexive language use entails an ability on the part of the participants to interpret and evaluate the appropriateness of one’s own and others’ communicative behaviours (Culpeper & Haugh, 2014: 258), which is itself guided by one’s expectations and assumptions of norms regarding what is appropriate in a given context. From this perspective, studying the metapragmatic aspects of im/politeness can allow interesting insights into tacit beliefs and stereotypes that constitute the moral order (Culpeper, 2011a: 73; Kádár & Haugh, 2013: 94).

It would not be a misinterpretation to argue that first-wave approaches to politeness entirely ignored the metapragmatic aspects of the phenomenon. Blum-Kulka’s (1992) work of that time, albeit interested in children’s pragmatic socialisation rather than in im/politeness, is nevertheless notable as the first study to have looked at ‘metapragmatic definitions’ and ‘metapragmatic comments’ (1992: 256-262) about politeness in elicited narratives in interviews. She also provided examples that showed how such comments may manifest in discourse (e.g. ‘don’t interrupt’), although she did not provide a clear definition of the term, nor did she show how such comments might surface in ongoing interaction.

---

<sup>13</sup> Schwarz-Friesel (2015: 161, cited in Alba-Juez, 2021: 341) defined emotion as ‘a complex internally represented knowledge system having a primarily *evaluative* function within the human organism’ (emphasis added), while in Martin and White’s (2005) appraisal model, ‘affect’ was treated as a subcategory of ‘attitude’.

In the post-2000s era, Eelen was the first to mention ‘reflexivity’ as one of the characteristics of Politeness<sub>1</sub>, which he associated with evaluativity and normativity by arguing that ‘because it involves a metalinguistic or metapragmatic moment, politeness<sub>1</sub> is inherently a reflexive activity’ (2001: 43). Earlier on in the same monograph, he had dissected the notion of politeness<sub>1</sub> and had foregrounded the ‘metapragmatic’ aspect as one of the different facets of politeness-as-practice, which covers ‘instances of talk about politeness as a concept’ (2001: 32; see §1.3.).

However, Eelen did not specify what this ‘talk about politeness’ may involve and how it may manifest in interaction, nor did he provide concrete examples of metapragmatic politeness in authentic data. And although Eelen did not argue that metapragmatic im/politeness only covers opinions about the concept of im/politeness and is thus placed *outside* ongoing interaction, its juxtaposition with the ‘classificatory’ side of politeness<sub>1</sub> (2001: 35) that involves situated judgements *within* actual interactions, gives the impression that, for him, metapragmatic im/politeness was not closely associated with the on-line management of discourse (cf. Davies, 2011: 190). However, as Culpeper and Haugh (2014) have rightly argued, metapragmatics ‘encompasses the study of language usages that indicate reflexive awareness on the part of participants about those interactive or communicative activities they are *currently* engaged in.’ (2014: 240, emphasis added; cf. Caffi, 1994: 2461; Hübler & Bublitz, 2007: 6). It therefore seems that Eelen’s conceptualisation of the metapragmatic side of im/politeness<sub>1</sub> is fairly narrow, as it only covers a subcategory of metapragmatic comments, which is akin to what Kádár and Haugh (2013: 200) named ‘metadiscursive’, i.e. comments focusing on wider discourses about im/politeness.

Importantly, Kádár and Haugh (2013) advanced the field of metapragmatic im/politeness by proposing a finer distinction between the different forms in which metapragmatic awareness may manifest in different contexts, namely, in metacognitive, metadiscursive, metalinguistic, and in metacommunicative awareness (2013: 186-187)<sup>14</sup>. While the former relates to how cognitive states relating to im/politeness, such as attitudes, beliefs, and expectations, show in discourse and, particularly, through a close examination of pragmatic markers, the latter covers the study of the ways in which circulating discourses, or reified ‘frames of interpretation and evaluation’ (2013: 187), concerning im/politeness surface in lay person’s talk. An investigation of the metalinguistic awareness, on the other hand, is concerned with the analysis of the labels that people employ in different languages to refer to im/politeness (e.g. ‘polite’ in English, ‘ευγενής/-ές’ in Greek; 2013: 186), and clearly draws on Jakobson’s (1960: 356) conceptualisation of the ‘metalingual function’ of language as a ‘glossing function’ that is ‘focused on the code’<sup>15</sup>. Finally, an inquiry into participants’ metacommunicative awareness consists in analysing how social actions and meanings are evaluated in

---

<sup>14</sup> But see Culpeper (2011a) who employed the term ‘metadiscourse’ as an umbrella term for both metalanguage and metapragmatic comments.

<sup>15</sup> See also Lucy (1993: 17) and Verschueren (2000: 441), who did not approach metalanguage as just one of the multiple foci of metapragmatics, but rather considered the former as the only focus of the latter.



interaction through the use of ‘explicit comments that participants make...using terms such as polite or courteous’ (Kádár & Haugh, 2013: 187). This aspect of metapragmatic understanding of im/politeness is of special interest in this thesis, as it is the one that is most closely related to naturally-occurring interactional data, and thus deserves a more detailed examination.

The term ‘metacommunicative’ was originally employed in Bateson (1972 [1955]: 178), who distinguished between ‘metalinguistic’ messages that topicalise language and ‘metacommunicative’ messages that focus on the speaker-addressee relationship, and ‘frame’ the communication in so far as they help the hearer interpret the speaker’s messages within a particular interactional frame (1972: 188). Importantly, these messages may well include vocal and kinesic aspects rather than just language-related ones. While Bateson did not link metacommunicative with metapragmatic (as this term was coined by Silverstein in 1976), Hübler explicitly stated that one of the possible readings of the term ‘metapragmatics’ is the study of (explicit or implicit) metacommunication (2011: 107), i.e. ‘the study of communication about communication’ (2011: 108), which basically takes place within ongoing interactions. As Kádár and Haugh (2013: 196) argued, though, metacommunicative comments can well be directed at ‘past evaluative moments of politeness situated in the there-and-then’ (2013: 196), which infers a potential link between metacommunication and narratives. This said, the studies that have actually looked at naturally-occurring interactions to investigate metacommunicative im/politeness-in-interaction are few and far between (e.g. Holmes, Marra & Vine, 2012; see §1.3.), which is of no surprise, if one considers that the various metapragmatic aspects of im/politeness become more salient in elicited data (e.g. Spencer-Oatey, 2011), media commentaries (e.g. Locher & Luginbühl, 2019), corpus analyses (e.g. Culpeper & Haugh, 2020), and in digital data (e.g. Graham, 2007)<sup>16</sup>.

The field of metapragmatic im/politeness has also been advanced by paying a closer attention to the ways in which metapragmatic awareness is manifested. This involves a consideration of metapragmatic comments, a term that first appeared in Blum-Kulka (1992) and then in Pizziconi (2007a)<sup>17</sup>, but Culpeper (2011a) and Culpeper and Haugh (2014) were the first to clearly delineate the term’s semantic scope and constituents. Drawing on various data-types, from face-to-face interactions to fictional data, Culpeper and Haugh (2014: Ch. 8) explicitly distinguished between ‘metapragmatic comments’, i.e. ‘situated comments about or evaluations of language use, which often involve the use of metalinguistic descriptors’ (e.g. ‘that was nice’; 2014: 241), and ‘metapragmatic labels’, that is, ‘words or phrases used by speakers with a particular meaning in interaction to describe pragmatic

---

<sup>16</sup> For a detailed list of the different methods and data that have been used to the study of metapragmatic im/politeness, alongside exemplar studies, see Figure 1.2. Approaches to analysing the metapragmatic side of im/politeness1).

<sup>17</sup> Blum-Kulka (1992: 262) did not provide any clear definition of the term, while Pizziconi (2007a: 219) equated comments with ‘evaluative qualifiers of polite behaviour or polite stances’, that is, with (near)-synonyms of the words ‘polite’ and ‘teneina’.

acts' (e.g. speech act labels; cf. Culpeper, 2011a: 74; Haugh, 2018b: 618). This said, the authors used the terms 'metapragmatic labels' (2014: 9), 'metalanguage' (2014: 239), and 'metalinguistic descriptors' (2014: 241) interchangeably in that chapter, which points to the general terminological confusion between 'metalanguage' and 'metapragmatics' not only within politeness, but also in original theoretical work (e.g. Lucy, 1993; Verschueren, 2000) that has conflated metapragmatics with metalanguage (see Ogiermann & Saloustrou, 2020: 4)<sup>18</sup>. Being consistent in the use of terms and clear with regards to their semantic scope and their actual manifestation in discourse is, however, crucial to a systematic investigation of metapragmatic im/politeness.

In addition, im/politeness research could delve a bit more into the theoretical work on metapragmatics to better specify the multiple forms in which metapragmatic im/politeness shows in discourse, except explicit comments. In this respect, work that has distinguished between 'implicit' and 'explicit' metapragmatic acts in use would be rather informative. Hübler and Bublitz (2007) have particularly argued that metapragmatic acts can be implemented either in 'explicit' or in 'implicit' ways (2007: 11; cf. Hübler, 2011: 108-119), which echoes Bateson's idea that metacommunicative messages frame communication either explicitly or implicitly (1972 [1955]: 188), and Verschueren's (2000) original distinction between explicit and implicit 'metalanguage' (2000: 441)<sup>19</sup>, whereby the former appears mainly in the form of 'metapragmatic lexical items' and the latter manifests in shifters (Silverstein, 1976), modality, and 'contextualisation cues' (Gumperz, 1982). These features were also mentioned by Lucy (1993: 10, 17) as instances of implicit metapragmatic activity<sup>20</sup>, although their metapragmatic dimension is 'rarely consciously noted' (Gumperz, 1982: 131). This distinction would be especially useful in exploring the potential realisations of im/politeness evaluations in actual talk, and yet it has not been widely embraced by im/politeness scholars to date. I will discuss this further in §1.3.

Last, but not least, im/politeness research would benefit from considering the different functions of implicit or explicit resources for making a situated evaluation, as these have been delineated in current work on metapragmatics. More specifically, Hübler and Bublitz (2007: 18; cf. Hübler, 2011) have proposed three main groups of functions that metapragmatic acts may perform in interaction, namely,

---

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the variety of alternative terms that have been suggested for metapragmatic comments, such as 'metapragmatic expressions' (e.g. Culpeper, Haugh & Johnson, 2017), 'metalinguistic comments' (e.g. Davies, 2011), 'meta-utterances' (e.g. Hübler & Bublitz, 2007), 'metacommunicative utterances' (e.g. Hübler, 2011), and 'metacommunicative expressions' (e.g. Jucker *et al.*, 2012).

<sup>19</sup> Verschueren's (2000) explicit metalanguage covers that aspect of Jakobson's (1960) 'metalingual function' where linguistic messages refer either to the messages themselves (e.g. reported speech) or to the code (e.g. the mention and explanation of words). In contrast, implicit metalanguage covers cases in which the code refers to the code (e.g. proper names) or to the message (e.g. shifters).

<sup>20</sup> For Lucy (1993: 17), implicit metapragmatic activity consists in 'speakers' signalling how pragmatic forms should be appropriately interpreted in context', while explicit metapragmatic activity covers 'metapragmatic reference to and predication about particular speech events as pragmatic activity [...], metapragmatic characterisation and evaluation of speech types [...] or metasemantic reference and predication about the regularities of meaning equivalencies in the language code (e.g. glossing)'.

evaluative, communication-oriented and instrumentalised functions. The first concern the expression of the speaker's attitude. The second group points to organisational issues in discourse (e.g. turn-taking, negotiating the force of pragmatic acts, etc.) and interpersonal dimensions of communication (e.g. face-threat, affiliation, etc.), while the third relates to the negotiation of norms and identities. Importantly, the boundaries between these sub-categories of metapragmatic functions are far from clear-cut, prompting one to ask whether it is possible to discuss, for example, the display of attitudes separately from face, affiliation, and identity construction. However, a metapragmatics-in-use perspective cannot ignore the aspect of *function* and merely describe the *form* of metapragmatic comments, as the way these comments are formulated in talk often depends on the speaker's interactional goals, which in turn hinge on the discourse activity at hand and the wider context.

In fact, corpus-based metapragmatic studies of im/politeness have drawn on this work. Culpeper and Haugh (2014: 241), for instance, have foregrounded the evaluative side of metapragmatic comments by mentioning 'attitudinal categorisers' (e.g. 'polite', 'courteous') as a subtype of metalinguistic descriptors embedded within im/politeness-related metapragmatic comments. Relatedly, Culpeper and Hardaker (2016: 126) and Haugh (2018b: 624) have pointed not only to 'evaluative' acts (e.g. rude), but also to 'pragmatic' (e.g. thank) and 'inferential' acts (e.g. mean), which are reminiscent of Hübler and Bublitz's (2007: 18) communication-oriented functions. Although it is unquestionable that interactional approaches to metapragmatic im/politeness would benefit from this work, not much has been done towards this direction (but see e.g. Haugh, 2019). I will return to this in §1.3 to explain how this line of inquiry could be more systematically pursued in interactional data.

### *Im/politeness and multimodality*

While for the most part, the relationship between im/politeness and multimodality had been overlooked (Culpeper, 2011a: 151), recent years have witnessed multimodality rise to prominence in politeness and more generally in pragmatics.

More specifically, the post-2000s era has seen several scholars tracing the links between im/politeness, prosody, and non-verbal features. Culpeper (2011a: 57) has noted that an utterance that seems polite at the verbal level can be rendered impolite by means of prosody or non-verbal cues. To begin with prosody, a plethora of studies have drawn a line between politeness and high pitch on the one hand, and impoliteness and low pitch (and loudness), on the other. Brown and Levinson (1987: 268) were the first to associate politeness with high pitch on the grounds that it conveys deference and

is reminiscent of the voice quality of children<sup>21</sup>. This idea has indeed been supported by later studies who found that high pitch is a way of performing polite requests in Mexican Spanish Orozco (2008; cited in Brown & Prieto, 2021), and/or an indicator of mitigation in commands (Devís & Cantero, 2014) in Catalan. This said, other studies have shown that in some situations and contexts politeness can be conveyed by low pitch that indexes a calmer voice, whereas impoliteness can be signalled by a higher pitch cuing aggression or disaffiliation (e.g. Brown *et al.*, 2014; Brown & Prieto, 2017: 365-366; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2022: 21), which problematises the straightforward association between politeness and high pitch.

On another note, Culpeper, Bousfield, and Wichmann (2003: 1569-1572) were among the first politeness scholars who showed that the negative impoliteness strategies ‘hinder linguistically’ and ‘threaten’ are cued by a final pitch fall, while that of ‘invading the other’s space’ can be signalled by an increase in loudness (and pitch), which simultaneously conveys the speaker’s negative affect (e.g. anger; 2003: 1573). Prosodic dissociation has, too, been found to signal impoliteness (Culpeper, Bousfield, & Wichmann, 2003: 1574; Brown & Prieto, 2017), as a hearer who refuses to use the same pitch as that employed by the last speaker also denies common ground with him/her. Finally, recent work has demonstrated the important role of other prosodic aspects, such as that of ‘intensity’ (Idemaru *et al.*, 2020), in multimodal analyses of politeness.

Turning now to non-verbal behaviours, this area has only recently started to attract scholarly attention, specifically in relation to marking social status. In this respect, Brown and Winter’s (2019) analysis of Korean TV dramas has showed that participants constrain their gestures and haptics when encountering status superiors, but are expected to offer bows to them and reciprocate superior-initiated hand-shakes. In contrast, Hillewaert’s (2016; cited in Brown & Prieto, 2021: 441) ethnographic study of Muslim communities in Kenya has demonstrated that it is customary for inferiors to initiate the hand greeting, which points to the culture-specific nature of gestures and non-verbal behaviours. Again, as we noted in relation to prosodic aspects, it is hard to match specific non-verbal behaviours with particular social meanings, as these couplings are heavily indexical and context-contingent.

As Brown and Prieto (2021: 430) have recently argued, prosody and gesture tend to be investigated in a non-integrated fashion, although current research has started to trace the ways in which prosodic and non-verbal cues coalesce to index a variety of pragmatic meanings, such as turn-taking, information status or epistemic stance. In terms of im/politeness in particular, studies that have considered the collaborative contribution of prosody and non-verbal behaviours are few and far between. For instance, Nadeu and Prieto (2011), drawing on perception experiments, showed the complex ways in

---

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Ohala (1984: 327, cited in Brown & Prieto, 2021: 440), who explained this link by reference to the biological association between small physical size and high pitch (i.e. smaller animals have higher-pitched voices).

which prosodic cues interact with non-verbal features to communicate politeness, as increased pitch was only deemed polite when accompanied with smiling facial expressions; otherwise, it resulted in a decrease of perceived politeness (2011: 847-849). Similar findings were reported by Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2022) who identified parallels between verbal, non-verbal, and prosodic features indicating impoliteness in the behaviour of a group of American middle-aged white women stereotypically known as *Karens*. For example, she saw emphatic deictic gestures co-occur with insults, accusations, and disagreements, as well as with increased pitch, and loudness (2022: 26), as evidenced by the videos that lay users uploaded on Instagram to stigmatise Karen-like behaviours. Despite the rich insights they have afforded, these studies mainly rely on elicited or mediated interactions. In contrast, Ogiermann's (2019) study of politeness in intimate relationships in Polish constitutes a notable exception, as it has evidenced the coarticulation of verbal (e.g. negative assessments, other-criticism), prosodic (e.g. high pitch, loudness rise), interactional (e.g. pauses), and non-verbal features (e.g. gestures, facial expressions) in naturally-occurring face-to-face disagreement sequences. By showing the importance of these cues' joint contribution in communicating impoliteness evaluations and negotiating face and rapport in ongoing talk, it can thus be taken as a starting point to advance the study of multimodal im/politeness as a form of evaluation in interaction.

In sum, this section has both outlined the main developments in the field of im/politeness research, and has described in more detail those trends that I consider both emblematic of the current state of affairs in the field, and most relevant to the agenda of this thesis. In discussing these trends, I noted a conspicuous dearth of studies relying on naturally-occurring interactions to investigate them. This study will attempt to address this gap by focusing on how impoliteness evaluations are constructed in interaction by the joint contribution of explicit metapragmatic comments and implicit prosodic and non-verbal cues. These features will be seen as both tied to understandings of the moral order and affect, and linked to the negotiation of identity positions in interaction. I will now turn to the relationship between im/politeness and identities.

## 1.2. Im/politeness- and identities-in-interaction: a productive synergy

This section will turn to the field of identities research with which im/politeness has been much integrated since the early 2000s, as part of the rising plea for studying im/politeness from a multidisciplinary theoretical base. It will start by presenting the documented links between the two areas that provide the grounds for productively cross-fertilising them to study im/politeness in naturally-occurring interactions. It will then focus on the main insights that have been drawn so far from empirical research that has applied identity models to the investigation of im/politeness, but has largely begun with narrative- rather than with im/politeness-analytic priorities. It will conclude with a

consideration of potential avenues for further research that will contribute to a combined examination of im/politeness and identities in spontaneous face-to-face interactions.

### 1.2.1. Links between identities- and im/politeness-in-interaction

Since the early 2000s, im/politeness scholars have advocated for examining im/politeness from a wider base to better account for the complexity and multifacetedness of the phenomenon. ‘Identity’ has been considered the best alternative so far on account of the conceptual and epistemological similarities it shares with ‘im/politeness’. As a result, the mass of studies that are drawing on this synergy to approach im/politeness is constantly gaining momentum.

It is important to note here that it is a particular view of identity that has become central to im/politeness, namely, a view of identity as emergent in discourse and situated in context. This conceptualisation of the term has been introduced by discourse-analytic and social interactional approaches to identity (e.g. Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Mendoza-Denton, 2008), which Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Georgakopoulou (2021: 294) have collectively called ‘identities-in-interaction’. As I will elaborate below, this is the view espoused in the present thesis given its intimate relationship with my approach to im/politeness as interactionally co-constructed. Notably, this view of identities-in-interaction has also been central to other subfields of sociopragmatics, mainly in discursive/relational pragmatics (e.g. Locher, 2008; Locher & Graham, 2010), but im/politeness constitutes the main subfield of pragmatics in which identities as emergent and co-constructed in interaction have been investigated in more depth. This rapprochement is not surprising if one considers the affinities between the two areas, which have been more explicitly foregrounded after the advent of the discursive turn in im/politeness research<sup>22</sup> (cf. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou, 2017; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Georgakopoulou, 2021). These links mainly include the connection between ‘face’ and ‘identity’; the shift in interest to identities and politeness as realised in discourse in the post-2000s era, and the crucial role of meso-level concepts in approaching them (e.g. ‘evaluation’, ‘positioning’, ‘indexicality’, etc.); the relationship of both concepts with morality and affect; the importance of both explicit and implicit features in accounting for the modes of manifestation of both concepts; and, finally, the indexical connection between identities and im/politeness evaluations. I will elaborate on each of the above issues next.

---

<sup>22</sup> But see earlier work, for instance, on interlanguage or intercultural pragmatics which had tied politeness realisation to social identities, such as ethnicity, nationality, and gender (e.g. Blum-Kulka *et al.*, 1989; Kasper & Blum-Kulka, 1993; Lakoff, 1975; Brown, 1980; Holmes, 1995). In this body of work, though, the indexical relationship between the two concepts was not made explicit (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou, 2017: 230).

#### 1.2.1.1. *The conceptual affinity between face and identity*

Studies of face have been central to im/politeness theories, while studies of identity have formed the cornerstone of sociological theory. For the most part, the separation of these two constructs had not been disputed, except in the work of scholars within the American School of Communication (e.g. Tracy, 1990; Ting-Toomey & Kurogi, 1998). Back in the 1990s, Tracy (1990) equated face with ‘the socially situated identities people claim or attribute to others’ (1990: 210), and thus advocated the inclusion of the wide range of self-presentation claims that can be traced in the social psychological approaches to identity in their account of face. Similarly, Ting-Toomey and Kurogi (1998: 190) viewed face as a cluster of identity and relational issues.

Importantly, identity constitutes one of the terms that Goffman connected with face. Goffman (1967: 5) conceptualised face as ‘the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself [sic] by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact’. In fact, he substituted the concept of face rather unproblematically with that of identity in the bulk of his work, through the concept of line which he saw as being intertwined with face (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2009). He particularly defined line as ‘a pattern of verbal or nonverbal behaviour acts by which [an interactant] expresses his [sic] view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself’ (Goffman, 1967: 5). Hence, one can claim a face once s/he has chosen a particular line. Nevertheless, Brown and Levinson’s (1987) seminal work on politeness theory separated face from line, and described the former as a cognitive and individualistic construct that was possessed by a rational model person (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2003: 1460). The two concepts were, therefore, treated as separate within first-wave politeness research.

It was only after the advent of discursive approaches in the early 2000s that ‘face’ and ‘identity’ were cross-fertilised. This was due to a reconceptualisation of politeness as a discursively realised form of evaluation (see §1.1.1.), and to a renewed interest in conceptualisations of face, which either argued for a return to Goffman’s initial definition (e.g. Locher, 2008; Bargiela-Chiappini & Haugh, 2009), or suggested a reconceptualisation of face along socio-constructivist lines (Arundale 2006, 2009, 2010; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013). As a result of these changes, politeness scholars started to concern themselves with the possible integration between face/politeness and identity by introducing identity-related issues in their analyses of im/politeness phenomena (e.g. Graham, 2007; Spencer-Oatey, 2007; Locher, 2008; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2009, 2013, 2022; Georgakopoulou, 2013b; Joseph, 2013; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou, 2017; Georgakopoulou & Vasilaki, 2018). However, other im/politeness scholars reacted mostly by emphasising the following differences between the two concepts:

- (i) Face is a social and relational attribute, while identity is an individual possession (O’Driscoll, 2011: 25; Arundale, 2013: 139).
- (ii) Face is an ephemeral phenomenon, while identity is an enduring one (Arundale, 2009: 206; Bousfield, 2013: 42; Joseph, 2013: 36).
- (iii) Face is invested with emotion, while identity is not (Spencer-Oatey, 2009: 141).

As Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou (2017) have argued these differences can easily be challenged on the basis of a similar retheorisation of ‘identity’ within the discursive turn, as well as due to the insights drawn from empirical work that has evidenced the difficulty in disentangling the two concepts in actual data coming from different languages. For instance, Joseph’s (2013) examination of the interweaving of language and cultural (Scottish) identity led him to conclude that facework and identity work cannot be easily teased apart, while Bousfield (2013) argued that face and identity can particularly be intersected in cases of ethnic or international conflict and aggression, since challenging one’s identity would entail a threat to face (2013: 51; cf. Kádár *et al.*, 2013: 343). Likewise, in their study of disagreements in business meetings in Hong-Kong, Chan *et al.* (2018: 254), argued that ‘interlocutors do identity work while doing facework and orient to their interpersonal relationships when formulating and negotiating disagreements’. This was also illustrated in Labben’s (2018) study, which showed how identity is closely connected with face in Tunisian culture by means of the culturally defined concept of self-esteem (Labben, 2018: 69). Hence, as Bousfield (2018: 298) argued, ‘face, face expectations, face construction realities, and identity/identities are in a symbiotic if sometimes uneasy relationship, and all are more or less dynamic or at least malleable facets of a wider sense of ‘self’ and self-esteem’. This provides an immediate rationale for integrating im/politeness and identities. A second plausible argument for venturing this relates to the common epistemological shifts and trends in the two areas.

### 1.2.1.2. *Common developments and trends*

#### *The journey from the macro- to the micro- and the meso- level of theorisation*

Similar to im/politeness, identity in discourse studies and sociolinguistics has witnessed a shift from being theorised in terms of inherent macro-categories reflected in language (i.e. along the lines of the sociolinguistic variationist/quantitative paradigm initiated by Labov, 1972) to being conceived of in anti-essentialist terms, as co-constructed and negotiated in discourse (e.g. Bucholtz & Hall, 2005; De Fina, Bamberg & Schiffrin, 2006; Mendoza-Denton, 2008). This move to identities-in-interaction has largely been influenced by the conceptual apparatus of CA.



A key premise of CA is the presumption that communicators can achieve an intersubjective understanding of each other's activities, as talk-in-interaction is 'a highly organised, socially ordered phenomenon' (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008: 11). This lay understanding is 'at least partially displayed in each successive contribution' (Schegloff, 1997: 165) and is both shaped by the co-text (i.e. the sequential configuration of events in interaction) and 'shap[ing] a new context for the action that will follow' (Heritage, 1984: 242). From this perspective, identities are too moulded by the local context of interaction as it unfolds on-line. As Antaki and Widdicombe (1998: 3-6) have particularly suggested, identities-in-interaction are 'indexical', that is, they only make sense in a specific context, by which they are indeed 'occasioned'. Additionally, casting oneself or other into an identity-category 'makes relevant' this category to the ongoing management of interaction. Hence, the 'force of having an identity' is to be found in its 'consequentiality' in the interaction, that is, to what it dis/allows participants to do next. Importantly, as all the above are made visible by participants themselves in the ways they manipulate the structures of conversation, the analyst's job consists in directing their attention to the 'characterisations that are privileged in the constitution of socio-interactive reality..., to the endogenous orientations of the participants' (Schegloff, 1997: 167), rather than in superimposing their own assumptions on the data. What analysts have to do is merely look at the next turn in interaction to gain an insight into how the prior turn has been understood by participants, and thus ensure the relevance of their interpretations (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974: 728). Identities-in-interaction research is thus concerned with locating identity categorisations in sequences, particularly examining how, where, and why they occur, as well as whether they present any systematicity in terms of their location, design, and/or the responses they get by co-interactants. Crucially, by adopting a combined focus on responses and design features, identities-in-interaction put forth a view of identities as jointly drafted and negotiated by participants in actual interaction, as relational rather than anchored to individuals.

The contribution of CA to identities is unquestionable as it offered a framework for grounding identities in interaction and for doing justice to the participants' local orientations to categories. However, several studies have more recently gone beyond CA to address the impact of the wider context on shaping identities, and investigate any stability of identities outside the immediate context (e.g. Georgakopoulou, 2008, 2013b). A major point of criticism of CA-interactive approaches involves the adoption of a very narrow perspective on context that both overlooks the potential influence of 'pre-established social framework[s]' (Drew & Heritage, 1992: 19) on identity construction, and fails to involve in the analysis the participants' own interpretive repertoires that develop over the course of consecutive interactions (Wetherell, 1998: 40). Notably, the participants' understandings of socially circulating discourses, and their typical modes of interacting that have sedimented over time may constitute exogenous data, but they undoubtedly inform the ways participants locally accomplish identities (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006: 104). This also involves identities

that participants may carry over with them in various contexts without making them overtly demonstrable to the interactional business at hand. As Zimmermann (1998: 90-91) has suggested, such ‘apprehended’ identities usually involve extra-situational or ‘transportable’ identities (e.g. gender, age) that are latent and scarcely oriented to in talk-in-interaction. Nonetheless, the analyst can provide an empirical handle on them by looking at the co-articulation of local ‘discourse/interactional’ identities (e.g. answerer, questioner) with ‘situated/situational’ identities (e.g. teacher, student), which involves going beyond the confines of a single event to broaden the scope of the analysis. In her study of how young Greek adolescents negotiate gender roles and hierarchy in their local friendship group, Georgakopoulou (2006) empirically showed, in this respect, how discourse identities attached to the stories’ sequential management (i.e. initiation, plot contribution, evaluation) coalesced with the situational roles of advice-seeker/advice-giver and expert/novice in men, thereby providing a platform for the participants’ larger roles (i.e. gender, group-internal hierarchy; 2006: 96-97). Importantly, Georgakopoulou was able to trace these links by adopting an ethnographic perspective which enabled the study of identities as parts of recurrent practices that develop over time. Elsewhere (2008), again adopting an ethnographic perspective on young adolescents’ interactional practices in a London school, she was able to tap into the stability of certain roles by looking at the iterative invocation of specific identity claims in similar practices and story-plots over time and across data (2008: 612). Similarly, Wortham (2005), looking at the social identification of students in relation to academic socialisation, showed how a student’s identity as disruptive and outcast of the society sedimented across a trajectory of events in which she was positioned in these ways, and was contingent not only on the local classroom interactions but also on wider socio-historical processes and stereotypes (2005: 109-110).

In general, interactional approaches to identity are currently integrating insights from CA, Interactional Sociolinguistics and Linguistic Anthropology to tap into the multifacetedness of the phenomenon and thereby forge links between its micro- and macro-instantiations. From this perspective, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) have suggested that identities involve multiple forms, ranging from ‘macro-level demographic categories’, to ‘local, ethnographically-specific cultural positions’ and to ‘temporary and interactionally-specific stances and participant roles’ (2005: 592). This is in tune with Brubaker and Cooper’s (2010: 10-11) argument that understandings of identities in discourse operate across a continuum from ‘soft’ views stressing multiplicity, negotiation, and transience to ‘strong’ interpretations emphasising stability, permanence, and coherence. In the process of acknowledging all these different loci, scholars have proposed various meso-level concepts with overlapping features, such as ‘positioning’ (Bamberg, 1997a, 2004; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008), ‘stance’ (Jaffe, 2009), ‘indexicality’ (Wortham, 2010), and ‘chronotopes’ (Blommaert & De Fina, 2017). These concepts are important in operating as scaffolds between micro-interactional,

linguistic features and macro-social categories, especially in case the latter are tacitly indicated by the former (cf. Ochs, 1992).

The concept of ‘positioning’, in particular, has now become a mainstay in narrative and identities analysis, and has also been given centre-stage in the widely accepted definition of identity in post-2000s discourse studies and sociolinguistics as ‘the social positioning of self and other’ (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 586). This notion can be traced back to Foucault’s (1969) concept of ‘subject positions’ that was picked up in socio-constructionist approaches to gender, sexuality, and inequality (Hollway, 1984), and was then reworked in theories of identity in socio-cultural psychology (e.g. Davies & Harré, 1990). These theories contributed a discourse-based approach to identities by locating positions in conversations and thus attesting to their relational, dynamic, and multi-faceted nature. This said, as De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012: 162) and Deppermann (2013a: 4-5) note, they lacked an empirical ‘bite’ and did not thus consider the sequential management of self- and other-positionings in narrative talk-in-interaction. To address this limitation, more recent approaches to positioning, which have developed out of observation about the display of affective stances and the significant role of evaluation therein (Bamberg, 1997a), revisited positioning as situated and emergent in three interconnected levels of narrative interaction (e.g. Bamberg, 2004; Georgakopoulou, 2007; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008), i.e. in the level of the story-world; in the level of the story-telling world; and in the level of establishing of the self as a particular kind of person vis-à-vis dominant ideologies (Bamberg, 1997a: 337).

The flexibility of such an interaction-oriented model of positioning has been useful for grounding identity in interaction by merging micro-interactional positions with exogenous layers of identity that social actors develop out of habitual engagement in recurrent practices. In addition, it has afforded the possibility of considering complex positioning processes (e.g. Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Deppermann, 2013a) and the ‘identity dilemmas’ that participants are faced with around ‘maintenance and change’, ‘uniqueness and sameness’ and ‘agency and control’ (Bamberg, 2011a). Notably, these possibilities were opened up by analysing positioning in a specific type of narratives, namely in ‘small stories’ (e.g. Bamberg, 2006; Georgakopoulou, 2007), whose view of narrative as emergent, dialogic, potentially fragmented, and variable (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 86) gave voice to a multitude of subjectivities, and also legitimated the moments of tension social actors navigate through when managing their identities in local contexts (e.g. Archakis & Tzanne, 2005; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Ryan, 2008; Johnson, 2009). I will return to ‘positioning’ analysis in §2.5.

Summing up, this journey from the macro- to the micro- and finally to the meso-level of identity conceptualisation (see Figure 1.3. Approaches to analysing identity bears resemblance to the evolution of im/politeness along three waves of thought, and the recent tendency to grounding im/politeness in interaction via meso-level concepts, particularly via ‘evaluation’ (cf. §1.1.1.). In what

follows, I turn to another commonality between the two areas, namely, to their interconnections with affect and morality.

### *Identities, affect, and morality*

Similar to im/politeness, identity has almost always been described as imbued with affect. As early as in the 50s, the sociologist Ervin Goffman stated that participants ‘take the chance of being slightly embarrassed or...deeply humiliated’ in all interactions (Goffman, 1959: 243), thus considering emotions as central to the processes of self-presentation and impression management (cf. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2013: 8). In social psychology, identity has been described as ‘that part of the individuals’ self-concept which derives from their knowledge of their membership of a social group...together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership’ (Tajfel, 1982: 255), while analyses of identity within cultural and discourse studies have approached identities as ‘emotionally charged descriptions of the self’ rather than as cognitive constructs (e.g. Barker & Galasinski, 2001: 28).

Within narrative-cum-identities studies, the turn to linguistic structure called for more attention to the affective dimensions of narrative. Labov and Waletzky (1967), in their seminal study of narrative structure, acknowledged affect as a constitutive element of story-building by postulating evaluation both as a separate structural component of narrative and as a micro-level device that can be interspersed throughout the narrative and be expressed more or less directly (1967: 403; cf. De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 29-30). Evaluation thus encompassed a host of semiotic choices that conveyed the subjective, emotional, and experiential aspects of narrative and thereby communicated its tellability. And although Labov and Waletzky (1967) did not link the affective elements of the oral autobiographies they elicited with identity formation, numerous later studies have used such stories as a method for inquiring into how tellers make sense of themselves in light of the narrated events and the evaluative elements therein (Riessman, 2008: 23; Andrews *et al.*, 2013: 3). Also, a host of studies have, since, probed into the linguistic and semiotic features speakers mobilise to refer to or signal their emotions and thereby project certain positions for self and other in talk. For instance, Bamberg (1997b) looked at the role of linguistic devices in emotion accounts experienced by the self, a third person, or a generalised other, and showed that the ways social actors report emotions in the story-world of their accounts is intimately linked to the speaker-listener relationship in the telling event and, ultimately, to the establishment of a broader ‘moral position’ (1997b: 335-336).

The recognition that stories are not just reports of remarkable events but creative performances (Bauman, 1969: 15; see also De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 61-64) that tellers give in front of an audience, urged narrative analysts to further probe into the links between identities and emotions. This

was accomplished by the identification of a host of evaluative devices, such as constructed dialogue (Tannen, 1986), repetitions, and meta-narrative comments (Bauman, 1986: 97), which charismatic storytellers used to engage their listeners and thus be more successful in presenting themselves as particular kinds of person. Relatedly, as studies of conversational storytelling have aptly shown (e.g. Jefferson, 1979; Mandelbaum, 1987; Georgakopoulou, 1997), recipients may well employ such devices (e.g. emotional outburst, response cries, etc.) to display empathy in response to storytelling performances, and thus (re)assert their affiliation with tellers.

Furthermore, the turn to narrative as social practice (e.g. Ochs & Capps, 2001) opened up a window for investigating the construction of identity and affect in an array of narrative activities that may be single- or co-authored, detachable, or embedded in context, linear or open-ended, highly tellable or mundane, and which may display varied moral stances (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 120). In this context, narrative structure, and semiotic devices, such as emotive cues, are viewed as resources that participants employ to perform certain actions in storytelling, including the (re)creation of emotions. For instance, Capps and Ochs (1997) showed that narratives of agoraphobic people did not only serve to describe the affective experience of agoraphobia but further reproduced the teller's sense of anxiety.

Relatedly, the most recent turn to small stories (Bamberg, 2006; Georgakopoulou, 2007), in its interconnections with positioning analysis (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008), extended the above line of inquiry by affording the possibility of looking at different story types, as well as at digital contexts where emotions are given centre-stage. It is in these stories that emotions have been studied as a resource for sharing stories and positioning oneself or another online. For instance, Georgakopoulou and Vasilaki (2018), in their study of personal small stories about the Greek crisis online, showed the systematic relation between the identity position of the 'sufferer' and the use of 'affective impoliteness' (Culpeper, 2011a: 223) employed by tellers to unleash emotions of anger and injustice and hold politicians morally accountable for them. Another case in point is Giaxoglou's (2020) pioneering work on small stories of death and mourning in digital media. By extending Bamberg's (1997) three-level model of identity positioning to 'affective positioning', Giaxoglou (2020) has been able to draw attention to a range of (non-)verbal affective cues which, apart from doing emotion work, also lend themselves to constructing particular identity positions and relationalities (2020: 218).

This points to the interrelation between identities, emotions, and morality, which we also discussed in relation to im/politeness (§1.1.2.). More specifically, Schiffrin (1996) in her seminal paper on stories told by Jewish women about their families, argued that tellers project different aspects of their identities, i.e. epistemic<sup>23</sup> and agentive selves, depending on whether their stories are about emotions

---

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Haugh (2013) who designated the 'epistemic order' as one of the varied facets of the 'moral order'.

and beliefs or about actions. The former, she noted, are connected with epistemic self-presentation, whereas the latter reveal aspects of our agency (1996: 194). Interestingly, her data showed that these aspects may be in conflict with one another, as participants often displayed a certain epistemic self in the telling, which was however at odds with their story-world selves as accommodating and agentless. Work on stories as argumentative devices (e.g. Schiffrin, 1990, 1996; Günther, 1995; De Fina, 2000) has further probed into this relationship by showing how stories are employed as exempla to highlight a moral point and thus underscore a moral stance. For instance, De Fina's (2000) study showed how a narrative told by a Mexican immigrant about an American individual's racist behaviour was used as an exemplum by the interviewee to generalise about Americans, Hispanics, and blacks as ethnic categories and, ultimately, to project a moral self-identity.

Likewise, Ochs and Capps (2001), in their multidimensional practice-based approach to narrative, postulated 'moral stance' as one of the key dimensions of storytelling, while they noted that 'tellers strive to represent themselves as decent, ethical persons who pursue the moral high road' (2001: 284). A plethora of studies have demonstrated how this can be facilitated by the use of reported speech that allows tellers to implicitly voice their moral principles through animated, constructed dialogues between them and other story-world characters, which highlight the ethical values they hold onto (e.g. Moita Lopes, 2006; Vásquez, 2007). Another bulk of studies (e.g. De Fina, 2003; Georgakopoulou, 2005) has evidenced the strategic use of reported speech by tellers in their attempt to minimise their moral responsibility by putting their own words into the characters' mouth.

The link between identities and morality has also been highlighted in more recent work within small stories research. This has called for close attention to the ways identity positions and moral frames are jointly negotiated in narratives told in concrete sites. For instance, Georgakopoulou (2008, 2013b), drawing on classroom stories of female adolescents in a London school, showed that the identity claims that tellers mobilised to position male characters in their stories and account for or question an argument by co-tellers, (re)constructed notions of normativity with regards to what it is appropriate to say or do in specific online sites. Identity claims produced in the level of the telling, in particular, proved instrumental in setting up spaces for negotiating and (re)asserting moral standards, which in turn enhanced the tellers' intimacy. Likewise, Georgakopoulou and Vasilaki (2018) illustrated how online posters commenting on the Greek crisis, mobilised personal stories containing bald impoliteness to hold politicians morally accountable for their own or others' suffering, and in turn to highlight their moral values and uphold the moral order in Greek political affairs (2018: 233). Overall, current research on identities in interactive sites is looking at the ways participants use interactional resources to position themselves vis-à-vis emotion rules and moral norms that are dominant in specific environments. This involves a close attention to explicit categorisations and implicit, indexical cues that participants mobilise to signal the identity, affective and moral work they concurrently do.

### *Identities, categorisations, and multimodal positioning cues*

As in the case of im/politeness, recent work on identities has been looking both at explicit and at implicit, multimodal instantiations of the concept in interaction. As Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 594) have noted, ‘the most obvious and direct way that identities can be constituted through talk is the overt introduction of referential identity categories into discourse’. It was within the turn to identities-in-interaction, especially within the movement of Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA; Sacks, 1972, 1992; Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998), that categorisation was postulated as an extremely important mechanism whereby identities may overtly manifest in talk. Sacks, who first developed this approach, was mostly interested in the ways categories for identification are oriented to by participants in talk-in-interaction, as well as in how they are routinely bound to certain activities, relationships, and knowledge(s) (1992: 337). While Sacks did not work with interactional data, later work on identities-in-interaction analysed identity categories in interactional environments, especially in institutional interactions. For instance, Stokoe and Edwards (2007) looked at narrative accounts about neighbour disputes in telephone calls to mediation centres, and found systematicity in the location and design of the identity categories produced in such accounts, as well as in the responses they received (2007: 366-368).

While this study opened up a space for linking categorisations to story-telling in naturally-occurring data, along the lines suggested by Schegloff (2007: 464), it paid little attention to the intricate ways in which identity categories interrelate with the exact telling of a story (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 174). To address this gap, Georgakopoulou (2008) looked at ‘identity claims’ in a nuanced way by distinguishing between those anchored to the tale and those pertaining to the telling-world of a small story. This allowed her to show the distinct functions that identity claims performed depending on their sequential position in the unfolding of a telling: tale-world categorisations warranted the teller’s telling rights, while telling-world characterisations were bound to the story’s evaluation and were thus amenable to negotiation between the co-tellers (2008: 603).

Despite the well-documented significance of explicit categorisations/ claims, less direct or symbolic means such as prosody, non-verbal features, and embodied practices, *inter alia*, can contribute in an equally important fashion to projecting identity. Ochs’s (1992) pioneering work on the indexical constitution of identity, has been instrumental in suggesting that macro identity categories, such as gender, cannot be read off from the surface linguistic forms in talk, but are instead constituted through some other pragmatic meaning (e.g. acts, activities, and stances; Ochs, 1992: 341-342) that is directly indexed by specific forms of language. Building on this, later research on narrative and identity (e.g. Bucholtz, 1999; Maryns & Blommaert, 2001; De Fina, 2006; Georgakopoulou, 2007) has probed

more into the ways identities are signalled through ‘clusters of indexical resources’, including syntactic choices, prosody, code-switching, and so on, which correspond to particular styles of telling, and thereby indicate particular identities in specific contexts (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 176). This said, according to Bucholtz’s (1999) findings, the same linguistic resources -code-shifting into AAVE in her case- may be strategically manipulated by the same teller to display different identity positions in the same narrative, something that underscores the ‘loose coupling’ (Gumperz, 1982) between linguistic/semiotic indices and identities.

Positioning analysis has called for more attention to the various types of explicit or indexical cues that narrators mobilise to communicate their points, as well as to the ways in which such cues accrue their social meanings through recurrent use. Drawing on the Bakhtinian (1981) concept of ‘voice’, Wortham (2001: 63) suggested that tellers do not need to ‘explicitly represent their points, but instead they adopt positions by juxtaposing and inflecting the voices of various characters’. Hence, he focused on the more implicit (para)linguistic features that index voices in interaction, and distinguished between five different types of ‘positioning cues’, namely, reference and predication (e.g. Helen/my aunt), metapragmatic descriptors (e.g. said), quotation, evaluative indexicals (i.e. linguistic features that are associated with particular social groups) and epistemic modalisation (Wortham, 2001: 70-75). Interestingly, there is partial overlap between these types of positioning cues and the indexical processes postulated by Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 594). These processes by which identities are formulated in discourse cover a wide range of resources, from overt categorisations and labels to implicatures, presuppositions, epistemic stances, footings, and interactional roles, as well as the use of structures that have been enregistered as social indexicals (Agha, 2007). More recent work on small stories research has also pointed to the important role of stances of alignment and affiliations (Georgakopoulou, 2013b), time and space deixis (Giaxoglou, 2015, 2020), as well as of more embodied practices (e.g. Heinrichsmeier, 2016) in positioning processes. Finally, the recognition that identities are multimodal phenomena has led to a recent inclusion of non-verbal cues (e.g. haptics, proxemics) in the host of resources that participants use to position self and other in interaction (e.g. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2022). These studies have succeeded in showing that the different types of these more or less indexical cues are not used in isolation but rather coalesce to produce a holistic index of identity and other social meanings such as im/politeness. Interestingly, it is often the case that im/politeness evaluations themselves serve as indices of identity construction, which I discuss below.

### 1.2.1.3. *Im/politeness evaluations indexing identity construction*



Identity and im/politeness can be cross-fertilised not only on the basis of their conceptual link through face and their common epistemological developments. As Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou (2017) and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Georgakopoulou (2021) have discussed, the two notions can also be productively integrated due to their indexical relationship, meaning that im/politeness can serve as an index of identity construction. Importantly, this claim has been evidenced by a number of empirical studies looking at different types of data. For instance, Cashman (2008: 140), in her analysis of classroom talk, illustrated how Spanish-English bilingual elementary students employed impoliteness strategies as an interactional resource to produce difference and construct both local in-group/out-group positions and broader ethnic/national social categories. Likewise, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2009: 274) illustrated how the use of impoliteness was an important indirect index of the identity construal of the hosts, guests, and audience in TV news programs in the United States. Along similar lines, Upadhyay (2010), relying on reader responses to online articles and editorials regarding the 2000 U.S. presidential election, associated the readers' identification with a particular political ideology with their uses of impoliteness to display disaffiliation with an out-group's ideological positions (2010: 105). There has also been a rapprochement between the two concepts in studies looking at how identities themselves are evaluated in online discussion boards (e.g. Haugh *et al.*, 2015), and what moral understandings these evaluations may invoke. Studies on intercultural communication have too focused on the ways participants display culturally situated identities through manifestations of im/politeness (e.g. Haugh & Kádár, 2017: 623). Additionally, the practice of swearing in conversational narratives has been interrelated to the construction of the Greek teenager identity (Karahaliou & Archakis, 2015) while, doing humour, a positive politeness strategy (Brown & Levinson, 1987), has also been analysed as an index of identity creation in a number of studies (e.g. Schnurr *et al.*, 2007; File & Schnurr, 2019). Finally, more recently scholars (Perelmutter, 2018; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2018) have also been concerned with how im/politeness and micro-level conflictual strategies are often deployed as a way of creating inter- or intra-group dissociation.

Despite this increasing momentum, there are still under-researched but promising areas for inquiring into the indexical relationship between identities and im/politeness understandings. *First*, there is still much scope for the rapprochement between the two concepts in sites and situations that have been overlooked, especially in naturally-occurring face-to-face interactions amongst intimate participants, as most of the above studies have looked at mediated interactions and at institutional settings. *Secondly*, as suggested by Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Georgakopoulou (2021: 307), further work is needed to explore the moral dimensions of identity formulation and the construction of un/ethical selves, as indexed by im/politeness evaluations. A *third* possible avenue for future work involves the examination of the multimodal and embodied aspects of im/politeness and its implications for identity formulation (but see Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2022). *Finally*, as Haugh (2015: 319) and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Georgakopoulou (2021: 307) have proposed, traditional pragmatic concepts can

be reconfigured as forms of social action, including the construction of identity positions in talk. From this perspective, Terkourafi (2013), for instance, has shown how the indirect performance of speech acts among intimates can lead to the (re)affirmation of their closeness (2013: 214). Although the author did not draw from natural data, her work could possibly inspire future work on various types of speech acts and im/politeness evaluations in naturally-occurring interactions. The present thesis will hopefully shed some light on these aspects (see §1.3.) by adopting a bifocal perspective on identities and im/politeness which, amongst others, involves borrowing identity tools to study im/politeness.

### 1.2.2. Identity models for studying im/politeness-in-interaction

The acknowledgment of the above links between im/politeness and identities has led a number of scholars to transpose identity models to the exploration of im/politeness phenomena to further advance the field. For example, Locher (2008) and Cashman (2008) showed that Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) socio-cultural linguistic framework for the analysis of identity construction can be fruitfully applied to the study of relational work. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2009) and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich *et al.* (2013), drawing on Anton and Peterson's (2003) model of subject positions, similarly demonstrated how the delegitimation of one's self-identity claims may lead to impoliteness and confrontation. Another identity model that has been transposed to im/politeness is Zimmerman's (1998) tripartite scheme of discourse, situated and transportable identities. Relying on this model, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich *et al.* (2010) and Dobs (2013) aptly illustrated the co-constitutive relationship of impoliteness and identities in their analyses of mediated interactions in a Spanish confrontational show and naturally-occurring classroom talk, respectively. In a more recent study, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou (2017) applied van Dijk's (2006) ideological square developed for the study of social identity (us/them), to the analysis of film discourse depicting members of Golden Dawn (a Greek neo-Nazi party) in central streets of Athens. Their analysis showed that solidarity/deference and verbal aggression that have been closely linked to im/politeness, can also serve as indirect indices of identity construction.

A number of studies looking at narratives-in-interaction have also transposed positioning analysis and/or small stories research to the study of im/politeness-in-interaction. A case in point is Miller (2013), who relied on Bamberg's (1997, 2005) three-level model of positioning to analyse interactional stories produced in semi-structured interviews with US immigrants who learned English as adults. Importantly, her analysis showed that the orientation to certain topics as delicate or face-threatening in the interviews involved the projection of particular identities for the other, which in turn mobilised relational work. Likewise, Georgakopoulou (2013b) transposed small stories research and positioning analysis (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008) to the study of im/politeness-in-

interaction in high school students' spontaneous conversations in a London school, and illustrated how the exact telling of a story was linked to the use of im/politeness-related identity claims, which both served as positioning practices and set up spaces for the joint exploration of moral norms in specific sites. More recently, Georgakopoulou and Vasilaki (2018), analysing online comments in response to political party posts in the period of a referendum and elections in Greece (2015), demonstrated how tellers used particular small story types to foreground specific identity positions, and morally justify the use of on-record impoliteness in these stories to target politicians and revisit moral norms in the political sphere.

The studies reviewed above have unquestionably opened up new avenues for advancing the debate regarding the potential synergies between im/politeness and identities. This said, they have privileged particular types of data, primarily mediated interactions, due to the availability of those data and the salience of im/politeness phenomena therein. Further work is thus needed to explore the extent to which narrative and identity tools can be productively used for analysing natural im/politeness data, and indeed in various discourse activities including multiple participants. There is also scope for exploring any systematic links between story-types, forms of im/politeness, and identity positions, as well as for probing into the moral and affective dimensions of these positions. Finally, there is room for probing into the interanimations between self- and other-positioning processes that have been neglected in identities research.

In sum, this section has discussed the links between im/politeness and identities, namely, their conceptual proximity through 'face' (§1.2.1.1.), their common epistemological developments (§1.2.1.2.), and their indexical relationship (§1.2.1.3.), which provide rationales for cross-fertilising the two fields. It has also presented the different identity models that have been extended to the study of im/politeness to date (§1.2.2.), and has identified a significant limitation: that they have been basically used for the analysis of non-spontaneous interactions. The present thesis will attempt to address this gap by transposing small stories research in its interconnections with positioning analysis (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008) and Zimmerman's tripartite identity scheme to the study of lay evaluations in naturally-occurring face-to-face interactions between intimates. I now turn to delve more into this.

### 1.3. Lay evaluations of im/politeness in interaction

This section turns to the focal concern of this research, namely, to lay evaluations of im/politeness in naturally-occurring interactional data. It will first discuss the theoretical distinctions that have been proposed for studying im/politeness evaluations in this type of data, before summarising the main

insights from empirical research on the matter. Crucially, this will reveal research areas that are ripe for further work, and that will be addressed in the present thesis.

### 1.3.1. Classificatory schemes for studying im/politeness evaluations in interactional data

As I discussed in §1.1.1., the first seeds of the shift in interest from technical conceptualisations to lay understandings of im/politeness were sown in the early 1990s through a division between first-order and second-order politeness that was proposed by Watts, Ide and Ehlich (1992). This said, it was actually Eelen's (2001) work that advanced this distinction with the aim of turning first-order politeness (or Politeness1, in his terms) as the main object of inquiry within politeness scholarship. He did so first by expanding Watts, Ide and Ehlich's (1992) definition of the concept, and also by dissecting it in different facets to better get to grips with its varied manifestations in everyday life practices. Eelen (2001: 77) particularly defined Politeness1 as involving 'the informants' conscious statements about his or her notion of politeness...and...his or her spontaneous evaluation of (im)politeness (of his or her own or someone else's behaviour), made in the course of actual interaction.'

This definition points to two different aspects of Politeness1, particularly, to a 'conceptual' and an 'action-related'. The former category, as described by Eelen covers 'common sense ideologies of politeness: [the] way politeness is used as a concept, [opinions] about what politeness is all about', while the latter relates to 'the way politeness actually manifests itself in communicative behaviour, that is, [to] politeness as an aspect of communicative interaction' (2001: 32). Action-related politeness is thus concerned with lay evaluations of politeness as these are used in situated interaction, while conceptual politeness reflects more detached or abstract accounts of the phenomenon. Nevertheless, having recognised that politeness actually originates in concrete interactional practices, and that it is these practices that empirically shape our abstract conceptualisations and perceptions of the term, Eelen abandoned this initial classification and recognised three different loci of politeness-as-practice, instead, particularly, an 'expressive', a 'classificatory' and a 'metapragmatic' locus. The first refers to 'politeness encoded in speech, to instances where the speaker aims at 'polite' behaviour' (Eelen, 2001: 35); the second term covers 'hearers' judgements (in actual interaction) of other people's interactional behaviour as 'polite' or 'impolite'', while the third points to 'instances of talk about politeness as a concept, about what people perceive politeness to be all about' (Eelen, 2001: 35). It is important to note that this has been the first distinction of analytical categories that has ever been proposed for identifying instances of lay im/politeness evaluations in actual interaction.

However, this classificatory scheme did not come with no limitations. First and foremost, Eelen did not provide any concrete examples as to how these categories could be operationalised for the analysis of authentic im/politeness data. Second, as Ogiermann (2019: 147) rightly observed, the ‘expressive’ side of politeness<sup>1</sup> revolves around linguistic structures and thus is more akin to a second-order conceptualisation of politeness. Espousing this view, the present thesis will not probe into the ‘expressive’ side of politeness<sup>1</sup>. Thirdly, I would argue that the distinction between the ‘classificatory’ and the ‘metapragmatic’ side of politeness<sup>1</sup> cannot stand up to scrutiny in actual interactional data. More specifically, the term ‘classificatory’ refers to the act of ‘putting people or things into a group or class (=of classifying them)’, according to the Oxford Learners Dictionary. In order to classify an individual or group into a category, one may draw on various implicit or explicit resources, including metapragmatic comments. For instance, one may use the comment ‘You are being aggressive’ to judge the appropriateness of her/his interlocutor’s behaviour in an ongoing interaction, and thus make a ‘classificatory’ evaluation, according to Eelen’s (2001) definition of the term. This comment is, however, metapragmatic insofar as it uses the metapragmatic label ‘aggressive’ to accomplish a social action (i.e. a criticism) and propose how the hearer’s conduct should be evaluated (i.e. as impolite) (Haugh, 2018b). Hence, in my view, classificatory evaluations, such as the above, can also be done metapragmatically, which puts the dichotomy between the classificatory and the metapragmatic side of politeness<sup>1</sup> into question (cf. Davies, 2018: 132, who regarded ‘classifications’ as a subcategory of metapragmatic behaviour).

On the other hand, ‘talk about politeness as a concept’, that is, Eelen’s (2001: 35) conceptualisation of ‘metapragmatic’ politeness, does not only refer to abstract discussions about ‘im/politeness’ but it can well become a vehicle for making situated judgements in ongoing interaction. And although Eelen did not explicitly argue that metapragmatic im/politeness is placed outside ongoing interaction, its juxtaposition with the classificatory side of politeness<sup>1</sup> that is explicitly positioned within ‘actual interactions’ (2001: 35), gives the impression that, for him, metapragmatic im/politeness only involves abstract conceptualisations (cf. Davies, 2011: 190). Nonetheless, as discussed in §1.1.2., metapragmatics encompasses the study of situated comments in ongoing discourse (e.g. Hübler & Bublitz, 2007: 6; Culpeper & Haugh, 2014: 140). Hence, metapragmatic evaluations of politeness<sup>1</sup> can well be located in the realm of the classificatory side, which further challenges Eelen’s (2001) original distinction.

The confusion around these terms also shows in the way they have, since, been deployed by empirical research on interactional im/politeness. In fact, the term ‘classificatory’ is not widely-used among politeness scholars looking at lay evaluations of im/politeness in interaction (but see e.g. Makri-Tsilipakou, 2017) and when used, often in juxtaposition to the ‘metapragmatic’ one, its analytical scope overlaps with that of ‘metapragmatic’, as they both appear to be realised through overt comments (e.g. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich *et al.*, 2010; Makri-Tsilipakou, 2017). The term

‘metapragmatic’, on the other hand, is mostly used in studies looking at types of data other than naturally-occurring interactions, and in relation to types of metapragmatic awareness that seldom show in interaction, i.e. in relation to studies of im/politeness metalanguage or metadiscourses (see §1.1.2.).

In interactional data, Haugh (2007a) was the first who took up Eelen’s distinction and applied it systematically in his empirical work, notwithstanding that he did not draw on Eelen’s analytical categories. Instead, he suggested that an interactional approach to politeness entails looking at ‘explicit comments made by participants in the course of the interaction (less commonly)’ and at ‘the reciprocation of concern evident in the adjacent placement of expressions of concern relevant to the norms invoked in that particular interaction (more commonly) (2007a: 312); the former resembles Eelen’s ‘metapragmatic’ side of politeness<sup>1</sup>, while the latter seems akin to the ‘classificatory’ side. Nevertheless, Eelen’s (2001) distinction was not really followed up in further research on interactional politeness by other scholars. Makri-Tsilipakou’s (2017) study constitutes a notable exception. The author attempted to apply Eelen’s distinction in Greek face-to-face interactions, but did not in fact dissociate the two sides of politeness<sup>1</sup> à la Eelen (2001), as she only considered explicit ‘characterisations’ as instances of both classificatory and metapragmatic politeness<sup>1</sup>. Furthermore, the author analysed meta-participant (Kádár & Haugh, 2013: 90) comments about third parties’ im/polite behaviour, which seems fairly problematic since it diverges significantly from Eelen’s (2001) original definition of politeness<sup>1</sup> as occurring in actual interactional practice between co-present interlocutors (2001: 34-35). Finally, in several examples, the author extracted the evaluative element from its original context, therefore disabling the reader from judging how im/politeness evaluations are occasioned and negotiated in ‘interactional practice’ (Eelen, 2001).

As for Haugh’s (2007a) bipartite scheme, it was not pursued either in future research, with Haugh himself abandoning the concept of ‘reciprocation of concern’ in his later work. This said, his recognition that politeness evaluations may manifest in explicit comments or in less explicit displays of concern apparent in the participants’ interactional moves, inspired future work that looked at more or less explicit manifestations of im/politeness without distinguishing between classificatory and metapragmatic aspects of it. In what follows, I will review this literature by focusing on the main insights that can be drawn from it, before pointing to areas that need further work.

### 1.3.2. Empirical work on im/politeness evaluations in interaction: main insights and research gaps

As mentioned above, although the vast majority of studies on lay understandings of im/politeness has relied on elicited data, corpus analyses, and/or mediated interactions, a limited number of scholars

(e.g. Haugh, 2011, 2013; Ogiermann, 2019) has nevertheless looked at naturally-occurring face-to-face interactions despite the difficulty in obtaining such data. This line of work has produced a series of interesting findings which could be further pursued in future work to advance the field of im/politeness research.

To begin with, despite the long-held view that participants scarcely draw on explicit comments to point to im/politeness in ongoing talk (e.g. Haugh, 2007a, 2010b), empirical research (Locher, 2008; Holmes, Marra & Vine, 2012; Haugh, 2013, 2015, 2016b, 2018b, 2019; Makri-Tsilipakou, 2017, Chang & Haugh, 2021) has evidenced the use of such comments in actual conversation. For instance, Locher (2008), drawing on Bauman *et al.*'s (2006) data from natural family interactions, showed that ongoing judgements about im/politeness may surface in the form of overt 'meta-comments' (e.g. this is impolite) pointing to negatively marked relational behaviour as well as to perceived face-threat (2008: 527).

In addition, explicit comments such as the above have been shown to be primarily tied to the interpretation of communicative acts in situated talk, thereby being close to what Kádár and Haugh (2013) have named 'metacommunicative' comments. A case in point is Holmes, Marra and Vine's (2012) report on the negotiation of politeness and other communicative norms in New Zealand workplace interactions between speakers of Pākehā and Māori. The authors' analysis demonstrated that the 'explicit comments' (2012: 1068) which participants used in the form of verbal assertions about communication-oriented or moral issues, revealed their evaluations of ongoing interaction with their interlocutors. Although the authors themselves did not use the term 'metacommunicative', Kádár and Haugh (2013) rightly discussed this study as an instance of work on im/politeness metacommunication.

Empirical research has also touched upon the different functions that these 'metacommunicative' comments may perform in ongoing conversation, such as marking communicative transgressions (e.g. Holmes, Marra & Vine, 2012; Haugh, 2016b, 2018b; Chang & Haugh, 2021) and/or casting others into evaluative categories (Locher, 2008; Haugh, 2013, 2015, 2019). Haugh (2016b), for example, looked at the sequential and moral implications of explicit claims to non-serious intent in face-to-face interactions among speakers of American and Australian English. He particularly examined expressions containing the metapragmatic labels 'kidding' and 'joking' (2016: 122) and considered such comments as metapragmatic interventions aiming at negotiating the illocutionary force of utterances with a face-threatening potential, if interpreted seriously. In this sense, these explicit comments performed communication-oriented acts (cf. Hübler & Bublitz, 2007: 18) which, importantly, carried moral implications: they helped diffuse the commenter's accountability for the real-world effects of the tease, which amounts to a proposal that the target evaluate the teaser as non-impolite (Haugh, 2018b: 629; cf. Chang & Haugh, 2021). In his analysis of complaint/criticism

sequences involving explicit metapragmatic comments about im/politeness, Haugh (2013: 58-59, 2015: 175-178) also evidenced the categorising function of such comments in ongoing interaction. Notably, in a most recent (2019: 213-217) reworking of the same sequences for the aim of tapping into lay understandings of in/consideration, he further showed that situated categorising comments can serve to convey more granular understandings of in/consideration, involving (non-)attentiveness and (non-)imposition, which cannot be accessed through elicitation techniques or corpus analyses.

On another important note, im/politeness research on naturally-occurring interactional data has illustrated the salience of implicit cues in communicating an im/politeness evaluation either in conjunction with explicit expressions, or in their own right (e.g. Haugh, 2011; Ogiermann, 2019). As Haugh (2007a: 312; 2010b) rightly observes, analysts cannot exclusively rely on explicit commentary by participants, as laypeople scarcely verbalise their judgements of others' talk or conduct *in situ*. This could partly relate to the fact that they are not always aware of the linguistic resources that constitute their emic system nor able to easily retrieve them in situated talk (Kádár & Haugh, 2013: 186; cf. C. Goodwin, 1984: 243; Hymes, 1970: 281-282), or to the perceived link between directness and impoliteness in several contexts. Also, at times, participants are unable to make sense of a certain behaviour the moment when it arises, and formulate an overt evaluation of it. Hence, their understandings of im/politeness in situated interactions mostly show in less explicit, indexical means that accompany their talk (Haugh, 2010b: 155; Ogiermann, 2019: 147). This does not come as a surprise if one considers that im/politeness is a multimodal phenomenon and language is only one of the many resources that can be used to communicate it.

Albeit limited in number, studies looking at the multimodal ways of communicating im/politeness in actual interaction (Haugh, 2011, 2013, 2015; Haugh & Bousfield, 2012; Mitchell & Haugh, 2015; Ogiermann, 2019), have been important both in documenting the multiple forms in which implicit evaluations may appear, and in showing that these forms do not occur in isolation but are integrated instead. Haugh (2011), for instance, analysing evaluations of humorous practices in naturally-occurring face-to-face conversations between unacquainted Japanese speakers, found that tease-targets oriented to locally occasioned evaluations of teases as polite or non-impolite by means of interactional, prosodic, and paralinguistic cues (e.g. agreement tokens, in-breaths, laughter), which co-occurred with one another to display strong or hedged agreement with the tease (2011: 178-179). Likewise, Ogiermann (2019) looked at disagreements sequences in spontaneous family interactions and showed that, although participants did not directly orient to im/politeness, their understandings of others' conduct as potentially impolite did show in a host of interactional, prosodic and (non-)verbal cues that were employed in an integrated fashion and co-occurred with implicit verbal features, such as implied negative assessments, implicated other-criticism, sarcasm, and so on (2019: 170-171).



Importantly, this line of research has showcased the validity of CA for analysing the multiple means by which evaluations of im/politeness manifest at talk-in-interaction. Although discursive scholars had as early as in the early 2000s suggested using the CA apparatus for tapping into first-order im/politeness, and despite the well-attested links between the two areas (see Ogiermann, 2019: 149-151), im/politeness and CA had not been integrated for the most part. Haugh (2007a, 2011, 2013, 2015), Makri-Tsilipakou (2017) and Ogiermann (2019) constitute important exceptions, however. For instance, in his 2013 study of spontaneous interactions between friends, Haugh paid particular attention to the participants' subsequent responses to prior talk, along the CA lines, to arrive at an interpretation of their ongoing orientations to im/politeness. Interestingly, it was the implicit verbal, interactional, and paralinguistic features (e.g. disagreement or surprise tokens, po-faced responses to teases, etc.; 2013: 63-66) of these subsequent turns that revealed the participants' ongoing judgements.

Importantly, these judgements, be they explicit or implicit, have been shown to interrelate to understandings of the moral order in most of the studies discussed above, and especially to point to moral transgressions. Morality is not however the only concept that has been found to be inextricably linked to im/politeness evaluations in natural data. As Haugh (2013) has argued, both the implicit and the explicit evaluations of im/politeness that emerged in his interactional data, were interlaced with the participants' identities and relational histories across networks (2013: 67). This was also argued by Ogiermann (2019), who noted that access to the participants' histories of interaction as well as to the roles they have assumed through habitual engagement in recurrent practices significantly inform the ways evaluations of im/politeness are shaped in situated talk. There is definitely more scope for researching the impact of different footings in multi-party interactions, and of the participants' interactional history on the formulation of single evaluations.

Although these studies have yielded important findings with respect to im/politeness-in-interaction, there are still areas that have not received due attention by previous research but are worth-exploring to gain a fuller understanding of the phenomenon. First, there is much scope for investigating the different types of explicit comments about im/politeness in interaction by drawing more profoundly on the relevant literature on metapragmatics. In addition, there is room for further exploring these different types of overt im/politeness evaluations by looking more systematically at their location, design, and at the responses they may receive, much in the way advocated by CA scholars (cf. §1.2.). This endeavour could well involve the examination of explicit comments conveying affect as evaluative devices pointing both to the participants' understandings of im/politeness norms and to their positions/stances in interaction.

Likewise, more work is needed to tap into the multimodal aspect of im/politeness evaluations in interaction. Most of the studies reviewed above have basically analysed implicit features that co-occur

with more explicit ones to convey an im/politeness evaluation, while scant attention has been given to how these features can serve as evaluative devices in their own right (but see e.g. Ogiermann, 2019). It would thus be worth looking more systematically at the implicit end of the evaluative continuum by scrutinising when, where and why implicit evaluations are occasioned and how they are responded to by interlocutors. Such an attempt should not eliminate, on the other hand, the examination of how implicit cues may co-occur with more explicit comments to index im/politeness.

In addition, while most of the previous work has looked at the negotiation of more or less explicit evaluations in dyadic interactions (but see Haugh, 2013), it would be worth looking at multi-party interactions where im/politeness evaluations are at the hands of more participants apart from the evaluation-instigator and the evaluation-target. As discussed above, Haugh (2013) has touched upon this by considering how the varied reception footings taken up by different participants in the same interaction can influence the evaluation of social actions and meanings as im/polite. This has also been evidenced by Karafoti's (2019) more recent study on Greek complaints-in-interaction among intimates. More specifically, the author showed the important role of side-participants' affiliative moves to the complainers' prior turns in leading complaint sequences to a closure, and thereby maintaining the group's cohesion (2019: 19). Based on this, I would argue that research on im/politeness as interactional practice would benefit from analysing multi-party interactions and, especially, from considering the sequential and relational implications of multiple participants' contributions therein.

Furthermore, the literature reviewed above has almost exclusively focused on a single discourse activity, namely, on ongoing interactions, and has thus overlooked narrative talk that can well emerge in interaction and target present or absent others. Haugh (2013, 2015) has partly relied on narrative data in investigating im/politeness evaluations in interactional settings, and yet he has not treated this discourse type as distinct from other types of interactional data, nor has he drawn from narrative analytical tools to inform his interactional analyses. Researchers coming from different fields, such as narrative-and-identity scholars (e.g. Georgakopoulou, 2013b) or conversation analysts (Hutchby, 2008), have nevertheless shown that storytelling can provide a compelling process for inquiring into im/politeness phenomena in interactional settings. For instance, Georgakopoulou's (2013b) study has revealed the validity of small stories for investigating implicit and explicit evaluations of im/politeness, as well as the participants' related affective stances towards im/politeness. Having conversation-analytic priorities, Hutchby (2008) has been the only scholar to look both at the emergence of im/politeness evaluations in ongoing discourse and at reports about impolite behaviours attributed to absent others in a combined focus. Although he did not delve much into the distinct features of these interactional practices, his study was nonetheless significant in flagging them up as potential and separate loci for the co-construction of impoliteness phenomena in talk (2008: 238). I would argue that there is further room for examining how different types of im/politeness evaluations

may be linked to the exact telling of specific types of narratives, including narratives about third parties, which remain heavily under-researched even within narrative and identities research (but see e.g. Georgakopoulou, 2007). By looking at narrative data in parallel with ongoing interactions, we would be able to trace any systematic relations between different types of im/politeness evaluations (in terms of their design, location, and uptake) and different discourse activities.

Besides the importance of looking at im/politeness evaluations across discourse activities and not only within a single sequence, I would suggest that it is also worth looking at im/politeness evaluations trans-contextually, that is, as they may travel to different contexts (Briggs, 1998: 539) and develop over time. In his respect, Haugh (2015) has documented a shift in the resources that his participants mobilised to evaluate potentially offensive acts, from implicit claims to incipient offence in ongoing interactions to explicit meta-pragmatic comments in playback interviews (2015: 37-39; cf. Sinkeviciute, 2019, who presented similar findings yet in relation to reality TV data). This said, Haugh's study has only compared ongoing interactions with (elicited) interview data, and has not therefore explored how these potential shifts in expression and perception might occur in successive naturally-occurring interactions. Instead, taking a 'temporalised' (Georgakopoulou, 2007) view of im/politeness evaluations would provide us with the possibility of examining how the same im/politeness event might be evaluated differently by the same participants across different activities, and would thus afford a richer interpretation of the phenomenon.

Overall, it would be worth combining an interactional view of im/politeness with a practice-based line of inquiry in order to advance our view of im/politeness evaluations as social practices (Haugh, 2013). As Haugh (2013) has noted, such an account should not only be concerned with the forms that im/politeness evaluations may take in discourse, but it should also consider the meso-level of language 'use' (cf. Silverstein, 1985; Hanks, 1987, 1996), that is, how particular forms of evaluations emerge in certain activities, and what role they themselves play in interaction. Crucially, the co-articulation of the micro- and the meso-level of communication would also index the participants' tacit understandings of morality and macro-discourses of im/politeness, which are scarcely denoted in discourse but are rather pointed to in allusive ways (Silverstein, 1976, 1993). Hence, a consideration of im/politeness evaluations not least as emergent in micro-interactional moments but also as situated within particular contexts and participation orders (Goffman, 1981) would achieve a fuller interpretation of im/politeness as social practice. Last, but not least, a practice-based line of inquiry into im/politeness would also view im/politeness evaluations as 'temporalised' activities (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 10; cf. Silverstein & Urban, 1996), that is, as resources that can be both strategically mobilised to achieve specific interactional goals in one setting, and lifted from their initial context to yield new practices. A practice-based line of inquiry would thus account for processes of (re)contextualisation and intertextuality, that is, for the ways in which evaluations may

‘circulate between settings’ (Briggs, 1998: 539), and refer back or forwards to previous or future events.

#### 1.4. Summary

This literature review has discussed the main developments that have moulded the field of im/politeness research to date (§1.1.1.), and has scrutinised the main trends that are currently driving the field forward, including the rise of impoliteness, the relationship between im/politeness, morality and affect, and the rise to prominence of metapragmatics and multimodality (§1.1.2.). Reviewing these developments, I observed a conspicuous paucity of studies looking at how im/politeness understandings, in their interconnections with morality, affect, metapragmatics and multimodality, feature in naturally-occurring face-to-face interactions among intimates. Importantly, the advances identified in im/politeness scholarship have also been shown to be relevant to identities research, and as a result there has been an increasing momentum on integrating im/politeness with identities research (§1.1.2.), as well as on transposing identity models to the study of im/politeness (§1.2.2.). However, the studies that have put forth this synergy have mainly started from identity- and narrative-analytic priorities, and have largely neglected the area of spontaneous everyday interactions.

Aspiring to contribute to this exact research area within im/politeness research, in §1.3., I zoomed in on this matter and discussed the main insights that have been afforded by previous studies, before presenting a series of gaps that need be filled in. Previous literature has demonstrated the various forms that im/politeness evaluations can take in ongoing interactions; has linked these evaluations with understandings of the moral order; and has also showcased the validity of CA for exploring the location, design, and uptake of lay evaluations in actual conversations. However, there is much scope for probing more systematically into im/politeness evaluations both in the minutiae of situated talk and across different discourse activities, indeed involving different and often complex participation frameworks. To illuminate these issues, I will endeavour to address the following research questions.

#### 1.5. Research Questions

This thesis set out to investigate how lay participants co-construct evaluations of im/politeness in naturally-occurring face-to-face interactions. This has been the major question that has driven my research project. To better address this issue, and following the review of the relevant literature, I am asking the following more specific questions:

- a) How do participants in ongoing interaction more or less explicitly evaluate im/politeness events? How are im/politeness evaluations taken up or contested by different participants?
- b) How do participants orientate to im/politeness retrospectively in retellings of known events in the presence of their evaluation-targets? How, if at all, do they modify their initial evaluations of im/politeness when they embed them in retellings? How are these evaluations negotiated in the telling event by multiple participants?
- c) How do participants evaluate im/politeness in (small) stories about third parties, and how do they use these stories to perform both moral and identity work?

These questions draw on the themes elucidated in prior research and will seek to build on these by throwing light on the complex processes by which im/politeness evaluations are co-constructed in naturally-occurring interactional data. This involves a fine-grained micro-analysis of the forms and functions of different evaluations within and across discourse activities and participation frameworks. This zooming in on the micro-interactional moments of im/politeness construction in ongoing talk and the subsequent zooming out to capture processes of narrativisation and recontextualisation of particular evaluations in successive interactions allows for an appreciation of the dynamic nature of im/politeness evaluations, and an understanding of the relational, moral, and identity implications that these evaluations may have for lay speakers.

These questions will be addressed through the analysis of interactional data in conjunction with the participants' post-facto metacommentaries and my own field notes.

## CHAPTER 2. METHODOLOGY

Having identified the need for further research on lay evaluations of im/politeness-in-interaction, as these emerge in different discourse activities and may evolve across successive interactions over time, this study will address the research questions outlined above by synthesising an interactional approach to im/politeness with the epistemology of participant observation. Merging fine-grained interactional analysis with thorough observations will allow me to generate situated and nuanced data without losing grasp of habitual patterns and the broader context. In what follows, I first discuss this eclectic approach in more depth (§2.1.), and then provide an outline of the types of data I collected, as well as of the process of participant recruitment (§2.2.). Subsequently (§2.3.), I discuss my positioning as a participant-observer in the study and my ethical considerations, before turning to my analytical framework that draws from CA, small stories research and positioning analysis (§2.4.). I conclude with the presentation of the data preparation process preceding analysis, which involves transcription, translation, and coding (§2.5.).

### 2.1. The epistemological framework: Synthesising an interactional pragmatic approach to im/politeness with participant observation

The present thesis has set out to investigate the varied ways in which lay evaluations of im/politeness are jointly achieved in interaction. It has thus adopted a post-structuralist perspective that privileges the participants' multiple and contingent understandings of the phenomenon as they emerge in discourse. This does not necessarily entail the displacement of the very concept of im/politeness but instead celebrates the variability, fluidity, and negotiability of politeness as a process rather than a static entity. Such a perspective is very much in line with the discursive approach to politeness; however, besides attending to the participants' understandings, the approach I have adopted here retains a well-established role for the analyst, for it is closer to Haugh's (2007a) third-wave, interactional pragmatic approach to im/politeness.

This approach focuses 'on the interpretations, understandings, and analyses that participants themselves make, as displayed in the details of what they say' (Drew, 1995: 70). The role of the analyst is dual: first, s/he needs to show that an interaction does indeed involve participants mobilising certain evaluations, and that it is actually relevant to the interaction at hand to interpret these evaluations as pertaining to im/politeness (Haugh, 2007a: 310). In other words, the analyst is expected to establish that these evaluations are 'procedurally relevant' to or consequential for the moment-by-moment dialogic unfolding of the interaction, without imposing her/his understandings or hedging their analysis by merely suggesting *potential* instances of im/politeness (cf. Watts, 2003: 143;

Locher, 2006: 263). The CA conceptual apparatus is well-placed to attain this, since it ‘offers sophisticated tools for tracing participants’ evaluations and identifying breaches of norms that are actually treated as consequential in the event’ (Piirainen-Marsh, 2005: 215). Nevertheless, the scholars who have actually drawn from this framework are few and far between (see §2.4.1.).

An interactional pragmatic approach to politeness involves a further step, according to Haugh (2007a), which consists in ensuring that analysts’ interpretations are compatible with participants’ interactionally accomplished understandings, and that they have a value within a theory of im/politeness (2007a: 311). To establish ‘interpretive relevance’ (Arundale, 2006; Haugh, 2007a), analysts can partly be guided by explicit comments made by participants in the flow of interaction, yet this cannot in itself determine whether or not im/politeness has arisen in talk-in-interaction, as most of the evaluative work that participants do in ongoing discourse is allusive. Demonstrating interpretive relevance in either case thus requires recourse to aspects of context that transcend those available from the micro-discourse analysis of the sequential features of talk-in-interaction, and may involve the participants’ identities and their relational history, amongst other things.

As Haugh (2007a: 311) has argued, an immediate way in which to tap into these aspects, and thereby be in a position to better account for indexical evaluations of im/politeness, is to supplement CA-based analysis with ethnographic observations. Despite the widespread acknowledgement of the possibilities that this eclectic approach might provide (see e.g. Sifianou, 2012: 1558; Kádár & Haugh, 2013: 67; Ogiermann, 2019: 171; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou, 2019: 98), studies that have synthesised an interactional pragmatic approach to im/politeness with longitudinal participant observation (Hymes, 1996) in particular groups have yet to be conducted. In contrast, researchers have drawn on small corpora of recordings, and on the contextual information that they can gain through participant observation during these recordings (e.g. Locher & Watts, 2005; Haugh, 2011; Watanabe, 2011; but see Ervin-Tripp *et al.*, 1990, and Blum-Kulka, 1997, who drew on ethnography to study pragmatic socialisation). This kind of observation does not cover other aspects of the participants’ life, though, nor does it capture the repertoire of the participants’ identities and the history of their relationship.

Through such a combined approach I will be better placed to address my research questions by explicating not only how im/politeness evaluations emerge here-and-now in specific events but also how they are part of habitual ways of interacting that are linked to particular activities, identities, and norms. While the fine-grained micro-analysis of situated utterances will allow me to provide insights into the local or micro aspects of im/politeness evaluations as they occur here-and-now in particular events, participant observation will widen ‘the context of interaction – e.g. adding prior or subsequent talk, visual documentation, background information about participants’, and will thus potentially add ‘a new, and in some respects, richer analytical dimension’ (Duranti, 1997: 273; cf. Heller, 2001: 2;

Georgakopoulou, 2007: 21; Rampton, 2007b: 597). I need this amount of context and nuance in the present study to furnish an analysis that will illuminate telling patterns with respect to forms and functions of im/politeness in diverse activities and participation orders, as well as across time and space. Overall, participant observation will provide an epistemological framework for shedding light into the interanimation between micro and macro, local and translocal elements which interact in a ‘nexus’ (Blommaert, 2015: 86; cf. Rampton, 2014: 3) rather than existing in isolation.

## 2.2. The Data

In this section, I begin with offering a rationale for selecting Greek groups of friends living abroad to work with in this study, before presenting the profiles of the groups that I recruited (§2.2.1.). Following this, I outline the different methods of data collection that were synthesised in this study, namely, audio- and video-recordings of spontaneous interactions, fields notes, and playback interview data (§2.2.2.).

### 2.2.1. Recruiting participants

As I intimated in the Introduction, the choice of participants in the study was underpinned by my main research question. Since I have been interested in investigating im/politeness evaluations in naturally-occurring interactions, and prior research has shown that this site is not a privileged one for looking at this phenomenon (Haugh, 2010b), I set out to work with people living abroad. The guiding assumption behind this was that people living in a linguistic and cultural fusion would not only be highly reflective of their own and others’ language practices (Bella & Ogiermann, 2019: 189), but they would also give voice to those reflections, especially with respect to perceived improprieties and clashes of norms, in their spontaneous interactions.

These spontaneous interactions would mainly involve discussions with friends, for I chose to research groups of friends living abroad. However, this decision was also guided by my concern with classificatory impoliteness evaluations in situated talk (Eelen, 2001: 35), which are more likely to occur in interactions among friends rather than among unacquainted individuals, where there is a strong preference for agreement and agreeability (Haugh, 2015: 38). In contrast, the well-documented association between intimacy and impoliteness (Culpeper, 1996: 352) makes communication among friends a prime site for tracing ongoing evaluations of impoliteness in actual conversation involving both the evaluator and the target of evaluation. Finally, working with groups of friends involving more than two participants would help me investigate the impact of complex participation frameworks (Goffman, 1981) on the negotiation of impoliteness evaluations in interaction (cf. §1.3.2).



On a final note, I chose to work with Greeks for two main reasons: first, the linguistic and cultural proximity with the groups studied would provide me with heightened emic sensibilities, and would thus enable better access to the data and a wider perspective. Also, this decision was driven by the dearth of research on Greek understandings of impoliteness in naturally-occurring talk, as earlier scholarship on this topic has basically relied on elicited data (e.g. Sifianou, 1992; Sifianou & Tzanne, 2010; Fukushima & Sifianou, 2017).

I particularly recruited two groups<sup>24</sup> of participants through my own networks upon sending out an invitation to Greek acquaintances and friends living abroad (see Figure 2.1. below). In each group, I had direct connections with one person prior to the commencement of the research. Hence, I had prior ethnographic knowledge of some of the participants and thus needed to ‘make the familiar strange’ (Duranti, 1997: 86) so as to avoid cultural bias. The fact that I was also exposed to participants beyond my familiar networks helped me keep the necessary distance and remain critical.

**Figure 2.1.** Invitation to recruit participants



<sup>24</sup> I had recruited another group of Greek friends living in Oxford, but these participants withdrew early on from the study due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

In what follows, I will give an overview of the participants for additional background.

*'The London group'*

The first group of Greeks that I worked with was based in London. My fieldwork with this group started in January 2019 and resulted in the collection of 32<sup>1/2</sup> hours of audio- and video-recordings that were conducted in one of the participant's house in London, as well as of 30 pages of field notes. It is of note that I recorded the vast majority of the participants' interactions, whilst only a few of them were recorded by the participants themselves. This group comprises three Greek women, namely Ioli (29 years old), Ariadne (27 years old), and Iliada (29 years old), as well as one Greek man, Simeon (30 years old)<sup>25</sup>. All four participants were born and bred in Greece, particularly in Athens and Thessaloniki (the second-largest city in Greece), and come from family backgrounds that can schematically be described as middle-class. In terms of their education, Ioli holds a BA in Economics, and in MSc on Marketing and Communication from Athens University of Economics and Business. Iliada has a BA on Product and Systems Design Engineering from the University of the Aegean (Greece), and an MSc on Strategic Product Design from Delft University of Technology. As for Ariadne, she holds a BA on Electrical and Computer engineering from the National technical University of Athens, and an MSc on Management from University College London. Lastly, Simeon studied Economics at the University of Thessaly (Greece) and Cooking at the International Career Institute.

However, due to the ongoing economic crisis in their home country, they all moved to London to find a job. Notably, they portrayed themselves as 'best friends', although they had known each other for approximately two years. This might be due to the fact that 'migration brings people who speak the same language closer in a very short period of time', as both Ioli and Simeon have claimed (Diary, 20/2/2019; Interview, 28/2/21). Moreover, they were brought together by mutual Greek friends, who were too based in London, and thus occasionally joined the group. Finally, all four of them were at that time sharing a flat with other Greeks (i.e. Ariadne was living together with Iliada, Simeon was sharing a flat with a friend from Thessaloniki, and Ioli was living together with the researcher conducting this study).

When the recordings started, the participants were living and working in London. Ioli was working as an assistant brand manager, Iliada was employed as a service designer, and her flat mate, Ariadne, was working as a QA consultant. As for Simeon, he was employed as a sous-chef. Although their long working hours did not allow them to socialise with one another, at least offline, during the week-days, the participants socialised with one another in the week ends. Their weekends' routine thus involved

---

<sup>25</sup> To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, all data are pseudonimised and anonymised.

chatting at Greek cafés in the mornings, shopping, going for walks and/or chatting at home in the afternoons, socialising with other Greeks on Saturday nights, and meeting for brunch on Sunday mornings. This regular socialisation over a two-year period of time led to a dense interactional history that consisted of shared stories, a web of allusive references to known events and characters, as well as of common understandings of social norms that were often drawn upon to serve various interactional goals.

#### *'The Copenhagen group*

The second group of Greeks that I worked with was based in Copenhagen. My fieldwork in Copenhagen was conducted in May 2019, where I travelled to enmesh myself in the participants' community and conduct the recordings, and resulted in the collection of 40 hours of audio- and video-recorded data, as well as of 35 pages of field-notes. The recordings took place in various sites, mainly in the participants' houses and less often in (study) cafés. This group consists of three Greek men, namely, of Ectoras (27 years old), Paris (30 years old), and Kimonas (29 years old). All three participants were raised in Greece by middle-class families; Ectoras grew up in Athens, Paris was bred in Kalamata (a small city in Southern Greece), and Kimonas was raised in Trikala (a small city in North-western Greece). Ectoras studied Philology at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, while he also holds an MSc on Clinical Linguistics from the University of Groningen. Paris studied Mathematics at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, and Classical Music at the Hellenic Conservatoire of Athens. As for Kimonas, he studied Electrical and Computer Engineering at the University of Patras (Greece).

When the recordings started, all three men were living in Copenhagen. Paris and Kimonas moved to Denmark in 2017 to pursue their postgraduate work. In particular, Paris was doing an MSc on Mathematical Modelling and Computing, and Kimonas was enrolled in an MSc on Sustainable Energy, both at the Danish Technical University. Ectoras migrated to Denmark in 2017 to work as a learning support teacher at an international school. Notably, Paris and Kimonas have been friends for approximately ten years, while they have been living together since 2017. Also, while the recordings were taking place, they were sharing their flat with two Italian men, while Ectoras was a neighbour of theirs, and was sharing a flat with an Italian woman, a French man, and an American man. As a group, they had been socialising for a year; however, they portrayed themselves as 'best friends with common interests and shared assumptions' (Diary, 10/5/2019).

Despite their long working hours during the week, they often socialised with one another (and with other flat mates) in the evenings. As for their weekends' routine, this involved home gatherings, chatting at cafés with other (non-)Greek friends, attending music festivals and parties, meeting friends and volunteering at 'Folkets huset' (i.e. a cultural centre in Copenhagen), and going for walks and

drinks at Freetown Christiania (i.e. a commune in the city of Copenhagen). As a result of this regular socialisation, they came to share common interpretive repertoires (Potter & Wetherell, 1998: 65), and a dense history of interactions.




Having introduced the protagonists of this thesis, I now turn to the methods that I employed to collect my data with them.

### 2.2.2. Mixing data collection methods

The data for this thesis are mainly made up of audio- and video-recordings. However, I have supplemented my main dataset with field notes and playback interviews in order to complement my interactional data, compare different findings and add perspectives that would enhance the ‘viability and authenticity’ of my interpretations and arguments (Cicourel, 2007: 735).

I recorded 88 coffee and/or dinner meetings with seven participants in total, and I also observed these participants when socialising with one another and with other friends. Furthermore, I had informal conversations with other friends and flat-mates of theirs, and audio-recorded ‘backstage’ talk (Goffman, 1959). Finally, I conducted semi-structured playback interviews with key participants one or two years after the completion of my fieldwork<sup>26</sup>. Table 2.1. summarises my data collection methods and resulting data, which will be in turn discussed in more detail.

**Table 2.1.** Data collection methods and data

<b>Data collection</b>	<b>Observations and informal conversations with participants</b>	<b>Audio- and video-recordings of two groups’ spontaneous interactions</b>	<b>Semi-structured playback interviews with key participants</b>
			
<b>Data</b>	c. <b>65</b> pages of field notes, a handful of photos and text messages on Facebook	c. <b>73</b> hours of audio- and video-recordings of 88 coffee/ dinner meetings	c. <b>19</b> hours of video-recordings of interviews

<sup>26</sup> In an attempt to ensure that the participants in the study referred to im/politeness when employing related terms, I conducted a side-study (see Ogiermann & Saloustrou, 2020), particularly a survey of lay im/politeness understandings in Greek (see Appendix 5 – Survey, and Appendix 6 – Ethical approval letter for survey).

### *Interactional data*

Seeking to explore how lay evaluations of im/politeness are co-constructed in natural conversation, this thesis relies on naturally-occurring face-to-face interactions (Eelen, 2001: 255). While this had been advocated as a privileged site for exploring politeness-as-evaluation as early as in the early 2000s, discursive scholars (e.g. Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003) scarcely drew from face-to-face interactional data due to the difficulty both in obtaining them (Culpeper, 2011a: 8-9) and, most importantly, in establishing that im/politeness had indeed arisen in natural data (Spencer-Oatey, 2007: 654; Haugh, 2010b: 153; Locher, 2013: 203; Tzanne & Sifianou, 2019: 1016). Also, as Davies *et al.* (2013: 275) have argued, such data basically foreground moments of conflict/dispute, and are bound to single events which does not facilitate the detection of collective conceptualisations of the phenomenon. Finally, the collection of natural interactions is subject to additional ethical constraints, especially in the case of video-recorded interactions. As a result of these limitations, researchers have seldom relied on face-to-face interactional data to enquire into lay understandings of im/politeness (but see the studies in §1.3.2.).

Most scholarship interested in lay understandings of im/politeness has instead resorted to other data-types. These include data elicited through surveys (e.g. Sifianou, 1992; Fukushima, 2019), interviews (e.g. Spencer-Oatey, 2011; Bella & Ogiermann, 2019) or focus groups (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Bou-Franch, 2019); corpus-based analyses (e.g. Culpeper & Haugh, 2020); public discussions in the media (e.g. Locher & Luginbühl, 2019); or naturally-occurring digital data (e.g. Graham, 2007; Locher, 2010). One cannot deny that these methods come with important advantages. Digital data, corpora and media commentaries are, for example, easier to collect as they are, in most cases, publicly available and thus require minor ethical considerations as compared to face-to-face recorded interactions. They can also yield a great amount of data and thus provide more robust and valid results, something that also applies to survey data which have been found particularly useful for uncovering general patterns and variability in im/politeness understandings (e.g. Spencer-Oatey, 2005: 340; Haugh, 2010b: 157). Also, comments and debates that arise in the media can offer glimpses into ongoing disputes and metadiscourses of im/politeness at the societal level (Tzanne & Sifianou, 2019: 1016). As for focus-group data, these are closer to the lay/emic side, as they provide participants with the freedom to respond in their own words, while they also allow room for co-construction with other participants and the researcher (Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Bou-Franch, 2019: 306). This is partly true for interviews as well, besides the important fact that they open up opportunities for ‘accessing individuals’ attitudes and values’ (Bella & Ogiermann, 2019: 169) and thus explore the underpinnings of individual evaluations *in situ*.

Notwithstanding advantages, these methods have also significant limitations when it comes to researching lay understandings of im/politeness. First and foremost, all elicitation techniques engage

participants in a somewhat artificial situation that necessitates the intervention of the analyst. Questionnaires, more specifically, are based on a set of pre-formulated questions by the analyst and, at times, also pre-determine the responses to be given by participants (e.g. multiple-choice answers or rating scales; e.g. Dörnyei, 2007: 105). This, undoubtedly, restricts the participants' freedom of expression and thus excludes possibilities for obtaining insightful and unexpected data. This also applies to structured interviews and focus-group discussions, where the analyst's pre-set agenda may influence the information exchanged by selecting the topic, wording questions in a certain way, or by imposing their own frames of reference on the participants, thus potentially failing to capture the participants' lay understandings (Edwards, 1997: 277).

On another note, some survey respondents may deliberately falsify their answers (Cohen *et al.*, 2011: 388), and choose the putatively desirable response to present themselves in a good light, which jeopardises the validity of the data (Dörnyei, 2007: 8). This is often the case in interviews too as, in expressing their conceptualisations, participants may engage in relational work with the researcher 'to avoid undesirable imputations of impoliteness on their part or to maintain their own face and the like' (Spencer-Oatey, 2007: 674).

Another limitation that mostly pertains to survey data is that they seldom provide contextual information and thus lead to decontextualised responses by participants. This is not, however, in tune with the view of im/politeness as contextual judgment that this thesis espouses, and cannot therefore contribute to addressing my research questions regarding the investigation of im/politeness evaluations in particular activities and contexts. Although corpora do reveal some contextual information, they do not nevertheless allow room for reflection (Ogiermann & Saloustrou, 2020: 4), nor can they illuminate the ongoing negotiation of im/politeness judgements in contingent interactions. And while comments that arise in the media can offer some glimpses into this aspect, media commentary mainly involves post-hoc judgements made by meta-participants<sup>27</sup>, rather than by the actual participants in the flow of interaction. Whilst they can add interesting perspectives, meta-participants' views should not be conflated with participants' understandings in situated talk, nor be employed as substitutes for ongoing evaluations out of convenience. Finally, online comments mainly foreground moments of conflict and disagreement given that the anonymity and the concomitant deindividuation afforded by online platforms facilitates the occurrence of impoliteness online (e.g. Dynel, 2015: 338; Tzanne & Sifianou, 2019: 1018). Although this makes online data a prime site for researching impoliteness, it is important not to forget that impoliteness manifestations online differ significantly from the offline realisations of the phenomenon, where the use of impoliteness entails considerable relational and moral implications, especially because of the lack of an 'anonymous mask', *inter alia*.

---

<sup>27</sup> 'Meta-participants' are readers or viewers of a posted interaction who talk about it from a detached standpoint, and thus participate only vicariously in it (cf. Kádár & Haugh, 2013: 90).

On the whole, every method comes with its own strengths and weaknesses. It is therefore important that analysts remain reflexive throughout the process of data generation, and choose methods that better serve their specific research agenda. Wishing to contribute to a better understanding of how lay im/politeness evaluations are co-constructed in interaction, I decided to go back to the roots of a discursive/interactional approach and look at face-to-face naturally-occurring interactions, without though overlooking the limitations of this method which I intimated in the beginning of this section.

I set out to collect recordings of such data, as the major tendency for naturally-occurring interactions within discourse studies is to be recorded and transcribed (Kádár & Haugh, 2013: 53). Transcriptions are a good record of what happened *in situ*, while allowing the analyst to replay them and thus study them extendedly (Sacks, 1992 I: 622). I have particularly employed the method of audio- and video-recordings of naturally-occurring data, in an attempt to capture not only the linguistic but also the paralinguistic and visual information that can support the interpretation of linguistic forms in ongoing talk (Ogiermann, 2019: 171). As depicted in Table 2.2., my participants expressed a preference for being audio- instead of video-recorded. Hence, whilst I had hoped to video-record more interactions, video-recordings constitute a fraction of my dataset of recorded data.

**Table 2.2.** Audio- and video-recordings per group

<b>Group</b>	<b>Number of informal meetings recorded (N= 88)</b>	<b>Total hours of audio-recordings (N= 65)</b>	<b>Total hours of video-recordings (N= 7<sup>1/2</sup>)</b>
The London group	47	30	2 <sup>1/2</sup>
The Copenhagen group	41	35	5

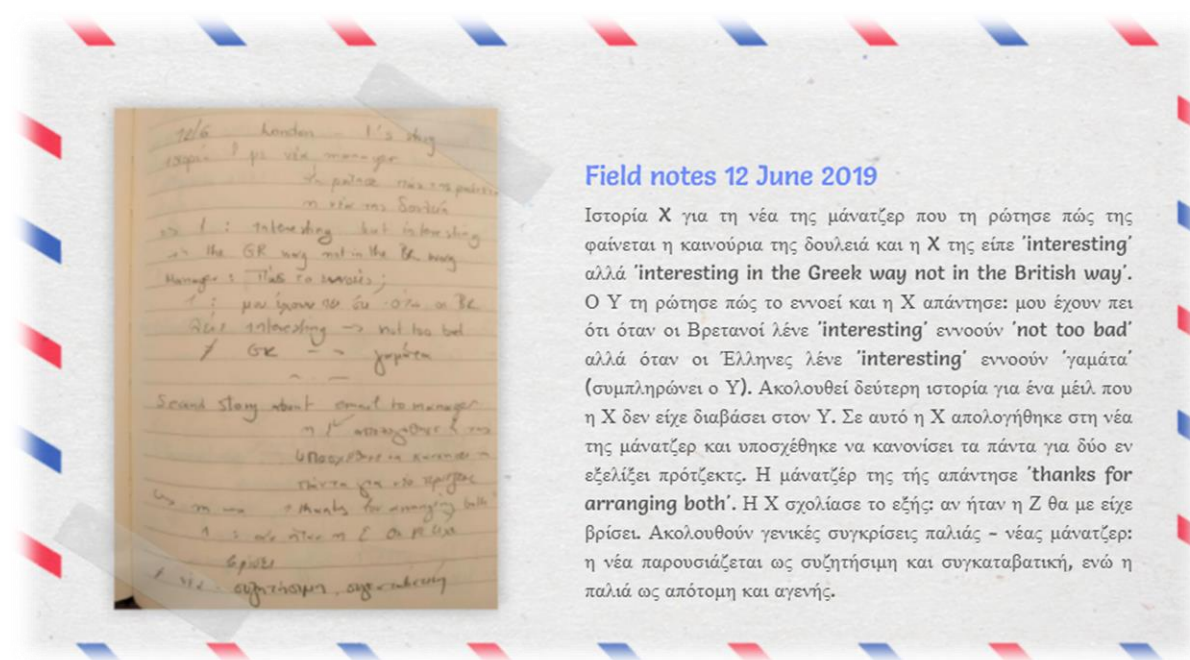
Recordings were done using a small digital recorder and/or two camcorders which both were visible to the participants. Notably, they often oriented explicitly to the recording devices, irrespective of the presence of the researcher, to perform a refined and courteous identity by using, for example, many politeness formulae to each other. Although it is true that the presence of a recording device influences the participants' behaviour, it is also known that 'people do not invent social behaviour' and that the way they act in front of the camera is 'part of the repertoire that is available to them independently of the presence of the camcorder' (Duranti, 1997: 118; cited in Ogiermann, 2019: 155). Nonetheless, the possibility of such orientations should be carefully taken into consideration in the analysis, as is the case with the analyst's observation and field note-taking during the recordings.

## Field notes

Field notes can include a variety of information and fieldworkers usually have to make decisions as to what, when, where, and how to note things occurring in the field (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007, 142). This implies that they are not neutral and transparent representations of what happened, but the process of composing them is itself interpretative and selective. Therefore, my research questions and broader interests shaped to a large extent both my observations and how I put them into words.

The creation of field notes in my study followed three stages. Firstly, on the site, I used to note things down on my mobile phone so as not to attract the participants' attention to my recording their actions. These notes tended to be brief, mainly taking the form of key phrases related to descriptions of participants' (non-)verbal reactions at specific points in interaction. I usually adopted a temporal approach (Wolfinger, 2002) mapping out observed behaviours from the beginning of the recording to the end, and sometimes even after the completion of the recording. Secondly, I converted these mobile notes into scratch notes in diary form right after a recording, which promoted recall and helped me add details that I did not have the time to note down during the recording (Wolfinger, 2002: 143). Finally, I transformed these scratch notes into fuller field notes in a digital diary, which also included preliminary reflections on the events, and further linked them to relevant recordings in an excel document (see §2.5.1.). Figure 2.2. depicts this transformation process.

**Figure 2.2.** Scratch and field notes





Overall, field notes proved crucial in helping me develop collections of im/politeness evaluations of the same events across different interactions, much in the way advocated by linguistic ethnographers (e.g. Rampton, 2010; Georgakopoulou, 2013a; chapters in Snell *et al.*, 2015; Heinrichsmeier, 2020a). By enabling comparison and pattern-building, this method particularly helped reveal interesting links between singular instances of talk and more enduring conceptualisations and identity positions, and thereby provided more robust accounts of the participants' practices. It is of note here that, although ethnographic observations informed the data collection process by providing contextual information about the topics discussed by the groups of participants, and also enabled the identification of interrelated conversational phenomena to be explored in my analytical chapters, they were scarcely used in the data analysis process to interpret contingent interactions or make wider claims about the social dynamics of the groups and the participants' identities.

#### *Playback interviews*

My purpose in conducting audio- or video-stimulated interviews as part of post-recording sessions (e.g. House, 2000, 2008; Marquez-Reiter, 2009; Spencer-Oatey, 2007, 2011; Spencer-Oatey & Xing, 2000, 2003) was to complement my naturally-occurring data, and to pursue participants' ideas about im/politeness and identities in general. As argued by Spencer-Oatey (2007: 654), a single focus on the participants' situated orientations to potentially face-threatening/ face-saving behaviours in interaction cannot ascertain whether im/politeness has emerged, especially where such orientations manifest in the form of implicit, equivocal cues. Research on im/politeness has attempted to tackle this challenge by eliciting participants' retrospective comments.

It has often been claimed that such comments can be regarded as naturalistic data, since participants are allowed to freely reflect on their interactional practices (Kádár & Haugh, 2013: 54). Additionally, as Pomerantz (2005: 102) notes, participants' retrospective commentary on what was being said and done in the recordings may confirm inferences made by the analyst through the analysis of naturally-occurring data, while providing insights into the withholding of particular actions by participants to be explored and into aspects of the wider context. On another note, according to Kádár and Haugh (2013: 225) and Spencer-Oatey (2007: 654, 2009: 152), post-hoc meta-comments can illuminate the emotive function of what was being said in an interaction, as well as the participants' relational and face concerns, interactional goals, and long-held values, which constitute the grounds of situated evaluations. This was nicely illustrated in Spencer-Oatey's (2011) study of workplace project partnerships, which examined the participants' metapragmatic emotion and im/politeness comments, as these were recounted in post-event interviews. Since participants' relational concerns were scarcely

voiced in naturally-occurring talk but rather developed over time, a discourse analytic approach would be too narrow to tease them out. Consequently, supplementary data in the form of playback interviews, can add perspectives and help build up an in-depth picture of the conceptualisations that interlocutors may hold and negotiate in different settings over time.

This said, there are several caveats that need to be taken into consideration by analysts relying on playback interview material. First, it has often appeared hard to re-enact face-threatening interactions with the participants, as such discussions may be face-threatening themselves (Chang & Haugh, 2011b: 2952). In addition, it is notable that the participants' reports cannot give us direct access to their situated assessments, or definitively prove the analysts' interpretations (Pomerantz, 2005: 110; Spencer-Oatey, 2009: 152; Haugh, 2010b: 156). This might be because they often engage in relational work with the interviewer to maintain face (Spencer-Oatey, 2007: 654), or because they may not have reflected on their there-and-then situated practices, and even if they have, they may still lack the discursive resources to verbalise such reflections (Blommaert & Jie, 2010: 2-3). Finally, it is important to note that participants' comments comprise yet 'another text, another conversation, only this time the interaction is with the analyst' (Mills, 2003: 45). From this perspective, as Mitchell and Haugh (2015: 213; cf. Potter & Hepburn, 2005) have suggested, the interviewer is to be regarded as another participant in this activity, and not as a neutral elicitor of post-interaction comments.

This requires a specific perspective to interview, particularly a 'discursive perspective', which approaches interviews 'as socially situated 'speech event[s]' [...], in which interviewer(s) and interviewee(s) make meaning, co-construct knowledge, and participate in social practices.' (Talmy & Richards, 2010: 2). This is the epistemological perspective adopted in this thesis aiming at paying attention not only to the content of interviews but also to linguistic and semiotic resources leveraged by participants to locally (co)construct and negotiate meaning. Viewing interview as a process in which both parties are actively shaping the event establishes it as an interactional practice, and thus takes into analytical consideration both sides' contributions and the communicative *how* of the interview.

In addition, I was inspired by Spradley's (1979) 'ethnographic interview' approach, which bears significant resemblance to a friendly conversation (1979: 58). I particularly developed a list of questions and related prompts derived from the analysis of selected extracts of naturally-occurring interactions. First, I played the corresponding extract to the interviewee and asked them the following broad question: *What is your recollection about this particular episode? Do you have any particular thoughts or feelings about what happened then?* Some interviewees started commenting upon the extract without being prompted, while others waited for the above question to be addressed to them. Albeit having prepared a handful of questions in advance, scarcely did I adhere to the order and phrasing of those questions. By contrast, I followed the flow of interaction, allowed interviewees to

initiate topics of their interest, or even address questions to me personally, in order to somehow restore the interviewer/interviewee inequality (Blommaert & Jie, 2010: 44ff). One result of this relaxed atmosphere was the generation of long interviews (see Table 2.3.), which were indeed conducted on Zoom, because of the COVID19-related regulations.

**Table 2.3.** Playback interviews per participant

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Number of interviews</b>	<b>Total hours of interviews</b>
Ioli	3	3.5
Simeon	3	3.5
Ariadne	2	1.5
Iliada	2	2
Kimonas	3	3
Paris	2	2.5
Ectoras	4	2.5
<b>Total</b>	19	18.5

In sum, this thesis has mainly been based on naturally-occurring interactions, but has also drawn from ethnographic information and participant metacommentary in playback interviews to complement the findings yielded from the fine-grained analysis of immediate interactions; add context by investigating the habitual practices, normativities, and identifications that influence contingent evaluations; and, finally, to validate etic interpretations and bring in the analysis the reflexivity of the participants themselves. To the best of my knowledge, no study has so far synthesised all three methods for analysing im/politeness-in-interaction. I would argue that this methodological integration is valuable for compensating for the weaknesses of one method or the other, triangulating recordings with other data sources, and for adding extra nuance. This said, this synthesis requires extra layers of reflexivity and a critical eye.

## 2.3. Reflexivity and ethics

### 2.3.1. Reflexivity and positionality

Reflexivity is particularly important if one considers both my linguistic and cultural proximity to the participants, as well as my intimacy with some of my participants at the time of the recordings. My background as a Greek speaker living abroad means that I share a number of traits with my

participants and could thus be considered an ‘insider’ researcher. Duranti (1997: 220) suggests caution when one explores their own cultural milieu, as the insider status cannot *in itself* guarantee rapport between the researcher and the researched. That is to say, despite the shared background knowledge, there might be several other differences between researchers and participants, such as gender, class, education, and so on, which could serve as a hindrance to establishing trust. Additionally, as Heller *et al.* (2017: 30) contend, assuming common background is not enough, since the researcher’s ‘own position, [during the fieldwork], generate particular affordances and blind spots’. This means that the way researchers opt to foreground or background specific aspects of themselves in the site is even more crucial than their knowledge of the language and culture of their participants. My identity as a PhD researcher was automatically foregrounded in the participant observation; yet, on presenting myself, I was careful to mainly focus on the common experiences, ideological positions, and interests that I shared with participants so as to decrease the power imbalance and build trust with them. At the same time, I sought to present myself as openly as possible to avoid misleading them since, as Cameron *et al.* (1992: 5) argue, ‘researchers cannot help being socially located persons [who] inevitably bring our biographies and our subjectivities to every stage of the research process’. As a result, analysts are themselves a determining factor in shaping the research (e.g. Hymes, 1999: 13; Heller *et al.*, 2017), and they cannot be extracted from the data collection and analysis.

In my attempt to build rapport with the participants and thus ensure the collection of accurate data (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Creswell & Miller, 2000), I started communicating with the participants before officially commencing my fieldwork via private messaging groups. Notably, the participants often shared photos, videos, and other content in these groups, which afforded interesting insights into their practices, interests, views, and identity positions. In entering the sites, I overtly participated in the participants’ informal gatherings as a ‘ratified participant’ (Goffman, 1981: 132) and undertook a range of tasks in preparation of their coffee or dinner gatherings. Where possible, I also chatted to friends of theirs to develop a deeper understanding of their relationships with others, the practices in which they engaged, and generally to handle the complexity of their contingent actions (Blommaert & Jie, 2012: 12). On some occasions, I performed more structured observations to gain insights, *inter alia*, into the amount of time that each participant holds the floor, the range of topics that they initiate and the interactional dynamics between the participants. These shifting roles of the researcher, which have long been discussed in the literature (e.g. Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007: 82-86), had an impact on the participation framework, as the participants treated me either as a ratified addressee or as a member of the overhearing audience. These moments necessitated heightened reflexivity and caution on my part. To navigate around them, I sought to listen to my participants carefully, and avoided imposing my own ideas, leading the discussion, or directing them to particular conclusions.

These issues were relevant to the playback interviews as well, and I often had to tackle the difficulties entailed in my shifting modes and roles for the playback sessions (i.e. my double roles as participant in the played-back interactions and interviewer in the playing-back events). Despite my involvement in the events examined, I endeavoured to avoid nudging participants toward my own take on the events, by proffering minimal yet affiliative responses to their understandings of events. I also encouraged reflexive discussions with them about the selected themes, as well as about any relevant topic they wanted to raise during the interviews. Finally, during the analysis, I was careful in order not to impose my own macro agendas but by guided by the implicit cues or the explicit categories that participants themselves demonstrably made relevant in the interactions. Also, when analysing playback interview material, I tried not to mis-interpret or over-interpret the participants' post-facto comments, yet take them into account to enrich my own interpretations and make sure that I represented the participants' voices as much as I could. These moves served to establish that the research process was ethical not only in form (see below) but also in substance.

### 2.3.2. Ethics

Turning to the 'form' of ethics, my data collection was approved by the King's College SSSL Research Ethics Subcommittee (reference number LRS-18/19-8931) (see Appendix 4 – Ethical approval letter). Nonetheless, such approvals are just the top of the iceberg since they represent only the 'form of ethics' within research (Cameron *et al.*, 1992). The substantial ethical issues that arose during my data collection and analysis include obtaining informed consent from participants, anonymisation, and doing research that might be beneficial for participants in the long term.

Firstly, informed consent (see Appendix 2 – Information sheet for study and Appendix 3 – Consent form) was obtained before the commencement of the data collection phase, while participants were given the right to withdraw from the project in case they felt discomfort with the process. Obtaining consent is not a straightforward but rather a continuous process. Taking this into consideration, I tried to build rapport with participants so that they felt comfortable with the process, both in the main phase of data collection and during the playback interviews, which were conducted amidst the COVID-19 pandemic. Conscious of the various challenges people were confronted with during that period, I regularly checked that the participants were eager to participate. As a result of the COVID-19-related difficulties, one of the participants in the study withdrew from the interviews phase for some time, while the other interviews were conducted with severe delays.

On another note, on many occasions, I recorded non-participants who happened to be in the same room at the time of the recording. This was particularly frequent in the Copenhagen group, where the participants' flat-mates enjoyed participating in our recordings. To address this ethical issue, I sought

to ensure that non-participants knew that I was doing research by introducing myself as a researcher, and alerting non-participants to the fact that the recorders were on as soon as they entered the room. I decided not to interrupt those recordings nor to discard such files at a later stage, as these data afforded insights into the participants' routines, practices, and the relationships they built. However, I selected to analyse extracts that did not contain non-participant contributions.

Turning now to issues related to anonymisation, I drew on the principle of 'heavy disguise', along the lines outlined by Bruckman (2002: 230), to ensure confidentiality and protect the participants' identity. This principle entails withholding or changing all identifiable personal information that appear in the recorded data. This said, how much change should be effected is yet another point to be carefully considered by analysts; if minor changes are made, the participants' identity may not be protected; if too many details are altered, the validity of analytic points may be threatened (Walford, 2005: 87f). Besides, some of these details are part and parcel of the methodology of the thesis or other publications and therefore cannot be withheld. I tried to address this issue by changing participants' pseudonyms in different publications (cf. Saunders *et al.*, 2014).

Ethical issues are not exhausted in informing and anonymising participants, but rather extend to encompass the involvement of the participants in the research process in a way that serves the participants' own needs and visions. To attain this, I attempted to subvert -to an extent- the power imbalance endemic in research settings by allowing participants to freely ask me questions during our interviews, showing them transcripts to seek feedback and empower participants, as well as by entitling them to withdraw from the project in case of difficulties and commitments.

Ethical issues were not endemic only to the data collection process, but rather infused the process of data analysis too. I now turn to the frameworks that I synthesised for analysing my interactional data.

## 2.4. Analytical framework

My analytical framework draws on the apparatus of Conversation Analysis (CA) to tap into the co-construction of im/politeness evaluations in naturally-occurring talk-in-interaction. I also draw on small stories research in its intersections with interactional positioning analysis to shed light on evaluations appearing in narrative talk. In what follows I discuss each analytical tool in turn, beginning with CA.

### 2.4.1. Conversation analysis

In §1.2.1.2., I presented the key premises of the CA apparatus in discussing interactional approaches to identity. This section is intended to explain why a CA-grounded approach can furnish substantial evidence to bring to bear on the analysis of im/politeness-in-interaction.

Claiming that CA is be the best-suited method for studying im/politeness in interactional data, is like stating the obvious. This said, and despite the call for CA-informed analyses of im/politeness since the early 2000s, there has not been much integration between CA and im/politeness research to date (Ogiermann 2019: 150). As early as in the 1960s, Sacks had touched upon the issue of ‘[achieving] some outcome without aiming for it directly’ (Schegloff, 1992: xxxii), which reminds us of the postulated link in early politeness scholarship between indirect speech acts (i.e. utterances whose form deviates from their function) and a polite result. However, Sacks was interested in the incremental building of sequences in talk, what was later labelled ‘adjacency pair’, rather than in politeness phenomena. Some decades later, Lerner (1996) was the first to link CA with facework in naturally-occurring interaction, arguing that ‘to properly characterize the feelings, desires, and motives, as well as actions of face and face-work, it is necessary to capture them in the act on the terrain of talk-in-interaction’ (1996: 319). His analysis revealed a significant association between face and the participants’ tendency to pre-empting a ‘dispreferred’ action and changing it to a more preferred one. Another more recent study that has analysed impoliteness using CA is Hutchby (2008). This study is notable as it has been the only CA study that has addressed the challenge of attributing impoliteness to specific utterances (2008: 222) by looking at the ways in which conversationalists demonstrably orientate to the impolite nature of certain actions of others (e.g. interruptions) in their turn design (2008: 226). As far as im/politeness scholars are concerned, studies that have relied on CA to analyse im/politeness understandings are scarce, and mainly draw from institutional contexts, namely, from news interviews (Pirainen-Marsh, 2005), radio phone-in programmes (Ferenčík, 2007), and exploitative TV shows (Bayraktaroğlu & Sifianou, 2012). As discussed in §1.3.2., im/politeness studies that have used CA to analyse naturally-occurring interactions among intimates are even fewer (e.g. Haugh, 2013; Ogiermann, 2019), yet they serve as an important starting point for further research on the matter.

Building on this line of inquiry, I argue that a CA apparatus can advance the theorisation of im/politeness-as-evaluative-practice in interactional data. To begin with, this view entails both a consideration of the social actions that occasion im/politeness evaluations and, importantly, an account of the social actions that evaluations themselves give rise to (Haugh, 2013: 56). Although, as early as in 2001, Eelen had suggested that a fruitful line of work within im/politeness research should encompass the exploration of ‘the discursive role and *functionality* of the evaluations themselves’ (2001: 255; emphasis added), and later discursive approaches (e.g. Watts, 2003; Mills, 2003) drew on social practice theories (Foucault, 1972; Bourdieu, 1977) to inform their accounts of im/politeness in discourse, these studies were devoid of any concrete details as to how analysts might proceed, while

they paid little, if no, attention to what is actually done with evaluations in the unfolding of talk. Also, while they invoked concepts proposed by the social theories mentioned above (e.g. ‘habitus’, ‘discourse’, and ‘norms’) to unveil the grounds of situated evaluations, these concepts were often assumed in the analysis in a way that reified them without adequately addressing the question (Haugh, 2013: 55). As Haugh (2013) has rightly argued, a social-practice view of im/politeness involves a move to detailed and nuanced examination of talk-in-interaction which only CA methods can afford.

This can particularly be made possible by the sophisticated, micro-analytic and context-sensitive analytic tools that CA scholars have developed over the years, namely, transcription and collection-building. To begin with, the highly granular turn design and the level of detail in transcripts can uncover the full array of both linguistic and non-linguistic resources that participants mobilise in interaction (Clift & Haugh, 2021: 620), which is crucial for a multimodal examination of im/politeness evaluations (cf. §1.3.2.). Furthermore, by capturing the sequential unfolding of social actions in talk-in-interaction (Drew, 2005; Heritage, 2005), detailed transcripts can both enable the examination of previous social actions that occasion im/politeness evaluations in upcoming talk and afford access to those actions that evaluations themselves trigger next (cf. Pomerantz, 1984; Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987). They can also allow analysts to situate these evaluations vis-à-vis the complex array of footings that different participants may assume in a multi-party interaction, and thereby shed light into the variability and argumentativity of evaluations (Eelen, 2001), as well as into the local co-construction of the moral order (Haugh, 2013: 67). Overall, nuance and detail in transcripts offers a wealth of analytic leverage to uncover what participants are doing, how they are doing it, and why. This is important as it helps us transcend the speech act focus on the pair of utterances to consider the wider interactional sequence of which participants’ actions are part by working bottom-up (Drew & Holt, 1998: 497), and thus in line with an interactional pragmatic approach to im/politeness.

On another note, CA can advance the study of im/politeness-as-practice in interactional data through its collection-based analysis (e.g. Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008: 88). More specifically, comparing instances within a collection and building assemblages of compositional and positional features of talk, provides evidence for the systematicity of a particular action with respect to its location, design, and dis/aligning responses (cf. §1.3.2.). Building collections of conversational phenomena, thus, allows for a technical analysis of particular actions rather than a mere interpretation of what a speaker have potentially meant (Clift & Haugh, 2021: 620), while it enhances the interpretive validity of the analytical endeavour by facilitating the examination of contingent features of talk against an interpretive backdrop that previous collection-based analyses have provided (Haugh, 2013: 68). Finally, comparison across different collections provides external evidence that can contribute significantly to situated and contingent analysis (Clift & Haugh, 2021: 621-623).



Overall, the combination of these methods has the potential to advance im/politeness research anchored to interactional data by furnishing a compelling empirical basis for investigating participants' ongoing interpretive work, and a *tertium comparationis* across languages and cultures. My research will employ these tools (see also §2.5.) and will also draw on the key components of the CA apparatus, as they appear in Appendix 7 – CA apparatus, transcription notations, and IGT key. Nevertheless, as I discussed in §1.2.1.2, this micro-analytic perspective is not without its critics. To address some of those criticisms, this thesis proposes an integration between a CA-interactional approach a narrative-approach to analysing identities- and im/politeness-in-interaction. This includes the use of small stories research and positioning analysis as means of bridging the micro-interactional with the macro-social processes. I now turn to this.

#### 2.4.2. Small stories research and positioning analysis

##### *Small stories research: premises and underpinnings*

Small stories research was originally developed by Bamberg (2006) and Georgakopoulou (2007) as an antidote to the Labovian (1972) narrative paradigm that privileged a specific type of narrative in the analysis, namely, the monologic life stories or stories of emblematic events. This canon was drawn upon by several studies that used narratives as a point of entry into the features of the self (e.g. Bruner, 1990, 1991; McAdams, 1993). The assumption being that these features emerge in a 'big', life story, the narrative genre that monopolised identity analysis was that of autobiography. However, as shown by interactionist approaches, such as the CA approach to narrative, we hardly ever find such detached and coherent autobiographies to be shared in everyday spontaneous interactions. What we find, instead, are narratives-in-interaction, which are enmeshed in local business; emerge as jointly drafted ventures in interactional settings; are managed on-line as sequences; and are occasioned by prior talk that serves as the context of narrative production (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 4-5). Studies on conversational storytelling (Sacks, 1974; Jefferson, 1978; C. Goodwin, 1984, 1986) have thus paid particular attention to the context-contingency, emergence, and interactional management of stories, which were neglected by biographical researchers. In so doing, they have demonstrated how stories can be prefaced (Sacks, 1974: 340-341); how the participants display their relation between a story and prior talk (Jefferson, 1978: 220); how stories can be followed by second stories (Sacks, 1974); and how the participation framework (C. Goodwin, 1986; M. Goodwin, 1990) can be crucial in shaping the very structure of the story.

Small stories research has drawn inspiration from this interactionist approach to narrative, but has also coupled this with practice-based views of language and identities (Georgakopoulou, 2016: 268; De Fina, 2018), which regard communicative activities as performing certain actions in particular contexts. In line with this, small stories research has recognised that narrative is not to be considered

as a supra-genre with a stable structure, but as a range of dynamic structures, which are agentively drawn upon by participants as resources for serving their identity work depending on the context. These may include a host of under-represented narrative activities, such as ‘tellings of ongoing events, future, or hypothetical events, shared (known) events, but also allusions to (previous) tellings, deferrals of tellings and refusals to tell’ (Georgakopoulou, 2006: 130). Although some of these narrative activities in face-to-face interactions happen to be literally small, the term ‘small’ is not to be interpreted literally, but as a metaphor for devalued, untold, and discarded communication activities that are nevertheless valuable in illuminating aspects of human experience (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 1). In fact, the significance of small stories research mainly lies in giving particular attention to fragmented and often incoherent stories that occur in fleeting moments and bring to light identity dilemmas or moments of inconsistency, which in turn give voice to fragmented and relational aspects of subjectivity (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008: 336).

As Georgakopoulou (2016: 267) has argued, small stories research has been meant not as a *model of*, but as a *model for* narrative analysis (Duranti, 2005: 421ff), since it is intended to serve as an open-ended frame of inquiry. The open-endedness of this framework can be attested not only in the aforementioned synthesis of analytical frameworks that have inspired small stories research, but also in the embracement of context-contingent definitional criteria, the assumption being that in different contexts, different criteria may be more or less salient (Georgakopoulou, 2013c: 207; cf. Hymes, 1996: 121). In addition, small stories research has advocated considering the participants’ lay understandings of narrative to complement etic definitional criteria (Georgakopoulou, 2013a). From this perspective, the way participants talk about their choices, and the narrative practices of their own and others at a meta-discourse level (Georgakopoulou, 2013b: 58-59) lie at the heart of small stories research. So does the ‘regularity of occurrence (iterativity)’ of particular modes of semiosis amid concrete social practices (Georgakopoulou, 2013a), which may allow insights into the sedimentation of particular understandings of moral norms and identities (Saloustrou, 2019). This, however, requires a ‘temporalised’ approach to story structure (Georgakopoulou, 2007) which helps capture both the sequential occasioning of stories in local contexts and processes of circulation and re-embeddedness of these stories in new contexts (Georgakopoulou, 2007; cf. Ochs & Capps, 2001; Silverstein & Urban, 1996), as well as a particular methodology. Combining an interactional pragmatic approach with an ethnographic perspective has been said to be appropriate for this, since it affords ‘a sense of the stability, status, and resonance that linguistic forms, rhetorical strategies and semiotic materials have in different social networks beyond the encounter-on-hand’ (Rampton, 2017: 2). In tune with this, the present study both takes a temporalised view of story structure and attempts to combine contingent analyses of interactional data with participant observations to study the stories participants tell about im/politeness.

### *Small stories, identities- and im/politeness-in-interaction*

Small stories paradigm takes an anti-essentialist view of identity as ‘in-the-making’ or ‘coming-into-being’ (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008: 379) in interaction, while also embracing the idea of there being some kind of constancy and sameness across one’s identities. From this perspective, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008: 385) advocated using ‘positioning processes’, that is, the act of explicitly/implicitly positioning self and other in narratives, to study how people jointly fabricate identities in talk (cf. Bucholtz & Hall, 2005). For the authors (2008), the three levels of positioning offer glimpses into the participant roles in an interaction (e.g. who chooses the topics of discussion), the interactants’ social identities (i.e. how the interactants are relationally positioned), and their ‘solidified’ roles, that is, their more enduring roles that may be relevant in local tellings but also go beyond them (Georgakopoulou, 2008: 603). According to Georgakopoulou (2008: 597), people build solidified roles over time, as they practice identities in local interactive settings. Indeed, self- and other-identity claims made in such settings offer insights into such rehearsed positions that give ‘a continuous sense of who we are –a sense of us as ‘same’ in spite of continuous change’ (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008: 379). In this sense, solidified roles could be related to Zimmerman’s (1998) ‘transportable’ identities which are not necessarily made relevant in interaction, but are carried across contexts and ultimately become part and parcel of our identity mosaic (Georgakopoulou, 2008: 598).

Small stories research has so far been applied to the study of a variety of identities in a wide range of environments, including, the workplace (e.g. Oostendorp & Jones, 2015), healthcare institutes (e.g. Sools, 2012), teacher-student interactions (e.g. Ryan, 2008; Vásquez, 2011), family interactions (e.g. Tovaes, 2010), hair salon interactions (Heinrichsmeier, 2016), research interview settings (e.g. Oostendorp & Jones, 2015; Ryan, 2008), and so on. This said, there has not been much integration between small stories and im/politeness research yet (but see Georgakopoulou, 2013b; Georgakopoulou & Vasilaki, 2018; Saloustrou, forth.), although the former can serve as a compelling basis for studying the latter for various reasons.

First, small stories research can help us access lay understandings of im/politeness-in-interaction, since ‘small stories’ emerge as collaborative ventures in everyday interactions (Georgakopoulou, 2015: 258) and contain im/politeness-related identity claims (Georgakopoulou, 2013b: 71; 2008: 603) that both index the participants’ emic understandings of im/politeness and position the characters vis-à-vis dominant discourses (Gee, 2005). In becoming a prime site for the joint drafting of identities and im/politeness norms invoked by the participants’ evaluations, small stories research can also help us develop the discussion on the relationship between im/politeness and morality (cf. §1.1.2), while furthering the discussion on the intersection of identity and im/politeness (Locher et al., 2015: 2; cf. §1.2.). Furthermore, small stories’ portability and circulation across settings can help us capture iterativity in the ways of telling (Georgakopoulou, 2008: 613), and investigate both processes of

crystallisation of im/politeness understandings and shifts in the modes of evaluating of the same storied event across contexts. In addition, meta-pragmatic commentary lies at the heart of small stories research (Georgakopoulou, 2013b: 58-59) which is important for tapping into the metapragmatic side of im/politeness-in-interaction (cf. §1.1.2.). Finally, by affording insights into emotions as resources for sharing stories and positioning oneself or another (cf. Georgakopoulou & Vasilaki, 2018; Giaxoglou, 2020), small stories can advance the line of inquiry into the relationship between im/politeness and affect (cf. §1.1.2.).

### *Identifying small stories in the data*

As I intimated above, small stories research intermingles emic with etic criteria for defining narrative. As Georgakopoulou (2015: 256) notes, though, analysts should both evade an ‘anything goes’ approach to locating instances of small stories. She rather suggests that they should instead adopt a ‘middle way’ perspective, which is ‘about avoiding prescriptions and instead embracing flexibility and relativity in the definitions’ (2015: 256). Taking this caveat into account, I sought to categorise a story as such on the proviso that this categorisation was warranted both by the participants’ orientations and the analytic criteria I adopted, and that this categorisation had something to offer to the analysis (2015: 260). Etic criteria include references to the temporal progression of events in the present, future, or past, as well as verbal or paralinguistic cues signalling the teller’s evaluative stance towards the events being narrated. As for emic criteria, these entail participants’ explicit orientations to utterances as narratives, which can take the form of explicit metapragmatic comments, such as the conventional story-framing device *Να σου πω κάτι;* (I’ll tell you what) in Greek (Alvanoudi, 2019). Alternatively, an orientation to narrative may be more tacit and surface in the uptake by interlocutors, where they may co-construct the story as knowing participants or provide the teller with strong floor-holding rights to produce an extended turn (Mandelbaum, 2013: 496). However, on many occasions, tellers signal their orientation to a spate of talk as storytelling through allusive references to characters or actions by which they take up an implicit narrative stance (Georgakopoulou, 2016), or even through ‘downgraded responses to ‘how-are-you?’ queries, which may cue ‘the ‘possibility of complainability’’ (Schegloff, 2005: 455).

These criteria served to identify a wide range of small story activities in my data, the most frequent of which were brief ‘references’ to shared stories, ‘breaking news’, ‘projections’ (Georgakopoulou, 2007), ‘future hypothetical scenarios’ (Tovares, 2010; C. Goodwin, 2015), ‘habitual’ stories (Riessman, 1990), and ‘generic’ accounts (Georgakopoulou, 2010; Baynham, 2011). Generic stories relate to ‘what happens typically or repeatedly’ (Baynham, 2011: 66), as ‘habitual’ stories do, yet without specifying the characters of the story-world. They are instead recounted with referential

choices, such as ‘you’, ‘they’, ‘one’, and ‘no one’ that depersonalise or universalise the experience (Georgakopoulou, 2010: 126).

### *Analysing small stories: positioning analysis*

In §1.2.1.2., I provided an overview of positioning theory with an emphasis on interactional positioning. This section is intended to present in more detail the positioning model on which my analysis draws, namely, Bamberg’s (1997, 2004; cf. Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008) tripartite scheme for capturing the intricate ways in which identities are co-drafted in interaction.

As I intimated in §1.2.1.2., Bamberg distinguished three distinct yet interrelated levels of narrative positioning (1997: 337; 2004). *Level 1* (NP L1) looks at the relationships of the characters in the story-world, and the active or passive agency they exhibit in picking out or constructing identity positions (Bamberg, 2011a: 7). *Level 2* (NP L2) focuses on the relationship of the narrator with the story-recipients and entails an analysis of the interactional moves that generate a particular telling and its reportability in the here-and-now narrating event. It thus purports to address the CA question ‘why this now?’ (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008: 385). Finally, *Level 3* (NP L3), concentrates on the ways in which positioning levels 1 and 2 coalesce to address the question ‘Who am I?’ (Bamberg, 1997, 2004; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008). Here, narrators construct a self that holds beyond a specific telling, that is, they ‘position themselves vis-à-vis cultural discourses and normative (social) positions, either by embracing them or displaying neutrality, or by distancing, critiquing, subverting, and resisting them.’ (Bamberg, 2004: 336).

In the present study, this model is used as a point of entry into im/politeness-in-interaction mainly for two main reasons: *Firstly*, its focus on the interactive level-2 and its strong association with interactionist approaches to identity enable the exploration of im/politeness-in-interaction, which also encompasses a neglected focus of inquiry, namely, the construction of im/polite ‘others’. More specifically, with his turn to small stories, Bamberg (2006) increasingly focused on the interactive, level-2 positioning, that is, on the social actions that stories are designed to perform in situated interaction, and thus contributed to a conceptualisation of ‘positioning’ as interactive, situated and action-oriented (Deppermann, 2013a: 6). The emphasis on level-2 interaction between narrator and listener(s) particularly opened up the door for scrutinising the wide range of micro-analytic tools that can be mobilised by narrators within the two worlds of the narrative, thereby calling for an integration between narrative positioning and CA/MCA (cf. Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 2003). As Deppermann (2013b: 67) comments, membership categorisation, action-ascription, moral normativity, and issues of identity construction are indeed practices of positioning. CA/MCA can thus be productively used to shed light on level-1 positioning, as well as to help explore the ways in which particular identity

claims are created, ratified, or challenged in level-2 positioning; how participants assume and are ascribed to specific telling roles in talk (Georgakopoulou, 2007); and the various laminations of self that the double-chronologic of storytelling affords (Schiffrin, 1996; C. Goodwin, 2007). It is important to note at this point that CA/MCA has a more limited scope as compared to that of positioning analysis, since it cannot address level-3 questions of who the teller is beyond the immediate context of telling (Deppermann, 2013b: 67).

The *second* reason why Bamberg's model can furnish a fruitful avenue for grasping im/politeness understandings in talk is exactly its consideration of level-3 positionings and understandings. This allows us to tease out more enduring understandings of the concept, in parallel with ephemeral ones, and thus be able to offer a more valid interpretation of the participants' conceptualisations. Nonetheless, even within positioning analysis, addressing the indexicality of level-3 positions and exogenous discourses has not been unproblematic (e.g. De Fina, 2013: 45; Georgakopoulou, 2013a: 91). As Deppermann points out, 'practices of positioning on levels 1 and 2 may to some degree index the cultural discourses needed to make sense of local action' (2015: 383), whilst critical approaches to discourse have considered spotting a number of discourses in sequences in talk rather speculative or based on *a priori* theorising (see Wooffitt, 2005: Ch. 8). To counter these limitations, scholars who have employed positioning analysis in their work, have suggested combining it with insights from ethnographic observations so that the researcher could more safely identify the participants' enduring identities, and the discourses existing in particular sites (e.g. De Fina, 2013, 2015; Deppermann, 2015; Georgakopoulou, 2013a, 2015; C. Goodwin, 2015). Another productive way of avoiding impoverished accounts of level-3 positionings would be to attend to specific 'positioning cues' in 'repeated tellings' (Wortham, 2001: 6), or what Georgakopoulou (2013a) names 'iterativity'. In this thesis, I will support the identification of level-3 identities in the minutiae of situated interactions both by recourse to my field notes and through pattern-building in recurrent tellings. I will also draw on Zimmerman's (1998) heuristic (cf. §1.2.1.2.) to tap into larger level-3 identities by attending to the participants' smaller-scale, discourse and situated identities.

Having discussed the methods I employed to collect and analyse my data I now turn to the stages of data preparation and to some considerations I had to make in my research design.

## 2.5. Data preparation and research design considerations

This section begins with a presentation of the different stages of data preparation preceding analysis (§2.5.1.), discusses my approach to transcription and translation of Greek data into English (§2.5.2), and concludes with the coding scheme that I designed to describe the different categories of im/politeness evaluations in my data, along with examples of each, and an outline of the different

discourse activities in which they appear (§2.5.3.). The penultimate subsection also points to the challenges I was fraught with in terms of coding different categories of im/politeness evaluations in naturally-occurring talk.

### 2.5.1. Data preparation: an overview of different stages

This section provides an overview of the various stages involved in the organisation of the generated data. The first stage involved repeated listenings and broad (verbatim) transcriptions, which allowed me ‘to gain an intimate acquaintance with the recording at the necessary level of detail’ (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008: 71). The second phase of listening to those recordings included coding in excel of all im/politeness-related extracts, as well as of other worth-exploring topics (Figure 2.3. shows an example of coding in excel).

**Figure 2.3.** Coding of recorded data in excel

Recording	Copenhagen	Type	Date	Participants	Site	Length	Interesting im/politeness-related themes	Length
1	Audio	10-Feb	E, P, K, +A	Cop, P & K's house	0:14:49			
							Σκηνή Ε που οι φίλοι του δε θυμούνται ότι θα πήγαινε Πράγα (E makes a scene because his friends did not remember he'd go to Prague)	0:00-03:50
							Κ παρεξηγήθηκε που ένας γείτονας/φίλος πήγε σε ένα trash party και δεν τους κάλεσε (K got upset because a neighbour/friend did not invite him to a trash party)	13:00-13:24

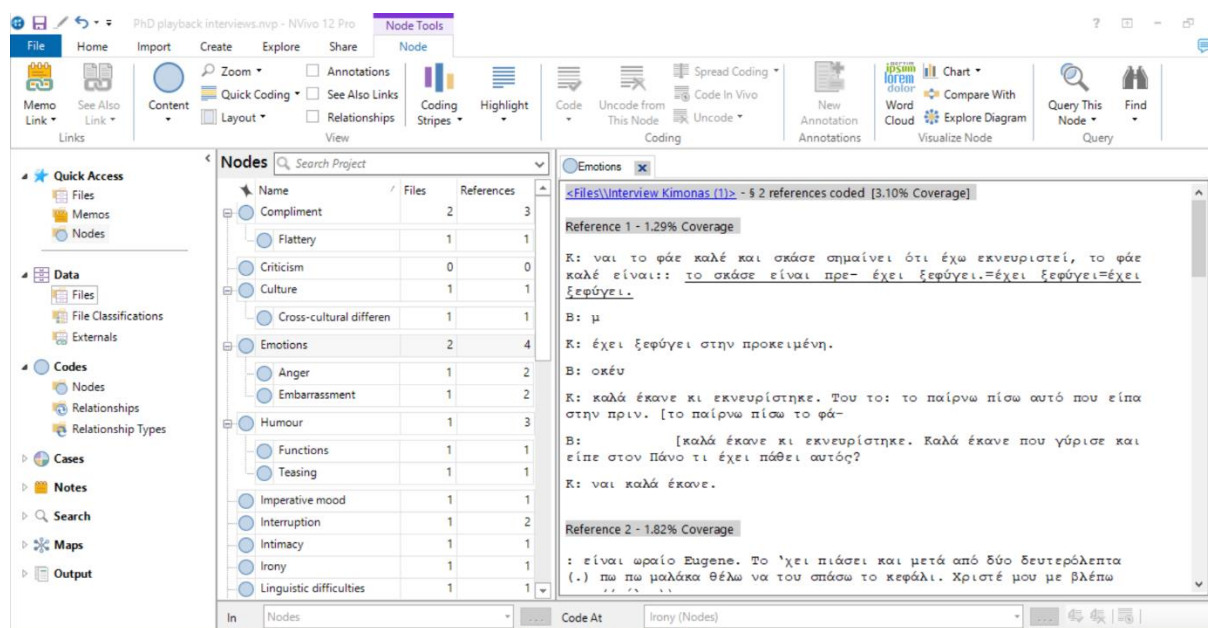
At a later stage, I added my fuller field notes to this document and further linked them to particular episodes. Following this, I coded the transcripts of all im/politeness-related extracts using NVivo, which enabled me to work systematically and locate recurring phenomena in the data. NVivo was thus extremely useful in building up collections of discursive phenomena to trace systematicity (cf. §2.4.1.). An example of such a collection involved extracts relating to the management of im/politeness in ongoing interactions, which was further divided into two sub-collections: one containing implicit evaluations and another containing explicit ones (see §2.5.4. for more details).

I then produced detailed transcripts of selected extracts in each sub-collection, which formed the basis of my analytical chapters. On several occasions, short extracts from the informal meetings’ recordings

were subjected to collaborative scrutiny at the micro-discourse analysis (MDA) sessions at King’s College London, where colleagues and supervisors discussed possible analytical frameworks and interpretations of the data at hand. This process allowed me to manage to a certain extent my personal biases and consider alternative analytical trajectories.

At the final stage, I conducted playback interviews with key participants (cf. §2.2.2.). Again, NVivo helped me organise my interview dataset (see Figure 2.4.). Sometimes, the participants’ post-facto comments diverged to some extent from my corresponding etic analyses. On those occasions, I did not modify my analysis to fit that of the participants, since meta-commentary does not necessarily represent contingent evaluations made in interaction (e.g. Pomerantz, 2005: 110). Most importantly, while analysts should ensure the due representation of lay views, they should not nevertheless elevate them to theory in order to be able to explain them in a rigorous manner (Eelen, 2001: 252).

**Figure 2.4.** Organising interview data in NVivo



These stages of data preparation for analysis involved several considerations in representing the participants’ words and voices. A major one is transcription and translation, to which I now turn.

### 2.5.2. Transcription and translation

Transcribing data for fine-grained interactional analysis is not straightforward, but it is in itself a methodologically challenging process. Far from being a transparent representation of what participants say and do in interaction (Blommaert & Jie, 2010: 68; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008:



385), transcribing has been considered ‘selective’ and ‘theoretical’ (Ochs, 1979), ‘political’ (Bucholtz, 2000), ‘interpretative’ (Duranti, 2007), ‘situated’ (Mondada, 2007) and ‘always partial’ (Haberland, 2012). As Bucholtz (2000: 1446) comments, ‘transcribers are not necessarily conscious of every interpretive choice and its representational consequences’. Methodological reflexivity is, therefore, crucial (Slembrouck, 2007: 822) and still very few scholars reflect on the decision-making process in relation to transcribing. In what follows, I will discuss the decisions I have made in relation to transcribing my Greek interactional data.

To begin with, I have decided to display both the original language and the English translation in my transcripts, since I believe that real-life variety and precision should be prioritised over practicality and easy-reading (cf. Widdicombe, 1993: 105)<sup>28</sup>. Although the main tendency in displaying non-English data has been to include only the English translation in the transcript (Egbert et al., 2016: 99), this not only leads to alienation from one’s own data, but it also creates an imbalance between English and other languages. In addition, it violates the ‘validity through transparency and access principle’ (Nikander, 2008: 227) by hindering independent analysis of the transcripts by other researchers.

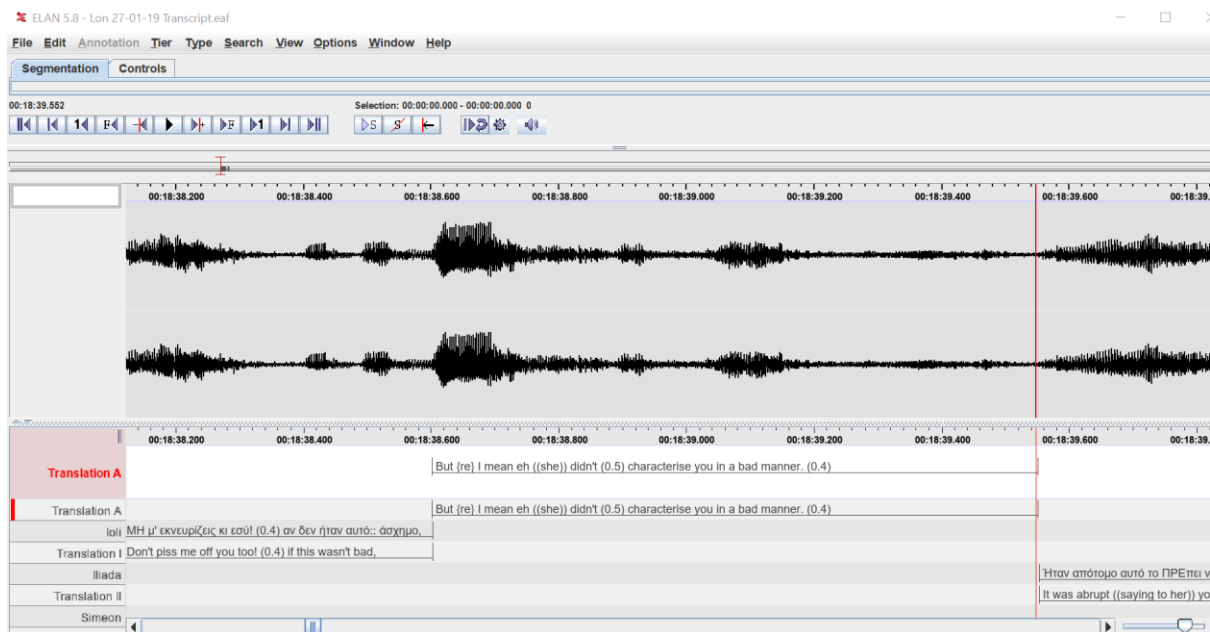
In representing Greek data in my transcripts, I have made no attempt at phonetic rendering of the participants’ talk, since I have not considered the participants’ pronunciation in the analysis. I have tried, though, what Ochs alludes to as a ‘modified orthography’ which ‘captures roughly the way in which a lexical item is pronounced versus the way in which it is written’ (1979: 61). This specifically affected my representation of *μην το φας* as *μη^ ντο φας* (‘do not eat it’), for example.

On another important note, in order to represent not only what was said but also how talk was enunciated, I have drawn on Jefferson’s (2004) transcription system (see Appendix 7 – CA apparatus, transcription notations, and IGT key) to recover ‘the endogenous structures of the events being investigated’ (C. Goodwin, 2000: 161). This does not imply that transcripts were ‘true’ representations of what happened (Duranti, 2006: 308). Instead, they were tools to help me examine some of the aspects of the performed behaviours and, for this reason, the detail of the transcripts produced for this thesis is contingent upon the degree of relevance of the particular sequences and the analytic point being made. The transcription package of ELAN was particularly useful in this process as it allowed me to transcribe both for audio- and video-recorded data, and create multiple annotation tiers (e.g. for talk, visible conduct, and translation in my case; see Figure 2.5.).

### **Figure 2.5.** Transcribing in ELAN

---

<sup>28</sup> Cf. ‘The Non-Roman Script Initiative (NRSI)’, which explores and encourages ‘the use of non-Roman and complex scripts in language development’ (Egbert et al., 2016: 100).



Turning now to the format of my transcripts, the data are presented in one block, and a package of three lines is employed to display the various aspects of them<sup>29</sup>; the first line of the transcript contains the original talk. In the second tier, a morpheme-by-morpheme English gloss that includes word translations and grammatical information in abbreviated forms is represented, inspired by ‘The Leipzig Glossing Rules’ (Comrie et al., 2008; see Appendix 7 – CA apparatus, transcription notations, and IGT key). Although some consider an idiomatic translation to be sufficient, especially in case the structure of the original language is similar to that of English (Jenks, 2021: 100), glosses enhance analytical accuracy by representing the semantic, syntactic, and morphological details of the original language (Nikander, 2008: 228; cf. Slembrouck, 2007; Sidnell, 2009). The final line provides the idiomatic English translation that endeavours to capture the interactional meaning of the original and is marked by italics. As Nikander (2008: 227) argues, the ordering of the original script, the gloss and the translation is ‘neither an innocent nor a straightforward pragmatic business but rather also constructs priority orders between languages.’. In other words, it is an ideological choice.

A word is in need now about the process of producing idiomatic translations. As aforementioned, the process of rendering non-English data accessible to multilingual audiences is challenging (Schegloff, 2002; Traverso, 2002; Hepburn & Bolden, 2013), particularly in the case of dealing with idiomatic expressions, discourse markers, word plays, and so on. Piazzoli (2015: 83) has underlined ‘the active role of the researcher in the translation and of the translation in the research’, supporting that they both may result in ‘the translation process itself informing data analysis.’. Interestingly, Richards (1932: 7, cited in Hepburn & Bolden, 2017: 146) calls translation an ‘indirectly controlled guess’,

<sup>29</sup> See Egbert et al. (2016: 107), for a comprehensive presentation of the eleven different patterns of displaying non-English data across 62 publications in the *Journal of Pragmatics*.

while Schegloff (2002: 263), emphatically argues that translation inexorably suggests analysis and calls for ‘sensitiv[ity] not only to the detail and nuance of the material being studied in its language-of-occurrence, but also [to] the detail and nuance in comparable English language interactions’. Considering this, I often worked with English-speaking conversation analysts to refine my translations and ensure that are appropriate for the particular audience. I also built up a working group on transcript preparation for multilingual data sessions under the auspices of the London Arts and Humanities Partnership.

On another note, when referring to transcribed talk in the analytic discussion, I included both the original talk and its idiomatic translation to facilitate reading while assuring the visibility of the original data. Concerning the breaking of lines in one speaker’s continuous speech, this was governed by pauses separating two intonation phrases, and often by length restrictions imposed either by the use of gloss or by translation-related decisions. Nonetheless, such an identification is to a great extent a subjective endeavour. I also attributed pauses (i.e. minor silences less than 0.5 of a second) to a current speaker, while gaps (i.e. major pauses more than 0.5 of a second) were positioned on a separate line (cf. Sacks *et al.*, 1974). In terms of untranslatable lexical items, these were marked by curly brackets in the original script and were further described in the gloss. Transcription notations featured only in the original script and not in the line of the translation, since ‘translating’ the intonational features of the original language into English would maximise my intervention as an analyst, in my attempt to guess how the original utterances would be uttered in a language with dissimilar structure (Hepburn & Bolden, 2017). Finally, when participants switched between different codes in the same interaction, I used the standard writing system of the corresponding language on the condition that they did not change the standard pronunciation or morphology of that language (see 1.300 in Extract 2.1., for an example). In contrast, where they adapted loanwords to the structure of the language of the turn, I transliterated the borrowed items using the writing system and the structure of Greek in an attempt to capture how talk was enunciated. Loanwords were marked by bold, whereas code-switches were signalled by the initial letters of the foreign language which were surrounded by square brackets (e.g. [eng]), and preceded the corresponding utterance (see 1.302 in Extract 2.1.).

**Extract 2.1.** *‘She mocked me’* (LON-10)

299 IOL: Κι ο:: >τέλος πάντων< τα κακόβουλα σχόλια?  
*And the, anyway, the malevolent comments?*  
300 VAS: A:: malicious comments (.) mean comments (.)  
*Ah malicious comments (.) mean comments (.)*  
301 Malevolent comments,  
302 IOL: °°[eng] **Μιν κόμεντις** και καλό είναιι.°°  
*Mean comments, that’s fine.*

A final crucial decision that I had to consider is how to represent non-verbal behaviours in my transcript (C. Goodwin, 2000: 161). Despite the increasing research on multimodality (e.g. Mondada, 2007, 2018) there is no single standard for multimodal transcripts even for English data. This is due to the ‘visual richness of the video and requirements on the readability of transcripts’, which ‘make the notion of ‘comprehensive video transcription fictitious’ (Deppermann, 2013c: 3). Likewise, each multimodal transcript stems from a particular analytical undertaking (Mondada, 2007: 819), therefore hindering the standardisation process.

An immediate decision I had to make was where to place the multimodal elements in relation to talk and what format to use in order to capture visual information. In terms of the former, I used talk as the basis for placing visible features and followed three analytical steps: first, I started by transcribing talk following the CA conventions. I then created a working transcript of non-verbal conduct and, before proceeding with my analysis, I produced a presentation transcript in which I considered how to display those visual aspects of interaction that were interactionally relevant (cf. Hepburn & Bolden, 2017: 104).

To mark visible behaviour, authors use descriptive transcriber comments in double parentheses, employ specialised notational systems for capturing specific visible behaviours (e.g. Streeck, 1993; Kendon, 2004; Mondada, 2007; Rossano, 2012), or integrate visual representations into transcripts. It is often the case that a combination of these techniques is used to compensate for the limitations each one carries (e.g. Mondada, 2018). This eclectic approach was followed in this study too, which merged transcriber comments with video frame grabs to represent visible conduct. In particular, transcriber comments allowed me to represent visible actions as they unfolded in interaction. To display them, I commenced each new non-verbal conduct on a new line and used double parentheses to explain the type of conduct performed. If, however, visible conduct overlapped with talk or another form of visible conduct, I used the asterisk symbol (\*) to mark the onset of the said behaviour(s) in tandem with transcriber comments following the asterisk(s) and explaining the form of that conduct (cf. Ogiermann, 2019). This yielded a four-line multimodal transcript including the original talk in Greek, the English gloss, the idiomatic translation, and the description of non-verbal behaviours (see Figure 2.6.).

**Figure 2.6.** Marking visible conduct with transcriber comments

73 VAS: ((Καθαρίζει το λαιμό της)) ← Autonomous visible conduct  
 ((Clears her throat))  
 74 ECT: \*ΕΙΝΑΙ ΩΠΑΙΟ ΦΑ ΤΟ. ← Visible conduct overlapping with talk  
 Is nice.ADJ.SNG.NOM.N eat.IMP.PFV.2<sub>SNG</sub> the.CLT.SNG.ACC.N  
 It's nice, eat it.  
 \*nods down while putting marmalade on the pancake /  
 KIM looks at ECT in a smile

At this point, I also need to admit that transcriber comments cannot be accurate and transparent renderings of visible conduct, while they also maximise the analyst's intervention in capturing only what the analyst has understood as a form of visible conduct and not the visible conduct *per se*. To enhance transparency and compensate for this potential gap between the participants' performed moves in interaction and the analyst's interpretation of them, I combined the comments with video frame grabs, which I embedded into the transcript (cf. Bolden, 2003; C. Goodwin, 2003). Specifically, I positioned them exactly below the corresponding line of talk, as shown in Figure 2.7..

**Figure 2.7.** Supplementing transcriber comments with video frame grabs

62 KIM: \*ΕΙΝ' [ΩΠΑΙΟ Εκτορα=°φάε°.]  
 Is nice.ADJ.NOM.N P RP.VOC eat.IMP.PRF.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
 It's [nice Ectoras=eat]  
 \*looks at ECT



Image 9: line 62

Nonetheless, the criticism remains that an image cannot 'reflect dynamically unfolding actions' (Carroll, 2012: 20-21) while, I would add, it still needs explanation on the part of the analyst. Specialised notational systems for particular actions (e.g. Rossano, 2012) or for various types of visible conduct (e.g. Mondada, 2007) have been proposed as a way of systematically representing different types of visible conduct through the use of distinct conventions facilitating the examination of two fundamental aspects of visible moves, namely, of temporality and shape (e.g. Kendon, 2004; Mondada, 2007). However, such notational systems are often too complex as they use a variety of different symbols to capture distinct moves and phases of each conduct's temporal unfolding, thus decreasing readability for both native and non-native speakers. And still, despite their complexity, symbols alone fail to cover as many aspects of visible conduct as images can, for some recent studies

have combined them with frame grabs (e.g. Mondada, 2018). Overall, this eclectic and synthesising approach is much needed given the absence of a standard for multimodal displays similar to Jefferson's system of transcription for talk, and the variability of the phenomena to be represented across languages.

Having discussed the considerations I had to make in the process of organising my data, I now turn to the coding scheme I developed for the actual analysis.

### 2.5.3. Coding and distribution of analytical categories in different discourse activities

As discussed in the previous chapter (§1.3.1.), the classificatory schemes that have been proposed so far for identifying evaluations of im/politeness in interaction have not been without problems. For this reason, the classification that I have developed for the purposes of this thesis draws selectively from these schemes (i.e. from Eelen, 2001 and Haugh, 2007a), while it also relies on more recent work in the field (e.g. Kádár & Haugh, 2013; Ogiermann, 2019), as well as on relevant research on identities-in-interaction (e.g. Georgakopoulou, 2013b) and on metapragmatics (e.g. Hübler & Bublitz, 2007; Culpeper & Haugh, 2014).

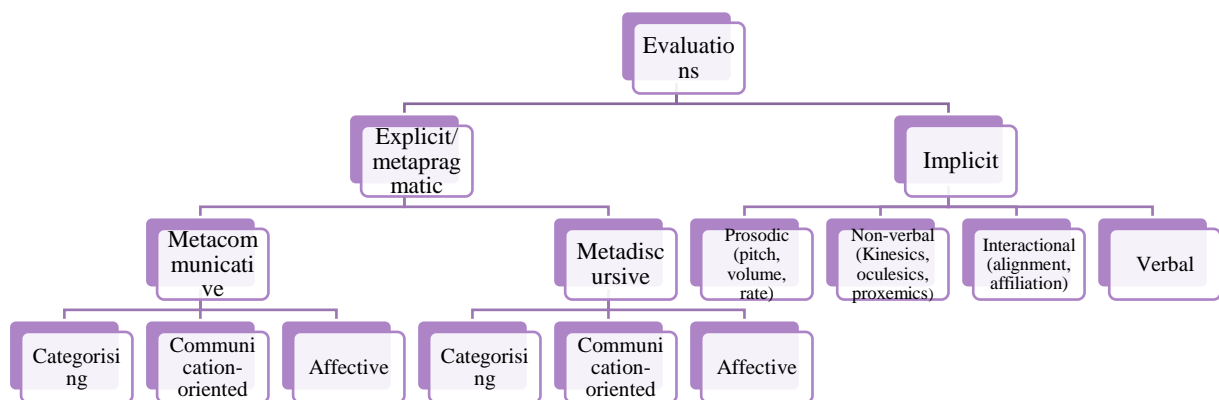
More specifically, I have drawn on Haugh's (2007) bipartite scheme that involves looking at more or less 'explicit' comments (2007: 312), as well as on Ogiermann's (2019) examination of (non-)verbal, interactional, prosodic, and kinesic features (2019: 156), and on Georgakopoulou's (2013b) investigation of 'indexical'/'implicit' resources (e.g. stances of alignment, dis/affiliation) as less direct cues of participant evaluations in interaction. Hence, I arrived at a distinction, first of all, between 'explicit' and 'implicit' evaluations. Given that metapragmatic acts involve both explicit and implicit modes of execution, as discussed in §1.3.1., both of these categories can be regarded as different sides of the metapragmatic aspect of im/politeness, which involves not only abstract talk about 'im/politeness' (cf. Eelen, 2001: 35) but also 'actually performed meta-utterances [...] interfering with ongoing discourse' (Hübler & Bublitz, 2007: 6). The explicit side surfaces in the form of 'metapragmatic comments' involving metalinguistic descriptors (Culpeper & Haugh, 2014: 241), while the implicit one involves a wide range of (non-)verbal, interactional, paralinguistic and kinesic features (cf. e.g. Haugh, 2013, Ogiermann, 2019), which are akin but not limited to Gumperz's (1982) 'contextualisation cues'.

Depending on whether these metapragmatic comments are directed towards ongoing communicative practices or discourses of im/politeness as a concept, they are further divided into 'metacommunicative' and 'metadiscursive', respectively, following Kádár and Haugh's (2013) classification (cf. §1.1.2.). The latter have been mainly studied in analyses of media commentary, but

as the authors argue (2013: 201), they can also be oriented to by participants in actual conversations. Unfortunately, Kádár and Haugh did not provide sufficient examples to show how this could happen in natural data, but merely pointed to a single interaction where participants overtly invoked a metadiscourse about modesty (2013: 203; from Haugh, 2008: 217) by shifting from a single event to a higher-order societal norm. This was specifically done by means of a ‘generic’ story (Georgakopoulou, 2010) which involved a generalised ‘you’ as its main actor (i.e. ‘You ca:n’t do that’; Haugh, 2008: 217), and thus pointed to generic behavioural patterns. While the authors did not foreground this aspect in their analysis, I will pursue this narrative analytical angle in this study so as to shed additional light on metadiscursive comments in interaction. Hence, in my distinction, metacommunicative comments target actions/ individuals who are situated in specific time and space, whilst metadiscursive comments mark behaviours attributed to generalised others through the use of generic pronouns (e.g. ‘you’, ‘one’).

Finally, explicit metapragmatic comments in my data come with three different sub-categories in them relating to the functions that these comments serve in interaction (Hübler & Bublitz, 2007; Hübler, 2011). These include ‘categorising’ comments expressing the speaker’s attitude basically through the use of evaluative labels, such as ‘offensive’ and ‘polite’ (cf. Culpeper & Haugh, 2014: 241; Culpeper & Hardaker, 2016: 126); ‘communication-oriented’ comments mainly associated with the organisation of discourse (e.g. turn-taking, etc.) and the illocutionary functions of speech acts (cf. Hübler & Bublitz, 2007: 18-19; cf. Hübler, 2011; Haugh, 2018b); and ‘affective comments’ containing emotion predicates (cf. Işık-Güler & Ruhi, 2010; Culpeper, 2011a; Spencer-Oatey, 2011) which denote the speaker’s affective stance/positioning towards an impropriety (see Figure 2.8.).

**Figure 2.8.** Coding scheme



As mentioned in §1.3.2., previous research on interactional data has touched upon the first two sub-categories of metapragmatic comments (e.g. Holmes, Marra & Vine, 2012; Haugh, 2016b, 2019). However, it has not drawn on this terminology that has been inspired by metapragmatics, nor has it traced systematicity (i.e. location, design, responses) in the occurrence of these comment-types. In terms of emotions comments, these have not yet been examined as a distinct evaluative category in naturally-occurring talk, despite the important findings that research on other types of data has generated with respect to affect (Işık-Güler & Ruhi, 2010; Culpeper, 2011a; Spencer-Oatey, 2011; cf. §1.1.2.). All these categories are nevertheless relevant to my interactional data, with ‘explicit metacommunicative categorising’ being by far the most dominant category (70%), as Table 2.4. illustrates. ‘Metacommunicative communication-oriented’ and ‘metacommunicative emotion’ comments are almost equally frequent, accounting for 10.7% and 10% of the data, respectively. Implicit cues employed as exclusive evaluative means ranked fourth in my data. Finally, ‘metadiscursive’ comments are rather scarce.

**Table 2.4.** Frequency of evaluative categories in the data

Category	Mentions (N=1216)	Examples
Implicit	87 (7.1%)	‘ΩΠΑΙΑ. (.) Μη το φας.’ (Okay. (.) Don’t eat it.)
Explicit	851	‘Είσαι παλιάνθρωπος!’ (You are a scoundrel!)
Metacommunicative Categorising	(70%)	



Explicit Metacommunicative Communication-oriented	131 (10.8%)	‘Περίμενε τώρα εσύ να τελειώσω.’ (Wait now to let me finish.)
Explicit Metacommunicative Affective	117 (9.6%)	‘Μου έσπασε τα νεύρα.’ (He got on my nerves.)
Explicit Metadiscursive Categorising	19 (1.6%)	‘Είναι οι πιο αγενείς και οι πιο υποκριτές άνθρωποι.’ (They are the rudest and most hypocritical people.)
Explicit Metadiscursive Communication-oriented	7 (0.6%)	‘Εδώ πέρα ό,τι και να τους ρωτήσεις σε κάνουν [eng] <b>τσάλεντζ</b> .’ (Here, whatever you may ask, they challenge you.)
Explicit Metadiscursive Affective	4 (0.3%)	‘(Είναι όλοι [eng] Μπρίτις [...] Τους σιχαίνομαι.’ (All are British [...] I despise them.)
<b>Total</b>	1216 (100%)	

In what follows, I will first provide examples of each of the abovementioned categories to illustrate my coding scheme, before discussing the distribution of these categories in different types of discourse activity (cf. Hanks, 1996; Bauman, 2001) involving different participation orders (Goffman, 1981). These discourse activities particularly include ongoing talk with both the evaluation-instigator and the evaluation-target being present, retrospective evaluations in retellings of known events about present targets, and narratives about third parties’ transgressions. Since my purpose here is to illustrate rather than analyse the data, the examples offered will be based on simplified transcripts.

### *Implicit evaluations of im/politeness1*

#### **Extract 2.2.** ‘You are a scoundrel’ (Appx8: Event 2)

- 149 SIM: ΕΓΩ ΕΙΜΑΙ °τέτοιος άνθρωπος.°  
*I am such a person.*
- 150 Δε μπορώ να κάνω τα ίδια πράγματα °συνέχεια.°  
*I can't do the same things all the time.*
- 151 Το 'χω κατα[λάβει.]



280 IOL: [Δεν εί]↑ναι αστείο  
[It's no]t a joke

281 Αυτό που σου \*λέω.  
What I'm telling \*you.  
\*places the glass on the table

282 [Δεν ^ντο κάνω για πλάκα.]  
[I'm not kidding.]

283 SIM: [N' ανοίξουμε μαγαζί.]  
[To open a new store.]

→ 284 IOL: A- (.) ↑σταμάτα λίγο  
Ah (.) just stop

285 °>Να μ' αφήσεις να ολοκληρώσω.<°  
To let me finish.

Lines 284-285 feature an example of an explicit metacommunicative communication-oriented comment (A- (.) ↑σταμάτα λίγο °>Να μ' αφήσεις να ολοκληρώσω.< 'Ah (.) just stop to let me finish. '), as it intervenes in the flow of the ongoing interaction to mark a dysfunction relating to turn-taking norms (cf. Hübler & Bublitz, 2007: 14-15). Notably, this explicit discourse-organising comment provides evidence that Simeon's incursive speech in the prior turn (l.283) was interpreted as an interruption, that is, it was casted as disruptive and potentially impolite by the interaptee, who mobilised this explicit comment to negatively sanction and deal with the perceived violation.

#### *Explicit metacommunicative affective comments*

#### **Extract 2.5.** 'How rude was he!' (Appx12: Extract 20)

91 IOL: Ναι και πήγαμε στο απέναντι. (.)  
Yes and we went to the opposite one (.)

92 Που ήτα↑νε εξαιρετικό και μέ[σ α ε ί χ ε-]  
That was amazing and in the insi[de there were-]

93 VAS: \* [↑K α λ ά] κάνατε.  
[Y o u d i d] well.  
\*looks at IOL

→ 94 IOL: Μα μου έσπασε τα νεύρα!  
But he made me angry!

95 Με το υφάκι του.  
With his attitude.

Following an explicit metacommunicative categorising comment in l.82 which categorised the reported character in the story, i.e. the restaurant owner, as 'rudest' (↑TI AΓENEΣΤΑΤΟΣ!), Ioli continues her narration (ll.92-93) about the restaurant that she and her friends visited instead. After Vassia's affiliative response in the subsequent turn (l.93), she nevertheless returns to the story about the rude owner and expresses her overt emotions on account of his recent past behaviour (i.e. his

attitude). This is done through an explicit metacommunicative affective comment (*Μα μου έσπασε τα νεύρα!* ‘But he made me angry!’) containing an emotion predicate that openly states the teller’s anger, a negatively-valenced, other-condemning (Haidt, 2003: 855) emotion which has been linked to perceived impoliteness (Spencer-Oatey, 2005: 16).

*Explicit metadiscursive comments*

**Extract 2.6.** ‘*They are the rudest and most hypothetical people*’ (Appx8: Event 4)

50 IOL: >Εμένα η δικιά μου< είν’  
*My own team is*  
 51 όλοι [eng] ΜΠΡΙΤΙΣ. (2.0)  
*All are British. (2.0)*  
 52 Είναι (0.7) γghα↑μώ το διάολό τους. (.)  
*They are (0.7) fucking hell. (.)*  
 53 Τους σιχ:αίνομαι. (.)  
*I despise them. (.)*  
 54 Είναι οι πιχλιο αγενείς °άνθρωποι και  
*They are the rudest people and*  
 55 οι πιο υποκριτές που έχω γνωρίσει.° (.)  
*the most hypocritical ((people)) I’ve ever met. (.)*  
 56 Όταν^ ντους ρωτάω μου λένε τα  
*When I ask them, they say to me the*  
 57 ΚΑ↑λύτερα=Εννοούν τα χειρότερα  
*Best=They mean the worst*  
 58 και δεν είν’ υποστηρικτικοί ΠΟΥΘΕΝΑ.  
*And they are not supportive on anything.*

Extract 2.6. above presents all different sub-types of metadiscursive comments in my data. The above extract features a generic scenario (note the use of timeless/habitual present throughout and the generic pronoun *όλοι* (l.51)) which targets all colleagues of Ioli who fall into the ethnic category ‘British’ (l.51). At first, Ioli expresses her negative affect, particularly the other-condemning emotion of disgust (l.53), on account of their yet underspecified conduct by means of an explicit affective comment, as well as through implicit prosodic cues and taboo language (ll.52-53). Subsequently, she produces categorising comments that cast these generalised others into the categories of impolite and dishonest people (ll.54-55). Finally, the teller of this generic narrative specifies the grounds of these evaluations lying in the habitually transgressive communicative behaviour of the British others, i.e. in the discrepancy between their words and their implied meanings (see the parallel structure in l.57), as well as in the lack of support. Having provided examples of the evaluative categories of im/politeness that appeared in my data, I now turn to their distribution in different contexts in the data.

These types of discourse activity, as I intimated above, include ongoing interactions where both the target and the instigator of the evaluation are present; narratives about co-present others’ recent past

behaviour, whereby the participants return to an already shared event to re-evaluate it from a more detached standpoint; and finally, narratives about third parties' behaviour, be they individuals or collective groupings. Table 2.5. provides an overview of the distribution of the different categories of im/politeness evaluations per discourse activity.

**Table 2.5.** Types of im/politeness evaluations per discourse activity

	<b>Ongoing interactions</b> (N=149)	<b>Retellings of known events present</b> (N=26)	<b>Narratives about third parties</b> (N=1041)
Implicit	87 (58.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Explicit Metacommunicative Categorising	30 (20%)	11 (42%)	810 (77.8%)
Explicit Metacommunicative Communication-oriented	32 (21.5%)	8 (31%)	91 (8.7%)
Explicit Metacommunicative Emotion	0 (0%)	7 (27%)	110 (10.6%)
Explicit Metadiscursive Categorising	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	19 (1.8%)
Explicit Metadiscursive Communication-oriented	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (0.7%)
Explicit Metadiscursive Affective	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (0.4%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>149</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>1041</b>

What immediately leaps out from Table 2.5. above, is that the vast majority of im/politeness evaluations in my dataset appear in narratives about third parties (1041 out of 1216). One can also

easily notice that implicit cues constitute the most dominant evaluative category in ongoing interactions, accounting for more than half of the total impoliteness evaluations in this context (58.4%). While the distribution of the various forms of im/politeness evaluations in the context of retellings of known events about present others does not present significant differences, it is in narratives about third parties that the frequency of the distinct evaluative devices differs significantly, with metacommunicative categorising comments being by far the most dominant form in which im/politeness evaluations manifest (77.8%). Finally, it is noteworthy that both emotion comments and metadiscursive comments of all sub-types appear exclusively in narrative discourse. Based on these data, I will be looking at different contexts separately to gain a fuller understanding of how im/politeness evaluations work. Before turning to this, though, a note is in order about the challenges I faced when it came to identifying these evaluative categories in actual data.

To begin with, locating implicit evaluative cues involved two main difficulties that inhere in their very nature as tacit mechanisms: first, they are so intangible and elusive that it is hard to establish that they have indeed occurred in interaction (Haugh, 2010). To tackle this, I tried to listen to a single sequence multiple times, consult my video-recordings and field notes when available, as well as to work very closely with my transcripts. Also, even after establishing that an implicit cue has taken place in interaction, it is often challenging to attribute an im/politeness meaning to that cue, given their equivocal and multifunctional nature. By this I mean that a gaze shift might be indexical of various meanings in the flow of an interaction, from managing a delicate situation related to potential impolite to signalling boredom. To manage this and be in a position to ascertain whether indexical cues were indeed indicators of an im/politeness evaluation, I looked at the entire turn design, that is, to other more or less implicit features with which those tacit signs co-occurred, since the construction of meaning is not the outcome of a single cue but results from the cooperative work of multiple linguistic and semiotic features. At the same time, I looked at the uptake of these evaluative cues themselves in next turns, since establishing with some degree of certainty that im/politeness has occurred in interaction necessitates going beyond the adjacency pair to encompass the wider interactional sequence in which some action is enmeshed (Clift & Haugh, 2021: 626). In addition, I consulted previous collection-based CA analyses, as well as my participants' post-hoc metacommentary.

In terms of more explicit comments, these were easier to locate given that they were lexicalised and tangible. This said, distinguishing between different sub-types (i.e. categorising, communication-oriented and affective) was not straightforward, given the lack of an established classification scheme in prior research. I thus arrived at these analytic categories by working bottom-up with my data, and paying attention to the structures of the participants' talk, besides consulting theoretical work on metapragmatics. An additional challenge regarding the identification of explicit comments, which was also present in the case of implicit cues, relates to attributing an im/politeness meaning to them. To

cope with this, I consulted my survey finding, as well as previous metapragmatic work on Greek im/politeness. By affording insights into general tendencies as well as into the network of other meanings with which a concept is interrelated (Pizziconi, 2007a: 215), these data enabled me to claim with some degree of certainty that the categorising comments that my participants used, for instance, were associated with im/politeness.

## 2.6. Summary

This chapter set out to present the epistemological approach that I have adopted in this thesis, namely, a synthesis of an interactional pragmatic approach to im/politeness with participant observation (§2.1.). Subsequently, in §2.2., I outlined the process of participant recruitment and provided an overview of my methods of data collection, i.e. a mixture of interactional data generated through audio- and video-recordings, field notes and playback interviews, which is important for both teasing out contingent evaluations in ongoing interaction and for exploring their broader significance. In §2.3., I discussed my positioning as a participant-observer in the study and my ethical considerations, before turning to my analytical framework that cross-fertilises the CA apparatus with small stories research and interactional positioning analysis (§2.4.). In the final section (§2.5.), I discussed my research design considerations; illustrated the coding scheme I developed for analysing different evaluative categories in disparate discourse activities; and presented the analytical challenges I was confronted with when identifying evaluations of im/politeness in talk. I now turn to the actual analysis of my data.

## ANALYSIS

The analysis is organised into three chapters, each of which is devoted to a specific discourse activity in which evaluations of im/politeness occurred in my data. In all three chapters, I will follow a heuristic which involves: a) looking at implicit cues (e.g. interactional, prosodic, non-verbal) and at explicit metapragmatic comments as manifestations of evaluations of im/politeness *in situ*, b) considering the responses that these forms of evaluation get by different types of participants (i.e. by ratified addressed or by ratified unaddressed participants; Goffman, 1981) in the sequential unfolding of multi-party interactions, and c) analysing participants' post-hoc reflections in playback interviews. This heuristic will not only allow me to delve into the multi-modal, 'micro'-evaluative moments in contingent interactions, but it will also help situate these moments in different activities, and examine their natural histories and trajectories across events and time. This will, at last, allow glimpses into more tacit understandings of the moral order and circumambient discourses of morality.

In terms of the analytical tools that will inform my analysis in each of these chapters, it is of note here that CA tools will especially be used for the analysis of ongoing interactions (Chapter 3), but they will also be integrated with positioning analysis to facilitate the analysis of the interactive aspects of small stories in Chapters 4 and 5. Bamberg's (1997) three-level model of positioning will inform the analysis of small stories, especially in Chapter 5, where participants more explicitly position self and other vis-à-vis moral norms and thereby construct un/ethical identities. Positioning analysis in this chapter will allow to show how the stories participants tell about others' recent past transgressions will not only serve as a platform for expressing their complaints to their co-tellers in the interaction (NP L2) but also for projecting more enduring aspects of their ethical selves that stand beyond the immediate telling (NP L3). In this endeavour, I will also draw on Zimmermann's (1998) scheme of discourse-situational-transportable identities to better illustrate how such enduring/ transportable positions can be indexed by multiple situational and telling-specific positions that participants project in the level of the interaction.



## CHAPTER 3. ‘STOP TO LET ME FINISH’: IMPOLITENESS EVALUATIONS IN ONGOING INTERACTIONS

### 3.1. Introduction

My first analytical chapter has set out to investigate lay evaluations of impoliteness in actual interactions between friends. As discussed in §1.1.1., Eelen (2001: 35) was the first scholar who described with some nuance the array of possibilities offered to participants to indicate their first-order evaluations of potentially im/polite events in ongoing talk; they can embed markers of im/politeness in their speech (i.e. expressive politeness<sub>1</sub>); assess their interlocutors’ talk or conduct as im/polite in the flow of interaction (i.e. classificatory politeness<sub>1</sub>); or reflect on the concept of im/politeness in talk (i.e. metapragmatic politeness<sub>1</sub>). Although these etic terms were intended to help analysts locate instances of politeness<sub>1</sub> in layperson’s spontaneous interaction, the conspicuous lack of concrete examples that would show how these analytical categories would work, posed a significant analytical challenge instead. This is particularly relevant in the case of classificatory aspects of politeness<sub>1</sub>, given the additional difficulty entailed in participants’ scarcely lexicalising their evaluations of im/politeness in ongoing interaction (Haugh, 2007a, 2010b). And while several analysts have drawn on the considerable theoretical work on metapragmatics (e.g. Silverstein, 1976; Verschueren, 2000) to tap into Eelen’s metapragmatic aspect of politeness<sub>1</sub>, this effort has mainly concentrated on elicited rather than on naturally-occurring interactional data, on media commentary, or on corpus analyses (e.g. Spencer-Oatey, 2011; Locher & Luginbühl, 2019; Culpeper & Haugh, 2020). My aim in this chapter had therefore been to address the clear gap in the literature on classificatory evaluations of im/politeness and on metapragmatic evaluations arising in naturally-occurring talk.

My first research question, as it stood at the end of my field work, was as follows:

- How do participants produce classificatory and metapragmatic evaluations of im/politeness in ongoing interaction?

However, as I started to examine the data, I realised that classificatory evaluations can also be done metapragmatically in the flow of interaction, which led me to problematise Eelen’s (2001) original distinction and build a coding scheme that would capture the varied categories of impoliteness evaluations that may appear in interactional data (cf. §2.5.3).

My first research question, addressed here, therefore became:

- How do participants in ongoing interaction more or less explicitly evaluate im/politeness events? How are im/politeness evaluations taken up or contested by different participants?

In this chapter, I therefore present both explicit and implicit manifestations of im/politeness evaluations in actual conversations involving not only the dyad of the instigator-target of evaluation, but also other ratified yet unaddressed recipients (Goffman, 1981: 132-133), whose presence ‘can be consequential for the way in which a particular social action...is evaluated as polite or impolite’ (Haugh, 2013: 61).

The analysis for this chapter primarily draws on CA tools to explore how im/politeness evaluations are occasioned through talk-in-interaction, how they are contested or ratified by different types of participants, and how they yield subsequent social actions. Despite being primarily interested in how im/politeness evaluations are constituted in situated interaction, I also draw insights from my ethnographic data in my interpretations, as well as from the participants’ post-hoc reflexive commentary in playback interviews to examine their broader significance.

In §3.2. I examine the different categories of impoliteness evaluations in ongoing interactions, namely, implicit cues, explicit communication-oriented comments, and explicit categorising comments (cf. §2.5.3) by focusing on their design features. Section 3.3. covers the various responses that these evaluative categories receive both by their targets and by unaddressed participants, while §3.4. considers participant meta-commentary in playback interviews. The penultimate section (§3.5.) summarises the main findings of this chapter.

### 3.2. Categories of impoliteness evaluations in ongoing interactions: from implicit cues to explicit comments

Across my data corpus I identified 149 instances of implicit cues and explicit comments orienting to im/politeness in ongoing interactions, with the vast majority of these instances (139 out of 149) appearing in impoliteness-related events. Due to their salience, impoliteness-related events will therefore be at the focus of this chapter.

In terms of the different categories of evaluation occurring in ongoing talk, 87 of 149 evaluations show in the implicit paralinguistic, interactional, and (non-)verbal features of the participants’ turns-in-talk, while the remaining 62 evaluations take the form of explicit metacommunicative categorising (30 of 62) or communication-oriented (32 of 62) comments (cf. §2.5.3.). It is of note here that implicit signals almost always co-occur with explicit verbal comments in my data. However, in order to examine whether these tacit cues can also serve as an evaluative device in their own right, the category ‘implicit’ here includes only those instances in which im/politeness evaluations are achieved exclusively through a tacit cue (cf. Ogiermann, 2019). Notably, the fact that such cues outweigh lexicalised evaluations in ongoing interactions may indicate that emergent friend disputes are not

commonly formulated in explicit terms, at least in my data. In what follows, I will consider each category of evaluations in detail by providing examples of each.

### 3.2.1. Implicit evaluations of impoliteness in ongoing interactions

In this section I examine the different forms in which implicit evaluations of impoliteness appear in ongoing interactions. First, I show that implicit evaluations may manifest in the form of non-verbal elements (e.g. kinesics, oculosics, haptics, etc.; Norris, 2019), prosodic cues (e.g. pitch, loudness, etc.), interactional features (e.g. interruptions, etc.), and verbal expressions (e.g. disagreements, ironic propositions, etc.). Non-verbal expressions and prosodic cues are the two most dominant subcategories of implicit evaluations in my data, amounting to 34 and 30 instances, respectively. They also tend to co-occur on various occasions in the data. The salience of non-verbal elements becomes more notable, if one considers the relatively limited number of video-recordings across my data set (i.e. 7<sup>1/2</sup> of 73 hours of recordings), which hinders the examination of the non-verbal aspects of the participants' discourse in the largest part of my dataset. On the other hand, interactional features are significantly less frequent in my data (18 of 87 instances), while implicit verbal statements are the least frequent evaluative device (5 of 87). This further attests to the participants' preference for less transparent means of judging their interlocutors' behaviour in actual conversations. Extract 3.1. provides an example of how an impoliteness evaluation shows in the paralinguistic and non-verbal aspects of the speaker's turn.

#### Extract 3.1. *Sick marmalade* (COP-32)<sup>30</sup>

**Context:** This video-taped event starts with Ectoras (ECT), Kimonas (KIM), Paris (PAR) and Vassia (VAS) sitting around the living room table to have brunch together. Kimonas, Paris and Vassia had made all the preparations for the brunch, and had had their brunch already, since Ectoras arrived two hours later than agreed. When Ectoras comes in, he participates in the discussion about politics, while at some point he notices the marmalade jar on the table.

05 ECT: \*Δεν είναι λίγο Άρρω- Άρρωσ[το] °το χρώ[μα ( )°?]
   
NEG is a bit sick.ADJ.SNG.NOM.N the.ART.SNG.NOM.N colour.SNG.NOM.N
   
Isn't it a bit si- sick [the] the co[lour ( )?]
   
\*ECT opens the jar and looks inside/KIM looks at ECT
   
06 KIM: [Tς]
   
Ts.PRTCL
   
[Ts]
   
07 PAR: \*[E ί ν α ι]

<sup>30</sup> The longer version of this event appears in Appx8: event 1.

is  
 [It is]  
 \*looks at the  
 jar



Image 1: 1.05

08 Φ[P A o υ λ α=Φ P A o υ λ α]°με αρρώστια.°  
 Strawberry.SNG.NOM.F with sickness.SNG.ACC.F  
 S[t r a w b e r r y=s t r a w b e r r y] spoiled.  
 09 KIM: \*[ΩΠΑΙΑ. (.) \*\*Μη το φας.]  
 Fine NEG it.CLT.ACC.OBJ eat.SUBJ.PFV.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
 [Fine. (.) Do not eat it.]  
 \*looks at ECT with frowned eyebrows  
 \*\*moves head upwards/PAR looks at the jar/ECT  
 looks at KIM with  
 frowned eyebrows



Image 2: 1.09

In the beginning of this extract, Ectoras is asking a question that seeks confirmation of a candidate understanding (cf. ‘checks’; Grice et al., 1995) regarding the quality of the marmalade offered, which he considers spoiled on the basis of its colour. This question can be regarded a ‘presumptive’ one (Haugh & Chang, 2019), since it involves a negative assessment of the product, which in turn implicates a negative evaluation of the hosts’ conduct. In other words, embedded in this question is an implied premise that Ectoras is critical of his friends’ choice of food items and thus of their capacity for acting as good hosts<sup>31</sup>. The question, therefore, implies other-criticism of the hosts’ conduct, while it seems to be designed to solicit an account for this misconduct (Robinson & Bolden, 2010). Ectoras himself orients to the sensitivity of the implicated other-criticism through self-repair, quiet

<sup>31</sup> This question could also be deemed ‘conductive’ (Quirk et al., 1985), since it shows that ‘the speaker is predisposed to the kind of answer he [sic] has wanted or expected’. Here, the speaker is conductively oriented towards a positive answer, as indicated by the question’s framing with the assertive term ‘is’ (1985: 809). Impoliteness-implications are relevant in that if ‘yes’ is the response, then Ectoras will have controlled Kimonas’s and Paris’s responses, indeed leading them into admitting a face-threatening claim, i.e. that the marmalade that they offered to their guests is spoiled.

enunciation, and lexical mitigation, which are prototypical components of a dispreferred turn-shape (Pomerantz, 1984).

That this question counts as other-criticism is evident in Kimonas's subsequent response with a non-verbal cue (1.05, image 1), namely, with a serious gaze that he directs at his interlocutor the moment when the latter uses a negative attribute to categorise the marmalade. This eye gaze implicitly signals the hearer's visual misalignment and thus gives rise to an implicit evaluation of impoliteness *in situ*.

This also surfaces in Kimonas's subsequent response (1.06) with an implicit paralinguistic cue, i.e. the dental click  $\tau\varsigma$  ( $\tau s$ ), which has been associated with the display of negative affective stances (e.g. Ward, 2006: 153; cf. Stokoe & Edwards, 2006; Potter & Hepburn, 2007), and is therefore hearable as disattending to the criticism. In addition, this particle is produced in interjacent overlap (Jefferson, 1986) with Ectoras's negative assessment, an interactional feature that further signals Kimonas's impoliteness evaluation and disaffiliative stance.

Upon Paris's tacit misalignment to Ectoras's criticism (11.07-08; see §3.3.1.), Kimonas proffers another implicit evaluation of impoliteness through (non-)verbal and prosodic cues. Specifically, Kimonas's turn (1.09) is introduced with the shift-implicative  $\omega\rho\alpha\acute{\iota}\alpha$  (*fine*) that signals acceptance of prior disalignment and is articulated with marked loudness, as well as with the speaker's eyebrows being frowned (image 2). Both the prosodic and the visual cues accompanying this TCU are indicative of the affective stance of anger/annoyance, a negatively valenced, other-condemning emotion (Haidt, 2003: 855) that is often occasioned by (perceived) impoliteness (Spencer-Oatey, 2005: 16). Following this, the speaker deploys more overt verbal means to signal his evaluation, without though proffering any explicit metapragmatic comment relating to the other-criticism. He articulates an imperative proposition ( $\mu\eta$   $\tau\omicron$   $\varphi\alpha\varsigma$  'do not eat it'; 1.05) instead that performs a command, and thereby implements more explicit criticism. The speaker's serious look (image 2), and the slightly upward movement of his head that visually marks the negation  $\mu\eta$  (*don't*) within this TCU add up to this interpretation. Extract 3.2. provides another example of how an implicit evaluation of impoliteness emerges in the flow of a spontaneous conversation.

**Extract 3.2.** *'Don't discuss it with him!'* (LON-37)<sup>32</sup>

**Context:** Ioli (IOL), Simeon (SIM), Iliada (ILI) and Vassia (VAS) have gathered at Ioli's house and have ordered food from a Greek restaurant nearby. Upon receiving the order, they realise that Simeon's souvlaki is missing. They thus decide to call at the restaurant to complain about the missing piece. It is Iliada who calls and asks about the status of their order.

---

<sup>32</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx8: event 9.

((In 11.01-20 Iliada describes the order they have placed, while the other participants talk about Simeon's heavy workload at the restaurant.))

- 21 ILI: So, is the order coming or not?
- 22 IOL: Τι [eng] **νοτ** ρε μαλάκα? (.)  
 What NEG re.PRTCL asshole.SNG.VOC.M<sup>33</sup>  
*What not {re}? (.)*
- 23 Μην^ ντο συζητάς μαζί του! =  
 NEG it.CLT.ACC.OBJ discuss.2<sub>SNG</sub> with him  
*Don't discuss it with him!*
- 24 ILI: =Μα (.) εγ- ε: (.) ten minutes more then?  
 But I eh.PRTCL  
*But (.) I eh (.) ten minutes more then?*
- 25 IOL: Ρε ↑πες του ότι έχει ξεχάσει  
 Re.PRTCL say.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> him.CLT.GEN.OBJ that.CONJ has.3<sub>SNG</sub> forgotten.SBJV.PRF  
*{Re} tell him that he has forgotten*
- 26 το ένα: (.) γιατί πεινάμε.  
 The.ART.SNG.ACC.N one because are-hungry.1<sub>PL</sub>  
*one ((of the items)) (.) because we are hungry.*
- 27 ILI: ΙΟΛΗ (.) So ↑is the order on the way?  
 Ioli.VOC.F  
*Ioli (.) So is the order on the way?*
- 28 IOL: Μα δεν^ του λες αυτό που πρέπει  
 But NEG him.CLT.GEN.OBJ say2<sub>SNG</sub> this.ACC.N that must  
*But you are not telling him what you should ((tell))*
- 29 >Ρε παιδάκι μου< ε: (.)  
 Re.PRTCL kid.DIM.SNG.VOC.N I.POSS.GEN eh.PRTCL  
*{Re}/ dude eh (.)*
- 30 >Οτι το 'χουν ξεχάσει,<  
 That.CONJ it.CLT.ACC.OBJ have.3<sub>PL</sub> forgotten.SBJV.PRF  
*That they have forgotten it,*
- 31 Του λες >°τα ίδια  
 him.CLT.GEN.OBJ say2<sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.PL.ACC.N same.PL.ACC.N  
*You are telling him the same*
- 32 και τα ίδια°<.  
 And the.ART.PL.ACC.N same.PL.ACC.N  
*And the same ((things all over again)).*
- 33 ILI: I know you are busy (.) but when are you delivering  
 34 the missing item? (.) Ten minutes [or t w e n t y ?]  
 35 IOL: [↑Τι [eng] **τεν** **μί-?**]  
 [What ten mi-?]
- 36 ΦΕΡ' τον εδώ.  
 Bring.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> him.CLT.ACC.M.OBJ here  
*Pass me the phone.*
- 37 Θ' αρχίσω να φωνάζω (.)  
 Will start.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL shout.SBJV.PROG.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*I'll start shouting (.)*
- 38 Τι [eng] **TEN MINITES?**  
*What ten minutes?*
- 39 ILI: In ten minutes. (.) Okay (.) thank you.

<sup>33</sup> Although this word is originally a lexical one in Greek, particularly having a pejorative meaning, it has evolved into a grammatical word with intimacy/ affective connotations similar to those of the discourse marker {re} (Karachaliou, 2015).

This extract is unique in my dataset of ongoing interactions, as it involves two lines of communication: the dominant communication between Iliada and the service provider, which takes place on the phone, and a secondary line of communication, particularly a cross-play between a ratified participant of the dominant interaction (i.e. Iliada) and a bystander<sup>34</sup> (i.e. Ioli; Goffman, 1981: 134). Interestingly, although Ioli does not have access to both ratified participants' contributions, she nevertheless intervenes to redress Iliada's talk. More specifically, to begin with, in response to Iliada's formulating an alternative question (l.21) that seemingly increases the epistemic authority of the addressee (Pomerantz, 1988; Stivers, 2010), Ioli latches a question seeking an account as to why Iliada offered two alternatives to her interlocutor (l.22), and therefore carrying a negative evaluative load (Bolden & Robinson, 2010). This said, the 'what not' token is accompanied by two endearment markers (*ρε μαλάκα*) which, in this context, could also be heard as belittling and indexical of disagreement (Karachaliou, 2015: 126). She then utters a request in the form of a prosodically emphatic and negated subjunctive<sup>35</sup> that both signals Ioli's disagreement with and criticism of Iliada's softer stance, and cues the former's negative affect (Sifianou, 1992: 127). In light of its emphatic and unmitigated articulation, this request appears to be an invasion in the hearer's auditory space (Jay, 1992: 97), and an attempt to hold the hearer accountable for it (Culpeper, Bousfield & Wichmann, 2003: 1572-1573), thereby qualifying for a potentially impolite move.

Iliada's latched response (l.24) indeed suggests that she evaluates Ioli's unsolicited intervention as face-threatening. She particularly prefaces her TCU with the conjunction *μα* (but), which demonstrates the ongoing disalignment between the interlocutors, and then utters an incomplete personal pronoun (*εγ-*) -probably aiming at saying something in her defence- and an elongated filler (*ε:*), both circumscribed by two minor pauses. These prosodic and interactional features indicate a form of dysfluency or hedging that is in turn indexical of the speaker's surprise, while tacitly signalling her perception of her interlocutor's conduct as ill-formed. However, as she is simultaneously participating in the telephone conversation, she abandons her turn addressed to Ioli and redirects her attention to the service provider's response through a confirmation-seeking question in her second TCU.

Ioli, however, responds by explicitly instructing Iliada to tell the service provider about the forgotten piece in the order (ll.25-26). She starts her turn with the intimacy marker *ρε* that softens the incipient disagreement (Karachaliou, 2015: 179) and then utters another unmitigated, high-pitched request in the form of an imperative (*↑πεεζ 'σαι'*) that is followed by an account and implicitly holds Iliada

---

<sup>34</sup> A bystander is an unratified addressee that is expected to be able to hear at least some parts of the dominant interaction (Goffman, 1981: 134).

<sup>35</sup> In Greek, the second person singular present imperative form, when negated, borrows the equivalent subjunctive form, preceded by the subjunctive negative particle *μη(ν)*. The subjunctive mood in the phrase *Μην ν' ντο συζητάς* ('do not discuss it') in line 22 is thus equivalent to an imperative and is here used to perform a command (Sifianou, 1992: 127, 148).

responsible for allegedly extending the group's hunger. To this, Iliada responds by exclaiming her interlocutor's name (1.27), which signals both her perception of the prior turn as impolite and her anger, a negative emotion closely linked to impoliteness (Spencer-Oatey, 2005: 16). The following pause indexes another change in footing, as she returns to the dominant communication with the service provider and explicitly asks about the order's status.

Ioli extends the disagreement sequence by starting her subsequent turn (1.28) with another *μα*, while intensifying her previous request through a parallel structure juxtaposing what Iliada should say to her interlocutor on the phone (*δεν^ του λες αυτό που πρέπει* 'you're not telling him what you should'; 1.28), and what she is actually saying to him (*του λες >°τα ίδια και τα ίδια°* 'you're telling him the same things'; 11.31-32). Albeit softened by the intimacy marker *πε*, the diminutive *παιδάκι*, and the personal deictic *μου* (1.29), Ioli's statement is hearable as leveling serious criticism at Iliada. This is indicated by the high-pitched negation and the modal verb that both act as comparators (Labov, 1972) between the expected/normative and the actual state of affairs (1.28); by the repetition of her previous statement (1.30; cf. 1.25) stressing the source of the problem; and by the rushed delivery of Ioli's turn that also conveys irritation. Notably, Iliada withholds a response to Ioli and addresses a question to the service provider instead (11.33-34) which may be indicative of her disagreement with Ioli's prior statement and her implicit evaluation of impoliteness.

In formulating her question about the time pending for the delivery of the missing item, Iliada offers two alternative responses (1.34) to her interlocutor. The first candidate response triggers Ioli's attention, as she produces an account-soliciting question (Bolden & Robinson, 2010) with high-pitched onset, directly after the completion of the noun phrase *ten minutes*, that is, in interjacent position (Jefferson, 1986). These implicit prosodic and interactional features are indicative of the ongoing disagreement between the two conversationalists, while implying an accusation that Iliada may be partly responsible for the delay due to her soft tone. This is further illustrated in 1.36, in which Ioli emphatically requests that she speak to the service provider herself, thus causing more damage to Iliada's face. And she even threatens to start shouting (1.37), which she actually does by uttering the phrase 'ten minutes' in a loud tone. This exclamation could possibly function as a self-directed 'response cry' (Goffman, 1981) indexing a stance of irritation or shocked surprise. What is important for our purposes here is that Iliada chooses to withhold a direct response to Ioli's threat that constitutes a conventional form of insult (Culpeper 2011a: 136), while she accepts the service provider's response (1.39), despite Ioli's strong opposition.

In sum, the analysis of Extracts 3.1. and 3.2. above has so far shown the variety of implicit cues that participants may mobilise in an ongoing interaction to tacitly express their evaluation of impoliteness. These cues include non-verbal elements, paralinguistic cues, interactional features, and verbal



expressions (e.g. ironic propositions). And while explicit impoliteness-related lexemes did not feature in these interactions, the use of various indirect cues in the participants' reactions to potentially face-threatening prior moves, leads us to assume that impoliteness has arisen in these events (cf. Appx10: additional extracts a-b).

### 3.2.2. Communication-oriented metacommunicative comments in ongoing interactions

Communication-oriented metacommunicative comments were less frequent in ongoing interactions, particularly accounting for 21.5% of all im/politeness-related evaluations in this discourse activity (32 of 149 comments). The vast majority of these comments (28 of 32) were triggered by potentially impolite social actions, including overlapping talk (9), swearing (4), criticising (3), and absence of compliments (3). The remaining nine comments referred to transgressive behaviours that appeared only once in the data (e.g. teasing, flattering, being pretentious, etc.). Regarding their formal features, these comments manifest in the form of silencers, message enforcers, unpalatable questions, and (personalised) negative references or assertions implying criticism (Culpeper, 2011a: 135-136). In addition, their implicit verbal features (e.g. exaggeration, mitigation) in combination with their intonational and non-verbal embodiment suggest that these comments are cued as somewhat non-serious. Extract 3.3. provides an example of a communication-oriented metacommunicative comment that arises in response to the absence of an anticipated verbal compliment<sup>36</sup>.

#### **Extract 3.3.** *Lack of compliment (COP-12)*<sup>37</sup>

**Context:** This interaction is part of an audio-recording that took place in Copenhagen at the beginning of my fieldwork, and features Ectoras (ECT), Kimonas (KIM), Paris (PAR), and myself (VAS) doing preparations for Ectoras's upcoming birthday party. Ectoras is simultaneously unpacking the grocery store bags, while the other participants are sitting around the kitchen table. At some point, Vassia prompts Kimonas to look at the mirror opposite the table to observe their reflections.

26 ((VAS and KIM look themselves in the mirror))  
 27 VAS: \$↑Κοίτα τὴ ωραίοι\$  
           Look.IMP.2<sub>SG</sub> how pretty.ADJ.M.1<sub>PL</sub>

<sup>36</sup> Compliments have been defined as 'speech act[s] which explicitly or implicitly [attribute] credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some 'good' (possession, characteristic, skill etc.) which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer.' (Holmes, 1986: 485). At a functional level, they are expressive speech acts (Searle, 1969) aiming at pleasing the addressee (Wierzbicka, 1987: 201) and 'oil[ing] social wheels, increase[ing] or consolidate[ing] solidarity', especially in intimate relationships (Holmes, 1986: 500; cf. Wolfson, 1984).

<sup>37</sup> See the longer version of this extract in Appx8: event 6.



compliment as laughable (Holt, 2003: 73) in an attempt to distance herself from seriously praising her own external appearance. To this, Kimonas responds with laughter, therefore aligning to the prior activity of joking, and affiliating with Vassia's non-serious stance (Stivers, 2008: 34-36). This stance is maintained throughout the following adjacency pair (ll.32-33), in which Vassia's raucous laughter (l.31) is reciprocated by Kimonas's non-serious response (Jefferson, 1979) that he has a perfect appearance. However, through the emphatic use of the personal pronoun *εγώ* (I)<sup>38</sup>, Kimonas demonstrably distinguishes himself from his interlocutor in terms of their external beauty, which is again interpretable as immodest. It is these arrogance-implications that Kimonas attempts to block by keying his response as non-serious, as evidenced both by the smiley delivery of his turn (l.34), and by Vassia's jocular receipt with laughter in the subsequent turn (Jefferson, 1979). It therefore seems that laughter tokens are here mobilised by both participants to handle the delicate moments (Holt, 2003: 79) of negotiating self-praise.

Vassia's slight laughter (l.35) in response is heard as aligning to the ongoing jocular activity and thus as supportive of Kimonas's stance (Stivers, 2008). However, while she aligns to the paralinguistic activity, she disaligns to the linguistic one by withholding an explicit compliment to her interlocutor that would be a preferred response to his first assessment (Pomerantz, 1984: 64). Hence, while the self-deprecatory claim (l.36) that she proffers exhibits modesty, and is thus hearable as polite, the fact that it disaligns to Kimonas's prior action renders it potentially impolite. This is indeed evident in Kimonas's uptake.

This is indeed evident in Kimonas's uptake in l.37, where he holds his interlocutor accountable for the absence of an overt compliment through explicit verbal means which give rise to an overt evaluation of impoliteness in interaction. In particular, Kimonas mobilises an explicit categorising metacommunicative comment (*μωρή σιχθιαμένη 'you shitty'*)<sup>39</sup>, which contains a strong-negative evaluative label, preceded by a taboo intensifier that enhances the emotional experience of the actor (Jay, 1992; Bousfield, 2008: 112; Ljung, 2011: 148). Following this, he produces an explicit communication-oriented metacommunicative comment that accounts for the use of the prior categorisation (*Δε μου πες τίποτα °για το μουσάκι μου° 'You didn't say anything about my beard; ll.39-40)* and which appears in the form of a personalised negative assertion (Culpeper, 2011a: 135). It is important to note here that Kimonas's evaluation is not idiosyncratic but appeals to a cultural norm whereby compliments on appearance can serve as 'offers of gifts, understanding and cooperation' (Sifianou, 2001: 397) in Greek, and are thus indexical and

<sup>38</sup> Since Greek is a pro-drop language, personal pronouns can be omitted (Theofanopoulou-Kontou, 2002). Therefore, when they are present, they tend to be carrying additional meanings as in this case, in which the speaker intends to distinguish himself from his interlocutor and underline his own importance.

<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, the evaluative label *σιχαμένος/η* or the related verb phrase *τον/την/τους/τις σιχαίνομαι* are recurrent one in stories about third parties both in this group and in the London-based group, where it appears four times. It also appears in our playback interview with Kimonas.

constitutive of solidarity and intimacy. Hence, by marking a deviation from the relational ‘entitlements’ or the rights and obligations of friends (i.e. paying compliments), this evaluation invokes the group’s deontic order (cf. Curl & Drew, 2008).

Although, at first, this evaluation seems considerably serious, a closer look at the lexical and paralinguistic features of this turn suggest otherwise. More specifically, the very lexical-choice *σιχθαμένη* can be judged as jocular in view of the exaggeration (Glenn & Holt, 2013: 10) that mitigates the force of the insult. This is further indicated by the prosodic embodiment of the lexeme, given that its guttural delivery may index ‘laughter relevance’ (Jefferson, 2010: 1478). In addition, the extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986; Edwards, 2000) *τίποτα* (‘nothing’) in the communication-oriented comment, in tandem with the deadpan delivery of the utterance and the use of the diminutive *μουσάκι* (beard) that indexes endearment and thus mitigates the force of the insult (Sifianou, 1992: 197), enhance the exaggerated frame and give rise to an evaluation of mock-impoliteness instead (Haugh & Bousfield, 2012). This is also accentuated by the final TCU in Kimonas’s turn (l.42) that is causally linked to the previous one, and presents the implications of this beard cut in an overdone way. Kimonas is, therefore, rendering his impoliteness evaluation ambiguous *qua* seriousness which, importantly, enables him to evade the speaker-indexical dangers of over-complaining (Sacks, 1992: vol I: 637-638) and reaffirm the group’s solidarity. Extract 3.4., which revolves around overlapping talk, provides another example of how an explicit evaluation of impoliteness in the form of a communication-oriented metacommunicative comment is designed as somewhat non-serious.

**Extract 3.4.** ‘Stop to let me finish’ (LON-8)<sup>40</sup>

**Context:** This audio-recorded conversation took place between Ioli (IOL), Simeon (SIM) and Vassia (VAS) at Ioli’s house, where the participants have gathered to have dinner together. After having finished eating, they talk over a glass of wine about brunch places in London. Within this context, Ioli announces that she will make a proposal to Simeon. After several attempts at outlining her idea, Ioli eventually states that the two of them will open a brunch store.

276	IOL:	Πίνε. (.)	Θ’	α[νοίξουμε	μαγαζί.]
		Drink.IMP.PROG.2 <sub>SNG</sub>	will	open.SBJV.PFV.1 <sub>PL</sub>	store.SNG.ACC.N
		Drink. (.) We’ll		o[pen	a new store.]
277	VAS:			[Π X I E Σ.=↑E	ί ν α ι]
				Drink.IMP.PFV.2 <sub>SNG</sub>	is
				[D r i n k . = I t ‘ s ]	
278	σοβαPH↑:		>η (πορ-) η	ΠΡΟταση<	

<sup>40</sup> See the longer version of this extract in Appx8: event 3.

serious.ADJ.SNG.F the.ART.SNG.NOM.F proposal.SNG.NOM.F  
*a serious pro- proposal*

279 >που θα σου [κάνει.]<  
 That.REL will you.SNG.GEN make.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*the one she'll [m a k e] to you.*

280 IOL: [Δεν εί]↑ναι αστείο  
 NEG is joke.SNG.NOM.N  
*[It's no]t a joke*

281 αυτό που σου \*λέω. (.)  
 this that.REL you.GEN.OBJ say.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*what I'm telling you. (.)*  
*\*places the glass on the table*

282 IOL: [Δεν ^ντο κάνω για πλάκα.]  
 NEG it.CLIT.ACC.OBJ do.1<sub>SNG</sub> for fun.SNG.ACC.F  
*[I'm not kidding.]*

283 SIM: [N' ανοίξουμε μαγαζί.]  
 To.PRTCL open.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>PL</sub> store.SNG.ACC.N  
*[To open a store.]*

284 IOL: A- (.) ↑σταμάτα λίγο  
 Ah.PRTCL stop.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> a bit  
*Ah- (.) stop a minute*

285 °>Να μ' αφήσεις να ολοκληρώσω.<°  
 to.PRTCL I.ACC.OBJ let.SUBJ.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL finish.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*To let me finish.*

286 IOL: Γιατί [τώρα παίζεται το μέλλον μου.]  
 As now play.PASS.3<sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.SNG.NOM.N future.NOM.N I.POSS.GEN  
*As [now my future is at stake.]*

The sequence starts with Ioli announcing to Simeon that they will open a store together. The presuppositions that follow from this utterance is that Ioli trusts Simeon and values his professional identity as a chef so that she could cooperate with him on her new project. In this sense, her professional proposal shows appreciation of Simeon's work and thus makes acceptance on the part of Simeon a relevant next. On these grounds, the lack of uptake by Simeon (l.277) could be considered marked<sup>41</sup>.

Albeit not an addressed participant, Vassia overlaps Ioli (l.277) interjacently (Jefferson, 1986; cf. Appx7: a) to encourage Simeon to treat Ioli's proposal as a serious one. Based on my field notes, Ioli had already informed Vassia about this proposal. Being a knowing participant (C. Goodwin, 1986), Vassia thus chimes in to support Ioli's announcement. Although interjacent overlaps as such can be considered disruptive and disaffiliative, a closer look at the construction of Ioli's turn (l.276) suggests that Vassia's concurrent talk is warrantable. More specifically, Vassia starts talking at the beginning of Ioli's second TCU (θ' α[νοίξουμε μαγαζί 'we'll open a store'), yet after a bit of

<sup>41</sup> During the interview, Simeon confessed that his delayed response was due to his feeling embarrassed with that proposal (Επειδή τη θυμάμαι τη στιγμή (.) ντραπήκα. 'Since I remember that moment (.) I got embarrassed.').

silence accompanying a previous completed TCU. This type of overlap is often produced to occur in ‘unmarked next position’ but happens to collide with the first speaker’s further talk (Jefferson, 1986: 164). On these grounds, it can be deemed cooperative. We could therefore argue that Vassia is acting here as a second principal (Goffman, 1981: 144), or as a consociate storyteller (Lerner, 1992), by laying the grounds and preparing the audience for Ioli’s upcoming proposal. Ioli seems to acknowledge the support-relevance of Vassia’s utterance, as shown in her subsequent response, which does not orient to the potential impoliteness-implications of Vassia’s incursive talk, but signals affiliation by using a term synonymous with that previously mobilised by Vassia to describe the proposal as non-jocular (1.278).

Notably, this characterisation was emphatically stressed by Ioli in light both of the repetition of the metapragmatic comment that distinguishes her proposal from jokes, and by the prosodic cues (1l.280-282)<sup>42</sup>. However, when Simeon repeats Ioli’s proposal (1.283) in overlap with her claim that she is speaking seriously, Ioli orients to the impoliteness-implications of Simeon’s overlapping talk, and overtly asks him to stop talking, although Simeon’s contribution occurs in unmarked next position (Jefferson, 1983). This was accomplished through an explicit communication-oriented metacommunicative comment of the *off-line* type (Hübler & Bublitz, 2007: 12) which intervenes to mark a communication-oriented dysfunction relating to turn-taking norms in the actual conversation. In this sense, it gives rise to a potential evaluation of impoliteness, which is not very transparent here but becomes clearer in the playback interview (see §3.4.2).

In terms of its formal features, this comment manifests in the form of a silencer (Culpeper, 2011a: 136-136) in present/imperfective imperative mood, and is accompanied by prosodic emphasis and elevated pitch, both of which implicate anger or criticism in Greek (Sifianou, 1992: 129). Notably, Ioli had already produced four related comments in previous talk (see Appx8, event 3: 1.200, 1.216, 1.236, 1.270), in the form of silencers or message enforcers (e.g. *listen*, *wait*), while she was attempting to communicate her idea in interaction. This one is the most explicit of all in that it also contains an adverbial clause specifying the reason why she asked her interlocutor to stop, i.e. to finish her turn (>Να μ’ αφήσεις να ολοκληρώσω<° ‘to let me finish’), therefore making interruption overtly relevant in interaction. One could thus assume that the negative interpersonal meaning assigned to this particular simultaneity by the interruptee might have been produced cumulatively as a result of previous overlaps that threatened her speakership rights (Tzanne, 2001: 281), as well as of joking remarks that undermined the seriousness of her proposal to be announced (cf. Appx8, event 3: 1.266).

---

<sup>42</sup> During the playback interview, Ioli argued that this repetitive framing of her proposal as non-jocular was primarily guided by the group’s habit of not taking each other’s words seriously (Συνήθως ό,τι και να λέμε το παίρνουμε στην^ μπλάκα. ‘Whatever we say we usually take it playfully’).

This said, the silencer in 1.284 is preceded by a false start and a minor pause, that is, by interactional features marking some form of distancing in talk, while it is followed by an adverb of quantity (*λίγο* 'a bit') downgrading its force. In addition, the adverbial clause is uttered in a rushed yet quiet tone, which also indexes a low degree of commitment to the content of the words uttered. This is further indicated by the prosodic features of Ioli's subsequent turn, particularly by the deadpan delivery of an extreme claim regarding the significance of this proposal for her future (1.286), which marks it as sarcastic. This extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986) is here provided as a seemingly serious rationale for Ioli's need to finish her turn but, in light of its sarcastic articulation and the exaggerated tone, it basically implicates that Ioli is not fully invested in her evaluation.

In Extracts 3.3. and 3.4, then, the initiator of a communication-oriented metacommunicative comment in response to a perceived face-threatening behaviour keyed that comment as exaggerated or downplayed its force through mitigation techniques that indexed lack of commitment to the content of the evaluation (cf. Appx10: additional extracts c-d). This practice is even more salient in evaluations containing explicit categorising comments, to which I turn now.

### 3.2.3. Categorising metacommunicative comments in ongoing interactions

Categorising metacommunicative comments were almost as frequent as communication-oriented ones across my dataset of ongoing interactions, particularly accounting for 20% of all im/politeness-related talk in this discourse activity (30 of 149 comments). The majority of these comments (24 of 30) were produced in response to preceding potentially impolite behaviours, such as speaking badly (2), criticising other (2), being inconsiderate (2), being sour/bitter (2), not paying compliments (2), dishonesty (2), and offensiveness (2). The remaining ten comments were occasioned by untoward behaviours that appeared only once in the data (e.g. disrespect, teasing, etc.). In terms of their formal features, these comments mainly take the form of (personalised) negative assertions (e.g. *Είσαι παλιάνθρωπος* 'You are a scoundrel'), vocatives (e.g. *Μουλάρα!* '(You) mule!'), or references (e.g. *This was offensive*), which contain evaluative labels (e.g. *παλιάνθρωπος* 'scoundrel', *ξινός* 'sour', etc.) and thereby cast their referents into negatively valenced categories (Culpeper, 2011a: 135). Additionally, while their lexical features signal them as serious, their intonational embodiment, often in conjunction with mitigation techniques, cue them as non-serious. It is notable that it is only this subcategory of comments in ongoing talk that is accompanied by laughter particles, which make non-seriousness quite transparent. Extract 3.5. below provides an example of a categorising metacommunicative comment that emerged in ongoing interaction. In this, I examine the sequel of the interaction introduced in Extract 3.1.

**Extract 3.5. 'I can't when he is sour like that' (COP-32)<sup>43</sup>**

17 KIM: \* [↑ΦΑ]E KΑΛ\*\*E:: και σκόσ[ε\*\*\*:]  
 Eat.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> kale.PRTCL and shut-up.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
 [E a]t {kale} and shut [u p]  
 \*looks at ECT  
 \*\*ECT turns to KIM  
 \*\*\*ECT  
 looks at KIM



Image 1: 1.17

18 VAS: \* [A :]χ  
 Aw.PRTCL  
 [A ]w  
 \*pets KIM

19 Θα σας [έφτιαχνα μια °ωραία:°]  
 Would you.PL.GEN.OBJ make.COND.1<sub>SNG</sub> a.ACC.F nice.ADJ.SNG.ACC.F  
 I would [make a nice ((marmalade))] for you

20 KIM: \* [AXΟΥ:: (.) \*\*Αφού 'ν' ωραίο.]=  
 Phew.PRTCL since is nice.ADJ.SNG.NOM.N  
 \*[Phew (.) Since it's nice]=  
 \*KIM looks at ECT/VAS pets KIM  
 \*\*KIM moves hand/ECT turns  
 to PAR

21 ECT: \*°°Τι έχει πάθει?°°=  
 What has.PRS.3<sub>SNG</sub> happen-to.PRF  
 What has happened to him?/What's wrong with him=  
 \*KIM looks upwards and towards ECT/VAS pets KIM



Image 2: 11.20-21

22 PAR: \*=[°>Δεν είν' άσχημο.<°]  
 NEG is bad.ADJ.SNG.NOM.N  
 =[It's not bad.]  
 \*looks at ECT/VAS pets KIM

23 VAS: [M α ρ μ ε λ ά δ α::] μανταρίνι: τς=  
 Marmalade.SNG.ACC.F mandarin ts.PRTCL

<sup>43</sup> The longer version of this extract appears in Appx8: event 1.



[M a r m a l a d e ] made from mandarin ts=  
 24 ECT: \*=°Δε μπορώ όταν είν' έτσι[: \*\*\$ξινός\$.°]  
 NEG can.1<sub>SNG</sub> when is like-that sour.ADJ.SNG.NOM.M  
 =I can't when he's like that [\*\*\$s o u r\$.]  
 \*looks at PAR & moves hand/PAR looks at ECT/KIM  
 looks at PAR & ECT with raised eyebrows/VAS pets  
 KIM

\*\*ECT looks at the  
 marmalade/KIM smiles/  
 VAS pets KIM/PAR looks at  
 the marmalade



Image 3: 1.24

25 VAS: \* [°Αλλά δεν είχα-°]  
 But NEG had.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
 [But I didn't-]  
 \*pets KIM

While Paris and Ectoras are trying to figure out the marmalade's ingredients by reading its label aloud (Appx8, event 1: ll.12-16), Kimonas chimes in to issue a bald directive ( $\Phi AE$  'eat'; l.17) performed in present imperative mood and high-pitched loudness, which both signal the speaker's strong affect (Sifianou, 1992: 127) and indicate his criticism of Ectoras's stance. At the same time, in light of its prosodic features, the request is also interpretable as a form of invasion in the hearer's auditory space (Jay, 1992: 97), and as an attempt to hold the hearer accountable for some prior action (Culpeper, Bousfield & Wichmann, 2003: 1572-1573). In addition, this request is followed by another unmodified request in imperative mood ( $\sigma\acute{\alpha}\sigma\epsilon$  'shut up'), which also constitutes a typical instance of Culpeper's (1996: 358) conventionalised impoliteness strategy 'use taboo words –swear, or use abusive, or profane language'. This said, the baldness of both requests is here mitigated by the affective marker  $\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}$  ( $\{kale\}$ )<sup>44</sup> indexing closeness in Greek (Sifianou, 1992: 235; Karachaliou, 2015), as well as by the idiomaticity inherent in the conventionalised expression 'eat and shut up', usually uttered in a mumsy way in Greek. This idiomatic expression particularly draws on a Greek socio-cultural norm according to which people sitting around the table to have food are not expected to speak at the same time. Nevertheless, prior to the completion of Kimonas's utterance, Ectoras turns

<sup>44</sup> Untranslatable marker of affinity in Greek, cf. man/dude in English.

his head away from the jar towards Kimonas and looks at him seriously, which indicates a form of visual misalignment.

In response to this, Vassia chooses not to take sides and refers to the marmalade that she would be happy to make for her friends in Denmark (11.18-19). The lack of verbal dis/agreement in the uptake by Vassia could be seen as an attempt to smooth the ongoing dispute. Kimonas, however, interrupts her interjacently (Jefferson, 1986) to provide an account as to why Ectoras should eat the marmalade (1.20). This account is hearable as serious yet overdone in light of the emphatic stress on the adjective *ωραίο* (nice), the expressive hand gesture that unfolds in sync with uttering *ωραίο*, as well as of the emphatic interjection *ΑΧΟΥ::* (p<sup>h</sup>ew) preceding the account. This interjection also signals the speaker's annoyance or exhaustion with his interlocutor's consistent criticism of the marmalade. Vassia appears to acknowledge Kimonas's irritation, as shown by her gesture of petting his hair (1.20; image 2). In so doing, she visually affiliates with his affective stance and endeavours to protect him against Ectoras's critical remarks.

In contrast, Ectoras signals a disaffiliative stance in view of his (non-verbal) reactions in the uptake. He particularly turns his head towards Paris (image 2) and explicitly marks Kimonas's previous behaviour as transgressive by means of an unpalatable question (1.21; Culpeper, 2011a: 135). This move signals a shift in the participation framework (Goffman, 1981: 129-143), particularly introducing a subordinate communication (1981: 133-134) between Ectoras and Paris, while Kimonas is excluded from the interaction and construed as an unaddressed recipient through the third-person reference to his person (O'Driscoll, 2018: 48). This relegation of Kimonas to an (indirect) target in Levinson's (1988) terms is itself potentially face-threatening, something that Ectoras seems to be aware of, as indicated by the prosodic features of his turn, namely, the hushed tone of his voice that softens the force of his critical question.

Subsequently, Paris latches a negative proposition (1.21) on Ectoras's critical interrogative, which positively assesses the marmalade, thereby both disaligning to the preceding action and disaffiliating with Ectoras's prior other-criticism (Stivers, 2008). However, the intonational embodiment of this proposition, that is, the rushed delivery and the quiet articulation indicate a form of distancing and some awareness of the potential impoliteness-implications of his disaffiliation stance. Similarly, Vassia proffers in overlap the continuation of her incipient offer in 1.18, which too disaligns to Ectoras's question. To this, Ectoras responds by mobilising an explicit categorising metacommunicative comment in the form of a negative reference (*°Δε μπορώ όταν είν' έτσι[: \*\*\$ξινός\$.°]* 'I can't when he is \$sour\$ like that.') which stresses the untoward character of Kimonas's prior behaviour and thereby performs an overt evaluation of impoliteness.

Notably, Ectoras once again frames his criticism as a third-party one through the use of third person, which sustains the relegation of Kimonas to an indirect target of his own interaction (cf. Heinemann, 2009). More importantly, the use of the temporal-conditional conjunction *όταν* (when-if) preceding the deictic adverb of manner *έτσι* (like that), cues this particular bitter behaviour as habitual or dispositional, as an instance of a recurrent pattern which Ectoras abhors. The habituality of this negative stance towards Kimonas’s alleged bitterness is also indexed by the use of timeless present (*δε μπορώ* ‘I can’t’) that gives to Ectoras’s statement the form of a habitual story (Riessman, 1990). This said, the quiet delivery of this utterance, the smiley voice accompanying the categorisation, and the visual feature of his awkwardly averting his eyes from Kimonas (image 3) render Ectoras’s impoliteness-related evaluation ambiguous *qua* seriousness. Extract 3.6. provides additional insights on how categorising metacommunicative comments in response to a perceived face-threatening behaviour are cued as non-serious.

**Extract 3.6.** ‘You’re being offensive’ (COP-12)<sup>45</sup>

**Context:** This interaction is part of an audio-recording that took place in Copenhagen at the beginning of my fieldwork, and features Ectoras (ECT), Kimonas (KIM), Paris (PAR), and myself (VAS) doing preparations for Ectoras’s upcoming birthday party. At some point, I prompt Kimonas to notice my ‘simple and modest’ outfit.

- 05 VAS: [↑Βλέπεις] ↑μέσα στην ε:::  
 See.2<sub>SNG</sub> inside in-the.ART.SNG.ACC.F eh.PRTCL  
 [You see] in the eh
- 06 \*↑απλότητα↑ είμαι.  
 simplicity.ACC.F am  
 ((I’m)) dressed simply.  
 \*ECT is opening the plastic bags
- 07 [Και τη σε↑μνό]τητα(h)  
 And the.ART.SNG.ACC.F modesty.ACC.F  
 [And with modes]ty
- 08 KIM: [\$Κοίτα εδω\$]  
 Look.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> here  
 [\$Look here\$]
- 09 VAS: ((Laughter))
- 10 KIM: \$H σεμνότητα ΦΑΙνεται.\$  
 The.ART.SNG.NOM.F modesty.NOM.F is-visible.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
 \$Modesty is visible/ shines through.\$
- 11 ECT: ↑I:: >Κιμονάκο τι [λόγια είν’ αυτιά<]  
 Aw.PRTCL Kimonas.VOC.DIM what word.PL.NOM.N are.3<sub>PL</sub> these.NOM.N  
 Aw Kimonas what [sad words you speak]
- 12 KIM: [↑ΚΡΑ κάνει η σεμνότητα(h)]  
 Kra.ONMP does the.ART.NOM.F modesty.NOM.F  
 [It screams modest]

<sup>45</sup> The longer version of this extract appears in Appx8: event 6.

13 ECT: στην ^γκοπέλα?  
to-the.ART.SNG.ACC.F girl.SNG.ACC.F  
to the girl?

14 VAS: ((Laughter))

15 KIM: \$Αγαπητή [μ ο υ .]\$  
dear.ADJ.SNG.VOC.F I.POSS.GEN  
My dear.

16 ECT: [\$Γ ί ν ε σ α ι] προσβλητικός Κιμονάκο\$=  
Become.2<sub>SNG</sub> insulting.SNG.NOM.M Kimonas.VOC.DIM  
\$You're being insulting, Kimonas\$=  
17 =°Σε παρακαλώ μ' εκθέτεις.°  
You.SNG.ACC.OBJ please.1<sub>SNG</sub> I.ACC.OBJ expose.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
=Please, you're exposing me.

Having pointed to her clothing as proof of her readiness to help with the cooking (Appx8, event 6: ll.01-04), Vassia is now appealing to Kimonas to notice the simplicity of her outfit (l.05)<sup>46</sup>. Her utterance is cued as exaggerated through its prosodic contour, namely, through the elevated pitch circumscribing the noun *απλότητα* (simplicity). She then expands upon this overdone claim by adding an increment (l.07) (Haugh & Obana, 2015) that links the prepositional phrase *μέσα στην ↑απλότητα↑* (lit. with simplicity) to the elliptical prepositional phrase (*μέσα στη σεμνότητα(h)* (with modesty) through a coordinate conjunction. This phrase is cued as jocular not only through the sharp rise in pitch accompanying the abstract noun, but also through the turn-final laughter particle that invites the treatment of Vassia's claim as laughable (Holt, 2010). Vassia's self-directed tease (Haugh, 2011) is interactionally achieved, as shown by Kimonas's concurrent smile (l.08; cf. Jefferson, 1979) and the prosodic emphasis on the deictic expression *εδώ* (here) that draws extra attention to the said outfit in conjunction with the explicit appeal to her interlocutor(s) to look at it. Vassia then dissolves into laughter which sustains the self-tease (l.09), and possibly acts as a trigger for Kimonas to proffer an other-oriented teasing remark in response (l.10). In particular, Kimonas ostensibly corroborates Vassia's claim by stressing that her modesty shines through. However, his comment is hearable as sarcastic, as he delivers it with smiley voice and places intonational emphasis on *ΦΑΤνεται* (is visible), thereby signalling that he regards Vassia as immodest. This criticism, veiled in sarcasm, is potentially impolite, since it is easily inferable from his utterance that he does not think highly of his interlocutor (Bousfield, 2008: 95).

While Vassia is not po-facing (Drew, 1987) Kimonas's teasing remark, Ectoras intervenes on her behalf to orient to the potential face-threat entailed in it. He particularly starts his turn with a lengthened and high-pitched interjection (*↑ I : :*) that carries connotations of disapproval and negative surprise. Following this, he proffers a question seeking an account (Bolden & Robinson, 2010) as to

<sup>46</sup> Based on my field notes, Vassia used to be dressed semi-formally when visiting her participants to do the recordings. Kimonas appeared to appreciate this, as he usually made positive comments on her clothing. Having been dressed in an unexpectedly informal way for that particular recording, Vassia comments on it as if she is trying to pre-empt any related comments by Kimonas.

why Kimonas uttered these words to his interlocutor (l.11), therefore conveying a negative affective stance towards Kimonas's prior verbal behaviour. This question contains a communication-oriented metacommunicative comment (τι [λόγια είν' αυτιά<] 'what sad words you speak') overtly pointing to Ectoras's evaluation of Kimonas's conduct as impolite. However, this comment is softened by the diminutive form of reference that Ectoras chooses for Kimonas, through which he indexes endearment (Sifianou, 1992: 197) and thus renders his prior evaluation equivocal.

The way Ectoras refers to Vassia is notable here, as he does not choose her first name that would be the preferred way (Schegloff, 1996: 460; Stivers, 2007: 69) but opts for a gender term (l.12) instead that does more than 'referring simpliciter' (Schegloff, 2007a: 124). One could assume that it implicitly points to a progressive, feminist discourse whereby it is inappropriate for men to make unsolicited comments on women's appearance. On another note, this term can also be used generically in Greek to refer to women with whom the speaker is not close enough. Consequently, it may either carry speaker-indexical connotations, or point to the relative lack of closeness between Kimonas and Vassia that would delegitimise such a (teasing) comment. The latter is important as it raises the degree of inappropriateness entailed in Kimonas's comment and in turn his moral accountability.

And while Ectoras rebukes Kimonas on account of his alleged *faux pas*, the latter does not attend to the criticism but instead extends the other-oriented tease by overlapping Ectoras interjacently (Jefferson, 1983). He particularly repeats the mocking claim he made in l.10, but this time makes it hearable as more overtly humorous, in light both of the onomatopoeic word *KPA* that underlines the obviousness of the entity to which it refers, and of the paralinguistic features of the turn (i.e. the marked loudness, the pitch elevation and the smiley voice). Despite the potential face-threat that has also been explicitly flagged up by Ectoras, Vassia goes along with the tease (l.14; Drew, 1987) and indicates that she does not take herself too seriously. In doing so, she misaligns to Ectoras's more serious tone (Stivers, 2008) and aligns to Kimonas's jocular frame, which is further sustained in the subsequent line (l.15), in which he refers to Vassia with a formal address term that is incongruous with the informal tenor of the interaction, and all this in a smile indicating playfulness.

Although Vassia is not orienting towards Kimonas's utterance, Ectoras overlaps Kimonas at a TRP to produce a categorising metacommunicative comment [*ΣΤ ί ν ε σ α ι*] *προσβλητικός Κιμονάκος* ('You are being insulting, Kimonas') casting him into the category of 'insulting' people and thus explicitly associating Kimonas's prior communicative transgression (l.11) with some facet of the moral order. Nonetheless, the smiley delivery of this turn, in tandem with the diminutive address term, render this negative evaluation somewhat ambivalent.

Importantly, Ectoras goes on to latch a proposition unveiling the moral basis of his evaluation: Kimonas's offensiveness lies in exposing his friend (i.e. Ectoras) in front of Vassia, who has been an

acquaintance of Ectoras and his guest for a week. This is important as it attributes the alleged offence not to Kimonas's speaking disrespectfully to a woman by making unsolicited comments on her appearance, but to exposing Ectoras as a potentially bad host who allows others to offend his guest in her presence. Again, however, the formal politeness formula *σε παρακαλώ* (please) prefacing the verbal phrase that warrants Ectoras's evaluation, and the deadpan delivery of the turn (i.e. the softer volume and slightly lower pitch), attest that Ectoras is not fully committed to the content of his words, which make his evaluation interpretable as mock-impolite (cf. Appx10: additional Extracts e-f).

To sum up, in this section, I have presented the different forms in which potential impoliteness evaluations manifest in ongoing interaction. These involve both implicit cues and explicit metacommunicative comments. The former appeared to be the most frequent form of impoliteness evaluation in this discourse activity, and involved various (non-)verbal, paralinguistic or interactional features signalling a reaction to some prior face-threatening behaviour. The latter were less frequent and mainly served two functions in ongoing interactions: a communication-oriented one and a categorising one. What is important is that both categories contained (non-)verbal or paralinguistic cues (e.g. exaggeration) which downplayed the force of the evaluations or rendered them ambiguous *qua* seriousness. This preference for indirect evaluations in ongoing talk could be attributed to the participants' effort to pre-empt the taking of offence on the part of the evaluation-targets (Dyrel, 2007), and/or to their attempt to mitigate the unwelcome identities of the over-complaining person (Edwards, 2005: 14; Clift, 2013: loc.6041), summoned upon by the direct complaint sequences in which impoliteness evaluations were embedded. Having discussed the various forms of impoliteness evaluations in actual conversations, I now turn to the ways in which they are negotiated by different types of participants in the interactional arena.

### 3.3. Responses to impoliteness evaluations in ongoing interactions: from implicitness to overt non-seriousness

This section covers the responses that different categories of impoliteness evaluations get by different types of participants in ongoing interactions. As I will show below, all types of un/addressed participants respond in tacit ways to implicit evaluations, while they tend to playfully negotiate more explicit evaluations by embracing the evaluator's jocular frame.

#### 3.3.1. Responding to implicit impoliteness evaluations in ongoing interactions

In terms of the interactional negotiation of implicit evaluations, I show that their recipients overall reciprocate the implicit mode of semiosis in their uptake. More specifically, the addressed participants or targets of evaluations appear to respond though non-lexicalised cues, which challenge the impoliteness evaluations, whilst the unaddressed participants (Goffman, 1981; or ‘face-threat witnesses’ à la Dobs & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich’s, 2013) go along with the indirectness, yet without taking up a clear dis/affiliative stance towards either party. They tend to introduce a jocular frame towards the closure of the sequence, though, which contributes to the resolution of the ongoing dispute. Extract 3.7., which is part of the interaction introduced in Extract 3.1., provides an example of this.

**Extract 3.7.** *‘Fine. Don’t eat it’* (COP-32)<sup>47</sup>

07 PAR:

\*[E ί ν α ι]  
is  
[It is]  
\*looks at the  
jar



Image 1: 1.05

08 Φ[P Ά ο υ λ α=Φ P Ά ο υ λ α]°με αρρώστια.°  
Strawberry.SNG.NOM.F with sickness.SNG.ACC.F  
S[t r a w b e r r y=s t r a w b e r r y] spoiled.

09 KIM: \*[ΩΠΑΙΑ. (.) \*\*Μη το φας.]  
Fine NEG it.CLIT.ACC.N eat.SUBJ.PFV.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
[Fine. (.) Do not eat it.]  
\*looks at ECT with frowned eyebrows  
\*\*moves head upwards/PAR looks at the jar/ECT  
looks at KIM with  
frowned eyebrows

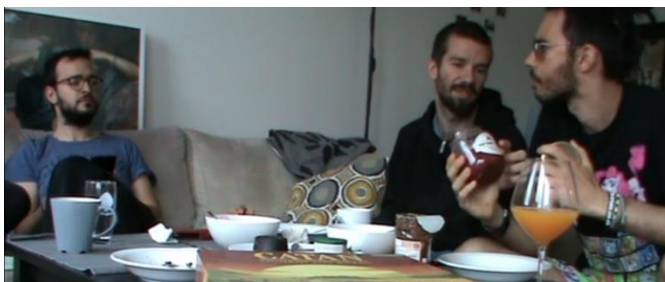


Image 2: 1.09

<sup>47</sup> The longer version of this event appears in Appx8: event 1.

10 PAR: \*Έχει το [( )]  
 Has the.ART.SNG.ACC.N  
*It has the [( )]*  
 \*ECT looks at the jar/KIM looks at ECT seriously  
 11 VAS: [(Laughter)]

Having discussed the form of Kimonas's implicit evaluation in Extract 3.1., I now turn to the ways it is responded to by different participants, that is, to what it does in the interaction. Paris, albeit unaddressed, indicates his misalignment to the ongoing activity of other-criticism and his disaffiliation with Ectoras's stance (Stivers, 2008) through implicit verbal and interactional features, namely, through an ironic claim that is produced in interjacent overlap (Jefferson, 1983) with the current speaker's utterance (l.07-08). Paris's ironic stance is specifically evidenced by the volume shifts which, in conjunction with the emphatic repetition of the word *φράουλα* (strawberry), mark the turn as exaggerated and hence as non-serious (Glenn & Holt, 2013: 10); by the deadpan delivery (Haugh & Bousfield, 2012) of the prepositional phrase that categorises the marmalade as spoiled; and by the semantic content of this proposition. In particular, the phrase *φράουλα με αρρώστια* ('strawberry with sickness') is meant only ostensibly since it conflicts with reality. This ironic phrase is typical of what Kapogianni (2013: 54-55) terms 'meaning replacement', a type of irony whereby the ironic utterance 'contains an obviously counterfactual and outrageous claim made by the speaker...which serves as an ironic evaluation on the hearer's explicitly asserted or assumed beliefs.'. Here, Paris's ironic utterance is an evaluative proposition along the lines of 'whatever you say/believe is unreasonably stupid' (2013: 55), given that a host could never offer spoiled food to their guests. Through this ironic claim Paris accomplishes a change in footing (Goffman, 1981; Clift, 1999), as he distances himself from the responsibility as principal (Goffman, 1981) of the ironic claim, to a mocking evaluation of Ectoras's assessment (cf. Haugh, 2013: 63). In doing so, Paris himself implements implicit criticism against Ectoras's stance, while displaying a form of frustration with the criticised state of affairs (Giora, 2003: 94), and thus overtly displays affiliation with Kimonas. The exaggerated frame, though, renders this stance rather ambiguous by mitigating the degree of the speaker's commitment to his words.

Following Kimonas's implicit evaluation in response, as this was analysed in Extract 3.1., the target (i.e. Ectoras) responds through implicit visual cues, namely, through a serious and slightly surprised look (l.09, image 2), which seems to challenge/de-ratify the impoliteness evaluation, while simultaneously indicating that Kimonas's prior turn was itself interpretable as potentially impolite. Paris is subsequently trying to elaborate on the jam's ingredients (l.10) but, before finishing his turn, he gets interrupted by Vassia's interjacent laughter (l.11). Since Paris did not manage to express a fully-fledged proposition, it is dubious that Vassia's laughter is a response to the immediately previous turn. One could assume that she may have mistimed her response to Kimonas's utterance



and thus her turn can be seen as a delayed start-up rather than as an impolite interruption (Jefferson, 1986; Hutchby, 2008: 228). If this is the case, then Vassia's laughter should be treating Kimonas's order (1.09) as laughable, and therefore as non-serious or mock-impolite. What is important here is that Kimonas's implicit impoliteness evaluation attracted implicit cues as responses both by its target and by the other participants, who indeed introduced a non-serious frame. This is also evident in Extract 3.8., the sequel of Extract 3.2.

**Extract 3.8.** *'Shouts, I'm hearing shouts'* (LON-37)<sup>48</sup>

- 40 (0.4)  
 41 ILI: ↑Φωνέ::ς ακούω φωνέ:ς.  
 Voice/shout.PL.ACC.F hear.1<sub>SNG</sub> voice/shout.PL.ACC.F  
*Shouts, I'm hearing shouts.*  
 42 SIM: Δεν- δεν^ γκερδίζεις κάτι  
 NEG NEG gain.2<sub>SNG</sub> something  
*You don't gain anything*  
 43 με τις φωνές ρε.  
 with the.ART.PL.ACC.F shout.PL.ACC.F re.PRTCL  
*by shouting {re}.*  
 44 IOL: Ναι ρε ντάξει (.)  
 Yes re.PRTCL okay  
*Yes {re} okay (.)*  
 45 ↓Αρκεί να μη σε κοροϊδεύουν.  
 least to.PRTCL NEG you.SNG.ACC.OBJ mock.3<sub>PL</sub>  
*Least they don't mock you.*

Following a minor pause (1.40) that signals the closure of the telephone communication, Iliada engages in mode-switching by recontextualising the lyrics of a popular Greek song to convey an implicit evaluation of Ioli's prior exclamation as impolite (1.41). This is accomplished through implicit verbal means, particularly through sarcasm, which expresses the speaker's annoyance about the criticism (Giora, 2003: 94), but it may in turn inflict damage on Ioli's face too. At this point, Simeon chimes in to voice his opinion, yet he does so in a generalised way (see the generic 'you' in 1.42). His statement makes it clear that he affiliates with Iliada's stance, but its articulation in the form of a universal rule also allows him to detach himself from commitment as principal, and therefore to avoid any overt display of disaffiliation towards Ioli. This is apparent in Ioli's uptake containing two tokens (1.44) that conventionally signal agreement, but are here used to preface a qualification for the validity of that general rule -a condition not fulfilled in this case, as the use of the negation implies (1.45). The disagreement, therefore, remains unresolved for several turns before it is settled through Simeon's introducing a jocular frame in the interaction (1.68; Appx8: event 9), which the other participants eventually embrace.

<sup>48</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx8: event 9.

What therefore transpires from the analysis of these extracts is that the ratified, addressed recipients (i.e. the targets) of implicit evaluations challenge these evaluations, yet by adopting the implicit frame introduced by their interlocutor. As for the ratified, unaddressed participants, they tend to take up an ambivalent stance by reciprocating indirectness, before eventually resorting to jocularly that contributes to resolving the ongoing dispute (cf. Appx10: additional extracts a-b). A similar stance is taken up in interactional negotiations of evaluations that show in communication-oriented metacommunicative comments.

### 3.3.2. Responding to communication-oriented metacommunicative comments in ongoing interactions

In contrast to implicit cues, explicit communication-oriented metacommunicative comments are not questioned by addressed or unaddressed recipients. As Extract 3.9. shows, all parties embrace the non-serious tenor introduced by the speaker, and thereby bring the ongoing conflict to a closure.

#### Extract 3.9. 'It's perfect' (COP-12)<sup>49</sup>

43 VAS: [T' E ↑ Λ E I O [ε ί ν α ι]]  
Perfect.ADJ.SNG.NOM.N is  
*[P e r f e c t i t i s]*

44 PAR: [↑A : :]  
Ah.PRTCL  
*[A h]*

45 [Γι' αυτό μαλάκα πολύ ωραίο.]  
for this asshole.PRTCL.VOC.M very nice.ADJ.SNG.NOM.N  
*[That's why, dude, very nice.]*

46 VAS: [ \$Μα σ' έχει ↑βλέπω έ ] [χ ε ι - \$]  
But you.SNG.ACC has see.1SNG has  
*[\$But it has, I see it] [h a s \$]*

47 ECT: [N α]  
Shall.PRTCL  
*[S h a l l]*

48 σου πω ΚΑτι?  
you.GEN.OBJ tell.SBJV.PFV.1SNG something  
*I tell you what.*

49 [E π ι] Τ'Ελους σ- συγγνώμη  
*[F i n a l l y s- s o r r y]*

50 VAS: [E χ ε ι]  
has  
*[I t h a s]*

51 ECT: [Στο 'χα πελ εγώ.]  
You.SNG.GEN-it.CLT.ACC.N had.1SNG you said.PRF I  
*[I'd told you about.]*

52 VAS: [ ( ( Γ ε λ ά κ ι ) ) ] ναι.

<sup>49</sup> See the longer version of this extract in Appx8: event 6.

[[ (S l i g h t l a u g h t e r) ] ] *yes.*

Picking up the threads from Extract 3.3., and looking at Vassia's uptake in line 43, we can see that the evaluation-target does not challenge the impoliteness evaluation but attends to the complaint through a noticing (Karafoti, 2019), and by proffering a formulaic compliment (Sifianou, 2001: 412) in (recognitional) overlap (Jefferson, 1986; Hutchby, 2008) with Kimonas's prior utterance. The use of the strong-positive descriptor *τέλειο* (perfect), which is indeed left-dislocated (Theofanopoulou-Kontou, 2002) and accompanied with high-pitched loudness, marks the compliment as overdone, thereby indexing Vassia's alignment to the playful frame that Kimonas's prior turn had introduced (Stivers, 2008).

The compliment sequence then extends from 1.43 to 1.52, with the unaddressed participants forwarding Vassia's exaggerated compliment (Sacks, 1992b: 58), thereby both aligning to the ongoing activity and affiliating with the prior speaker's stance (Stivers, 2008: 34-36). In particular, Paris prefaces his turn in an overdone way in light of the high-pitched and elongated discourse marker  $\uparrow A ::$  (Ah) indexing positive surprise. He then mobilises a causal adverbial (*Γι' αυτό* 'that's why'; 1.45) potentially linking the beard cut with Kimonas's alleged transformation and proffers an intensified compliment (*πολύ ωραίο* 'very nice'), which is preceded by the intimacy-marker *μαλάκα* (Karachaliou, 2015). The deadpan delivery of this turn suggests that the compliment is only meant sarcastically here (Haugh & Bousfield, 2012), which leads us to assume that Paris initiates a tease or 'takes the piss' out of Kimonas (Drew, 1987; Sinkeviciute, 2019: 101), in response to the latter's exaggerating the significance of his perspective.

And while Vassia is about to proffer another non-serious compliment (1.46), as shown by the smiley delivery of her incipient turn and the pitch shifts, she gets interrupted by Ectoras's small story (ll.47-51). This story is here mobilised to endorse Kimonas's decision to have his beard cut, yet this is done in an overdone way in light of the loudness shifts on *Επιτέλους* (finally) and the emphatic articulation of *πει* (said). That this compliment reciprocates the non-serious tenor of the previous ones is also shown in Vassia's receipt with laughter in the uptake (Jefferson, 1979)<sup>50</sup>. What is important for our discussion here is that when an impoliteness evaluation in the form of an explicit communication-oriented metacommunicative comment emerged both targets and ratified, unaddressed recipients embraced the non-serious tenor of the evaluation, which is also apparent in Extract 3.10. below.

---

<sup>50</sup> Cf. ll.53-74 in App8: event 6, where Kimonas initiates another exaggerated complaint about the absence of a volunteered compliment in the form of a communication-oriented metacommunicative comment, this time holding all present participants accountable for it (Haugh, 2013).

**Extract 3.10.** *'My future is at stake now'* (LON-8)<sup>51</sup>

286	IOL:	Γιατί [τώρα παίζεται το μέλλον μου.] As now play.PASS.3 <sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.SNG.NOM.N future.NOM.N I.POSS.GEN As [now my future is at stake.]
287	SIM:	[\$Κοίτα (.) Look.IMP.2 <sub>SNG</sub> if [Look (.) if\$]
288		[\$Έχω το [Γιό]↑ννη>\$]> have.1 <sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.SNG.ACC.M John.SNG.ACC.M [\$I have [J o] hn\$]
289	VAS:	[((Raucous laughter))]
290	IOL:	[χαχα] [haha]
291	SIM:	[\$<Το φίλο μου:>\$] The.ART.SNG.ACC.M friend.SNG.ACC.M I.POSS.GEN [The friend of mine]
292	VAS:	[((L a u g h t e r))]
293	IOL:	[\$↑Άσε (h) [το (h) Γιό-\$] Leave.IMP.2 <sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.SNG.ACC.M John.ACC.M Leave [J o h -]
294	VAS:	[((Raucous laughter))]

As discussed in Extract 3.4., the exaggerated tenor of Ioli's claim in l.286 makes the claim vulnerable to be ridiculed (Drew, 1987: 243; Bousfield, 2008: 114-115; Haugh & Bousfield, 2012: 1106)<sup>52</sup>. This is apparent in Simeon's next-positioned turn (ll.287-288), in which he proffers a qualified and thus weak agreement. He, particularly, starts with an appositional (κοίτα 'look') indexing a form of resistance or reluctance (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974: 719), then pauses, and finally outlines the condition under which he would accept the proposal: having Ioli's ex-boyfriend as a colleague. Interestingly, Simeon introduces here a figure, whom he has never met in person but only knows through Ioli's complaint stories about their relationship. Albeit being ostensibly face-threatening, this conditional agreement is keyed as playful both by Simeon's smiling voice and by being in contrast to what the participants know about his relationship with John. It is therefore designed in such a way as to make it obvious that it is a teasing remark (Drew, 1987: 232), namely, an instance of 'jocular mockery', whereby the speaker belittles something of relevance to the hearer within a non-serious frame (Haugh, 2010c: 2108). Here, the speaker ventures something equally face-threatening but again in a playful way: he increases the importance of somebody that the hearer has rejected.

<sup>51</sup> See the longer version of this extract in Appx8: event 3.

<sup>52</sup> This interpretation is in line with Simeon's reflexive comment about Ioli's exaggerated claim (l.286). He particularly stated that Ioli is often overly dramatic, meaning that she goes beyond a normative standard (Καλά (. ) η Ιόλη είναι λίγο μελοδραματική σε κάποια πράγματα.= \$Δηλαδή ντάξει μην ^ντρελαίνεσαι.\$ 'Well (. ) Ioli is a bit melodramatic on some occasions.= \$That is, okay, do not go crazy.\$').

The non-serious tenor of this proposition is also evidenced by the interlocutors' reactions in the uptake. To begin, Vassia responds with raucous laughter (1.289) in recognitional overlap (Jefferson, 1983: 20) with the third party's name, thus displaying understanding of the joke in progress. The mere allusion to Ioli's ex-boyfriend's name activates here a chain of laughing reactions, which suggests that this character must be already known to the participants. This reference could be seen as a 'compressed telling' comprising multiple stories (Georgakopoulou, 2007) that Ioli has told to her interlocutors about John, and in which she has presented him in a negative light (fields notes). Most importantly, Ioli exhibits recognition of the non-seriousness of Simeon's turn and goes along with the tease (Drew, 1987), despite its having occurred interjacently, as shown by her laughing response (1.290). The appreciation of the tease by its recipient helps sustain the jocular frame, as Simeon goes on to laughingly categorise John as a friend (1.291), which in turn yields further aligning laughter in Vassia's uptake (1.292). Ioli too accepts the jocular frame, as she smiles and laughs in response, but she simultaneously asks Simeon to close this topic of discussion (1.293). She therefore seems to recognise the humour of the tease, but she 'po-faces' the diversion caused by the tease (Drew, 1987: 225), which shows that, albeit framed jocularly, her prior communication-oriented comment did mark some form of deviation from communicative norms. The po-faced component of her turn allowed Ioli to regain control in the conversational arena, as she resumed talking after Vassia's laughter, while the adoption of the jocular frame contributed both to her positive self-presentation as a cool person who does not over-complain (Edwards, 2005: 14), and to the maintenance of the group's equilibrium.

In sum, as Extracts 3.9. and 3.10. showed, the mitigation and/or playful rendering of explicit evaluations containing communication-oriented comments by the speaker occasioned an equally non-serious stance on the part of the evaluation-target, who did not challenge that evaluation but responded in a jocular manner. This was too embraced by the unaddressed recipients in light of their jocular responses that brought the sequence to a closure (cf. Appx10: additional extracts c-d). This becomes more salient in the case of categorising comments performing an impoliteness evaluation.

### 3.3.3. Responding to categorising metacommunicative comments in ongoing interactions

This section shows how different types of participants respond to overt impoliteness evaluations appearing in the form of categorising comments. It particularly illustrates that ratified addressees tend to challenge these negative evaluations, yet in a mock-injured and playful way, whereas ratified unaddressed participants explicitly embrace the jocular frame and thus contribute to the resolution of the ongoing dispute. Extract 3.11. provides an example of how categorising comments are negotiated in situated interaction.

**Extract 3.11. ‘Who’s sour?’ (COP-32)<sup>53</sup>**

26 KIM: \*>Ποιος είναι \*\*ξινός?<=  
 Who is sour.ADJ.SNG.NOM.M  
*Who’s sour/ grumpy?=  
 \*looks at ECT/VAS pets KIM  
 \*\*ECT turns towards KIM & licks the marmalade  
 off his hand*



Image 4: 1.26

27 PAR: \*=\$Σαν^ ντη μαρμελάδα\$.  
 Like the.SNG.ACC.F marmalade.SNG.ACC.F  
 =Like the marmalade.  
 \*VAS pets KIM

28 KIM: \*\$ΕΛΑ 'δω \*\*να= Έλα \*\*\*'δω.\$  
 Come.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> here to.PRTCL come.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> here  
 \*Come here to=Come here.  
 \*looks at ECT/VAS pets KIM/ECT looks at his hand  
 \*\*ECT looks at KIM  
 \*\*\*KIM slams the  
 hand  
 on the sofa/ECT averts his eyes from  
 KIM & licks the marmalade off his  
 hand



Image 5: 1.28

29 ECT: ((Moves his body towards KIM & looks at KIM))

30 KIM: \*\$°Να δεις πώς είμαι \*\*ξινός.°\$  
 To.PRTCL see.SBJV.PFV.2<sub>SNG</sub> how am sour.ADJ.SNG.NOM.M  
 \$To see how I am being sour.\$  
 \*looks at his phone in a sly smile  
 \*\*VAS looks at KIM  
 & smiles

In response to his characterisation as ‘sour’, as discussed in Extract 3.5., the evaluation-target utters a question that seemingly challenges his prior other-categorisation in a serious look (1.26; image 4). However, after Paris’s mobilisation of a mocking simile that parallels Kimonas’s sourness to that of

<sup>53</sup> The longer version of this extract appears in Appx8: event 1.

the marmalade (1.27), Kimonas shifts from the prior serious frame towards jocularly and emphatically invites Ectoras to go and sit close to him. One could assume that this invitation is performed in a sexually playful tone considering the intense and mischievous smile that Kimonas directs at Ectoras, as well as his emphatic deictic gesture (image 5). This suggests that Kimonas has agentively decided to not take himself too seriously by treating the evaluation as an implicated sexual compliment. This said, Ectoras's bodily movements and gaze shifts performed in response to Kimonas's prior move (image 5) indicate that the former must have felt slightly uneasy with the latter's behaviour. This feeling of discomfort seems to be shared between Ectoras and Paris, as indicated by Paris's unfocused gaze (image 5). Despite this, Kimonas goes on to make his invitation even more explicit in 1.30, where he draws on the polysemy of the word *ξινόζ* in Greek to implicate his desire to have sexual intercourse with Ectoras, thereby making the transportable identity of homosexuality relevant in the interaction (Zimmerman, 1998)<sup>54</sup>. And all this in a sly, mischievous smile that further signals sexual playfulness and sustains the non-serious frame. This stance-taking on the part of Kimonas is indeed oriented to by one of the ratified, unaddressed participants, i.e. by Vassia, as shown by her concurrent smile. Extract 3.12. below offers additional insights into the playful negotiation of categorising comments in interaction.

**Extract 3.12.** *'He is treating me with the stick'* (COP-12)<sup>55</sup>

18 KIM: ((*Laughter*))  
 19 \*Κοίτα καλά μ' έχει με το βούρδουλα.  
 Look.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> well I.ACC.OBJ has with the.ART.ACC.N stick.ACC.M  
*Look, well, he is treating me with the stick.*  
 \*ECT opens the plastic bags  
 20 Απαπαπαπα:: (.) Σε παρακα[λώ με εκθέ:τεις]  
 Gosh You.SNG.ACC.OBJ please.1<sub>SNG</sub> I.ACC.OBJ expose.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Gosh (.) Please[e you expose me]*  
 21 VAS: [(*L a u g h t e r*)]

In response to Ectoras's evaluation of Kimonas's behaviour as insulting (see Extract 3.6.), Kimonas dissolves into laughter in response (1.18) which further indicates that Ectoras's prior turn was interpretable as laughable (Glenn & Holt, 2013). This said, in what follows, Kimonas seems to challenge Ectoras's previous evaluation through an idiomatic verbal expression *μ' έχει με το βούρδουλα* ('he's treating me with the stick'; 1.19) implicating criticism of Ectoras's purported verbal assaults. This is also evident in the subsequent mobilisation of an interjection (*Απαπαπαπα::*) that signals disapproval or pointed criticism. After this, Kimonas pauses and then quotes Ectoras's prior utterance (1.17). While the echoic utterance absolutely matches

<sup>54</sup> Based on my field notes, explicitly or implicitly invoking his homosexuality is a commonplace practice for Kimonas, particularly in moments of tension and interactional conflict (see also diary, 18/01/21).

<sup>55</sup> The longer version of this extract appears in Appx8: event 6.

with the echoed one on a lexical level, it is nevertheless prosodically exaggerated (Couper-Kuhlen, 1996: 389; Culpeper, 2011a: 162), as it departs from the intonational norms of the speaker who articulated it first (i.e. it is uttered in a louder voice and also includes a vowel elongation providing emphasis). It thereby implies that the quoted behaviour is also negatively marked in some way. We could claim that this is a typical instance of mimicry (Goffman, 1974: 539) or of echoic irony (Sperber & Wilson, 1986: 241) aiming at distancing oneself from the echoed opinion and inflicting face damage on its author (Goffman, 1981) on the basis of his allegedly improper behaviour. This said, the caricatured representation of Ectoras's speech (1.20), along with the prosodically exaggerated articulation of the interjection and the use of formulaicity in the prior TCU, invite the treatment of Kimonas's claim as laughable (Holt, 2010). Vassia's subsequent laughter in response (1.21) seems to corroborate this interpretation. In what follows, Kimonas extends the mimicry to negatively evaluate other verbal behaviours of Ectoras (data not captured), again in a playful manner that eventually leads to the fading out of the dispute and the change of subject by Vassia (Appx8, event 6: 11.22-26). Therefore, in this event too, the initiator of a categorising metacommunicative comment cued his evaluation as jocular, which occasioned a jocular challenge by the target of the evaluation (cf. Appx10: additional Extracts e-f).

Overall, this section has presented how different categories of impoliteness evaluations are negotiated by the entire participation framework in multi-party situated interactions. As I have shown, while the addressed recipients of impoliteness evaluations often tacitly challenge these evaluations, unaddressed recipients, or face-threat witnesses, veer towards jocularly, in an attempt to settle the dispute and maintain the group's cohesion. This seems to be accomplished, as evidenced by the targets subsequent moves whereby they ratify the non-serious interactional frame and lead the sequence to a closure. It is of note here that the ratified, unaddressed participants' stance might have been associated with their role, that is, to the fact that they were not directly embroiled in these moments of trouble or held accountable for some transgressive action. As Section 3.4. will show, the participation order, particularly the presence/absence of targets and other participants, is consequential for the way impoliteness evaluations are formulated in discourse.

### 3.4. Participants' reflexive evaluations in playback interviews: shifting to explicitness<sup>56</sup>

This section will illustrate how participants may reframe their situated evaluations in playback interviews, following the interviewer's prompts. In particular, instigators of implicit evaluations of impoliteness in ongoing talk tend to reformulate their there-and-then implicit evaluations as explicit

---

<sup>56</sup> See Section 2.2.2. for a discussion about the nature of playback interviews in this thesis.



and serious ones. Similarly, explicit communication-oriented or categorising comments that were mitigated or cued as laughable in the situated interactions are reformulated as unequivocally serious in reflexive talk. In doing so, interviewees orient more clearly to impoliteness and aspects of the moral order, while also displaying their spontaneous emotions on account of the narrated transgressions.

### 3.4.1. Reframing implicit cues in reflexive accounts produced in playback interviews

As this section will show, interviewees prompted to reflect upon potentially impolite events that they had only implicitly evaluated in the there-and-then situated interactions, tend to shift to an explicit mode of evaluating by mobilising lexicalised metapragmatic comments during the interviews. These comments are important as they position characters and actions vis-à-vis moral norms beyond the single interaction, yet they should not be viewed as utterly transparent and truthful accounts of the participants' situated evaluations. Extract 3.13. presents participant metacommentary on the interaction analysed in Extracts 3.1. and 3.7.

In response to my questions about his emotional state on account of Ectoras's situated comments (Appx13, extract 1: ll.01-02), which appear just before Extract 3.13. below, Kimonas uses an explicit affective comment (*μ' ενοχλεί 'it bothers me'*). This demonstrates an affective stance close to that of anger that is attributed to Ectoras's situated comments on the food. And he goes on to show, through a small story containing verbal phases with progressive aspect (Appx13, extract 1: ll.03-07), that this emotion is not only linked to the specific event at hand, but it is an enduring one to the extent that he became aware of it. This affective stance seems to have been triggered by what Kimonas refers to as 'criticism' in the extract below.

#### **Extract 3.13.** *'I don't like public criticism'* (INT-1)<sup>57</sup>

08 KIM: Δε μ' αρέσει η κριτική.  
 NEG I.ACC.OBJ please.3<sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.SNG.NOM.F criticism.SNG.NOM.F  
*I don't like this kind of criticism.*

09 Και δε μ' αρέσει αυτή:: η  
 And NEG I.ACC.OBJ please.3<sub>SNG</sub> this.NOM.F the.ART.SNG.NOM.F  
*And I don't like this*

10 απόλυτη=  
 Absolute.NOM.F  
*absolute*

11 Η:: μ- η [eng] **πάμπλι κ** κριτική.  
 the.ART.SNG.NOM.F public.SNG.NOM.F criticism.SNG.NOM.F  
*The m- the public criticism.*

12 Ε: >τη θεωρώ επιθετική<.  
 Eh.PRTCL it.CLT.ACC.F consider.1<sub>SNG</sub> aggressive.SNG.ACC.F

<sup>57</sup> The longer version of this extract appears in Appx13: extract 1.

*Eh I consider it aggressive.*

Interestingly, through an explicit communication-oriented comment, Kimonas reconceptualises Ectoras's 'comments' (l.01) -a term introduced by the interviewer- as 'criticism' (l.08), thereby clearly associating Ectoras's past conduct with a face-threatening act (e.g. Brown & Levinson, 1987: 66; Bousfield, 2008: 126; Haugh & Chang, 2019: 910). In addition, he assertively expresses his negative affect towards this act through the emotion predicate *δε μ' αρέσει* ('don't like'; l.08), while indicating this stance as habitual through the use of present tense. Notably, the interviewee also specifies the kind of criticism that he dislikes, namely, the absolute and public criticism (ll.09-11), which indeed points to the intensifying effect that the presence of third parties may have on the perceived impoliteness value of potentially face-threatening acts (Ho et al., 2004; Kádár & Haugh, 2013). The interactional features of the turn, though, namely the false starts and the vowel elongations, suggest some form of distancing from this overt claim. Finally, Kimonas provides a rationale behind his negative stance towards criticism in light of an explicit categorising comment that makes impoliteness overtly relevant in the interaction (*τη θεωρώ επιθετική* 'I consider it aggressive', l.12)<sup>58</sup>, yet not in an utterly straightforward way, as shown by the hedged preface and the modal verb that mitigate the force of his statement. It is notable though that Kimonas shifted from an implicit evaluation in ongoing interaction to an explicit, albeit softened, one in the playback interview. This shift is also apparent in Extract 3.14. below, a playback interview with Iliada where she reflected on the interaction analysed in Extracts 3.2. and 3.8..

During the interview, Iliada starts commenting on the recorded interaction without being prompted by any question made by the interviewer (Appx13: extract 2: ll.01-09). In particular, she utters a seriously framed, emphatic question (*Ντάξει τώρα τι να σχολιάσω?* 'Okay what am I to comment on now?') that conveys an implicature signalling annoyance about the event to be commented upon (l.01). Subsequently, she overtly states that she remembers the played-back event (l.03) and, after receiving an aligned response by the interviewer (l.04), she does remembering of the said incident by launching a small story that appears in Extract 3.14. below.

---

<sup>58</sup> It is noteworthy that Paris, during our playback interview, mobilised the same explicit categorising metapragmatic comment to evaluate Ectoras's behaviour although, in the situated interaction, he had marked his stance only implicitly (*Επιθέσεις Έκτορα. (.) Έσταζε φαρμάκι >δεξιά αριστερά< για να το βγάλει από μέσα του κάπως. 'Ectoras's attacks. (.) His words were full of venom in his attempt to talk some things out.). He also added that the relevant scene had made him cringe (*Με το τώρα λεξιλόγιό μου θα το έλεγα [eng] κριντζ ((γέλιο))* 'Based on the vocabulary I'm using now, I'd say cringe. ((laughs)).'), therefore orienting to the self-conscious emotion of embarrassment that is often associated with perceived impoliteness (Işık-Güler & Ruhi, 2010: 647; cf. Goffman, 1956: 268-269).*

**Extract 3.14.** *'It was very bad on her part'* (INT-2)<sup>59</sup>

- 05 ILI: Είχα γίνει του:ρμπο  
Had.1<sub>SNG</sub> become.SBVJ.PRF turbo  
*I was infuriated at that time*
- 06 >Γιατί έπρεπε ν' ακούω  
Because must.PST.PROG to.PRTCL listen.SBJV.PROG.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Because I had to listen to*
- 07 Τι μου 'λεγε ο άλλος< (.)  
What I.GEN.OBJ say.PST.PROG.3<sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.SNG.NOM.M other.SNG.NOM.M  
*What the other person was saying to me (.)*
- 08 <Κι είχα και την Ιόλη> (.)  
And had.1<sub>SNG</sub> and the.ART.SNG.ACC.F Ioli.ACC.F  
*And I also had Ioli (.)*
- 09 Ε:: να μου υποδεικνύει  
Eh.PRTCL to.PRTCL I.GEN.OBJ indicate.SBJV.PROG.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Eh indicating to me*
- 10 Τι έπρεπε να πω.  
What must.PST.PROG to.PRTCL say.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*What I had to say.*
- 11 (0.6)
- 12 VAS: Δε σου άρεσε, ε?  
NEG you.SNG.GEN.OBJ liked.3<sub>SNG</sub> eh.PRTCL  
*You didn't like it, eh/ did you?*
- 13 ILI: Τι να μ' αρέσει ρε φίλε?=  
What to.PRTCL you.SNG.GEN.OBJ like.SBJV.3<sub>SNG</sub> re.PRTCL dude.SNG.VOC.M  
*What should I like ((about it)) {re}/ dude?=  
=Όχι ήταν άσχημο. (.)  
NEG was bad.ADJ.SNG.NOM.N  
=No, it was bad. (.)*
- 15 Πολύ άσχημο εκ μέρους της.  
Very bad.ADJ.SNG.NOM.N from part.SNG.GEN.N she.POSS.GEN  
*Very bad on her part.*

The interviewee starts the telling by stressing the emotional state of anger that she-as-character had experienced in the plot. This is done through an affective metacommunicative comment (*Είχα γίνει του:ρμπο* 'I was infuriated'; l.05), formulated in metaphorical language and with prosodic emphasis, which indicates that Iliada-as-teller may be experiencing the same emotion in the here-and-now of the telling. This comment is followed by an account justifying the emotion predicate and foregrounding the difficulty entailed in her having to manage two simultaneous lines of communication in the story-world (ll.06-10). The rushed delivery of the first TCU of this account further signals the interviewee's affect in the telling (ll.06-07), while the slow and prosodically emphatic delivery of the next TCUs of this account (ll.08-10), may be less emotionally loaded but it too signals a negative evaluative stance through the semantic and syntactical choices that the teller makes. More specifically, she mobilises a negatively-valenced verbal phrase in subjunctive form (*να μου υποδεικνύει* 'to indicate me'; l.09) with Ioli as agent and herself as patient undergoing the effects of the other character's behaviour. These choices are instrumental in portraying

<sup>59</sup> The longer version of this extract appears in Appx13: extract 2.

Ioli as agentive (Schiffrin, 1996) and obtrusive, while implying that she was morally accountable for Iliada's emotional state of anger in the plot. The interviewee further positions Ioli as an authoritative figure by framing the latter's verbal contributions in the story-world as rules to be followed (*Τι έπρεπε να πω* 'what I had to say'; 1.10).

Following a gap (1.11) and the interviewer's tag question projecting agreement (1.12), Iliada responds by proffering a rhetorical question implying that there was nothing in Ioli's stance that could have pleased her. And she goes on to latch a no-prefaced evaluative proposition onto her rhetorical question, which signals agreement with the interviewer and, most importantly, expresses an overt evaluation of impoliteness through an explicit categorising metacommunicative comment (*ήταν άσχημο* 'it was bad'; 1.14). This evaluation is indeed intensified not only prosodically but also lexically through the use of a lexical intensifier and the repetition of the impoliteness-related label *άσχημο* (1.15) that amplifies Ioli's moral accountability for the said event.

The interviewer subsequently asks Iliada whether or not she verbalised her evaluation in the story through a but-prefaced interrogative projecting a negative response (*Ομως ε: της το ειπες?* 'But eh did you say it to her?'; Appx13: extract 2: 1.16). To this, the interviewee responds by pointing to the internal, less explicit evaluative devices that *showed* rather than *told* her stance (1.17), yet with some trouble evident in the interactional features of her turn (e.g. the elongated filler, the pause, etc.). And she illustrates this by mobilising communication-oriented metapragmatic comments providing examples of such implicit evaluative devices, i.e. *της φώναξα* ('I shouted'; 1.19) and *την^ μπειραξα* ('I teased her'; 1.21). Iliada therefore exhibits a form of awareness of the linguistic and semiotic choices that she made to express her evaluations in different discourse activities: she opted to tacitly show her evaluation in the ongoing conversation while she expressed it in a lexicalised and overt manner in the playback interview.

What therefore transpires from both playback interview extracts analysed so far is that the inciters of implicit evaluations of impoliteness in ongoing talk tend to make their evaluations unquestionably serious in the interview setting by mobilising explicit metacommunicative comments, which both cast the characters into negative categories and express the tellers' spontaneous feelings that were withheld in the situated moments of trouble (cf. Sinkeviciute, 2019). These shifting stances were also salient in the case of explicitly proffered evaluations.

### 3.4.2 Reframing communication-oriented metacommunicative comments in reflexive accounts produced in playback interviews

This section illustrates the recontextualisation of situated communication-oriented metacommunicative comments in the context of playback interviews. It particularly shows that

interviewees asked to offer post-hoc commentary on potentially impolite events which they had evaluated non-seriously in the there-and-then interactions, shift to a serious mode of evaluating in the interview setting.

When asked to reflect on the interaction covered in Extracts 3.3. and 3.9. above, Kimonas starts commenting on the played-back incident *impromptu*. He first laughs and then repeats the same categorising comment that he had mobilised in the situated interaction (*μωρή σιχγηαμένη*; 1.02), yet this time accompanies it both with smiles and with raucous laughter, which signal his non-serious stance more openly. This is also confirmed lexically as, in what follows, Kimonas strongly agrees with the interviewer on the playful tone of the foresaid interaction (*Περιπαικτικός*; 1.07). What is of interest here is how Kimonas responds to the interviewer’s presumptive question in Extract 3.15. below.

**Extract 3.15. ‘You did not say a nice word’ (INT-3)<sup>60</sup>**

- 08 VAS: Δε σε πείραξε δηλαδή που: ε: που:  
 NEG you.ACC.OBJ bothered.3<sub>SNG</sub> that-is that.CONJ eh.PRTCL that.CONJ  
*It did not bother you that, eh, that*
- 09 ↑Δεν^ μπερίμενες να σε προσέξουμε?=  
 NEG wait.PST.PROG.2<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL you.ACC.OBJ notice.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>PL</sub>  
*Didn't you expect us to notice you?*
- 10 KIM: =Περίμενα. (.)  
 wait.PST.PROG.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*I was expecting ((it)). (.)*
- 11 Και μ' ενόχλησε που:  
 And I.ACC.OBJ annoyed.3<sub>SNG</sub> that.CONJ  
*And I felt upset that*
- 12 Δε μου είπατε ένα καλό λόγο.  
 NEG I.GEN.OBJ said.2<sub>PL</sub> one good.ACC.M word.ACC.M  
*You did not say a nice word.*
- 13 Το θεώρησα άσχημο.  
 It.CLT.ACC.N.OBJ considered.1<sub>SNG</sub> bad.ACC.N  
*I considered it bad.*
- 14 >Γι' αυτό και το είπα.<  
 For this.ACC.N and it.CLT.ACC.N.OBJ said.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*And that's why I said it.*
- 15 VAS: M::  
*Mmm*
- 16 KIM: Θα 'θελα >να με πρ-<  
 Would want.SBJV.PROG.1<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL I.ACC.OBJ  
*I'd like to noti-*
- 17 Ειδικά κάποιος αν είναι κοντινός μου  
 Especially someone.NOM.M if is close.ADJ.NOM.M I.POSS.GEN  
*Especially if it's a close person to me,*
- 18 Περιμένω να με προσέξει. =Ναι.  
 Wait.1<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL I.ACC.OBJ notice.SBJV.PFV.3<sub>SNG</sub> yes  
*I anticipate that they notice me, yes.*

<sup>60</sup> See Appx13: extract 3, for the longer version of this extract.

19 Νομί- νομίζω όλοι το θέλουμε.  
 Think.1<sub>SNG</sub> all.NOM.M it.CLT.ACC.N.OBJ want.1<sub>PL</sub>  
*I thi- think that all of us want it.*

The sequence begins with a question on the interviewer's part implicating that noticing a friend is generally expected, while failing to do it might evoke negative feelings. By latching a confirmatory response to the interviewer's rephrased question, and by delivering it with emphatic tone, the interviewee signals agreement with the implied premise and thereby attests to some cultural normativity in it (Sifianou, 2001: 400). Subsequently, he openly expresses his there-and-then negative affect on account of the lack of anticipated praise (ll.11-12) through an affective metacommunicative comment, and he goes on to seriously frame it as bad (*άσχημο*; l.13) in light of the emphatic tone accompanying the evaluative label. Notably, it was the moral transgression entailed in the lack of noticing that, for Kimonas, provided a rationale for lexicalising a negative evaluation (l.14).

Following an aligned response by the interviewer (l.15), Kimonas starts with the use of a modal verb (l.16) serving as a comparator between the desired and the actual behaviour of his friends (Labov, 1972), therefore tacitly showing his negative evaluation of the latter. After a false start that is rashly delivered, he then shifts from the situated interaction to a generic account extending his expectation to be noticed to all his intimate others, not least to the participants in the played-back event (l.18). And he goes on to over-generalise, yet hesitantly, this expectation, as shown by the extreme case formulation *όλοι* (all; Pomerantz, 1986), the timeless tense, and the generic 'we' (l.19), which work in conjunction to universalise the interviewee's thought (De Fina, 2003: 53; Scheibman, 2007: 133). What is important for this discussion here is that, while the interviewee opted to cue his impoliteness evaluations as ambiguous in the situated interaction, he considered the interview setting a prime site for expressing his serious evaluations and true emotions. Extract 3.16. provides additional insights on this practice.

**Extract 3.16.** *'It bothers me when one speaks on my voice'* (INT-4)<sup>61</sup>

01 VAS: Σ' ενοχλούσε που: που μιλούσε  
 You.ACC.OBJ bother.PST.PROG.3<sub>SNG</sub> that.CONJ talk.PST.PROG.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Did it bother you that he was talking*  
 02 πάνω στη: στη φωνή σου?  
 On in-the.ART.SNG.ACC.F voice.SNG.ACC.F you.POSS.GEN  
*on your voice?*  
 03 (0.5)  
 04 IOL: Τς καλά μ' ενοχλεί όταν μιλάει  
 Ts.PRTCL well I.ACC.OBJ bother.3<sub>SNG</sub> when speak.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Ts well it bothers me when ((somebody)) speaks*  
 05 ο άλλος πάνω στη  
 the.ART.SNG.NOM.M other.SNG.NOM.M on in-the.ART.SNG.ACC.F

<sup>61</sup> See longer version of this extract in Appx13: extract 4.

06 *the other speaks on*  
 φωνή μου γενικότερα. (.)  
 voice.SNG.ACC.F I.POSS.GEN generally  
*my voice in general. (.)*  
 07 Αλλά ό- όχι σε σημείο (.) ε:  
 But NEG at point.ACC.N eh.PRTCL  
*But not to the point (.) eh*  
 08 που να πω στο Συμεών  
 That.CONJ to.PRTCL say.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>PL</sub> to-the.ART.ACC.M Simeon.ACC.M  
*of telling to Simeon*  
 09 >Σταμάτα σκάσε<.  
 Stop.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> shut-up.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Stop, shut up.*  
 10 Ε α τς έχω φτάσει  
 Eh.PRTCL ah.PRTCL ts.PRTCL have.1<sub>SNG</sub> arrived.SBJV.PRF  
*Eh ah ts I have come/ arrived ((to the point of))*  
 11 να πω σκάσε= >Δεν είναι θέμα<.=  
 To.PRTCL say.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub> shut-up.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> NEG is issue.NOM.N  
*To say shut up, it's not an issue.=*  
 12 VAS: =Ναι.  
 =Yes.  
 13 IOL: Αλλά: στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση όχι=  
 But in-the.ART.SNG.ACC.F specific.ACC.F occasion.ACC.F NEG  
*But in this particular case, no.*  
 14 =Υπήρχε μια τς  
 Exist.PST.PROG.3<sub>SNG</sub> one.ACC.F ts.PRTCL  
*=There was a ts*  
 15 Εέρεις αυτό που< ↑>Έλα ρε μαλάκα=  
 Know.2<sub>SNG</sub> this.ACC.N that.CONJ come.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> re.PRTCL asshole.VOC  
*You know like come on {re}/dude*  
 16 =Σταμάτα λίγο να σου πω.<  
 stop.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> a-bit to.PRTCL you.GEN.OBJ say.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Stop a moment to tell you.*  
 17 Δεν είν' ωραίο αυτό που κάνεις.  
 NEG is nice.NOM.N this.ACC.N that do.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*What you're doing is not nice.*  
 18 VAS: M:  
 Mm

What is notable here is that, albeit asked about her feelings in relation to the particular event with Simeon, Ioli shifts telling modes to a generic account (ll.04-09) which expresses her strong affect towards overlapping talk in general. After a somewhat marked pause, Ioli prefaces her response with the particle *ts* cueing a form of annoyance (Ward, 2006: 153), which becomes more explicit in the following affective meta-comment echoing the emotion predicate that was introduced by the interviewer, yet this time was formulated in present tense (l.04). This syntactical choice, in conjunction with the use of the indefinite pronoun *ο άλλος* (the other; l.05) and the emphatically framed adverb *γενικότερα* (generally; l.06), help construct Ioli's annoyance as habitual. In what follows, she shifts back to the played-back interaction, as shown by the reference to the main character's name (l.08). Notably, through a contrastive marker and the use of negation (l.07), she contrasts the intensity of her habitual emotional reaction to overlaps to the particular emotion she

experienced in the situated interaction. She particularly presents the latter as seemingly minor through a small story that contains merely the silencers which Ioli did not purportedly mobilise in the actual interaction (l.09). To further explicate the alleged insignificance of the emotions experienced in the interaction with Simeon, she goes on to launch another small story (Georgakopoulou, 2007) narrating some underspecified past event (ll.10-11), in which she did employ such silencers by way of contrast. The parallel construction between the phrases *όχι σε σημείο* ('not to the point') and *έχω φτάσει* ((ενν. στο σημείο)) ('I've come to the point'), importantly, helps illustrate the contrastive emotions which Ioli reportedly experienced in response to those incidents, and which appeared to give rise to differing verbal comments.

Following the interviewer's aligned response (l.12), Ioli reiterates how negligible the emotion of annoyance was in the played-back interaction through another contrastive discourse marker and a negation token circumscribing the adverbial phrase that refers to the said interaction (l.13). And she goes on to elaborate on this by latching a turn marked with signs of trouble: the paralinguistic click *ts*, the appeal to the interviewer (*ξέρεις* 'you know'), and the abrupt completion of the second TCU (*που<*). This turn serves as a vague preface to the following small story (ll.15-17) that could be considered a 'generic' one (Georgakopoulou, 2010: 126), in view of the generic 'you', the indefinite article *μια* (one), the appeal to the interlocutor's presumably common knowledge, and the deictic *αυτό* (this) pointing exactly to that common knowledge. This literally brief story merely consists of Ioli's constructed-as-typical response to similar occasions, particularly, of a communication-oriented comment in the form of silencer and a categorising comment marking a deviation from turn-taking norms as morally accountable (*δεν είναι ωραίο* 'it's not nice'; l.17). Notably, these comments are hearable as serious in light of the absence of any signs of trouble or laughter particles that would suggest otherwise, despite being softened by the preceding markers of intimacy (*ρε μαλάκα*). Hence, they afford glimpses into Ioli's enduring views on the impoliteness-implications of interruptions in discourse.

Similarly to implicit cues then, explicit communication-oriented meta-comments that were mitigated or keyed as overdone in contingent interactions were too reformulated as serious in the interview setting, something that opened up a window into the participants' more authentic views and emotions regarding communicative transgressions. The following section on the recontextualisation of categorising comments offers extra evidence on the participants' shifting positions and perceptions per activity type.

### 3.4.3. Reframing categorising metacommunicative comments in reflexive accounts produced in playback interviews



As Extracts 3.17. and 3.18. show, the instigators of unequivocally non-serious categorising metacommunicative comments in ongoing interactions reframe these comments as clearly serious in the setting of the interview, after being prompted by the interviewer. In so doing, they appear to express more spontaneous evaluations, which were suppressed in the situated conversations.

**Extract 3.17.** *'This was not an interaction'* (INT-6)<sup>62</sup>

- 01 VAS: Πώς εννοούσες το: (.) ξινός?  
How mean.PST.PROG.2<sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.SNG.N sour.SNG.NOM.M  
*How did you mean the (.) 'sour'?*
- 02 ECT: E:: ή- ήταν >ρε παιδί μου:< (.)  
Eh.PRTCL was re.PRTCL kid.SNG.VOC.N I.POSS.GEN  
*Eh he w- was {re} / dude (.)*
- 03 Πικρόχολος= επιθετικός (.)  
bitter.SNG.NOM.M aggressive.SNG.NOM.M  
*Bitter=aggressive (.)*
- 04 Πώς το λένε?  
How it.CLT.ACC.OBJ say.3<sub>PL</sub>  
*How to say it?*
- 05 VAS: ↑M:  
*Mm*
- 06 ECT: E: >ΦΑ' το και σκάσε=  
Eh.PRTCL eat.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> it.CLT.ACC.OBJ and shut-up.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Eh eat it and shut up=*
- 07 =ΦΑ' το και σκάσε< (.)  
eat.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> it.CLT.ACC.N.OBJ and shut-up.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*=Eat it and shut up=*
- 08 Ω ΜΩΡΕ Ω!  
Och.PRTCL more.PRTCL och.PRTCL  
*Och {more} och!*
- 09 Τη ↑ΜΑνα μου φάτε  
The.ART.SNG.ACC.F mother.SNG.ACC.F I.POSS.GEN eat.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*My mother eat*
- 10 και ↑↑σκάστε! (0.4)  
And shut-up.IMP.2<sub>PL</sub>  
*And shut up! (0.4)*
- 11 VAS: ((Laughter))
- 12 ECT: ↑Δεν ήταν διάδραση αυτό.  
NEG was interaction.SNG.NOM.F this.SNG.NOM.N  
*This was not an interaction.*
- 13 Ένιωθα: πολλή πίεση °χωρίς: :ς°  
Feel.PST.PROG.1<sub>SNG</sub> much.SNG.ACC.F pressure.SNG.ACC.F without  
*I was feeling much pressure without*

When asked to clarify the meaning of the evaluative label ξινός (sour) in the played-back interaction (I.01), Ectoras starts his turn with several signs of trouble in it, namely, with an elongated filler, a false start, an appeal to the interviewer and a minor pause (I.02), which index some form of hesitation. This said, directly after the pause, he offers two related words that reveal his lay

<sup>62</sup> See longer version of this extract in Appx13: extract 5.

understanding of the said lexeme (l.03). Most importantly, the use of the adjectival categoriser *επιθετικός* (aggressive) also makes impoliteness relevant in the conversation, and provides additional evidence that his categorising metacommunicative comment in the situated interaction arose as an impoliteness evaluation *in situ*<sup>63</sup>. Interestingly, these evaluative labels are produced in a more straightforward manner, while the latter is also accompanied by a slight pitch rise giving extra emphasis. However, the subsequent question (l.04) indicates yet again an epistemic positioning of the speaker as uncertain (Du Bois 2007: 143; cf. Heritage & Raymond, 2005) and moderately invested in his words.

Following an emphatic acknowledgment by the interviewer (↑*M*:), which does something over and above a mere continuer in light of its prosodic marking (Stokoe & Edwards, 2007: 360), Ectoras produces an utterance whose prosodic and design features make it hearable as direct reported speech (Holt, 1996): he uses a second-person imperative (l.06), produces the first verb phrase with marked loudness, does an intonational shift with a soft elevation of pitch on *σκάσε*, and he finally rushes the delivery of the reported words, whereby showing that his speech is aimed to be imitative. Through this imitative tone, the interviewee accomplishes to distance himself from the author/principal (Goffman, 1981) of the animated content and, by implication, to attribute it to Kimonas. In doing so, he vividly illustrates the ‘bitter and aggressive’ behaviour that he ascribed to Kimonas’s character in his previous turn, and also tacitly conveys a negative stance towards it (Stokoe & Edwards, 2007). Looking closer to Ectoras’s utterances in ll.06-08, and comparing them to Kimonas’s original words, one can observe that the interviewee has implemented a series of changes: first, he has removed the endearment term *καλέ* from the reported utterance, thus making it sound more forceful and aggressive. Moreover, he repeats the same utterance twice, which conveys a sarcastic stance. And, finally, he expands upon Kimonas’s words with an increment (Haugh & Obana, 2015) comprising an intimacy marker (*ΜΩΡΕ*) circumscribed by two interjections of annoyance (*Ω*), all uttered in an animated and loud tone. Notably, this exaggerated frame resembles high performance stylisation aiming at ridiculing the performed words (Coupland, 2009: 315) and signalling disaffiliation with their author. This claim is also supported by the subsequent wordplay (ll.09-10) which draws upon a ritual insult (Labov, 1972: 298) originally uttered by Paris in the played-back interaction. Here, it is prosodically redesigned in an overdone way and is artfully put into Kimonas’s mouth to enhance the negative portrayal of the latter. The interviewee, therefore, leverages the embeddedness of three voices (i.e. Kimonas’s, Paris’s and his own voice; Bakhtin, 1981) in the same turn to direct pointed criticism at Kimonas. We have to admit, though, that the exaggerated tone also marks his turn as laughable (Glenn & Holt, 2013: 10), as also evidenced by the interviewer’s laughter in receipt (l.11).

---

<sup>63</sup> Interestingly, during the interview, Kimonas himself conceded that his there-and-then mode of conduct was extreme: *Το σκάσε είναι πρε- έχει ξεφύγει.=έχει ξεφύγει=έχει ξεφύγει*. ‘Shut up’ is has been over the top=has been over the top=has been over the top.’.

Notwithstanding this, Ectoras does not sustain the mocking frame in what follows, but proffers an emphatic communication-oriented metacommunicative comment flagging up Kimonas's alleged breach of interactional norms (1.13). And he goes on to express his emotional state of pressure on account of the said untoward behaviour, through an affective metacommunicative comment (*Ενιωθα: πολλή πίεση* 'I was feeling much pressure'), marked both with lexical and with prosodic emphasis. Extract 3.18. below provides another instance of the recontextualisation of a there-and-then jocularly produced categorising metacommunicative comment as serious in the interview setting.

**Extract 3.18.** 'It's typical rudeness' (INT-6)<sup>64</sup>

- 01 VAS: Ήταν προσβλητικός ↓θεωρείς?  
Was offensive.SNG.NOM.M reckon.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Was he offensive, you reckon?*
- 02 ECT: E: κοίτα να δεις (.)  
Eh.PRTCL look.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL see.SBJV.PFV.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Eh, look, (.)*
- 03 ↑Δεν ^μπας σε κάποιον που ξέρεις  
NEG go.2<sub>SNG</sub> to.PREP somebody.ACC.M that know.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*You don't go to somebody you've known*
- 04 τρεις ε:: τέ- τέσσερις μέρες?  
Three eh.PRTCL four days.ACC.F  
*For three eh fo- four days?*
- 05 E να του πεις (.)  
Eh.PRTCL to.PRTCL he.CLT.GEN.OBJ say.SBJV.PFV.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Eh to tell him (.)*
- 06 ↑Πώς έχεις ντυθεί έτσι?  
How have.2<sub>SNG</sub> dressed.PASS.SBJV.PRF like-that  
*How have you dressed like that?*
- 07 VAS: M:: α- ακόμα κι αν η ίδια ε::  
Even and if the.ART.SNG.NOM.F same.SNG.NOM.F eh.PRTCL  
*Mmm e- even if she herself eh*
- 08 αυτοσα[ρ κ ά ζ ε τ α ι ?]  
Self-deprecate.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Self- [d e p r e c a t e s?]*
- 09 ECT: [>E να| ρε<] είναι τυπική  
Eh.PRTCL yes re.PRTCL is typical.SNG.NOM.F  
*[Eh yes {re}] ((this)) is typical*
- 10 αγένεια αυτό.  
rudeness.SNG.NOM.F this.NOM.N  
*rudeness.*
- 11 VAS: ↑↑M:: άρα προς εμένα θεωρείς ότι:=  
So towards me reckon.2<sub>SNG</sub> that.CONJ  
*Mmm, so, towards me you reckon that=*
- 12 ECT: =>E και προς εμένα ρε αφού< ήσουν (.)  
Eh.PRTCL and towards me re.PRTCL as were.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*=Eh towards me too {re} as you were (.)*
- 13 καλεσμένη μου.

<sup>64</sup> See longer version of this extract in Appx13: extract 6.

guest.ADJ.SNG.NOM.F I.POSS.GEN  
*My guest.*

When asked whether Kimonas was indeed offensive in the played-back interaction (l.01), Ectoras starts with a filler ( $\varepsilon$ : 'eh'), then utters a phrase that serves as another delayer ( $\kappa\omicron\iota\tau\alpha$   $\nu\alpha$   $\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  'look') and slightly pauses, before embarking on a storytelling. These interactional features mark some form of trouble in talk and thus signal the interviewee's distance from what he is about to recite. Following this, he launches what is close to a 'generic story' (Georgakopoulou, 2010), as shown by the generic 'you' and the present tense (ll.03-06), to back up his claim by appealing to some allegedly universal moral norm (Schegloff, 1996; De Fina, 2003). The use of negation (l.03), accompanied by sharp pitch elevation, serves here as a comparison base (Labov, 1972) stressing the unacceptability of making unpalatable questions that imply criticism of one's clothing (l.06), especially when this person is merely an acquaintance of yours (ll.03-04). What is more, the use of an 'overdetermined description' ( $\uparrow\Delta\varepsilon\nu$   $\wedge$  $\mu\pi\alpha\varsigma$ ... $\nu\alpha$   $\tau\omicron\upsilon$   $\pi\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  'You don't go...to tell him/her'; l.03, l.05; Drew, 1998: 318) raises the moral implicativeness entailed in this scenario by keying the agent's intentionality. Therefore, by presenting what deviates from the perceived norm, the interviewee not only signals his negative evaluation of it, but he also implies what he considers an appropriate mode of action in contrast.

To this, the interviewer provides an aligned response in l.07 which, however, prefaces a conditional clause questioning the applicability of that generic standard to occasions in which the target of such appearance-oriented comments does self-deprecation (l.08). Although this question is marked by signs of trouble, the answer is provided in a fairly straightforward way (l.09) and indeed in interjacent yet recognitional overlap (Jefferson, 1983) with the interviewer's utterance. In particular, Ectoras proffers an emphatic agreement token, indeed preceded by a discourse marker signalling obviousness, and then explicitly casts the aforementioned untoward behaviour into the category of 'typical impoliteness' ( $\tau\upsilon\pi\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$   $\alpha\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\iota\alpha$ ; ll.09-10).

This receives a highly aligned response ( $\uparrow\uparrow M$ : :) by the interviewer (l.11), who then makes an inferential judgement about hers being the target of Kimonas's purportedly offensive comment. Ectoras partly corroborates this but also adds himself in the list of the offended parties (l.12), on account of his relational connection with Vassia at the time of the recording<sup>65</sup>. He is particularly activating here the relational pair (Sacks, 1995: 326–327) 'host and guest' to imply the expectable rights and responsibilities of the incumbents of those categories (Schegloff, 2007b). As a host, especially in a Greek context, Ectoras was anticipated to take care of his guest and ensure her pleasant stay. By allowing Kimonas to make such an allegedly inappropriate comment on her appearance and, by implication, on her character as immodest, Ectoras was thus exposed as a 'bad host' in front of his

---

<sup>65</sup> Ectoras hosted Vassia for five days when she arrived in Copenhagen.

guest. Although he masqueraded his serious evaluation as playful banter in the situated interaction, he performed a serious evaluation in the context of the interview.

To sum up, this section has provided insights into the ways in which the interviewees recontextualised their situated evaluations in the context of playback interviews, after being triggered by the interviewer's questions. As shown by the micro-analysis of interview data, instigators of implicit or mitigated explicit evaluations in ongoing interaction shifted to an unequivocally serious frame in retellings of the there-and-then incidents during the interviews, by employing explicit metacommunicative comments to reposition the reported characters as being in the wrong, and by venting off their spontaneous feelings. Therefore, these processes of narrativisation and recontextualisation of contingent evaluations in interviews offered insights into the participants' overt and more stable orientations to impoliteness, as well as into their related affective stances.

### 3.5. Summary

In this chapter I have shown in detail how my participants produce implicit and explicit evaluations of impoliteness in ongoing interactions. The analysis of selected extracts has yielded three main findings: *Firstly*, it has shown that implicit cues are the most salient type of situated impoliteness evaluations in ongoing interaction in my dataset. The sequences analysed in §3.2. and §3.3. also exemplified the variability of these cues, ranging from non-verbal and paralinguistic signs to interactional features and verbal expressions. Interestingly, the first two sub-categories (i.e. non-verbal and paralinguistic) featuring the least tangible types of cues proved more frequent in the data. This demonstrates the participants' strong preference for implicitness when it comes to evaluating (intimate) others' behaviour in the flow of interaction, which might relate to the heightened ambiguity entailed in such cues that enables the cancellability of the inferred evaluations. This in turn attenuates the friction in communication and contributes to the maintenance of the group's relational connection. On another note, it may also be linked to lay participants' difficulty in explicitly articulating their understandings of moral norms (Kádár & Haugh, 2013: 186; Culpeper & Haugh, 2014: 238).

This finding not only helps address the first research question of this thesis (see §1.5.) but, most importantly, has implications for interactional approaches to im/politeness seeking to understand the different ways in which im/politeness-as-evaluation manifests in naturally-occurring talk. Besides, even if the analytical focus is on explicit evaluations, these mostly occur in conjunction with implicit features, as in the data analysed, which further highlights the need to approach im/politeness not merely as a verbal phenomenon, and therefore to use methods facilitating this approach.

*Secondly*, this chapter has also afforded insights into the diverse metapragmatic comments participants mobilise in response to perceived moral transgressions in interaction. As shown in §3.2., such explicit comments were employed either to mark an assumed deviation from communicative norms or to classify actions and interlocutors into negatively-valenced categories. Notably, while the lexical features of these evaluative comments constructed them as serious, the implicit cues accompanying them invited their adverse treatment. This had important sequential implications since both evaluation-targets and ratified, unaddressed participants embraced the non-serious interactional frame in their uptake, which in turn led evaluation-instigators to orient more openly to jocularly at the end of the events on hand by engaging in jocular wordplays, going along with the tease, smiling, etc. This practice became more noticeable in the case of explicit metacommunicative categorising comments, which were produced with concurrent smile during the evaluation, and thus occasioned overtly playful responses in next turns.

Notably, this process of masquerading serious interactional businesses as playful banter, could be linked to the potentially higher degree of face-threat entailed in direct evaluations, especially in negative other-categorisations which are more straightforwardly directed to the person of their targets. This sounds plausible if we also consider that the lexical forms in which these comments appeared bear resemblance to those postulated by Culpeper as conventionalised forms of insults (2011a: 135-136). On an additional note, softening explicit comments by means of implicit cues could also emanate from the possible lay connection between unmitigated explicitness and friction in communication. Anyhow, by mitigating direct im/politeness evaluations, participants were able to engage in positive self-presentation, as they constructed themselves as troubles-resistant (Jefferson, 1984) people who can appreciate humour (cf. Sinkeviciute, 2019), while doing rapport building and reasserting their intimacy.

This finding thus helps further address the first research question of this thesis by showing that situated evaluations of impoliteness can well be formulated in explicit terms. In doing so, it adds nuance to studies looking at explicit metapragmatic evaluations of impoliteness in interaction (e.g. Locher & Langlotz, 2008; Haugh, 2019), which may have been scarce but did feature in my dataset, and indeed with particular design features.

The *final* main finding of this chapter relates to the insights afforded by playback interviews regarding the recontextualisation of situated evaluations of impoliteness in different activity types. As discussed in §3.4., the shift away from implicit or mitigated explicit evaluations in situated interactions towards lexicalised and serious evaluations in retellings of the said events during the interviews might be attributed to the privacy of the interview setting and the different participation framework (Goffman, 1981). That is to say, the interviewees might have felt safer to voice their spontaneous views about past transgressive events in the absence of their evaluation-targets and in front of an affiliated

recipient (i.e. the interviewer). This might have also facilitated the overt expression of negative emotions through explicit metacommunicative affective comments, which were conspicuously absent in ongoing interactions. Playback interviews thus offered a ‘safe space’ for participants to step back from experience and reflect on past delicate situations, in ways that allowed insight into their overt evaluations, more authentic emotions, as well as into their quasi-stable understandings evident in habitual (Riessman, 1990) or generic (Georgakopoulou, 2010) accounts.

This finding adds nuance to interactional studies of impoliteness evaluations by highlighting that lay understandings of the same transgressive event may evolve across contexts and over time, for analysts should combine granular, CA-inspired, analyses with post-hoc participant meta-commentaries when analysing im/politeness-in-interaction. In addition, the expression of serious and more enduring evaluations and stances through (elicited) narrative talk further showcases the validity of narrative tools for researching im/politeness evaluations, and thus adds to the increasing bulk of studies looking at the integration of identity and im/politeness (e.g. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Georgakopoulou, 2021; see §1.2.). Finally, by affording glimpses into explicit emotion talk in relation to impoliteness, interview data contribute to exploring the potential links between impoliteness and affectivity that remain largely under-researched to date (see §1.1.2.). This will be more profoundly investigated in Chapter Four which focusses on retrospective evaluations made in retellings of shared events about present others.

## **CHAPTER 4. ‘THAT WAS SERIOUSLY RUDE’: RETROSPECTIVE ORIENTATIONS TO IMPOLITENESS IN RETELLINGS OF SHARED EVENTS**

### 4.1. Introduction

In chapter Three I focused on the (in)explicit ways in which participants orient to impoliteness in ongoing interaction, when an impoliteness event occurs for the first time, and showed the participants’ preference for implicit modes of evaluating. In this chapter, I move to the ways participants return to shared events so as to re-evaluate them in naturally-occurring narratives. These narratives constitute retellings of events known to all participants involved in the interaction, and revolve around recent past reprehensible behaviours that are retrospectively evaluated in the presence of their targets. This indicates that impoliteness is not always straightforwardly commented upon, but it may take time for participants to explicitly judge the inappropriateness of their interlocutors’ behaviour. This normally happens one or two days after an impoliteness event has occurred. There is one occasion, however, where participants return to an event within the same conversation, and not after the interval of one or two days (Appx8: event 1), which might be indicative of the higher level of seriousness that this event assumes for the parties involved. To the best of my knowledge, this interactional practice of participants’ narrativising moments of trouble that they experienced in previous ongoing interactions with their interlocutors to overtly hold the latter accountable for these moments has yet to be studied within im/politeness scholarship.

Previous work had dealt either with im/politeness events emerging in ongoing interaction (e.g. Haugh, 2013) or with reported accounts of third parties’ conduct (Hutchby, 2008, Georgakopoulou, 2013b). This had led me to expect only these two interactional practices as possible sites for the construction of lay im/politeness understandings. Nonetheless, I came across a fine pool of cases (i.e. 15 instances) of retellings of shared events, which narrativised impoliteness-related incidents that were first captured either in prior recordings (cf. Chapter 3) or even in field notes. The relative paucity of retellings about co-present others’ behaviour might have to do with the tendency to not raise serious disputes among friends (Eder, 1991), or with the general constraint against seriously complaining to avoid being categorised as oversensitive, or as a dispositional moaner (e.g. Sacks, 1992; Edwards, 2005). Although it was not very salient in my dataset from a quantitative perspective, this practice can nonetheless help explore how participant evaluations may develop over time and may be modified according to the environment in which they emerge.

In this chapter, I therefore address the following research question:



- How do participants orientate to im/politeness retrospectively in retellings of known events in the presence of their evaluation-targets? How, if at all, do they modify their initial evaluations of im/politeness when they embed them in retellings? How are these evaluations negotiated in the telling event by multiple participants?

This question is aimed at shedding additional light into the participants' evaluations in interaction by investigating the ways in which participants return to evaluate already commented upon im/politeness events, this time in storied accounts of negatively viewed experiences. Importantly, this can contribute to tapping into the crystallisation of emic evaluative hierarchies of what is un/acceptable, as well as into the context-dependency of different forms of im/politeness evaluations, meaning that the same event may be evaluated differently in the ongoing interaction in which it emerges and in a narrativised account of it.

The analysis for this chapter primarily draws on tools of CA for the sequential analysis of talk-in-interaction (cf. §2.4.1.). I also use positioning analysis (Bamberg, 2004; Georgakopoulou, 2007; cf. §2.4.2.) for the analysis of small stories told by participants in their re-evaluations of shared events. Finally, I draw insights from my ethnographic data in my interpretations, as well as on the participants' own reflexive comments in playback interviews.

In §4.2., I examine the different categories of retrospective im/politeness evaluations and the environments in which they appear, namely, in retellings of known events (Georgakopoulou, 2007). I specifically look at the 'ways of telling' of these evaluations, including their intonational embodiment and the non-verbal elements that accompany talk. In §4.3., I investigate the interactional negotiation and (de)ratification of these evaluations interactionally (Narrative Positioning level 2; henceforth NP L2), and explore the ways in which participants may render their priorly serious evaluations ambiguous *qua* seriousness. Section 4.4. considers the playback interviews to show how participants may re-orient to their friends' there-and-then reprehensible behaviours in a serious manner, while providing rationales for their shifting stances across activity types. The penultimate section (§4.5.) outlines my main findings.

## 4.2. Categories of impoliteness evaluations in retellings of shared events about present others: reevaluating impoliteness seriously

Across my data corpus I found 26 instances of explicit metacommunicative comments orienting to known and already assessed im/politeness events, with most of these comments referring to impoliteness-related incidents (20 out of 26). These comments were identified across fifteen different retellings of shared im/politeness events, which constitutes a relatively small data-pool, and suggests that friend disputes are not commonly escalated and formulated in serious terms, at least in my data.

In terms of their function, most of the explicit comments analysed in this chapter involve categorisations of actions and characters as behaving in/appropriately (11 of 26, i.e. 42.3%), while communication-oriented and affective comments are almost equally frequent, accounting for 30.8% (i.e. 8 of 26) and 26.9% (i.e. 7 of 26) of all mentions, respectively. In what follows, I will examine each evaluative category in detail.

#### 4.2.1. Categorising metacommunicative comments in retellings of known events about present others

Across my data corpus of retellings of known events about present others, I found eleven instances of categorising metacommunicative comments, which contain a variety of labels characterising characters and actions as in/appropriate. Only one of these relates to politeness, while the remaining ten instances refer to transgressive behaviours. Since impoliteness-related categorisations are significantly more salient, they will be at the focus of my analysis. Although the attributes ‘rudeness’ and ‘aggressive’ each occur only once, and it is hard to unequivocally argue that all other terms (e.g. *ξιλισιμένη* ‘sour/grumpy’) pointing to some breach of norms do in fact invoke the relevance of impoliteness-in-interaction, the fact that they are mobilised to mark similar transgressive behaviours to those pointed by related terms (e.g. criticising, complaining, speaking badly, or forgetting about other), allows us to argue, albeit tentatively, that these terms are too indexing impoliteness understandings<sup>66</sup>. As I will show below, such categorising comments are produced in the form of serious and personalised negative assertions or references (Culpeper, 2011a) which contain an evaluative label orienting to impoliteness-related phenomena and usually a pre-modifier that strengthens the force of this label. It is of note that the story introduced in Extract 4.1. was retold in the course of 30 minutes within the same interaction in almost identical ways (Appx8, event 2: ll.279-290).

##### **Extract 4.1.** *Serious rudeness* (LON-15)<sup>67</sup>

**Context:** Ioli (IOL), Simeon (SIM), Iliada (ILI) and Vassia (VAS) are sharing their daily news while having coffee. At some point, Ioli brings in the discussion her last night’s outing with Simeon, Vassia and a couple of Simeon’s friends. While Simeon and Vassia were walking ahead searching for the bar they were heading to on google maps, one of Simeon’s friends was supporting Ioli who was walking slowly behind.

---

<sup>66</sup> It is important to note that these terms are recurrent in participants stories’ about third parties’ objectionable behaviours (see Chapter Five).

<sup>67</sup> This impoliteness event took place a day before the recorded first telling under analysis and was implicitly commented upon by Ioli through an angry gaze directed at both Simeon and Vassia (See the Appx9: Vignette 1).



evaluative label (*αγένεια* 'rudeness') and a pre-modifier, particularly an adjective (*σοβαρή* 'serious') which designates the transgression entailed in the characterisation as severe and thus intensifies the force of the moral attribute 'rudeness'. Notably, the intonational and non-verbal embodiment of this expression, namely, the pitch elevation, the serious look, and the emphatic hand gesture (1.168), further attest to the serious articulation of the evaluative comment, as well as to the teller's affective stance towards the reported event: she is angry. As Spencer-Oatey (2005: 16) has argued in this respect, the negatively valenced, other-condemning (Haidt, 2003: 855) emotion of anger is often linked to impoliteness on account of some breach of face concerns or sociality rights. What is also of importance here is that this categorisation is anchored to the telling situation, as a telling-world identity claim (Georgakopoulou, 2008) targeting and implicating co-present others, rather than to the actual tale. This tale only consists of two propositions here (*Με ξέχασες* 'You forgot me' and *Αυτό που κάνατε χθες* 'What you did yesterday'), through which the teller foreground the targets-as-characters' agency (note the personal pronoun 'you' and the choice of transitive verbal structures), and make a recognisable complaint. More specifically, the former proposition (1.160) focusses on the complicating action and ascribes to the figures involved discrepant agentive roles, particularly constructing the teller-as-character (i.e. Ioli) as patient who undergoes the effects of another character's (i.e. Simeon's) inappropriate action; the latter (1.162) shifts the accountability to both Simeon and Vassia, whose characters are again constructed as agentive (Schiffrin, 1996), while it refers to the transgressive event only elliptically, given that it is already known and anchored to the prior utterance (1.168) through deixis. As a result, Ioli constructs herself as a victim of Simeon's and Vassia's actions in the tale-world, by promoting their agency and simultaneously de-emphasising her own behaviour. This negative portrayal of her interlocutors' figures in the plot, in tandem with the unpalatable question (Culpeper, 2011a: 135) that is latched onto the accountable event (1.160), helps the teller build a case for mobilising such a strong ascription in the telling situation (1.168), and indeed construct it not as ephemeral but as one rooted in the moral order.

Constructing present other as morally responsible for a recent matter is also evident in Extract 4.2. below, which comes from a video-taped coffee meeting with the Copenhagen group. In this, Ectoras (ECT) complained about the food offered by Kimonas (KIM) and Paris (PAR) (cf. Extract 3.1.). This sparked off a seemingly serious friend dispute between Kimonas and Ectoras, which was nonetheless resolved through jocularity. Following that incident, all three participants talked about irrelevant matters. At some point, though, within the same conversation, Kimonas noticed that Ectoras had not yet eaten his marmalade pancakes, which occasioned the latter's recurrent complaint about Kimonas's recent past behaviour and thus resurrected the friend dispute.

**Extract 4.2.** 'If you are so aggressive to me' (COP-32)<sup>68</sup>

296 (1.2)  
 297 VAS: \$H γουρούνα έφαγα [τ ρ ί α.\$]  
 The.ART.SNG.NOM.F pig.SNG.NOM.F ate.1<sub>SNG</sub> three.ACC.N  
 The piggy me ate [t h r e e.]  
 298 PAR: \*[\$Δ ε ν\$]  
 NEG  
 [It's not]  
 \*looks at the jar  
 299 ((είναι)) άσχημο [(β έ β-)]  
 Bad.ADJ.SNG.N though  
 bad [(though)]  
 300 ECT: \*[K ά τ ι] υποβό\*\*σκει `κει πέρα  
 Something underly.3<sub>SNG</sub> over there  
 [There's] something underlying there  
 \*looks at KIM/KIM looks at ECT &  
 smiles  
 \*\*looks at the jar  
 & mingles the  
 marmalade  
 301 \*Άμα- άμα >°μου είσαι τόσο επιθετικός°<  
 If-when I.SNG.GEN.ETH are so aggressive.ADJ.NOM.M  
 If you are so aggressive to me  
 \*looks at the jar/KIM looks at ECT



Image 1: 1.301

302 Με: (.) \*μια απλή παρατήρηση  
 With one.ACC.F simple.ADJ.ACC.F observation.ACC.F  
 Due to (.) a simple observation  
 \*looks at the jar/KIM looks at ECT

As in Extract 4.1., the categorising comment in the extract above (1.301) is produced in the form of a personalised negative assertion (Culpeper, 2011a: 135) involving an actor-focused attitudinal categoriser (*επιθετικός* 'aggressive'), which is pre-modified by the lexical intensifier *τόσο* (so). This adjective phrase is indeed cued as serious in light both of its lexical features and of its intonational contour and embodied aspects, namely, the faster tempo and the serious look of the teller. What is also of interest here is the mobilisation of the personal pronoun *μου* (to me) that

<sup>68</sup> The longer version of this extract appears in Appx8: event 1.

accompanies the adjective to denote either the moral interest of the person thus expressed by the pronoun (cf. the ethical dative in ancient Greek), or the person against whom an action is done (cf. the dative of disadvantage in ancient Greek; <https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>). Notably, the usage of this pronoun further constructs the categorising comment as serious, while signalling the teller's negative affect towards the untoward character of his interlocutor's behaviour. The said impropriety is further conveyed through the rhetorical effect achieved by the contrast between the target's reportedly intense aggression (*τόσο επιθετικός* 'so aggressive'; 1.301) and the teller's-as-character's presumably innocent and mundane behaviour in the plot (*μια απλή παρατήρηση* 'a simple observation'; 1.302). By highlighting his own ethical position, in contrast to the extremity of Kimonas's behaviour, the teller attains to maximise the latter's accountability in the here-and-now, while minimising his own responsibility for the event narrated (Hutchby, 2008: 234). On this occasion, it is not very clear whether the categorising comment is anchored to the tale- or telling-world, since it is enmeshed within a hypothetical scenario (Georgakopoulou, 2007) with generic features that signal its potential recurrence (note the use of the present tense and the choice of the conditional marker *ἀμα* that, in Greek, carries temporal and hypothetical connotations). Therefore, this comment may be referring to a tale-world that masquerades as a hypothetical scenario but, due to its lexical elements, it seems to have resonances in the telling-world as well, thus being open to negotiation in the here-and-now.

Importantly, the very juxtaposition of this categorising comment and the one mobilised by Ectoras in the ongoing interaction (*°Δε μπορώ όταν είν' έτσι: ξεινός°*. 'I can't when he is sour like that. '; cf. §3.2.3.), allows insights into the gradual evolution and crystallisation of Ectoras's interpretation of Kimonas's conduct as impolite. More specifically, by mobilising a stronger-negative categorisation that relates to impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011a), as well as by personalising his comment, the teller provides clearer insights into his interpretation of Kimonas's prior action as inappropriate. Indeed, Ectoras pointed to Kimonas's seemingly improper linguistic behaviour once again in my corpus of retellings of known events about present others, that time through a categorising comment that described Kimonas's reaction to Ectoras's prior talk as *πολύ άσχημο* ('very bad'; Appx11: extract d).

Nonetheless, we should admit that, albeit performing serious interactional business, the categorising comment 'so aggressive' is somewhat mitigated both by its embeddedness within a conditional proposition that minimises the force of the assertion, as well as by the lexical and non-linguistic features of the turn, i.e. the self-repair, the quiet articulation (ll.300-301), and the teller's averted eye gaze, which also constitute attendant signs of interactional trouble (Jefferson, 1988), and consequently manifest the speaker's awareness of his own comment as being potentially impolite.

As I showed above, categorising metacommunicative comments in retellings of known events about present others appear in the form of personalised negative assertions or references that contain impoliteness-related evaluative labels pre-modified by lexical intensifiers. These comments are also keyed as serious both lexically and prosodically and non-verbally, while they tend to be anchored mainly to the telling- rather than to the tale-world. As we will see below, this may have implications for the negotiation of these evaluations and the management of interactional disputes among friends (cf. additional data extracts a-d: Appx11). This also applies to explicit comments targeting communicative transgressions.

#### 4.2.2. Communication-oriented metacommunicative comments in retellings of known events about present others

Communication-oriented comments were less frequent in retrospective evaluations in retellings than in emergent evaluations in ongoing interactions, and accounted for 30.7% of the total of the data (8 of 26 comments). All of these eight comments are occasioned by potentially impolite behaviours that took place in the recent past and were only tacitly commented upon the moment when they occurred. More specifically, I identified four comments marking transgressive linguistic behaviours, two relating to the act of criticising, one pertaining to complaining, and one pointing to the lack of an expected apology. Regarding their form, all of these comments manifest in the form of personalised negative assertions (Culpeper, 2011a: 135), which are indeed juxtaposed with propositions that foreground the teller's appropriate actions or expectations in contrast to the target's improper behaviour. In addition, the lexical features in conjunction with the prosodic and non-verbal embodiment of these comments construct them as serious. Finally, in contrast to categorising comments that were attached to the telling, communication-oriented comments are presented as the main complicating event and are therefore anchored to the tale-world. Extract 4.3. that is part of the interaction introduced in Extract 4.2., provides an example of this.

#### **Extract 4.3.** *'I said one thing, you said fifteen'* (COP-32)<sup>69</sup>

- 281 KIM: \*Μα δεν έφαγες όμως.  
 But NEG ate.2<sub>SNG</sub> though  
*But you didn't eat though.*  
 \*looks at ECT
- 282 \*Ούτε ήρθες [ήπλάι μου. \$]  
 Neither came.2<sub>SNG</sub> close I.SNG.GEN  
*Neither did you come [close to me.]*  
 \*looks at ECT
- 283 ECT: \*[Μ α >ε ί -]  
 But said.1<sub>SNG</sub>

<sup>69</sup> The longer version of this extract appears in Appx8: event 1.

[But I sai-]  
 \*looks at KIM



Image 1: 11.282-283

284 \*>ΕΚΑΝΑ ↑ΜΙΑ παρατήρηση<  
 did.1<sub>SNG</sub> one.ACC.F observation.ACC.F  
 I made one observation  
 \*ECT looks at KIM

285 (Για) το χρώμα  
 About the.ART.SNG.ACC.N colour.SNG.ACC.N  
 (About) the colour



Image 2: 11. 284-285

286 Και μου έκανες= \*Ένα< μου είπες-  
 And I.SNG.GEN.OBJ did.2<sub>SNG</sub> one I.SNG.GEN.OBJ said.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
 And you made to me=One ((thing)) you said  
 \*glances at KIM

287 \*Ένα είπα= \*\*δεκαπέντε είπ\*\*\*ες.  
 One.ACC.N said.1<sub>SNG</sub> fifteen said.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
 I said one thing, you said fifteen.  
 \*glances at KIM

\*\*looks away  
 \*\*\*puts jar on table





Image 3: 1.287

288 KIM: Εγώ είπα δεκαπέντε?  
 I said.1<sub>SNG</sub> fifteen  
 Was it me who said fifteen things?

The communication-oriented metacommunicative comment in 1.287 appears in the form of a personalised negative assertion (*δεκαπέντε είπες 'you said fifteen things'*) emphasising the target's (i.e. Kimonas's) misplaced verbal behaviour in the there-and-then narrated world. This behaviour constitutes the main complicating action of the reported tale-world that the teller has already started to introduce in 1.283. More specifically, in response to Kimonas's playful complaint about Ectoras's refusal to eat the marmalade and approach Kimonas on the sofa (1.282), Ectoras launches a story that provides an account for his rejection. This story is initiated in interjacent overlap (Jefferson, 1983) with Kimonas's prior turn, which already signals Ectoras's disalignment (Stivers, 2008), in conjunction with the contrastive but-preface (1.283). In terms of positioning, the teller assumes a moral sense of self by emphatically displaying the insignificant and mundane character of his action in 1l.284-285 (*>ΕΚΑΝΑ ↑ΜΙΑ παρατήρηση<* 'I made one observation'). Based on field notes, I could claim that downplaying the significance of his potentially face-threatening actions and thus projecting an innocent and moral self is a somewhat enduring aspect of the teller's positioning. Notably, the prosodic and non-verbal features of his turn in this excerpt, particularly the focused eye gaze, the faster tempo, the marked loudness, and the elevated pitch, indicate the serious character of the narrated event, as well as the teller's indignation. This is also apparent in the repetition and false-start in the subsequent line (1.286) that shifts the narrative focus in what the target-as-character did. Although it is not yet spelled out, the reader does anticipate the recounting of some *faux pas* in light of the signals of interactional trouble in the teller's speech, and the use of the parallel structure: I did this, you did that. Eventually, in 1.287, the teller explicitly points to the target's-as-character's impropriety consisting in saying more than expected (cf. Extract 4.2. where this impropriety was explicitly linked to verbal aggression). The untowardness of the target's-as-character's action is indeed accentuated by the contrast between his reputedly extreme behaviour and the teller's-as-character's supposed innocence (Hutchby, 2008: 234). As shown in

image 3, the teller’s communication-oriented comment showcasing this contrast is accompanied by a serious yet averted eye gaze which visually marks the misalignment and the delicacy of the moment. Therefore, the teller artfully conveys the violative character of the target’s action through a communication-oriented comment that exhibits the startling contrast between the one’s appropriate and the other’s inappropriate linguistic conduct in the recent past, thereby increasing the target’s accountability for their ongoing dispute. Extract 4.4. below provides another example of this formulation revolving around the act of criticism<sup>70</sup>.

In this extract, Ectoras, Kimonas and Paris are talking about a dispute in which they were involved two days ago. In that dispute, Ectoras had criticised Kimonas for having piled up six rubbish bags in the latter’s his house and for not having recycled the beer bottles yet. To this, Kimonas had responded verbally yet in a playful way: *§Γιατί με κρίνεις πάλι (.) πεθερά μες στο σπίτι μου?§ (.) Πάψε πια με αυτά τα σχόλια!* ('Why are you criticising me again, as mothers-in-law do, in my house? (.) Stop making such comments!'), which was responded to only though an angry facial expression by Ectoras (field notes). However, two days later, while the participants were having coffee together, Ectoras brought up this matter again.

**Extract 4.4.** ‘You told me to stop talking’ (COP-21)<sup>71</sup>

06 ECT: Όχι: προχθές που: πότε ήταν (.)  
 No the-day-before-yesterday that.CONJ when was  
*No, the day before yesterday that, when was it (.)*

07 Μου πες να πάψω.  
 I.SNG.GEN.OBJ said.2<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL shut-up.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*You told me to stop talking.*

08 KIM: Μα: αφού άρχισες πάλι με τις σα[κού]λες  
 But since started.2<sub>SNG</sub> again with the.ART.PL.ACC.F bag.PL.ACC.F  
*But you started again about the [bags]*

09 ECT: [M α-]  
 [B ut]

10 KIM: ↑Την^ γκριτική: (.)  
 The.ART.SNG.ACC.F criticism.SNG.ACC.F  
*The criticism (.)*

11 Ενώ εγώ δεν έρχομαι σπίτι σου (.)  
 While I NEG come.1<sub>SNG</sub> house.SNG.ACC.N you.SNG.GEN.POSS  
*While I don't come to your house (.)*

12 Να σου πω  
 To.PRTCL you.SNG.GEN.OBJ say.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*To say to you*

13 >↑Κάνε αυτό και κάνε 'κείνο<.  
 Do.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> this.SNG.ACC.N and do.IMP.2. <sub>SNG</sub> that.SNG.ACC.N

<sup>70</sup> Most studies have looked at criticisms as components of complaints (e.g. House & Kasper, 1981; Malle et al., 2014) or challenges (Bousfield, 2008). I follow Edwards (2005: 8) here, who has distinguished complaints from criticisms by virtue of the sense of grievance that is involved in the former but not necessarily in the latter. For a comprehensive review, see Haugh & Chang (2019).

<sup>71</sup> The longer version of this extract appears in Appx11: extract d.

*Do this and do that.*

The excerpt begins with Ectoras launching a complaint story about a recent past incident. The main complicating event revolves around Kimonas's purportedly untoward verbal behaviour in the plot, which is brought into telling in the form of indirect reported speech (l.07). As is often the case, the reported speech is constructed as the main complainable (Drew, 1998: 320), and is often mobilised to provide the complaint recipient(s) with unfettered access to the target's agency and culpability without criticising her/him in explicit terms (Drew, 1998; Holt, 2000; Stokoe & Edwards, 2007; Heinrichsmeier, 2020a). As shown in his but-prefaced subsequent turn (l.08), Kimonas displays strong misalignment to the complaint by diverting culpability away from himself-as-figure in the plot towards Ectoras's figure (NP L1). More specifically, he does not seem to challenge the content of the complaint *per se* but provides an account that justifies his ostensibly complainable behaviour. This account foregrounds the ill-formed character of Ectoras's prior mode of conduct and constructs it as a trigger that sparked off Kimonas's verbal activity. This is indeed achieved through a tale-world communication-oriented metacommunicative comment (*Μα: αφού άρχισεσ πάλι...↑την κριτική: (.)* 'But since you started again...the criticism'; l.08, l.10) that attributes the transgression to Ectoras's criticising behaviour in the plot. Notably, and contrary to its playful framing in the ongoing interaction, the personalised evaluative comment of Ectoras's critical stance is here interpretable as serious in light both of the intonational shift with elevated pitch on *την* and the vowel elongation on *κριτική:*. In addition, the choice of the verb *άρχισεσ* that marks the action as incipient and thus as incomplete and enduring, along with the adverb *πάλι* that presents the habitual character of Ectoras's misconduct, raise the target's agency in, and culpability for, the course of action being commented upon by indicating its dispositional character (Edwards, 2005).

As also shown in Extract 4.3. above, the reprehensibility of the target's action is further accentuated by the emphatic contrast between the target's wrongdoing in the plot and the teller's supposedly appropriate behaviour which, interestingly enough, here presents not what the teller habitually does but what he generically refrains from doing (*δεν έρχομαι* 'I don't come'). Through this negation and the prosodic design of the turn (i.e. the pitch elevation and faster tempo, l.13) that make the teller's tone hearable as imitative, the teller manages to distance himself from the content of the reported speech and, by implication, to attribute it to Ectoras, while tacitly conveying a negative assessment of it (Stokoe & Edwards, 2007). Apparently, the reported material allows the teller to show rather than tell (l.10) the target's critical stance (Benwell, 2012) and, most importantly, to raise its moral implicativeness by means both of an 'overdetermined description' (*δεν έρχομαι να σου πω* 'I don't come to tell you'; ll.11-12; Drew, 1998: 318) which cues its intentional character, and of two generalisers (*κάνε αυτό και κάνε εκείνο* 'do this





Image 1: 1.289

290 ECT: \*Να ο[ρ ί]στε.=\*\*°Να το.°  
 to.PRTCL there-you-go to.PRTCL it.CLT  
 Here [w e] go.=This is it.  
 \*looks down

\*\*PAR looks at ECT & smiles with hands  
 open/KIM looks at his phone



Image 2: 1.290

291 VAS: [.hh]  
 [.hh]  
 292 PAR: \$χgh:\$  
 chgh  
 293 ECT: \*[eng] °Τζίζους Κράιστ.°  
 Jesus Christ.  
 \*looks at KIM

294 PAR: \*Μας ΤΑ' \$Πρη\*\*ξεξ!\$  
 I.PL.GEN.DSV them.CLT.ACC.N.OBJ nagged.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
 You pissed us off/ you nagged us!  
 \*looks at ECT with hands down

\*\*ECT turns to PAR/  
 KIM looks at ECT



Image 3: 1.294

This extract constitutes the sequel of Extract 4.3. where Ectoras had displayed the impoliteness-implications of Kimonas's prior linguistic behaviour. To this, Paris responds in a disaligning and disaffiliative manner (Stivers, 2008) through an exclamatory proposition that neither orients to Kimonas's question (1.288) nor does it render any support to Ectoras's previous critical stance (1.287); instead, it urges Ectoras to eventually eat the marmalade. This proposition may sound irrelevant to the reader, but it is especially by flouting the maxim of relevance (Grice, 1975) that it achieves to vindicate Kimonas from the charge of overreacting to Ectoras's prior talk, and to divert culpability towards the latter. This is further attained through the mobilisation of the interjection *NTE* (duh) that accentuates the content of the imperative  $\Phi A$  *TO* (eat it) and indexes the speaker's disgruntlement about the recipient's behaviour (Triantafyllidis Dictionary). His indignation is indeed emphasised by the non-linguistic embodiment of the turn, namely, by the marked loudness and the extravagant hand movement. To this, Ectoras responds with two latched exclamatory propositions (1.290) which are negatively-valenced and disaffiliative, as they both signal the speaker's surprise and disapproval of the recipient's previous talk/conduct (Triantafyllidis Dictionary). This disapproving stance also manifests in the speaker's non-verbal demeanour, particularly in his averted eye gaze (image 2). Despite being cued as serious by the speaker, these propositions seem to be interpreted as laughable (Glenn, 2003: 49) by Paris, as indexed by his smiley reaction concurrent with the onset of the second exclamatory proposition (image 2; 1.290). As a consequence, Paris disaffiliates with Ectoras's prior affective stance and introduces a playful frame, which fails to be reciprocated though by any of his interlocutors. In contrast, it is responded to by another interjection by Ectoras (1.293) which, albeit articulated in quiet tone, is formulated as a serious one, thereby conveying the speaker's negative assessment of his interlocutor's prior talk. We should also note that, while uttering this interjection, Ectoras directs his eye gaze to Kimonas, who has remained uninvested in the conversation so far, although present. This could plausibly be regarded as a non-verbal 'response cry' (Goffman, 1981: 79), whereby Ectoras, being apparently perturbed by Paris's comment, orients to Kimonas potentially seeking for the latter's affiliative contribution (C. Goodwin, 2000). Despite this, Kimonas orients to Ectoras through his eye gaze only when Paris lexically implicates the former in the discussion through

an inclusive ‘we’ pronoun (μας; 1.294) in genitive case that serves to denote the person against whom an action is done (cf. the dative of disadvantage in ancient Greek; <https://www.perseus.tufts.edu/>). This pronoun appears within a brief narrative account about the affective impact of Ectoras’s past behaviour upon Paris and Kimonas. This is indicated through an affective metacommunicative comment (Μας ΤΑ΄ πρηξεες ‘You nagged us’) in the form of a personalised negative assertion (Culpeper, 2011a: 135), which foregrounds the target’s agency and culpability, while indexing the teller’s negative affect towards the reported behaviour. However, the teller constructs this evaluative comment as non-serious both through the formulaic and slangy character of the chosen emotion predicate and through its smiley delivery. In doing so, he assumes a controversial stance towards the target’s behaviour and towards explicitly articulating his related negative emotion that had been implicitly cued already in 1.289 (cf. additional data extracts e, f: Appx11).

Extract 4.6. below further illustrates this ambivalent stance. It comes from an audio-recording that features Ectoras, Kimonas and Paris chatting about Ectoras’s professional trip to Prague, which Paris had forgotten about.

**Extract 4.6.** ‘He got on my nerves’ (COP-1)<sup>73</sup>

24 ECT: Τώρα ↑τι μου το παί-<  
 Now what I.SNG.GEN.OBJ it.CLT.ACC.OBJ (play)  
*Now why are you faking it?*

25 \$Είχα- είχα τα νεύρα μου\$,  
 Had.1<sub>SNG</sub> had.1<sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.PL.ACC.N nerves.ACC.N I.SNG.GEN.POSS  
*He got on my nerves,*

26 \$Είχα τα νεύρα μου μαζί του\$ (.)  
 had.1<sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.PL.ACC.N nerves.ACC.N I.GEN.POSS with him.GEN  
*He got on my nerves (.)*

27 Που ξέχασε το ταξίδι μου,  
 That.CONJ forgot.3<sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.SNG.ACC.N trip.SNG.ACC.N I.GEN.POSS  
*Because he forgot my trip,*

28 KIM: \$↑M: ναι\$.  
 Mm yes.

In my corpus of 26 retellings of recent past impoliteness events, extract 4.6. is unique in that the teller does not produce a personalised negative assertion (Culpeper, 2011a) to characterise his emotional state on account of the target’s behaviour in the reported tale-world, namely, Paris’s forgetfulness about his friend’s trip<sup>74</sup>. Instead, as shown in 1.26, the teller draws on a negative reference to Paris’s person through a third-person personal pronoun (μαζί του ‘with him’), despite Paris’s being present in the interaction. Considering that Paris has been the addressed recipient of Ectoras’s talk, as shown by the use of a second-person personal pronoun up until now (Appx8, event 8: ll.1-25), the

<sup>73</sup> The longer version of this extract appears in Appx8: event 8; the prior interaction to which this telling refers can be found in Appx9: Vignette 2.

<sup>74</sup> Cf. Extract 4.4. where forgetting something about a friend was cast as a reprehensible action.

switch to third person within the context of the affective metacommunicative comment is noteworthy. This move signals a shift in the participation framework (Goffman, 1981: 129-143), particularly introducing a subordinate communication (1981: 133-134) between Ectoras and Kimonas, while Paris is linguistically dislocated and construed as an unaddressed recipient (O’Driscoll, 2018). One could possibly presume that, in de-personalising his affective assertion, Ectoras makes a last-gasp effort to elicit Kimonas’s agreement on Paris’s culpability, given that Kimonas has not participated in the telling thus far, notwithstanding Ectoras’s vivid enactments of Paris’s allegedly exact words that were revealing of the latter’s impropriety in the plot (↓↓A ναι το ‘χα ξεχάσει. ‘Oh yes I’d forgotten about it’; Appx8, event 8: 1.14). And, as shown in the subsequent turn (1.28), Ectoras achieves in doing so, as Kimonas responds by proffering an emphatic acknowledgement plus an agreement token, yet delivered in a playful manner. This said, we should note that both the smiley delivery of Ectoras’s turn (1.26) and the slangy articulation of the emotion predicate *είχα τα νεύρα μου* (‘he got on my nerves’), suggest that the teller has rendered his proposition ambiguous *qua* seriousness, despite the emphatic repetition (11.25-26). In this Extract too, then, the expression of emotions within evaluative comments does not seem to be a straightforward matter, since participants may be expressing their affect towards a set of objectionable behaviours in explicit terms, but they embellish the articulation of these words with a smile and/or draw on formulaicity that indexes a mocking stance and thus mitigates the force of these comments.

This section has discussed the formal features of categorising, communication-oriented, and affective metacommunicative comments in retellings of shared impoliteness events about present others. Extracts 4.1.-4.6. above, and those in Appx11 (a-f), have shown that categorising and communication-oriented comments metacommunicative comments manifest in the form of personalised negative assertions/ references which are, importantly, cued as serious both lexically and prosodically and non-verbally. Affective comments are too personalised, yet keyed as non-serious, contrary to the other categories of comments. As I discuss in Section 4.3. below, the formulation of these comments has implications for their negotiation in the telling situation, and the identity positions that teller(s) and audience members assume and are ascribed to.

#### 4.3. (Non-)serious responses to impoliteness-related evaluations in retellings of known events about present others

What kinds of response might we expect from the target(s) of impoliteness evaluations and the ratified, unaddressed participants when someone tells a story about a known transgressive event that has previously emerged in ongoing talk? As Sections 4.3.1. and 4.3.2. below show, categorising and communication-oriented comments are responded to seriously by targets either through challenging propositions or through apologetic comments, whilst unaddressed recipients misalign to this frame



and instead orient to non-seriousness. Importantly, this seems to be consequential for the resolution of conflict since all parties eventually align to the jocular frame. In contrast, affective comments (see §4.3.3.), which are designed as non-serious by tellers, receive aligned, playful responses in the uptake both by targets and by ratified, unaddressed participants, which forestalls further conflict.

#### 4.3.1. Responding to categorising comments in retellings of known events about present others

As Extracts 4.7. and 4.8. below illustrate, seriously framed categorising comments receive differential treatment by targets and by ratified unaddressed recipients.

##### **Extract 4.7.** *'Little angels'* (LON-15)<sup>75</sup>

- 172 SIM: Ρε δε σε ξεχάσαμε.=  
 Re.PRTCL NEG you.SNG.ACC.OBJ forgot.1<sub>PL</sub>  
 {Re} we didn't forget about you.=
- 173 VAS: =Ναι ρε [eng] σόρι αν:=  
 Yes re.PRTCL sorry if  
 =Yes {re} sorry if=
- 174 ILI: =Μωρέ δε θα το κάνανε (.)  
 More.PRTCL NEG would it.CLT.ACC.OBJ do.SBJV.PFV.3<sub>PL</sub>  
 ={More} they wouldn't do it (.)
- 175 Επίτηδες.= Αφού είναι \$γλυκά: τυπάκια!\$  
 Deliberately as are.3<sub>PL</sub> sweet.ADJ.PL.NOM.N type.DIM.PL.NOM.N.  
 Deliberately. Since they are sweet types/ characters!
- 176 IOL: ((Laughter))
- 177 \$Αγγελούδια.\$  
 Angel.DIM.PL.NOM.N  
 \$Little angels.\$
- 178 SIM: ((Laughter))
- 179 VAS: ((Laughter))

Picking up the threads from Extract 4.1., it is important to note that the targets of Ioli's categorising comment (cf. Extract 4.1.: l.168) had already started to orient to Ioli's version of the narrated events in a serious manner, with Vassia challenging Ioli's interpretation of the incident (l.164, ll.166-167), and Simeon delivering a formal apology (l.165) to remedy Ioli's complaint in the here-and-now telling event. Following Ioli's explicit categorisation of her friends' conduct in the plot as severely rude, and the account justifying this characterisation in the subsequent line (*Γιατί ↑χουβάλαγα το Γιώργο* 'Because I was carrying George along'; Appx8, event 2: l.169), the targets of Ioli's turn orient to the categorising comment in a similarly serious manner. As shown in ll.172-173, they appear to mirror one another's prior contributions, as friends normally do (Mandelbaum, 1991), since Simeon is now doing emphatic denial of Ioli's interpretation of the there-and-then

<sup>75</sup> The longer version of this extract appears in Appx8: event 2.

incident, while Vassia is proffering a formulaic yet qualified apology, after overtly agreeing with Simeon. Both of them are, therefore, hearable as juggling two positions in the narrating event: one that denies Ioli's version of the story, and thus the culpability for the narrated event (l.172), and one that accepts the reprehensibility for the talked-about incident and endeavours to compensate for it (l.173). What is important for our purposes is that both targets orient to the categorisation seriously, which strikingly contrasts to the ratified, unaddressed participant's orientation. More specifically, Iliada clears the targets from the accusation of rudeness on account of the alleged lack of bad intentions on their part (l.175; Bousfield, 2008: 68), as well as of their person *type* (i.e. sweet people) rather than of their past *situational* conduct (cf. Zimmerman, 1998). It seems quite notable that she mobilises a 'characterological formulation' (Edwards, 2006: 498) and artfully weaves it into her account as a way to defend the morality of the targets (Stokoe & Edwards, 2015; Alexander & Stokoe, 2020). The use of the affective marker *μωρόε* (l.174), along with the diminutive *τυπάκια* (types/characters; l.175), further display her affiliative stance towards them (Sifianou, 1992: 197-198). The smiley delivery of the characterological formulation, though, renders it ambiguous *qua* seriousness, which is further attested to by Ioli's subsequent laughter that reciprocates the playful stance in the telling situation (l.176; Jefferson, 1974: 6). Importantly, the jocular frame is extended by Ioli's subsequent ironic characterisation of the targets as *αγγελούδια* ('little angels'), which does not seem to raise any impoliteness implications, given that the targets themselves embrace the non-serious frame in the uptake through laughter (ll.177-178). By resorting to jocularity, the teller thus seems to shift her initial evaluation of her friends' behaviour from overtly impolite in the beginning to mock-impolite (cf. Sinkeviciute, 2019), following the intervention of the ratified unaddressed recipient in the telling situation. This is also apparent in Extract 4.8. below.

**Extract 4.8.** *'Who was aggressive?'* (COP-32)<sup>76</sup>

303 KIM: [Ποιος ήταν επιθετικός?  
Who.SNG.NOM.M was.3<sub>SNG</sub> aggressive.ADJ.SNG.NOM.M  
[Who was aggressive?  
304 ECT: [Για το χρώμα]  
About the.ART.SNG.ACC.N colour.SNG.ACC.N  
[About the colour]  
305 ((Moves the knife in the jar))  
306 Αυτής \*της μύξας. (.)  
This.DEM.SNG.GEN.F the.ART.SNG.GEN.F slime.SNG.GEN.F  
Of this slime. (.)  
\*looks at the marmalade in disgust &  
takes some outside of the jar to show it to the others/  
KIM & PAR look at the marmalade  
307 \*>Κοίτα 'δω.<=[Ω ρ α ί ο ε?§= α α A :]  
Look.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> here.=Nice.ADJ.SNG.NOM.N eh.PRTCL aaa  
>Look here.< [N i c e eh?= a a a]  
\*looks at PAR

<sup>76</sup> The longer version of this extract appears in Appx8: event 1.

308 VAS: [ \$E όχι και μύξα βρε\$ ]  
 Eh.PRTCL NEG and slime.SNG.NOM.F vre.PRTCL  
 [It's not a slime {vre}]]

309 PAR: ((Laughter))



Image 1: 11.307-309

310 ECT: ((ECT puts the knife into the jar & looks at KIM while smiling))

311 \* >Θα φάω τώρα.< ((γέλιο))  
 Will eat.SBJ.PFV.1SNG now  
 I am eating now. ((laughter))  
 \*looks at VAS & KIM/PAR & KIM smile

Following Ectoras's categorising comment in 1.301 (Extract 4.2.), the target (i.e. Kimonas) emphatically challenges the other-categorisation in the here-and-now telling event (1.303). Through the prosodic emphasis on the interrogative pronoun *ποιος* (who), he not only contests the position that Ectoras ascribed to him, but he also tacitly reverses the categorisation. It is notable that this question remains unanswered (1.305), as Ectoras incrementally builds upon his critical comment about the colour of the marmalade that ostensibly bears resemblance to a slime, without orienting to Kimonas's question. His ongoing criticism is also attested to by the embodied features of his turn, namely, by his facial expression invoking the emotion of disgust, and by his hand movements that put on display a sample of the marmalade in an attempt to prove its spoilage. And he goes on to emphatically urge his interlocutor to carefully examine the sample (1.307). Subsequently, onto this proposition, he latches a question that involves a characterisation of the sample as *ωραίο* (nice). This question is hearable as ironic in light of the smiley delivery of the TCU in which it is embedded (multimodal mismatch; Culpeper, 2011a: 169), and of its striking contrast to prior talk (1.306) (verbal mismatch; 2011a: 174). It is therefore a 'presumptive' question (Haugh & Chang, 2019), as it involves a negative assessment of the product and embeds the implied premise that Ectoras is critical of the hosts' choice. Overall, the multimodal display of the product's flaw helps Ectoras further justify his prior critical stance and cast Kimonas's reaction in the plot as unwarrantably aggressive. Nonetheless, after Vassia's disaffiliative yet jocular challenge of the marmalade's negative characterisation (1.308) and Paris's laughter (1.309), Ectoras reciprocates the smile (1.310; Jefferson,

1974), declares that he will eventually taste the marmalade, and finally laughs (1.311). He, therefore, shifts from seriousness to jocularity, after the ratified, unaddressed participants introduced a playful frame in the interaction. And so does the target of his categorisation, that is, Kimonas, as shown in his smile in 1.311.

Importantly, the documented shift in the teller's evaluations in both extracts containing direct categorisations (cf. additional data extracts a-d: Appx11) indicates that retrospective evaluations of impoliteness in retellings of shared events about present others are open to negotiation and joint drafting in the narrating event. This also applies to evaluations manifesting in the form of communication-oriented comments.

#### 4.3.2. Responding to communication-oriented comments in retellings of known events about present others

Similarly, extracts 4.9. and 4.10. below illustrate that the ratified addressees of communication-oriented metacommunicative comments in retellings of known events about present others orient to the evaluations seriously during the telling situation, whereas ratified, unaddressed participants take up a jocular stance, which appears to be sequentially implicative as it brings about a shift in the teller's own stance. However, unaddressed recipients of communication-oriented comments first orient to the evaluative comments in a serious manner by aligning to the tone of the target(s)'s responses, before introducing a jocular frame. I here examine the sequel of Extract 4.3. to show how this works.

#### **Extract 4.9.** *'Was it me who said fifteen things?'* (COP-32)<sup>77</sup>

287 ECT: \*Εν<sub>α</sub> εἶπα= \*\*δεκαπέντε εἶπ\*\*\*ες.  
 One.ACC.N said.1<sub>SNG</sub> fifteen said.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*I said one thing, you said fifteen.*  
*\*glances at KIM*  
*\*\*looks away*  
*\*\*\*puts jar on table*

288 KIM: Εγώ εἶπα δεκαπέντε?  
 I said.1<sub>SNG</sub> fifteen  
*Was it me who said fifteen ((things))?*

In response to Ectoras's communication-oriented comment that evaluated Kimonas's verbal behaviour as extreme (Extract 4.3.: 1.287), Kimonas produces an interrogative proposition (1.288), which both questions Ectoras's evaluation in the telling situation and, simultaneously, implies that it was not him but the teller who acted inappropriately. He thus reverses the culpability through the use

<sup>77</sup> The longer version of this extract appears in Appx8: event 1.

of the first-person pronoun, indeed in emphatic form (εγώ 'I'). Since Greek is a pro-drop language (Theofanopoulou-Kontou, 2002), this personal pronoun could have been omitted, given that the person information is already provided by the verb's inflectional suffix ('είπ-α'). Therefore, the pronoun is here mobilised to signal an additional meaning, namely, to challenge the involvement of the person indexed by the pronoun in the transgressive activity and, by implication, to reverse the accusation to the accuser. As shown in the subsequent turn (1.289; see Extract 4.5. above), Paris, one of the ratified, unaddressed participants, albeit not explicitly aligning to Kimonas's prior question by offering an answer, does provide support to the target (i.e. Kimonas) and affiliates with his stance by indirectly expressing indignation with Ectoras's ongoing criticism. Paris's contribution is hearable as serious, and in turn occasions a serious exclamatory proposition by the teller that is indicative of his disaffiliative stance. Nonetheless, Paris subsequently switches to a non-serious interactional frame in light of the smiles that he produces in response to Ectoras's comment (1.290, 1.292). While Ectoras does not align to this frame directly, as shown by his serious interjection in 1.293, he eventually embraces the jocular frame, as illustrated by his playful response (1.295) to the former's non-serious affective metacommunicative comment (1.294). In particular, he responds with a mock-injured εγώ ('I') that is hearable as overdone in light of the intonation shift, the vowel elongation, and the smiley voice, and subsequently laughs, thereby overtly accepting the playful tone. And so does Kimonas by reciprocating the smile. The sequence then fades out through a significant pause and is re-initiated by Vassia through a self-mocking comment in relation to the number of pancakes that she has had so far (Appx8, event1: ll.296-297). This shift from seriousness to non-seriousness in ratified, unaddressed participants' talk is apparent in Extract 4.10. as well.

**Extract 4.10.** *'I just made a comment'* (COP-21)<sup>78</sup>

- 14 ECT: Ρε ήταν πολύ άσχημο το πάψε και-  
 Re.PRTCL was very bad.NOM.N the.ART shut-up.IMP.PFV.2<sub>SNG</sub> and  
*{Re} it was very bad telling ((me)) to shut up and-*
- 15 E: ένα σχόλιο έκανα (.)  
 Eh.PRTCL one comment.ACC.N did.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Eh I just made a comment (.)*
- 16 Που θα σας πνίξουν  
 That.CONJ will you.PL.ACC.OBJ swamp.SBJV.PFV.3<sub>PL</sub>  
*That you will be swamped*
- 17 τα σκουπίδια.  
 the.ART.PL.ACC.N rubbish.PL.ACC.N  
*by the rubbish.*
- 18 KIM: Ντάξει [eng] **όκει**.  
 Okay, okay.
- 19 VAS: Καλά ισχύει λίγο.=  
 Well.ADV holds-true.3<sub>SNG</sub> a bit  
*Well, that's partly true.=*
- 20 ECT: =Κοίτα 'κει σακούλες ρε φίλε.

<sup>78</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx11: extract d.

Look.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> there bag.PL.ACC.F re.PRTCL friend.SNG.VOC.M  
 =Look how many bags there are over there {re}.  
 21 VAS: Μὰ ο Πάρις είναι η  
 But the.ART.SNG.NOM.M Paris.NOM.M is the.ART.SNG.NOM.F  
 But Paris is the  
 22 νοικοκυρά τούτου του  
 Housekeeper.SNG.NOM.F this.SNG.GEN.M the.ART.SNG.GEN.M  
 housekeeper of this  
 23 οίκου!  
 house.SNG.GEN.M  
 house!  
 24 PAR: \$Ποιος?\$  
 Who.SNG.NOM.M  
 Who?  
 25 ECT: \$Τώ::ρα σωθήκαμε!\$ ((γέλιο))  
 Now save.PASS.PFV.1<sub>PL</sub>  
 Oh great! ((laughter))  
 26 KIM: Κυρά κι αρχό(η)ντισσα(η) ((γέλιο))  
 Lady.SNG.NOM.F and mistress.SNG.NOM.F  
 Lady and mistress ((laughter))

Following Kimonas's communication-oriented comment about Ectoras's critical behaviour (Extract 4.4.: ll.10-13), the target responds by first categorising the teller's previous act of asking him to stop talking as *πολύ άσχημο* ('very bad'; l.14), and then by orienting to Kimonas's communication-oriented comment. Although we are mostly interested in the target's response to this latter comment (ll.15-17) here, its juxtaposition with the target's own evaluative comment that holds Kimonas's accountable for the way he responded to the criticism in the plot, is quite striking from a rhetorical perspective. More specifically, by mobilising the rhetorical devices of antithesis (between Kimonas's allegedly 'very bad' behaviour (l.14) and Ectoras's purported 'one comment' (l.15)), and of litotes/ understatement in the presentation of his own there-and-then behaviour, the target attains to mitigate the degree of his own culpability while amplifying the accountability of the teller. He thus defends himself by doing offence. This is further intensified through the subsequent hyperbolic statement (ll.16-17), which constructs the piling up of the rubbish as still relevant and threatening through the use of the future tense, and thereby extends the serious criticism. Kimonas seems to admit the wrongdoing only ostensibly in the uptake, as indicated by the deadpan delivery of his turn that signals his agreement with Ectoras's viewpoint as ironic (l.18). To this, Vassia, who is a ratified, unaddressed participant, produces a proposition which cues misalignment to Kimonas's preceding statement through *καλά* (well), whilst rendering support to Ectoras's prior critical comment by acknowledging its veracity (l.19). Albeit mitigated, this response somewhat endorses the target's stance in a serious manner during the telling situation. Besides, in doing so, it sustains the cycle of criticism, as shown by Ectoras's comment in l.20, in which he explicitly implicates Vassia as a witness to the piling up of rubbish bags. This said, Vassia's but-prefaced statement in the subsequent turn disaligns to the critical comment, while moving from seriousness to jocularity through archaic word choices (*τούτου του οίκου* 'of this house') that are incongruous with the

informal tone of the ongoing interaction, as well as though Paris's presentation as the female housekeeper (11.21-23). This act of misgendering Paris, which is very frequent among the friends of this group (field notes; cf. Appx12: extract 18), not least for Paris, helps construct the turn as laughable, while performing the interactional business of diverting culpability away from Kimonas, and thus of soothing the tension among the parties involved. As shown in 11.24-26, all three participants do embrace the jocular frame introduced by Vassia, with Paris producing a mock-injured claim, Ectoras playfully casting doubt on Paris's competence in this role, and with Kimonas extending the misgendering process by mobilising a formulaic expression that further cues the turn as laughable, in tandem with the interpolated laughter particles. We should note here, though, that Vassia's double role as a participant-observer might have influenced the participants' stance and have engineered this shift of position.

What is most important for our purposes is that the mediation of an unaddressed recipient in the narrating event brought about a shift away from a serious and towards a playful interactional frame that resulted in the de-escalation of the tension among the parties involved. This, however, occurred after the ratified, unaddressed participant had overtly exhibited their support to the target of an impoliteness-related evaluation regarding communication-oriented issues, contrary to categorising comments which were oriented to as jocular by the ratified overhearer(s) from the outset (cf. additional data extracts a, b: Appx11).

#### 4.3.3. Responding to affective comments in retellings of known events about present others

In stark contrast to the two previous categories of evaluations, affective comments are both designed and responded to in a way that signals the teller's and the target's non-serious stance, respectively. In terms of reciprocity, it is interesting that these comments are oriented to in a playful way both by addressed and unaddressed recipients, as illustrated in Extracts 4.11. and 4.12. below. I first examine the sequel of Extract 4.5. to consider Ectoras's response to Paris's affective comment.

##### **Extract 4.11.** *'Who me?'* (COP-32)<sup>79</sup>

294 PAR: \*Mας TA' \$πρη\*\*ξες!\$  
 I.PL.GEN.DSV them.CLT.ACC.N.OBJ nagged.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*You pissed us off/ you nagged us!*  
*\*looks at ECT with hands down*  
*\*\*ECT turns to PAR/*  
*KIM looks at ECT*

295 ECT: \*\$Eγ↑ώ:?\$=((γέλιο))  
 I  
*Who me?=(laughter)*  
*\*KIM looks at ECT & smiles*

<sup>79</sup> The longer version of this extract appears in Appx8: event 1.

As briefly mentioned in the analysis of Extract 4.5., Ectoras, who is the target of Paris’s affective metacommunicative comment *Μας ΤΑ΄ Σπρηξεεεε!* (‘You nagged us’; 1.294), aligns to the interactive frame introduced by the teller and reciprocates the invited smile in the subsequent turn (Jefferson, 1974). This smiley voice accompanies a mock-injured *Εγώ:?* (‘Who me?’), which only ostensibly questions the target’s responsibility for the teller’s emotional state, as indicated both by the rise in pitch and the vowel elongation, as well as by the laughter particles latched onto the personal pronoun that jointly constitute the utterance as exaggerated and thus laughable (Glenn & Holt, 2013). This is also attested to by Kimonas’s concurrent smile that indexes his alignment and affiliation with the target’s jocular stance. As shown by the significant pause in 1.296, the sequence then slightly fades out, before it gets re-initiated by Vassia through a self-teasing remark referring to the number of pancakes that she has consumed already. Notably, this contribution sustains the playful tenor of the interaction, while implicitly rendering support to the hosts by denoting the speaker’s liking for the food offered. Extract 4.12. below further exemplifies the direct reciprocation of the teller’s non-serious frame by all participants in the interaction.

**Extract 4.12.** *‘I admit I made a mistake’* (COP-1)<sup>80</sup>

- 28 KIM: \$↑M: ναί\$.  
*Mm yes.*
- 29 ECT: Και >τώρα πάει να μου το  
 And now goes.3<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL I.GEN.OBJ it.CLT.ACC.OBJ  
*And now he is about to*
- 30 ↑παίξει:< ↑↑Α για πες  
 Play.SBJV.PFV.3<sub>SNG</sub> Oh.PTRCL go-on.PRTCL say.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*fake it to me, ‘Ah tell me/us*
- 31 για τη^ ↑↑Μπράγα.  
 About the.ART.SNG.ACC.F Prague.ACC.F  
*About Prague’.*
- 32 PAR: \$Ωραία, ωραία, ωραία\$.  
*Okay, okay, okay.*
- 33 Το παραδέχομαι ότι έσφαλα,  
 it.CLT.ACC.OBJ admit.1<sub>SNG</sub> that.CONJ made-a-mistake.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*I admit that I made a mistake ((dramatic tone))*
- 34 Αλλά αυτό δε σημαίνει  
 But this.DEM.NOM.N NEG mean.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*But this does not mean*
- 35 ότι ~σε ξέ(h)χασα και ↑δε σ’ αγαπώ(h)~.=  
 That.CONJ you.SNG.ACC.OBJ forgot.1<sub>SNG</sub> and NEG you.SNG.ACC.OBJ love.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*That I forgot you and don’t love you.=*
- 36 ECT: =((Raucous laughter))
- 37 KIM: =((Raucous laughter))

<sup>80</sup> The longer version of this extract appears in Appx11: event 8; the prior interaction to which this telling refers can be found in Appx9: Vignette 2.



Picking up the threads from Extract 4.6., Ectoras's affective metacommunicative comment in ll.25-26 is pursued by Kimonas through an emphatic acknowledgment ( $\uparrow M:$ ), which does something over and above a mere continuer in light of its prosodic features (Stokoe & Edwards, 2007: 360), as well as through an overt agreement token (l.28). It therefore seems that Kimonas who, albeit not being the target of the previous affective comment, is the ratified addressee of it, strongly aligns to Ectoras's preceding action of telling a story about his emotional state on account of Paris's past behaviour. Besides this, by accompanying his verbal response with smiles, he also aligns to the projected by the teller non-serious frame of that sequence. The instigator of the affective evaluation sustains this frame further through an exaggerated/ stylised performance (Coupland, 2009; ll.29-31) of Paris's question in line 1 (*Για πες για την Πράγα!* 'Tell us about Prague!'; Appx11: event 8). More specifically, the lack of pitch concord (Culpeper, Bousfield & Wichmann, 2003) between Paris's original question and its reporting in the current telling situation, particularly the exaggerated prosody of the direct reported speech, makes the tone of this utterance hearable as imitative yet overdone. In other words, through this stylised recontextualisation of Paris's words, Ectoras may be conveying a negative assessment of Paris on account of the latter's allegedly ingenuine consideration for the former's trip but, doing so in an exaggerated manner, renders his commitment to the content of this assessment equivocal. Notably, the exaggerated frame is reciprocated by the indirect target of Ectoras's prior affective comment, as illustrated both by the smiley delivery of the subsequent turn, in which Paris responds with a series of continuers (l.32), as well as by the dramatic tone of his voice and the somewhat formal word choice *έσφαλα* ('I made a mistake'; l.33) that is incongruous with the informality of the ongoing conversation. Paris's overly dramatic performance grows to a crescendo in ll.34-35, in which he does crying, in light of the interpolated aspiration particles along with the tremulous tone of his voice, while confessing that his mistake does not imply inconsideration. This utterance is interpretable as mock due to its prosodic features, as well as to the mismatch between this turn and prior jocular talk (l.31). Its laughability is also attested to by Ectoras's and Kimonas's subsequent laughter in the uptake (ll.36-37), through which they align to the jocular frame of the telling event. Paris, too, participates in the laughter, which further confirms his prior joking stance (l.38). It therefore appears that in this extract, too, both addressed and unaddressed recipients align to the affective comment and affiliate with the teller's non-serious stance, as shown by their subsequent responses (cf. additional data extracts e, f: Appx11).

This section has both illustrated the different ways in which evaluative comments are responded to in first tellings about past transgressive events, depending on their category, and showcased the impact of the broader participation framework on the negotiation of these comments in the telling situation. As illustrated in §4.3.1., categorising comments are responded to seriously by targets either through challenging contributions or through apologetic comments, while ratified, unaddressed participants orient to non-seriousness which, albeit disaligning, leads both the teller and the evaluation-target to

eventually embrace jocularly. In terms of communication-oriented comments (§4.3.2.), ratified, unaddressed participants seem to first respond in a serious manner thus affiliating with the target's stance in the prior turn, but then shift towards jocularly, thereby helping settle the dispute within the group. This might relate to their role as non-targets of im/politeness evaluations, as well as to the generally humorous style of communication within the group (field notes). In contrast, affective comments (§4.3.3.), which are designed as non-serious by tellers, invite playful responses in the uptake both by targets and by ratified, unaddressed participants, which results in the de-escalation of conflict. Nonetheless, despite eventually moving to a jocular frame, the instigators of these evaluative comments may often change their positioning during playback interviews, to which I turn now.

#### 4.4. Participants' reflexive evaluations in interviews: shifting to seriousness and justifying situated non-seriousness

While the analysis of playback interviews in Chapter Three sought to demonstrate the participants' shift from implicit or non-serious explicit evaluations in the ongoing interactions to serious and overt evaluations in the interview setting, playback interview material in this chapter will serve an additional goal: it will help examine the rationales that participants provide for 'camouflaging' their serious evaluations *in situ*, and thereby provide glimpses into the related identity positions that tellers construct for themselves beyond single interactions (NP L3). Finally, it will allow us to probe into the participants' shift to serious emotive talk and the warrants underlying the playful rendering of affective comments in the heat of the moment.

##### 4.4.1. Categorising comments in reflexive accounts in playback interviews

As shown in Extracts 4.13. and 4.14. below, in the interactive situation that follows from the serious retelling of the impoliteness stories examined in §4.2. and §4.3. above, the interviewees associate the situated use of humour with their intention to soothe things down and maintain the participants' connection, while they project agentful and trouble-resistant identities.

Following a serious retelling (Appx 13: extract 7: 11.01-17) of the story that was analysed in Extract 4.1. above, in which Ioli mobilised the same categorising comment to characterise Simeon's narrated behaviour (*ήταν όντως σοβαρή αγένεια* 'It really was serious rudeness'; 1.03, Appx 13: extract 7), I prompt her to reflect on her jocular stance at the end of the talked-about event.

**Extract 4.13.** 'I wanted to avoid the tension' (INT-7)<sup>81</sup>

- 18 VAS: Μετά γέλασες όμως=  
Then laughed.2<sub>SNG</sub> but  
But then you laughed=
- 19 IOL: =Ναι γέλασα: γιατί: (.)  
Yes laughed.1<sub>SNG</sub> because  
=Yes I laughed because (.)
- 20 Για να ελαφρύνω το ↑κλίμα  
In-order-to lighten.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.ACC.N climate.ACC.N  
In order to lighten up the atmosphere
- 21 Λίγο μωρέ.  
a-bit more.PRTCL  
A bit {more}.
- 22 IOL: Καφέ πίναμε έτσι κι αλλιώς και:  
Coffee drink.PST.PROG.1<sub>PL</sub> anyway and  
We were drinking coffee anyway and
- 23 VAS: Ναι.  
Yes.
- 24 IOL: Γενικά (.) ε:: πολλά πράγματα τς που:  
Generally eh.PRTCL many.N things.N ts.PRTCL that.CONJ  
Generally, (.) eh many things ts that
- 25 Συμβαίνουν τα θεωρώ ά- άσχημα αλλά:  
Happen.3<sub>PL</sub> them.CLT.ACC.N.OBJ deem.1<sub>SNG</sub> bad.ACC.N but  
Happen, I deem them b- bad but
- 26 ΔΕ θα κάτσω να μαλώσω με:  
NEG will sit.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL quarrel.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub> with  
I am not going to quarrel now with (.)
- 27 Τον άλλο.  
the.ART.SNG.ACC.M other.SNG.ACC.M  
The other person.
- 28 VAS: Ναι [eng] **όκει**.  
Yes okay.
- 29 IOL: Ή να γκρινιάζω  
Or to.PRTCL whine.SBJV.PROG.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
Or to be whining
- 30 VAS: ↑M: αυ[το<]  
M this.SNG.N  
Mm th[i s]
- 31 IOL: [Για]τί ήθελα να απούγω (.)  
Because wanted.1<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL avoid.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
[Bec]ause I wanted to avoid (.)
- 32 την ένταση μεταξύ μας  
the.ART.SNG.ACC.F tension.SNG.ACC.F between us  
The tension between us.

In her response, the interviewee provides an account for shifting towards a jocular frame at the there-and-then: she strategically mobilised laughter as a mechanism for soothing things down (ll.20-21). And after receiving a minimal acknowledgement token by the interviewer, she goes on to produce what is close to a habitual story (Riessman, 1990; ll.24-29), as signalled both by the adverb *γενικά* (generally; l.24) and by the use of the present tense that marks some event as recurrent (l.25, l.31).

<sup>81</sup> See longer version of this extract in Appx13: extract 7.

Where the personal story pointed to Ioli's serious stance towards the past reprehensible event and presented her as patient of others' actions (ll.01-17; Appx 13: extract 7), the habitual narrative, with its greater volume on the negation (l.26) and the emphatic stress on 'arguing' and 'whining/complaining' (l.29), presents Ioli as asserting control over the bad things that happen in her life, and agentively managing troubles by refraining from the negatively-valenced acts of arguing or complaining (ll.26-29). In saying so, she positions herself not as oversensitive but as being able to resist trouble by embracing humour (NP L3), which is in line with the general constraint against seriously complaining to avoid being characterised as a dispositional moaner (e.g. Sacks, 1992; Edwards, 2005). And she goes on to account for this positioning, following the interviewer's aligned response (l.30). So, in ll.31-32, Ioli emphatically associates her troubles-resistance with conflict-avoidance and thus with the maintenance of the participants' closeness.

In a similar vein, when I played the video of Extract 4.2. back to Ectoras, and asked him to reflect on this, the interviewee retold the story of Kimonas's there-and-then aggressive behaviour in serious terms, and indeed re-categorised Kimonas's tone as 'aggressive', which signals a form of sedimentation in his understanding of the said impoliteness-related behaviour (*θυμάμαι...τον α: (.) ε: επ- επιθετικό τόνο του Κίμωνα*. 'I remember the ah (.) eh aggressive tone of Kimonas'; ll.05-08, Appx13: extract 8). Following this, though, he exhibited a somewhat enduring appreciation of humour.

**Extract 4.14.** 'I take it non-seriously' (INT-8)<sup>82</sup>

- 13 VAS: M °ναι° αλλά χαμογέλασες=  
M yes but smiled.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
M yes but you smiled=  
14 ECT: =Ναι ντάξει (.)  
=Yes okay (.)  
15 >Ετσι είναι σαν: ἄνθρωπος<  
Like-that is like human.SNG.NOM.M  
He is like that as a person.  
16 μωρέ οξύθυμος.  
More.PRTCL irritable.ADJ.SNG.NOM.M  
{more} irritable.  
17 VAS: M:  
Mm  
18 ECT: Κι εγώ το παίρνω (.)  
And I it.CTL.SNG.ACC.OBJ take.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
And I take it (.)  
19 Από ένα σημείο και μετά  
From one point.ACC.N and then  
After some time  
20 στην^ μπλάκκα >για να μην< ε::  
in-the.ART.SNG.ACC.F fun.SNG.ACC.F in-order-to NEG eh.PRTCL

<sup>82</sup> See longer version of this extract in Appx13: extract 8.

21 *Non-seriously in order not to eh*  
 τρωγόμαστε συνέχεια.  
 Eat.PASS.PRS.1<sub>PL</sub> all-the-time  
 Row/ have an argument all the time.

This said, after my low-aligned response that points to his there-and-then smiling behaviour (l.13), Ectoras rushes to latch two agreement tokens, which signal alignment to what the interviewer has just referred to. Notably, these markers preface a ‘characterological formulation’ (Edwards, 2006) that is drawn upon as a way of morally defending the target by attributing his situated behaviour to his person *type* (Alexander & Stokoe, 2020), that is, to his being irritable (ll.15-16). And while the interviewer does not do more than acknowledging this characterisation, Ectoras embarks on what sounds as a habitual story (Riessman, 1990) to illustrate what his recurrent reaction to Kimonas’s irritation is. In doing so, he parallels Kimonas’s irritability with his own tendency to not be taking things too seriously (ll.18-20). Again, note that, whilst the personal story presented Ectoras’s serious stance towards the iteratively storied transgression of swearing (ll.05-08, Appx13: extract 8), the habitual story affords glimpses into Ectoras’s purportedly more enduring troubles-resistance (Jefferson, 1984: 351) and humour appreciation (l.21; NP L3) that resonates with the common constraint against over-complaining (Sacks, 1992), while it also associates humour with conflict-avoidance among friends (ll.20-21).

In sum, in both interviews analysed above, the interviewees did not only produce serious retellings of shared stories containing overt categorising comments, but they also mobilised habitual narratives to construct a trouble-resistant sense of self that appreciates humour and employs it as a mechanism for forestalling conflict among friends. It is important to acknowledge at this point that this positioning might have been partly affected by the way the interviewer constructed the questions. As the following section will show, a similar positioning is projected in prompted retellings of stories about past communicative transgressions.

#### 4.4.2. Communication-oriented comments in reflexive accounts in playback interviews

As extracts 4.15. and 4.16. below show, in prompted retellings of stories containing communication-oriented comments, participants mobilise strongly-framed parallel structures similar to those drawn upon in retellings of known events about present others, thereby orienting to the recontextualised events in serious terms. And they go on to signal the recurrence of these contrastive modes of conduct through habitual stories (Riessman, 1990), which help present the tellers as troubles-resistant beyond the here-and-now (Jefferson, 1984).

After Ectoras produces a serious retelling of the incident analysed in Extract 4.3., which glosses Kimonas's communicative breach (άρχισε να ιβρίζει 'he started to swear'; l.05, Appx13: extract 9) as a form of aggression (εριστικότητα; l.09), and further juxtaposes it to his own purported calmness (<ήρεμα; l.11), he is asked to report his thoughts on that event.

**Extract 4.15. 'I comment in a calm manner' (INT-9)<sup>83</sup>**

- 15 VAS: Αυτό πώς σε έ- τι σκέψεις [ε:]  
 this.NOM.N how you.SNG.ACC.OBJ what thoughts.ACC.F eh.PRTCL  
*This how did it-, what thoughts [eh]*
- 16 ECT: [To<]  
 The.ART  
 [The]
- 17 Σου 'πα και πριν >(δη)λαδή< ότι::  
 You.SNG.GEN.OBJ said.1SNG and before that-is that.PRTCL  
*I told you before, that is, that*
- 18 Αρπάζεται με το παραμικρό.  
 Get-irritated.3SNG with the.ART.SNG.ACC.N slightest.ADJ.ACC.N  
*He gets irritated at the drop of a hat.*
- 19 Ενώ εγώ σχολιάζω ήρεμα.  
 While I comment.1SNG calmly.ADV  
*While I comment in a calm manner.*
- 20 (0.8)
- 21 VAS: Και λες είναι γενικό=  
 And say.2SNG is general  
*And, you say, it's general=*
- 22 ECT: =Ναι είναι συχνότατο. (.)  
 Yes is frequent.SPRL.NOM.N  
*=Yes it's too frequent.*
- 23 Κι εγώ ιδεν έχω ΔΙΑθεση να:  
 And I NEG have.1SNG mood.ACC.F to.PRTCL  
*And I am not in the mood to*
- 24 >μαλώνω ρε παιδί μου<.  
 Quarrel.SBJV.PROG.1SNG re.PRTCL child.VOC I.POSS.GEN  
*Quarrel {re}/ dude*
- 25 Ούτε να το παρατραβάω.  
 Nor to.PRTCL it.CLT.ACC.OBJ extend.SBJV.PROG.1SNG  
*Nor to be taking it too far.*
- 26 Και ξέρεις έκανα< κάνω [eng] ιχιούμορ  
 And know.2SNG did.1SNG do.1SNG humour.ACC  
*And you know I was, I joke*
- 27 παρόλο που ο άλλος=  
 Despite that.CONJ the.ART.SNG.NOM.M other.SNG.NOM.M  
*Despite that the other one*
- 28 =Η μουσίτσα=  
 the.ART.SNG.NOM.F sly.SNG.NOM.F  
*=The sly=*
- 29 VAS: =(Laughter)
- 30 ECT: Επιμένει.  
 Persists.

<sup>83</sup> See longer version of this extract in Appx13: extract 9.

In response to the interviewer's question, Ectoras generates two 'habitual stories' (Riessman, 1990; ll.18-19) juxtaposed by the contrastive *ενώ* ('while'), which extends the parallelism between the two characters. However, in light of the use of present tense, this contrast between Kimonas's reportedly extreme irritability (l.18) and Ectoras's calmness (l.19) is constructed as *quasi*-stable and recurrent. Also, the use of the superlative form of the adjective *συχνό* ('frequent'; l.22) adds to this interpretation. Most importantly, in ll.23-25, Ectoras extends the habitual story that positions him as a cool and even-tempered person by ascribing dispositions (Edwards, 1995, 2006) to his calmness, on account of his purported tendency to eschew disputes and extreme behaviours (NP L3). He is thus drawing on a formulation that focusses on the more stable characteristics of his identity (cf. Zimmerman's 1998 'transportable' identities), and he does so emphatically (note the marked loudness and pitch elevation; l.23), in order to pursue an interactional project: to morally defend himself and implicate the target as morally reprehensive (e.g. Stokoe & Hepburn, 2005). Then, he provides concrete evidence for this *quasi*-essential tendency to his interlocutor, whom he overtly implicates, and thus confirms that his prior formulation was recipient-designed (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). The evidence is offered by his tendency to joke (l.26), which further indexes his coolness and inclination to not be taking things too seriously, but it is also cued interactionally (NP L2) in view of the slang, formulaic word choice *μουσίτσα* ('sly'; l.28), and Kimonas's misgendering, which are both hearable and in fact heard as laughable in the interaction (note the subsequent laughter by the interviewer; l.29; Glenn, 2003: 49). What therefore transpires from this analysis is that Ectoras may be taking up a serious stance towards Kimonas's purported moral breach in the personal story, but in the habitual story he oscillates between seriousness and non-seriousness; he begins with seriously framing Kimonas's communication-oriented transgression and then explicitly claims his abstinence from serious disputes and embrace of humour, which is too interactionally displayed. This ambivalence is apparent in the following extract too.

In this, Kimonas does not wait to be prompted by the interviewer but instead offers his recollection of the there-and-then incident (Extract 4.4.) *impromptu*. In particular, he first states that he remembers the played-back event (l.01; Appx13: Extract 10), before moving on to produce an emphatic affective comment (*Ήτανε (.) πολύ εκνευριστικό* 'It was very upsetting') that foregrounds his emotional state in the story (l.02). This comment also prefaces a serious retelling of the known incident, in which the teller draws on the same communication-oriented comment (*Να μου κάνει κριτική* 'to criticise me' (l.05) to construct the target's conduct in the plot as transgressive. Notably, Ectoras's positioning as critical is cued as enduring through the use of a series of small stories (ll.9-11), here presented in the form of a triplet (Bax, 2011: 166; cf. Culpeper, 2011a: 154) that has the rhetorical effect of intensifying the character's accountability for the recommended stance, while indexing Kimonas's strong-negative affect towards the narrated events. What is most important to consider here is the interviewee's next move.

**Extract 4.16.** *'I always let it go'* (INT-10)<sup>84</sup>

- 13 KIM: Και πάντα ε: (.)  
And always  
*And I always*
- 14 δίνω τό- τόπο στην οργή  
give.1<sub>SNG</sub> room.SNG.ACC.M to.PREP-the.ART.SNG.ACC.F rage.SNG.ACC.F  
*((I)) let it go*
- 15 Και προσπαθώ να μη: (.)  
And try.1<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL NEG  
*And try not to (.)*
- 16 Δίνω τό::ση σημασία  
give.1<sub>SNG</sub> so.ADJ.SNG.ACC.F significance.SNG.ACC.F  
*Take it so seriously / pay so much attention*
- 17 Γιατί >νταξ φίλοι είμαστε< και: (.)  
Because okay friends.NOM.M are.1<sub>PL</sub> and  
*Because, well, we are friends and (.)*
- 18 [eng] **όκει** ε:: (.) καταλαβαίνεις.  
Okay eh.PRTCL understand.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Okay, eh, (.) you see.*
- 19 VAS: Ναι ναι.  
Yes yes.
- 20 KIM: Οπότε (.) θα πω  
So will say.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*So (.) I will say it*
- 21 >ρε παιδί μου< (.)  
re.PRTCL child.VOC I.POSS.GEN  
*{re} / man (.)*
- 22 μη μου κάνεις κριτική: [fre] **μμανδάμ**ξ  
NEG I.GEN.OBJ do.2<sub>SNG</sub> criticism.ACC.F madame.VOC  
*Don't criticise me, madame.*
- 23 Αλλά μέχρι εκεί.  
But until there  
*But I won't go beyond this.*

In this sequence, Kimonas launches a habitual story (Riessman, 1990) that displays what his own recurrent mode of response is towards Ectoras's iterative criticisms. Indeed, the use of the present tense (e.g. ll.14-15), and the adverb *πάντα* ('always'; l.13) index the typicality of his mode of conduct, which consists in Kimonas's agentively refraining from escalating the tension between the two parties or taking the criticism too seriously (note the transitive verbal structures e.g. in ll.14-15). He thus projects a cool, tolerant, and troubles-resistant position (Jefferson, 1984), which is indeed justified by the teller on account of the participants' relational connection (l.17). This said, he simultaneously indicates, interactionally (NP L2), some form of distancing from this cool identification, as illustrated by the signs of trouble in his talk, namely, the fillers (e.g. l.13, l.18), the pauses (l.15), the self-repair (l.14), the appeals to the interviewer (l.18), and the use of the verb *προσπαθώ* (try; l.15), which implies a form of difficulty in undertaking the recommended course

<sup>84</sup> See longer version of this extract in Appx13: extract 10.



of action. The teller is thus oscillating between embracing a serious stance towards criticism and rejecting it.

Following my low-aligned response (l.19), Kimonas resumes his habitual story (l.20; Raymond, 2004) with a proposition that is hearable as direct reported speech (note the quotative verb and the prosody of the turn; l.20, l.22; Klewitz & Couper-Kuhlen, 1999). This reported utterance that Kimonas is animating here is what he-as-character allegedly directs to Ectoras-as-character in their habitual disputes triggered by the latter's recurrent criticism. What is interesting to note here is the construction of this proposition as laughable in the here-and-now of the telling event in light of the slangy word choice *μανδάμ* (madame; l.22), its smiley delivery that invites subsequent laughter (cf. l.24), as well as of the target's misgendering (*μανδάμ*). All these features work in conjunction to indicate the teller's non-serious stance that was only implicitly indicated by the interactional features above, but here becomes more explicit. It therefore appears that, again, whilst the personal story presented a serious aspect of the teller's self, the mobilisation of a habitual story shed light on a nonchalant position that embraces humour and avoids escalating friend disputes (l.23), while simultaneously doing complaining about perceived improprieties (NP L3). This stance is also projected in serious retellings of stories about negative emotions.

#### 4.4.3. Affective comments in reflexive accounts in playback interviews

As extracts 4.17. and 4.18. below show, in prompted retellings of stories containing affective comments, participants orientate to the narrated events in serious terms, in contrast to the jocular framing of those events in retellings about present others' misconduct (§4.3.3.). In addition, they draw both on habitual (Riessman, 1990) and on generic accounts (Georgakopoulou, 2010; Baynham, 2011) to construct their resorting to humour in situated expressions of negative emotions as recurrent and normative.

#### **Extract 4.17. *Despair and humour* (INT-11)<sup>85</sup>**

05 PAR: Αυτό που είπα ε:μ  
 This.ACC.N that.CONJ said.1<sub>SNG</sub> uhm  
*What I said uhm*

06 Εί- είχε λίγη απόγνωση. (.)  
 Had.3<sub>SNG</sub> a-little.ADJ.SNG.ACC.F despair.ACC.F  
*((It)) ha- had a bit of despair in it. (.)*

07 Είχε λίγη απόγνωση.  
 Had.3<sub>SNG</sub> a-little.ADJ.SNG.ACC.F despair.ACC.F  
*It had some despair.*

08 VAS: Απόγνωση [γ:α :]  
 despair.ACC.F about

<sup>85</sup> See longer version of this extract in Appx13: extract 11.

- Despair [about]
- 09 PAR: [Γι α ]τι: έκανε κριτική (.)  
because do.PST.PROG.2<sub>SNG</sub> criticism.SNG.ACC.F  
*[Because he was making criticism (.)*
- 10 για τη: (.) μα- μαρμελάδα.  
About the.ART.SNG.ACC.F marmalade.SNG.ACC.F  
*About the marmalade.*
- 11 (0.7)
- 12 Ναι: απόγνωση ντυμένη (.)  
Yes despair.ACC.F dressed.PRTCL.ACC.F  
*Yes despair embellished*
- 13 με λίγο ίχλιούμορ.  
with a-little.SNG.ACC.N humour.SNG.ACC.N  
*with a little bit of humour.*
- 14 Νομίζω αυτό σήμαινε  
Think.1<sub>SNG</sub> this.ACC.N mean.PST.PROG.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*I think this is what meant*
- 15 αυτό που είπα.  
this.NOM.N that.CONJ said.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*what I said.*
- 16 VAS: M: και για- για ποιο λόγο δεν είπες (.)  
Mm and for for what.ACC.M reason.ACC.M NEG said.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Mm and for- for what reason eh (.) you didn't say (.)*
- 17 <Νιώθω απόγνωση> μ' αυτό που γίνεται (.)  
Feel.1<sub>SNG</sub> despair.ACC.F with this.ACC.N that.CONJ goes-on  
*I feel desperate with what's going on (.)*
- 18 Και έκανες πλάκα?  
And do.2<sub>SNG</sub> fun.ACC.F  
*And you joked?*
- 19 PAR: E: γιατί υπάρχουν ισορροπίες. (.)  
Eh.PRTCL because exist.3<sub>PL</sub> balance.PL.NOM.F  
*Eh because there are balances. (.)*
- 20 Εέρω 'γώ ε: δεν^ ντο λες αυτό.  
Know.1<sub>SNG</sub> I eh.PRTCL NEG it.CLT.ACC.OBJ say.2<sub>SNG</sub> this.ACC.N  
*I don't now, eh, you don't say this.*
- 21 VAS: Δε λες πώς νιώθεις;  
NEG say.2<sub>SNG</sub> how feel.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*You don't say how you feel;*
- 22 PAR: E: θα το αφήσω ε-  
Eh.PRTCL will it.CLT.ACC.OBJ leave.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Eh I will leave it*
- 23 Εκείνη τη στιγμή,  
That.ACC.F the.ART.ACC.F moment.ACC.F  
*At that point,*
- 24 Και θα το πω μετά κατ' ιδίαν.  
And will it.CLT.ACC.OBJ say.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub> after in-private  
*And I will say it afterwards in private.*
- 25 Δε θα το πω  
NEG will it.CLT.ACC.OBJ say.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*I won't say it*
- 26 μπροστά σε όλους.  
In-front-of everybody.PL.ACC.M  
*in front of everybody.*

The sequence begins with the interviewee's reflection on the situated affective comment that he had proffered in the there-and-then incident, and which I animated at the beginning of the interview (*Μας ΤΑ' ξπρηξεες* 'you nagged us'; 1.01, Appx13: extract 11). He particularly interprets that evaluative comments as indexing a form of despair (*ειχε λιγη απογνωση* 'It had a little bit of despair'; 11.06-07), which is considered an other-condemning emotion (Haidt, 2003) that clusters with sadness (Shaver et al., 1987). Notably, this affective comment is hearable as serious in light of its repetition (cf. 1.12), and the emphatic tone on *απογνωση*, as well as due to the metapragmatic rationale (Davies, 2018) that the teller offers in overlap with my incipient *wh*-question (1.08), and which explicitly associates his negative emotion with Ectoras's critical stance in the plot (11.09-10; NP L1). And while the teller does being serious in this retelling, contrary to his playful stance in the first telling, he simultaneously projects a form of distancing from this stance, interactionally (NP L2), as cued by the signs of trouble that mark his response, namely, the fillers (e.g. 1.05), the pauses (e.g. 1.06, 1.10), the dental click (1.03), the self-repair (1.06), and the lexical mitigators (11.06-07). This distancing becomes more explicit in what follows, as the teller builds on his affective comment, following my somewhat significant pause (1.11). More specifically, in 1.12, he produces an incremental self-continuation that elaborates on what the teller has just said (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007: 515; Haugh & Obana, 2015) by expanding the purported indexical scope of his reported utterance: it indicates despair, yet embellished with a humorous tenor (*ντυμενη (.) με λιγο ιχιουμορ* 'embellished with a little bit of humour'; 11.12-13). Again, the marker of low epistemic authority in 1.14 (*Νομιζω* 'I think') indicates some form of hesitation in the interactive situation.

In response to my *wh*-interrogative soliciting an account (Bolden & Robinson, 2011) for disguising his authentic emotion of despair and adopting a playful stance during the first telling, Paris links humour to the maintenance of social balance and harmony (1.19), and then generates what is close to a generic story (Georgakopoulou, 2010) to construe the overt expression of this emotion as a non-allowable contribution in general (Schegloff, 1996; De Fina, 2003: 53; Scheibman, 2007: 133), yet tentatively (note the use of the marker of low epistemic authority *ξερω* 'γω 'I don't know' and the filler *ε:* 'eh'). What is more, to my *quasi*-interrogative proposition that probes a bit more into the expression of emotions triggered by a transgressive event (1.21), Paris responds by launching a habitual story (Riessman, 1990) which presents him as habitually avoiding the direct expression of emotions (11.22-23), and opting for verbalising his (negative) feelings in private and not in front of third parties (11.24-26). Indeed, the emphatic tone on *κατ' ιδιαν* ('in private'; 1.24) and on the negation (1.25) accentuates the serious tenor of the teller's assertion. It therefore seems that the teller adopts a serious stance towards the expression of emotions triggered by transgressive events in the private context of the interview, contrary to the playful stance taken up in public. This stance is evident in the following extract too.

**Extract 4.18.** 'To lighten up the atmosphere' (INT-12)<sup>86</sup>

- 03 ECT: Το θυμάμαι τώρα και ε: (.) ξέρεις (.)  
 It.CLT.ACC.N.OBJ remember.1<sub>SNG</sub> now and eh.PRTCL know.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*I remember it now and eh (.) you know (.)*
- 04 Εκνευρίζομαι λίγο γιατί (.)  
 get-angry.1<sub>SNG</sub> a-little because  
*I am getting a little bit upset because*
- 05 Γιατί ΘΥΜΑμαι να λέω  
 Because remember to.PRTCL say.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Because I remember say- me saying*
- 06 στον^ Μπάρι ότι θα πάω: ε:  
 to.PREP-the.ART.SNG.ACC.M Paris.ACC that.CONJ will go.1<sub>SNG</sub> eh.PRTCL  
*to Paris that I'll go eh*
- 07 Πράγα να πούμε με το σχολείο,  
 Prague.ACC to.PRTCL say.1<sub>PL</sub> with the.ART.SNG.ACC.N school.SNG.ACC.N  
*to Prague with the- the school,*
- 08 VAS: ↑M::  
*Mmm*
- 09 ECT: Το ξέχασε (.)  
 It.CLT.ACC.OBJ forgot.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*He forgot about it (.)*
- 10 Και ούτε που ενδιαφέρθηκε.  
 And neither that.PRTCL cared-about.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*And did not even care about ((it)).*  
 ((further down))
- 14 ECT: Ε καλά χαμογέλασα όπως χαμογελάω πάντα  
 Eh.PRTCL well smiled.1<sub>SNG</sub> as smile.3<sub>SNG</sub> always  
*Eh well I smiled as I always smile*
- 15 για να μην εκτροχιαστεί (.)  
 In-order-to NEG derail.PASS.SBJV.PFV.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*So that ((it)) won't be derailed (.)*
- 16 το πράγμα,  
 The.ART.NOM.N thing.NOM.N  
*the thing,*
- 17 και να: ελαφρύνω το κλίμα.  
 And to.PRTCL lighten.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.NOM.N atmosphere.NOM.N  
*And so as to lighten up the atmosphere.*
- 18 VAS: M:: ναι ναι.  
*Mmm yes yes.*
- 19 ECT: ↑Άσε που άμα το πεις πιο: γλυκά,  
 Besides if it.CLT.ACC.OBJ say.SBJV.2<sub>SNG</sub> more sweetly  
*Besides, if you say it in a sweeter manner,*
- 20 ο άλλος παίζει ν' ακούσει. (.)  
 the.ART.NOM.M other.NOM.M may to.PRTCL hear.SBJV.PFV.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*The other ((person)) may hear ((you)). (.)*
- 21 Ενώ άμα το πεις [eng] **φουλ** σοβαρά  
 While if it.CLT.ACC.OBJ say.SBJV.2<sub>SNG</sub> full seriously  
*While if you say it too seriously*
- 22 Αμύνεται και είναι πιθανό να: τσακωθείς.  
 Defends.3<sub>SNG</sub> and is likely to quarrel.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*S/he defends and it's likely that you'll fight.*

<sup>86</sup> See longer version of this extract in Appx13: extract 12.

After listening to the recording, Ectoras emphatically states that he remembers the related incident (l.03; cf. Extract 4.6), which indeed prompts a form of mild irritation to him in the here-and-now telling event (*Εκνευρίζομαι λίγο* 'I am getting a little bit upset'; l.04). This affective comment is immediately followed by an account which attributes the interviewee's negative emotion to Paris's allegedly inappropriate behaviour in the plot (ll.05-10). Before doing so, however, the teller rushes to project an innocent sense of himself (Hutchby, 2008) by foregrounding his previous actions of informing Paris about his forthcoming trip, which indeed elicits the interviewer's strong-aligned response (l.08). On this basis, Paris's subsequently reported forgetfulness and inconsideration (ll.09-10) sound way more improper and accountable. More specifically, by mobilising two negatively-valenced verbal structures with Ectoras as subject and thus agent, as well as by adding prosodic emphasis on *ξέχασε* ('he forgot'; l.9) and on *ούτε* (neither; l.10), the teller seriously positions Paris's character (NP L1) as inconsiderate and thus as potentially impolite<sup>87</sup>. Notably, the teller does not perform any form of distancing from the serious frame in the narrating world, contrary to the playful tone of his affective comment in the first telling (Extract 4.6.).

Nevertheless, when I pointed to that playful tone by mentioning Ectoras's smile in the plot (l.13), Ectoras not only confirmed his jocular stance, but he also constructed it as a non-ephemeral (l.14) and as a fairly strategic (l.15) and agentive way of retaining control of the situation (ll.15-16) and soothing things down (l.17). After securing the interviewer's strong-aligned response (l.18), he went on to produce a generic story in which he emphatically constructed sweetness (l.19) as an additional means of making a person listen to you (l.20), in stark contrast to high seriousness that, according to him, may fuel quarrels by inciting the other party to defend themselves (ll.21-22). It is important to note here that the prosodic and design features of this account, namely, the use of the first conditional that presents some situation as factual, along with the prosodic emphasis, index an assertive stance and help universalise the narrated experience (De Fina, 2003: 53). In this extract too, then, the teller oriented to the transgressive past event in serious terms, in contrast to the way he approached it in front of the target, while he constructed an agentive and troubles-resistant self (Jefferson, 1984) through habitual and generic accounts.

This section has tapped into the tellers' post-hoc understandings of impoliteness and positionings, as these were indicated by their *impromptu* comments on or responses to interviewer questions about shared events in the context of playback interviews. As shown in §4.4.1. and §4.4.2., retellings of transgressive events containing actor-focused categorisations or communication-oriented comments were framed in serious terms, but the interactional features of these retellings indicated some distancing from the utterly serious frame. This distancing was indeed fleshed out in more overt terms

---

<sup>87</sup> See e.g. Fukushima & Sifianou (2017) for the link between in/consideration and im/politeness in Greek.

in habitual stories, in which the tellers projected a more enduring troubles-resistant position that is appreciative of humour and tends to strategically mobilise it to ensure relational connectedness among the members of the friendship group. In terms of retellings of stories involving affective comments (§4.4.3.) in interviews, these too were drafted as serious by tellers in the interview situation, in contrast to the jocular stance that these tellers had initially taken up. In addition, tellers of emotion-related stories explicitly referred to some difficulty in publicly displaying emotions, which was indeed presented as a rationale for the playful framing of affective comments in public. And they went on to add a *quasi*-normative nuance to this rationale through generic stories.

## 4.5. Summary

In this chapter I have both illustrated how my participants display their enduring understandings of impoliteness in narratives about shared transgressive events that hold co-present targets explicitly accountable for past moral breaches, and have highlighted the identity positions made relevant in this interactional practice. In particular, my analysis has produced three main findings building on those of Chapter Three.

To begin with, it has shown that participants tend to shift their evaluations of transgressive events depending on the interactional practice they are engaged in. By comparing participants' first evaluations of impoliteness events in ongoing talk to second (re)evaluations in retellings of the same events (see §4.2.; cf. Figure 1.4. Features of categorising and communication-oriented impoliteness evaluations in ongoing talk or field notes, and in ; Appx1), we can observe that participants shift their stance towards the said event by redrafting the form of their evaluation in different contexts. More specifically, they tend to evaluate an impoliteness event just implicitly the moment when it emerges through non-verbal and prosodic cues (e.g. 1a, 15a; Figure 1.4.), or to design their verbalised evaluations as non-serious (e.g. 2a, 12a; Figure 1.4.) through smiles or interpolated laughter particles, and yet mobilise unequivocally serious categorising (§4.2.1.; cf. 1-10 in Figure 1.4.; Appx1) and communication-oriented (§4.2.2.; cf. 11-18 in Figure 1.4.; Appx1) comments in order to retrospectively evaluate shared events in interaction. Additionally, I showed that participants move from an implicit evaluation in ongoing talk towards an explicit affective comment to verbalise their emotions in retellings, yet in an overtly playful manner (see Figure 1.4.: 19-25; Appx1). Retellings launched after some time has elapsed, therefore, seem to be prime sites for seriously and explicitly re-evaluating a shared impoliteness event in front of its target.

Such shifting stances mean that impoliteness is scarcely straightforwardly evaluated, and that making sense of an im/politeness-related experience may require some 'temporal distance' (Gadamer, 19745:

124). On another note, they might well be linked to the fact that participants may have cost/benefit as well as connection/separation concerns (Spencer-Oatey, 2002), which may guide them to avoid making serious judgments or expressing serious emotions in the heat of the moment. Rather, they initially mock their evaluations and re-introduce them as serious from a more detached standpoint to minimise the possible threat to the group's relational connection. This does not seem to apply to emotive talk through since unleashing negative emotions in an unrestrained could result in the kind of 'affective impoliteness' discussed by Kasper (1990: 209-210), Jay (2000: 57) and Culpeper (2011a: 221-223), and could thus be significantly face-threatening. Additionally, the shift to directness in retellings might also connect with the self-lamination (Schiffrin, 1996) afforded by narrative practices which allows the tellers to position self and other(s) both as characters in the told event (NP L1) and as participants in the telling event (NP L2). By enabling tellers to highlight the accountability of the target's character in the story-world rather than of the direct addressee in the here-and-now telling event, narratives seem to be a designated site for proffering serious evaluations of impoliteness. On a final note, such shifts from serious to jocular frames in both groups studied might be indexical of these friendship groups' local culture or even of wider cultural norms in Greece, whereby friendly disputes are scarcely escalated but rather intimacy activates the playful banter schema that reasserts solidarity.

This finding therefore adds nuance to previous interactional studies that have evidenced the situated and dynamically-changing nature of participants' evaluations (e.g. Haugh, 2013; Ogiermann, 2019), by looking at the transformation of the same impoliteness evaluations in time and per context, afforded by the micro-analytical and participant-observer perspective adopted here. It also adds to the critical mass of studies which have evidenced the validity of identity tools for im/politeness research in interaction (e.g. Georgakopoulou, 2013b; cf. §1.2.), by demonstrating the usefulness of small stories paradigm (Georgakopoulou, 2007) and Bamberg's (1997) positioning model for tapping into the participants' shifting positions towards potentially impolite actions in different interactional practices. On a final note, by affording insights into the explicit expression of impoliteness-related emotions in narratives, this study can be taken as a starting point for investigating the relationship between lay understandings of im/politeness and affectivity in naturally-occurring small stories data (cf. §1.1.2.).

The *second* overarching finding relates to the interactional negotiation of explicit (re)evaluations in retellings about present others' improprieties, especially to the significant role of ratified yet unaddressed participants in reshaping seriously framed evaluations during the telling situation by introducing a jocular interactional frame. More specifically, as shown in §4.3.1. and §4.3.2., while targets of serious categorising or communication-oriented comments tend to challenge or de-ratify these evaluations by mirroring the tellers' serious stance, unaddressed recipients shift towards a jocular frame that has sequential and relational implications; first, it brings the sequence to a closure

as both targets and instigators of evaluations eventually embrace the playful footing, and second, it forestalls the escalation of the ongoing dispute, thereby supporting the participants' closeness. The fact that it is unaddressed recipients who introduce a jocular frame could be linked to their role as non-targets and thus as not directly held accountable for the said impoliteness event. This further attests to the dynamic nature and negotiability of impoliteness evaluations, as well as to the significant role that different footings may play in (re)shaping the interpretation of impoliteness events. This study therefore adds nuance to the examination of im/politeness as evaluative practice by situating evaluations vis-à-vis multiple reception footings in multi-party interactions (cf. Haugh, 2013).

My *final* finding relates to the important role of interview data not only in shedding light into the participants' enduring evaluations and authentic emotions, but also in allowing insight into their reflections on their shifting stances across contexts, and in turn into the *quasi*-enduring troubles-resistant and humour-appreciative positions that this reflexive work projected. Notably, this was accomplished through particular narrative genres, namely, through habitual (Riessman, 1990) narratives, which constructed non-complaining and humour-appreciative positions as recurrent, and indeed presented them as a habitual way of avoiding ongoing conflict (NP L3). Last, but not least, it was through generic (Georgakopoulou, 2010) accounts that participants explained their tendency not to express their authentic emotions in front of targets and ratified, unaddressed participants, by constructing the delicacy entailed in publicly displaying emotions as somewhat normative and universal. In light of these, my final finding adds further nuance to the investigation of impoliteness-in-interaction by accentuating the importance of considering multiple contexts and participation frameworks when analysing im/politeness-in-interaction. It also showcases the importance of merging im/politeness with narrative and identity work, as it was through particular story genres that participants accounted for their shifting evaluations of impoliteness across contexts, and brought to the fore interrelated identity positions. The inextricable link between impoliteness and identity will be further elucidated in the following chapter, which considers narratives about third parties' transgressions.



## **CHAPTER 5. ‘THEY ARE THE RUDEST PEOPLE!’: IMPOLITENESS STORIES ABOUT THIRD PARTIES**

### **5.1. Introduction**

Where Chapter Three focused on the participants’ orientations to impoliteness in ongoing interaction and Chapter Four examined the potential reframing of these evaluations in retellings of shared events about co-present participants, Chapter Five turns to the ways participants talk about impoliteness in stories about absent others/ third parties (i.e. on discourse of alterity; Georgakopoulou, 2007: 143). The aim of this chapter is to explore whether participants talk about absent others’ impolite conduct differently than they react to their interlocutors’ impolite actions in ongoing interaction, as well as to investigate the ways in which absent others are ascribed to impoliteness-related categories. In other words, this chapter will attempt to show the potential associations between impoliteness and the construction of im/polite or un/ethical selves (cf. §1.1.2., for a discussion on the links between im/politeness and morality) in particular types of stories, therefore aspiring to contribute to the increasing bulk of studies that have cross-fertilised impoliteness and identities research.

In my data, story-tellings about third parties feature an absent figure as the main character, who is presented as acting inappropriately, and is either an intimate other or a mere acquaintance, whilst the second main character in the narrated world coincides with the teller in the telling world. Tale-ownership, therefore, entitles tellers to perform their impoliteness stories and, therefore, to complain about third parties’ improprieties (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012: 107; cf. Sacks, 1992; Blum-Kulka, 1993; Shuman, 2005).

As my review of the existing literature has shown (see §1.3.2.), im/politeness scholars have not systematically engaged with narratives as a locus for the construction of lay understandings of im/politeness-in-interaction. Researchers coming from different fields, such as narrative-and-identity scholars (e.g. Georgakopoulou, 2013b) or conversation analysts (Hutchby, 2008), have nevertheless shown that storytelling can provide a compelling process for inquiring into impoliteness phenomena in interactional settings. This said, stories about third parties remain heavily under-represented even within narrative and identities research, given its long-standing emphasis on the personal past experience story as a locus for identity construction (Labov, 1972). The construction of others has mainly been investigated by means of the presentation of characters’ voices through ‘constructed dialogue’ (Tannen, 1986), as well as through the ways in which this mechanism has been mobilised by tellers to laminate aspects of their own identity (Schiffrin, 1996). Furthermore, early studies on sociolinguistics and discourse analysis (e.g. Coates, 1996) have approached the phenomenon of alterity talk through the use of descriptive labels such as ‘talk about third parties’, which have yet

overlooked the interactional and performative aspects of these phenomena in talk (but see M. Goodwin's 1984 study on the interactional co-drafting of 'gossip' stories about absent others in a female adolescent group). Such aspects have mainly been addressed by research on membership categorisation devices (MCDs; Sacks, 1992), which has drawn attention to the ways in which members invoke self/other categorisations in working up constructions of identities and moral norms in talk-in-interaction. This chapter will, therefore, attempt to address a dual gap, that is, the missing emphasis on story-telling in impoliteness research and the under-representation of stories about third parties in narrative analysis, in an attempt to make a contribution to both research fields.

As I will discuss in §5.2. below, narratives about third parties' transgressive behaviours are the most significant locus for the construction of lay evaluations of im/politeness in my data, since 85% of total impoliteness evaluations are embedded within this discursive practice (cf. §2.5.3.) in the participants' informal meetings. This could be connected with the limited face-aggravating potential of narrativised evaluations, as compared to that entailed in situated evaluations which hold present others accountable for ongoing transgressions. That stories about third parties abound in evaluative talk, along with the significant duration of many of these narrating events (ranging from 1 second to 40 minutes), attests to their quantitative salience in my data. Finally, the fact that a large proportion of these stories leads to further talk coherently linked to the preceding narration provides evidence for their qualitative importance as well, besides their quantitative salience, and contrasts to impoliteness-related talk in ongoing interactions or retellings of known events about present others which, as shown in Chapters Three and Four, respectively, rarely generated thematically-related ensuing talk but rather faded out after two or three minutes, potentially due to their strong face-threatening potential.

As we will see, stories about third parties are mainly complaint-tellings (e.g. Drew, 1998), whereby the tellers complain about an absent character's impropriety. Most of these tellings are produced by the London group in my data (they particularly narrate c. 10 of 14 hours of these stories), for the analysis will focus on this group's stories. This will also enable forging links between multiple tellings of the same events and relations between different types of stories that co-occur in the participants' interactions to serve their identity projects. This said, I will direct the readers to similar stories that are told by the Copenhagen group, and which appear in Appendix 12.

In terms of their generic features, these tellings scarcely fit the canon of narratives of from fully-fledged monologic accounts of personal past experiences (Labov, 1972) but are rather in line with the definition of small stories (Georgakopoulou, 2006: 130) discussed in §2.4.2.. In addition, the stories analysed in this chapter present significant generic variation, particularly taking the form of 'breaking news' (Georgakopoulou, 2007), 'generic' accounts (Georgakopoulou, 2010; Baynham, 2011), 'habitual' stories (Riessman, 1990), 'hypothetical' stories (Tovares, 2010; C. Goodwin, 2015),

‘projections’ (Georgakopoulou, 2007), ‘shared’ stories (Georgakopoulou, 2007), ‘deferred’ stories (Georgakopoulou, 2007), stories of non-recent events and, finally, what I have called ‘deontic’ stories. ‘Deontic’ stories in my data comprise unrealised scenarios in which the teller presents how the character(s) *could* or *should* have behaved in the plot, but they actually did not. These stories differ from hypothetical scenarios in my dataset in that they focus on the ‘you’ and make extensive use of deontic modality, which allows us to explore the (assumed) degree of moral desirability of particular actions in the plot. In contrast, hypothetical scenarios revolve around the ‘I’, that is, around how the teller would act if s/he was in the target’s position. Both, however, stress the discrepancy between the existing and the desirable and thus allow glimpses into the tellers’ conceptualisations of moral norms (cf. Tovares, 2010: 12).

In this Chapter, I therefore draw on the framework of small stories (§2.4.) to show how participants orientate to impoliteness in different types of interactionally co-drafted stories to hold absent parties accountable for inappropriate social actions and, ultimately, to position the self as abiding by the standards of polite conduct. For the analysis of these small stories, I mainly rely on positioning analysis (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; cf. §2.4.2.), while also drawing on the CA apparatus (cf. §2.4.1.) to address the interactional aspects of the story-tellings.

As a whole, this chapter addresses my third and final research question (cf. §1.5.), namely:

- How do participants evaluate im/politeness in (small) stories about third parties, and how do they use these stories to perform both moral and identity work?

To address this, I will first explore the ways in which participants construct third parties as potentially impolite based on their conduct in the plot (§5.2.). This will allow me to examine possible associations between specific categories of impoliteness evaluations and particular types of stories (NP L1), which usually coalesce to support the teller’s moral and identity work. In §5.3., I discuss the social actions that these story-tellings perform in the interactive situation and the positionings that co-tellers assume and are ascribed to. From this, in §5.4., I turn to the tellers’ positioning vis-à-vis wider moral norms (NP L3), as this is accomplished by the co-articulation of telling-specific with situational roles (cf. Zimmerman, 1998; Georgakopoulou, 2007), as well as by the consideration of hypothetical, generic and deontic narratives, retellings of emblematic events over a period of time, and playback interviews. In the penultimate section (§5.5.), I discuss my main findings.

## 5.2. Impoliteness evaluations and small story genres: Constructing impolite others in the story-world

In this section I will show how impoliteness is connected with small stories in my data. This involves the role of the teller in evaluating absent others on the basis of his/her personal experience of those parties' misconduct. I have specifically identified three types of processes of positioning 'other' as impolite in small stories, namely, marking other's deviations from communicative norms, categorising other (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2007), and expressing negative emotions on account of other's inappropriate behaviour. These processes, as we will see below, may interrelate in various ways, and are indeed interlinked with the main categories of explicit metapragmatic evaluations that I have identified in my data, that is, with metapragmatic communication-oriented, categorising, and affective comments, respectively (see §2.5.3.). Needless to mention, all explicit evaluative categories coalesce with multiple implicit cues to project the teller's stances. In all the above-mentioned processes, the teller constructs herself/himself as the 'suffering victim' of a morally implicative act and mobilises unequivocally serious comments to highlight the said impropriety. The analysis will start by demonstrating how the different types of explicit evaluations partake in the aforesaid other-positioning processes in specific small story genres.

### 5.2.1. Marking deviations from communicative norms in the conduct of others

Pointing to breaches of communicative norms in my data involves references to particular speech acts and their illocutionary functions, principles and maxims of the types designated by Grice (1975), matters of organisation of discourse, as well as to non-verbal and paralinguistic aspects of communication, amongst others (Hübler & Bublitz, 2017: 15). We therefore encounter communication-oriented metapragmatic comments related to potentially face-threatening speech acts, the most frequent of which are insults, criticisms, challenges, and sarcasm, or to withholding politic behaviours, such as failing to respond to messages. We also find comments pertaining to interrupting other or denying turn, as well as to violating the maxim of quality by telling lies, talking behind one's back, etc. Finally, there are comments pointing to paralinguistic or non-verbal improprieties, such as shouting, averting gaze, and so on (see Figure 1.5. Communication-oriented comments in narratives about third parties; Appx1). Most of these acts feature in Beebe's (1995: 159-163) list of usages of impoliteness with the function of 'getting power', and as such, they are also linked to Culpeper's (2011a: 226-233) concept of 'coercive impoliteness' aiming at damaging the target's social identity or at reducing their symbolic power. As we will see in the examples, this is especially salient in asymmetric social relationships (e.g. in the workplace).

On another note, metapragmatic comments about communicative improprieties may be either 'metacommunicative' or 'metadiscursive' depending on whether they point to specific or generalised targets (cf. Kádár & Haugh, 2013: 194; §2.5.3.). In my data, the latter usually appear in 'generic'

stories (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2010; Baynham, 2011), while the former feature mainly in ‘breaking news’, ‘habitual’ stories, and projections (see Table 5.1.). For instance, we may encounter a metapragmatic comment, such as *‘she interrupts me all the time’*, which is enmeshed in a habitual story about a specific character, but we also have instances of comments appearing in generalised discourse, as in *‘Here, everyone challenges you when you ask a question’*. What is also important is that the genres of stories in which such comments arise tend to co-occur to serve the tellers’ identity construction and, we see, for instance, habitual stories or projections following on from breaking news. Finally, communication-oriented comments marking breaches of interactional norms are usually embedded within the tale-world (cf. Georgakopoulou’s 2008 tale-world identity claims) where they serve as category-bound activities (Sacks, 1992) implicating the category of impoliteness. On several occasions, though, this category is also explicitly verbalised through categorising comments appearing towards the end of the narration.

**Table 5.1.** Categories of impoliteness evaluations in small story genres

<b>Genre</b>	<b>Metacom municati ve Categoris ing comment s (N=810)</b>	<b>Metacomm unicative Communic ation- oriented comments (N=91)</b>	<b>Metacommun icative Affective comments (N=110)</b>	<b>Metadisc ursive categorisi ng comment s (N=7)</b>	<b>Metadiscu rsive Communi cation- oriented comments (N=19)</b>	<b>Metadisc ursive Affective comment s (N=4)</b>
<b>Breaking news</b>	729	23	93	0	0	0
<b>Habitual stories</b>	44	34	13	0	0	0
<b>Projections</b>	25	28	4	0	0	0
<b>Generic stories</b>	0	0	0	7	19	4
<b>Hypothetical stories</b>	10	6	0	0	0	0

Extract 5.1. below, a ‘breaking news’ story, provides an example of such a comment, which the teller mobilises to target an absent party’s communicative transgression (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2013b, where ‘transgression’ is used to refer to reports of improprieties). In this extract, Ariadne (ARI) and Ioli (IOL) are having coffee and are talking about their working day. Ioli has launched a story about a

successful meeting that she had had with the manager of another company, which she compares to the meeting she has just had with her ex-manager, Helen, earlier today.

**Extract 5.1. ‘She mocked me’ (LON-10)<sup>88</sup>**

- 32 IOL: Και πάω σήμερα στο γραφείο αυτήνης  
 And go.1<sub>SNG</sub> today to-the.ART.SNG.ACC.N office.SNG.ACC.N her.POSS.GEN  
*And I go today to her office*
- 33 Να δούμε την^ μπαρουσίαση  
 To.PRTCL see.1<sub>PL</sub> the.ART.SNG.ACC.F presentation.SNG.ACC.F  
*To look at the presentation*
- 34 Για ένα νέο προϊόν και τι μου λέει? (.)  
 About a new.ACC.N product.ACC.N and what I.GEN.OBJ say.3<sub>SNG</sub> (.)  
*About a product and guess what she tells me.*
- 35 Έ τς εδώ θα έπρεπε  
 Eh.PRTCL ts.PRTCL here will must.PST  
*Eh ts here you should have*
- 36 Να έχεις βάλει αόριστο,  
 To.PRTCL have.2<sub>SNG</sub> put.SBJV.PRF past-simple.SNG.ACC.M  
*Used past simple (tense),*
- 37 Όχι ενεστώτα. (.)  
 NEG present-simple.SNG.ACC.M  
*Not present simple. (.)*
- 38 Αυτό το συμπέρασμα το περίμενα  
 This.N the.ART.SNG.ACC.N conclusion.SNG.ACC.N it.CLT.OBJ waited.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*I was expecting this conclusion*
- 39 Σε αυτό το επίπεδο που βρίσκεσαι  
 At this.N the.ART.SNG.ACC.N level.SNG.ACC.N that.CONJ are.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*On your level*
- 40 Και με απογοητεύει.<sup>ο</sup>  
 And I.ACC.OBJ disappoint.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*And it disappoints me.*
- 41 ARI: Ορίστε?  
*What?*
- 42 IOL: Με ειρωνεύτηκε  
 I.ACC.OBJ mocked.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*She mocked me*
- 43 >Καλή μου κοπέλα<.  
 Good.SNG.VOC.F I.POSS.GEN lady.SNG.VOC.F  
*My good lady.*
- 44 ARI: Ντάξει αυτό τώρα::  
*Okay, this now*

The extract starts with ‘and’ that marks continuation with the previous theme of Ioli’s ex-manager’s habitual criticism to her colleagues (see Appx8, event 10: ll.23-31). The breaking news story thus emerges on-line from its local surroundings and serves as an ‘exemplum’ (Baynham, 2011) or as an ‘once’ story (Georgakopoulou, 2010) aiming to illustrate the routine behaviour recounted in the previous habitual narrative. The opening of this story (ll.32-34) comprises what is close to Labov’s

<sup>88</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx8: event 10.

(1972) orientation, by identifying the time, place, characters, and situation, as well as a ‘guess what question’ that serves as a generic framing device (Bauman, 2004: 10) for initiating breaking news in my data (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2007: 77). Note that Ioli does not use the name of the main character, but brings her into the frame through a third person possessive pronoun (*αυτηνης*; 1.32). This lexical choice could be seen as marked, considering that the unmarked form in this position would be a name or a recognitional description (i.e. my ex-manager; Schegloff, 1996: 450-458; Stivers, 2007: 69). Hence, by using the marked reference form, the teller is probably doing more than ‘referring simpliciter’ (Schegloff, 2007a: 124): she shows that her ex-manager maintains ‘a shared prior focus’ (Kitzinger et al., 2012: 122), that ‘she’ is constantly on her mind, inferably, as a source of trouble, while indexing a form of dismissiveness.

This is fleshed out in the story’s plotline (ll.35-40) which encompasses the characters’ verbal interaction (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2007: 75) in reported speech. The minor pause, the shifts in volume and intonation, as well as the pronominal shifts (e.g. Holt, 1996; Lambropoulou, 2013) function to mark out these words as a verbatim quote of the absent party’s original speech, thereby purporting to offer direct evidence of the wrongdoer’s offence (Drew, 1998: 321). The offence here consists in the ex-manager’s noticing a grammatical mistake in Ioli’s product launch presentation, as shown by the use of a deontic modal verb (*θα επρεπε* ‘you should have’; 1.35) marking deviation from a linguistic rule. This deviation is subsequently presented as frustrating for the third party both in light of the implicit prosodic cue (‘ts’) that is morally evaluative (1.35; Stokoe & Edwards, 2006), and due to the affective comment *με απογοητευει* (it disappoints me’; 1.40) which overtly constructs Ioli as the source of a negative emotion for the other character. This emotion is indeed constructed as anticipated due to the allegedly low level of Ioli’s knowledge of the language (ll.38-39), something that implicates a major threat to Ioli’s positive or social identity face (cf. Brown & Levinson, 1987; Spencer-Oatey, 2002). Interestingly, the teller constructs her own figure as remaining silent in the plot (NP L1) and thus as assuming the position of an agentless victim of criticism<sup>89</sup>. Therefore, as in much research into complaints-in-interaction (e.g. Holt, 1996; Drew, 1998; Haakana, 2007), the reported speech plays a dual role: first, it introduces the main ‘complainable’ (Schegloff, 2005) by ‘showing’ rather than ‘telling’ (Benwell, 2012) the transgressor’s offence (i.e. explicitly criticising Ioli and holding her accountable for a negative emotion) by means both of the lexis chosen and of the intonational contour (i.e. deadpan delivery, quiet articulation) that indexes irony/sarcasm (Haugh & Bousfield, 2012). Secondly, by being heard as imitative, it conveys an implicit evaluation of the animated words (Stokoe & Edwards, 2007), namely, it challenges the author’s stance (cf. Volosinov, 1973: 120), and also deflects responsibility by manipulating presence and absence in the reported world.

---

<sup>89</sup> Cf. ll.183-185 (Appx8: event 10), where the teller does report her words or thoughts in response to the ex-manager’s criticism in a way that projects an agentive sense of self who responds to the criticism by reciprocating the perceived impoliteness.

Following her interlocutor's aligned uptake with surprise (1.41; NP L2), though, Ioli makes the point of the story clearer by mobilising an explicit communication-oriented metacommunicative comment which refers to the illocutionary force of the ex-manager's reported speech, and thereby spells out the purported communicative transgression (*με ειρωνευτηκε* 'she mocked me'; 1.42). Note that, again, Ioli portrays herself in the plot (NP L1) as the suffering victim of the absent other's offensive act without animating any of her own words in the story-world. This meta-comment is indeed hearable as serious in light of the emphatic tone and the lack of laughter particles.

This also shows in the co-teller's uptake in 1.44. Ariadne, particularly, starts off to proffer a response that is marked with some features of trouble (well-preface, vowel elongation), although the tone of voice is heard as somewhat supportive. Nevertheless, Ioli responds with a *re*-prefaced turn, which may be indicative of incipient disagreement (Georgakopoulou, 2001). This provides evidence that she may not have taken her co-teller's prior response as affiliative, for she goes on to launch a habitual story (Riessman, 1990; see §5.3.), in which she enlarges the scope of the ex-manager's impropriety. As we will see below, the co-occurrence of breaking news with habitual stories is commonplace in the data, and seems to serve the tellers' identity and moral projects, as it attains to amplify the accountability of absent others and, in turn, to warrant the tellers' complaint story (cf. Extracts 1, 6; Appx12).

As mentioned above, tellers may well target unspecified absent others in their small stories about communicative transgressions through metadiscursive comments. These feature in generic stories (Georgakopoulou, 2010) pointing to im/politeness norms in general or in relation to collective groupings which the tellers view as bounded and homogeneous. Extract 5.2. below, a generic story, provides an instance of how a metadiscursive comment is employed to target people in England as taking up a challenging stance towards others. Before this, Ioli had told a tale of today about a phone call that her ex-colleagues from Greece had given her to say how much they missed her. This positively evaluated story is then contrasted to the following generic scenario.

**Extract 5.2.** *'They challenge you'* (LON-18)<sup>90</sup>

52 IOL: Εδώ πέρα (.) μα↑λάκα <↑↑ό,τι και να τους↑↑ ρωτή:σεις>  
 Here malaka whatever and to.PRTCL them ask.SBJV.PFV.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Here (.) {malaka} whatever you may ask them*  
 53 <↑↑Ο:τι και να τους ρωτή↑↑σεις, (.)  
 whatever and to.PRTCL them ask.SBJV.PFV.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Whatever you may ask them*  
 54 Απ' ↑↑το πιο↑↑ απλό: (.)  
 From the.SNG.ACC.N more simple.SNG.ACC.N  
*From the simplest thing (.)*

<sup>90</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx8: event 5.





motivational behaviour (see Appx8, Event 5: ll.58-80, ll.81-108, ll.122-176 and ll.177-503). Importantly, it is in these breaking news, exemplum stories that the teller invokes the macro-concept of ‘culture’ (*θέμα κουλτούρας*; l.115), and uses it as an explanatory tool to account for the narrated parties’ impoliteness-related behaviour.

What transpires so far from the analysis of the above extracts (cf. additional extracts 3-5; Appx12), is that tellers display a serious orientation to absent others’ perceived impoliteness in the plot of their small stories (NP L1), while positioning themselves as suffering victims of the talked-about communicative improprieties. This also occurs in stories that negatively position specific or generalised others by means of categorising metapragmatic comments.

### 5.2.2. Categorising other(s) as impolite

Another way by which my participants position absent others in narratives is by explicitly casting them into negatively-valenced categories. These categorisations are indeed the most dominant form of positioning other in stories about third parties (see Table 5.1.), be they specific individuals or generic others. As we will see, either as metacommunicative or as metadiscursive, categorising comments are constructed and responded to as serious rather than as jocular (cf. Chapters 3 and 4). In terms of the most frequent evaluative labels that these comments comprise (see Figure 1.6. Word cloud of categorising labels in narratives about third parties; Appx1), these include *αγενής/αγένεια* (rude/rudeness), *ανήθικος-η-η-ο/ανηθικότητα* (unethical/immorality), *απαράδεκτος/unacceptable*, *άδικος-η-ο/αδικία* (unfair/unfairness), *άσχημος-η-ο* (bad), *(μη) σωστός-ή-ό* (not right), *αδιάφορος-η-ο* (inconsiderate), *επικριτικός-ή-ό* (critical/judgemental), *extreme*, *επιθετικός-ή-ό* (aggressive), *προσβλητικός-ή-ό* (insulting), *απότομος-η-ο* (abrupt), and so on. What immediately leaps out from Table 5.1. above is that categorising comments mainly appear in breaking news stories, which partly relates to the high frequency of these stories in the data (see Figure 1.7. Small story genres in interactional data; Appx1) but, most importantly, to the interactional affordances they implicate: in breaking news tellers share very recent or still ongoing transgressions which they have not yet interpreted themselves. By placing categorising comments about absent wrongdoers close the story’s evaluation they thus open up spaces for a collaborative testing and negotiation of moral norms and positions (Georgakopoulou, 2007: 40), which in turn often provides possibilities for co-authoring scenarios of future action.

Extract 5.3., a breaking news story about a recent past meeting Ioli had had with her ex-manager, provides an example of the interactional practice of positioning other by casting them into negative categories closely linked to impoliteness.

**Extract 5.3. Being abrupt (LON-10)<sup>92</sup>**

- 318 IOL: Προχθές πάω στο: [eng] **μίτινγκ**  
 The-day-before-yesterday go.1<sub>SNG</sub> to-the.ART.SNG.ACC.N  
*The day before yesterday I go to the meeting*
- 319 και μου λέ- ε: (0.3)  
 And I.GEN.OBJ say eh.PRTCL  
*And she sa- eh (0.3)*
- 320 [eng] **ΦΕΡΣΤ ΘΙΝΓΚ ιν δε μόνιν Αϊ γουόντ ΔΙΣ.**  
*First thing in the morning I want this.*
- 321 ARI: Έλα ρε!  
 Come.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> re.PRTCL  
*Come on {re}!*
- 322 IOL: [eng] †**Φερστ θινγκ ιν δε μόνιν** και [eng] **άι:=**  
 "First thing in the morning" and "I="
- 323 =Άι και γαμήσου >ήθελα να της πω.°<  
 INTRJ and fuck-off.2<sub>SNG</sub> wanted.1<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL she.GEN.OBJ say.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
 ="Go fuck yourself", I wanted to tell her.
- 324 ARI: Ε έπρεπε να [σ-]  
 Eh must.PST to.PRTCL  
*Eh you should have to [t-]*
- 325 IOL: [Κα]ταλαβαίνεις τι †άγχος  
 Understand.2<sub>SNG</sub> what stress.SNG.ACC.N  
*[Do] you understand how much stress*
- 326 Μου δημιουργεί  
 I.GEN.OBJ create.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*It causes me*
- 327 [το να να είναι τόσο απότομη?]  
 the to.PRTCL be.SBJV.PROG.3<sub>SNG</sub> so abrupt.SNG.NOM.F  
*[the fact that that she is so abrupt?]*
- 328 ARI: [Ε ναι αυτός ο τρόπος σε:.]  
 Eh.PRTCL yes this.NOM.M the.ART.NOM.M manner.NOM.M you.ACC.OBJ  
*[Eh yes this manner ((makes)) you]*
- 329 IOL: Ρε είναι πολύ σοβαρό α- (.)  
 Re.PRTCL is very serious.SNG.NOM.N  
 {Re} it's very serious a- (.)
- 330 Το τι †άγχη ξέρω 'γω: προκαλεί  
 The what stress.PL.ACC.N know.1<sub>SNG</sub> I provoke.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*What types of stress, say, provokes*
- 331 Η αγένεια στο λόγο.  
 The.ART.SNG.NOM.F rudeness.SNG.NOM.F in-the.ART.SNG.ACC.M talk.ACC.M  
*Rudeness ((provokes)) in talk.*

This sequence is sequentially contiguous to a habitual story in which the teller marked a routinised communicative transgression in the third party's behaviour, namely, that she is constantly shouting (Appx8: event 10: ll.316-318). This implicitly invoked the category of impoliteness, as it implicated an invasion into the recipient's auditory space while conveying anger (Jay, 1992: 97; cf. Culpeper, 1996: 358; Bousfield, 2008: 137). The particularistic story that follows on from that habitual account is thus provided as an illustration of the third party's misconduct, as shown by the subsequently

<sup>92</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx8: event 10.

quoted verbal interaction between the two characters in the plot (1.320; NP L1). More specifically, upon situating the characters in physical time and space (ll.318-319), the teller moves to the main plotline that comprises the verbatim quotation of the absent party's words (note the quotative verb  $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}(\epsilon\iota)$  and the minor pause (1.319)). This 'constructed' (Tannen, 1986) monologue, helps the teller instantiate the offense taken (cf. Heinrichsmeier, 2021: 52), as the bald declarative proposition (1.320) in conjunction with the significant loudness and the *staccato* delivery of the reported speech, coalesce to index impoliteness and present the character as being in the wrong (cf. Stivers, 2008: 40). The reported speech is, therefore, deployed here as an embedded evaluative device that superimposes commentary on the reframed speech (C. Goodwin, 2015: 199) and establishes distance from the quoted material. This is further attained by the translanguaging act (Li, 2018), whereby the teller quotes the character's 'original' utterance in English, albeit pronounced in accordance with the Greek phonological rules.

This implicit evaluation attains to pique her co-teller's attention (Ochs & Capps, 2001: 121), as shown by the fitted 'newsmark' (Jefferson, 1978: 243) in Ariadne's uptake (1.321) that indexes negative surprise in interaction (NP L2). Following this, Ioli repeats some constituents of the character's quoted utterance (1.322), specifically the phrase that introduces the character's request in a bald manner and the use of the first-person pronoun. The mechanism of repetition serves here to intensify the teller's previous negative evaluation, while highlighting the exact source of the said transgression, that is, the manager's authoritative and egotist stance. Again, the translanguaging act brings into sharp focus the double-directedness of speech that manipulates two distinct voices (cf. Volosinov, 1973; Bakhtin's, 1981) with the ultimate aim of challenging that of the third party. This is further conveyed by the lack of pitch concord (Culpeper, Bousfield & Wichmann, 2003) between the first and the second rendering of the character's utterance. In addition, drawing on the homonymy between the English first-person pronoun and the Greek interjection  $\acute{\alpha}\iota$  that combines with the verb  $\gamma\alpha\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\omicron\upsilon$  to formulate a conventionally insulting phrase in Greek (i.e. 'fuck you'), the teller latches onto the third party's constructed utterance her own constructed thought about it (1.323; Jefferson, 2004; Barnes & Moss, 2007); 'a silent reaction' (Haakana, 2007: 151) to her interlocutor's reported turn-at-talk that Ioli was wise enough not to voice due to the potential face-threat involved. Importantly, this constructed thought provides indications both of the teller's strong affect (i.e. anger) towards the character's request, and of her awareness of the potential inappropriateness entailed in the use of swearing in that context.

Her co-teller, however, seems to disagree with the moral undesirability of swearing in the said interaction, as indexed by the use of deontic modality ( $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\rho\epsilon\pi\epsilon$  'must'; 1.324) which, by implication, strongly endorses the teller's negative stance towards the narrated event. It is after this affiliative move that the teller mobilises an explicit categorising comment that casting the talked about character into the category of 'abrupt' people ( $\alpha\pi\acute{o}\tau\omicron\mu\eta$ ; 1.327), and indeed emphatically as cued by

the lexical and prosodic emphasis. Importantly, the use of nominalisation (το να είναι ‘being’) constructs this casting, as well as the concomitant negative emotion of ‘stress’ (l.325), as habitual rather than ephemeral. This in turn opens up spaces for a joint negotiation of this moral frame, as shown by Ariadne’s subsequent agreement on the third party’s transgressive ‘manner’ of speaking. Following this, the teller mobilises a generalised statement about the emotional impact of linguistic impoliteness (ll.329-331), thereby ultimately linking abruptness in talk to impoliteness, as well as offering a stronger evaluation of the specific narrated event through the invocation of an assumed moral standard.

Extract 5.4. provides another example of how tellers position absent others through explicit categorisations that close off the telling and open up avenues for co-construction. This, again, happens in a breaking news story whose plotline evolves in an episodic fashion (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2007: 99). This means that each episode builds on prior episodes and comprises arising complications and verbal interactions, which in turn offer new possibilities of co-construction in the telling event.

**Extract 5.4.** *‘The behaviour was not right, it wasn’t ethical’* (LON-34)<sup>93</sup>

- 01 IOL: Με την άλλη? (.) πριν πιάσουμε  
 With the.ART.SNG.ACC.F other.SNG.ACC.F before catch.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>PL</sub>  
*With the other one? (.) Before we talk about*
- 02 τα επαγγελματικά,  
 The.ART.PL.ACC.N professional.ADJ.PL.ACC.N  
*Professional stuff/ jobs*
- 03 SIM: Με την άλλη (.) μιλήσαμε: χθες (.)  
 With the.ART.SNG.ACC.F other.SNG.ACC.F talked.1<sub>PL</sub> yesterday  
*With the other one (.) we talked yesterday*
- 04 E::  
 Eh.PRTCL  
*Eh*
- 05 IOL: Ότι?  
 That.CONJ  
*And?*
- 06 SIM: Ε κοίτα >δε μου 'χε στείλει τίποτα<  
 Eh.PRTCL look.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> NEG I.GEN.OBJ had.3<sub>SNG</sub> sent.PRF nothing  
*Eh, look, she hadn't texted me nothing*
- 07 IOL: [Πολύ σωστή μπράβο.]  
 Very right.ADJ.SNG.NOM.F bravo  
*[Very nice, bravo.]*
- 08 SIM: [Και της στέλνω μή]νυμα και της ^λέω:  
 And she.GEN.OBJ send.1<sub>SNG</sub> message.ACC.N and she.GEN.OBJ say.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*[And I send her a me]ssage and I tell her*
- 09 VAS: Τι σωστή?  
 What right.ADJ.SNG.NOM.F  
*Why 'nice'?*
- 10 IOL: Είρωνικό είναι.  
 Ironic.ADJ.SNG.NOM.N is  
*It is sarcastic.*

<sup>93</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx8: event 11.

- 11 VAS: ↑A:  
Ah.PRTCL  
Ah
- 12 SIM: Τηζ                    ^λέω    ντάξει λέω:: (.)  
she.GEN.OBJ say.1<sub>SNG</sub> okay    say.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*I say, okay, I say (.)*
- 13        Επειδή έφαγα    χυλόπιτα                    δε σημαίνει ότι  
Because ate.1<sub>SNG</sub> kiss-off.ACC.F NEG mean.3<sub>SNG</sub> that.CONJ  
*The fact that I was blown out doesn't mean that*
- 14        Θα σταματήσουμε να                    μιλάμε. (.)  
Will stop.1<sub>PL</sub>                    to.CONJ talk.SBJV.PROG.1<sub>PL</sub>  
*We will stop talking (.)*
- 15        Όκειϊ δηλαδ~~ή~~: κανένα                    ενδιαφέρον  
Okay that-is none.NOM.N interest.NOM.N  
*Okay, that is, no form of interest/ consideration*
- 16 VAS: Αν [θρώπινο]  
Humane.ADJ.NOM.N  
*Hu[m a ne]*

In contrast to most breaking stories that are self-initiated, this one is elicited by the co-teller (l.01) through a recognitional question (Georgakopoulou, 2007; cf. Jefferson, 1978) that refers to the main (female) character of the story in a marked way (*Με την άλλη* ‘with the other one’; Schegloff, 2007a; Kitzinger et al., 2012). By echoing Ioli’s elliptical preface and thus assuming a narrative stance (l.03; Georgakopoulou, 2013b), Simeon shows that the anonymous other constitutes a shared focus of attention for him too. Following this, he shares the main event of the story, yet with some trouble (note the pause and hedge; ll.03-04), which in turn urges Ioli to solicit more information (l.04). This subsequently yields a parenthetical negated story (Mazeland, 2007; Baynham, 2011) that offers relevant background information and, more importantly, signals the ‘possibility of a complainable’ (Schegloff, 2005), in light of the hedges, the negation, and the extreme case formulation *τίποτα* (nothing; l.06). Ioli seems to be picking up on this by proffering an ironic positive evaluation and praise token (see the deadpan delivery and the mismatch with context; Attardo et al., 2003: 249; Culpeper, 2011a: 178), produced in overlap with Simeon’s elaboration on his breaking news story (l.08). By implying a reversal of her message’s meaning (i.e. that the other’s behaviour was ‘very wrong’; cf. Kapogianni, 2013: 48-49), Ioli thus aligns to the complaint and exhibits a supportive stance towards Simeon. Following another parenthetical sequence, in which Ioli explicitly claims the ironic flavour of her prior evaluation (l.10), Simeon is given the floor to report the main part of his story’s plot, that is, his verbal interaction with the absent party that is organised along the lines of ‘I-said-s/he-said’ (ll.12-14; cf. M. Goodwin, 1990; Georgakopoulou, 2008). Interestingly, the teller animates only his own character’s words, while effacing those of the absent other in NP L1. One could assume that the complaint-target might have withheld a response, or that the teller constructed her as unresponsive to his implicit complaint (Drew, 1998) about their not being in contact. This said, the implicit becomes explicit in what is close to the story’s coda (l.15), where the teller mobilises an overt categorising comment (*κανένα ενδιαφέρον* ‘no

interest/consideration'), which invokes the category of 'inconsideration', and thus shifts responsibility for the cease of communication exclusively to the third party. Withholding contact, therefore, serves here as category-bound activity invoking the category of 'in/consideration', which has indeed been closely linked to im/politeness in studies of lay understandings of im/politeness in Greek (Fukushima & Sifianou, 2017). The extreme assertion and the prosodic emphasis are of note too, as they construct the categorisation as unequivocally serious and highlight the third party's accountability. This in turn creates possibilities for co-construction, as shown by Vassia's subsequent turn (l.16), which elaborates on the teller's prior comment via a 'glue-on' (Couper-Kuhlen & Ono, 2007; Haugh & Obana, 2015). Interestingly, this increment invokes a higher-order moral norm transcending societal or community-based values and reaching up to the 'human' level (cf. Silverstein, 2003; Culpeper & Haugh, 2014; Ferenčík, 2017). In doing so, the co-teller strongly affiliates with the teller's complaining stance by implying that his negative evaluation is not idiosyncratic, 'but rather one that is rooted in the moral order' (Haugh, 2013: 59), and indeed in its fourth, supra-societal/ universal layer.

The following constructed episodes (see Appx8, event 11: ll.17-55) further illustrate the third party's assumed inconsideration, and indeed amplify the transgression entailed in it, via the juxtaposition of the two character's contrastive modes of conduct: Simeon displays a strong interest in the third party's life, evident in his barrage of specific questions about various aspects of it (ll.17-22, l.36), while the third party makes only one general question about Simeon's life (l.47) and responds in a rather unsympathetic way to his troubles (l.58). What the teller does here is to embed 'circumstantial accounts' detailing his own innocence and best intentions within his narration of an absent other's transgressions in order to better exhibit the egregiousness of the third party's behaviour (cf. Jefferson, 1985: 436-438; Drew, 1998: 313-315). Notably, this ongoing co-construction brings to the fore arising complications, whereby Simeon ultimately agrees with his co-conversationalists and engages in explicit criticism of the third party, as shown in the continuation of this extract.

((further down))

- 77 SIM: Κοίτα ε: κι εγώ εκεί πέρα που είπα ό\*τι:  
 Look.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> eh.PRTCL and I over there that.CONJ said.1<sub>SNG</sub> that.CONJ  
*Look, eh, at some point I too said that*  
\*lays  
the glass on table
- 78 Δεν ήταν σωστή η συμπεριφορά=  
 NEG was right.NOM.F the.ART.NOM.F behaviour.NOM.F  
*Her behaviour was not right=*
- 79 =Δεν ήταν ηθική, (.) >είναι σ' ένα σημείο.<  
 NEG was ethical.NOM.F is at one point.ACC.N  
*=It was not ethical, (.) it's at one point.*
- 80 IOL: °Σε ποιο?°  
 At which.N  
*Which one?*

- 81 SIM: Τ' οτί τη ρώτησα (.) πόσες φορές (.)  
 The that.CONJ she.ACC.OBJ asked.1<sub>SNG</sub> how-many.PL.F times.F  
*The fact that I asked her (.) many times (.)*
- 82 Τηζ ^λέω αν με βλέπεις σαν φιλικά,  
 She.GEN.OBJ say.1<sub>SNG</sub> if I.GEN.OBJ see.2<sub>SNG</sub> like amicably  
*I tell her 'If you see me as a friend,*
- 83 δε με πειράζει.=  
 NEG I.ACC.OBJ bother.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*It won't bother me.=*
- 84 VAS: =M:  
 =M
- 85 SIM: Απλά πεζ ^ μου το να το ξέρω. (.)  
 Just say.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> I.GEN.OBJ it.CLT.OBJ to.PRTCL it.CLT.OBJ know.SBJV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Just say it so that I know. (.)*
- 86 >Όχι μου λέει δεν είν' αυτό=  
 No I.GEN.OBJ say.3<sub>SNG</sub> NEG is this  
*'No', she says, 'it's not about this' =*
- 87 =Και μετά καμία επαφή. (0.4)  
 And then none.NOM.F contact.NOM.F  
*=And then no contact. (0.4)*
- 88 Πεζ ^μου >δε μου δε μου βγαίνει, (.)  
 Say.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> I.GEN.OBJ NEG I.GEN.OBJ NEG I.GEN.OBJ come-out.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Tell me 'I don't feel like doing it', (.)*
- 89 IOL: Θα μπορούσε να σου πει ↑δε θέλω  
 Will could.3<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL you.GEN.OBJ say.SBJV.PFV.3<sub>SNG</sub> NEG want.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*She could have say to you 'I don't want'*
- 90 VAS: Και θα 'ταν και τίμιο.  
 And would was and honest.NOM.N  
*And it would be honest too.*

In 11.77-79 Simeon prefaces a new episode of the story by offering an initial characterisation of its protagonist (Sacks, 1974: 340) in a way that influences the story's reception and implicativeness (Jefferson, 1978: 219). This is done through explicit categorising comments that position the third party as behaving in a wrong and unethical<sup>94</sup> manner (11.78-79) by appealing to some facet of the moral order. Following an aligned response by Ioli who assumes the position of the story-recipient (1.80), Simeon moves to the plot that comprises the characters' verbal interaction (11.81-87). Again, he draws on constructed dialogue organised along the lines of 'I-said-she-said' to assign authority to the talked-about party and absolve himself of responsibility (Shuman, 2005: 53). At first, he foregrounds his own tolerant and cool stance in the story-world, which sets the ground for exhibiting the third party's reprehensibility on the basis of its contrast to Simeon's purported innocence. This is further accomplished through a parallel structure between what she *said* in their verbal communication and what she actually *did* after this (11.86-87), which further constructs her as dishonest and untrustworthy (note the extreme case formulation *καμία* 'none' aiming to raise the talked-about party's culpability in the story's coda (1.87)).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Extracts 4 and 12; Appx12, where participants overtly categorise others as *ανήθικους/-ες* 'unethical'.



In the absence of an aligned uptake by his listeners (note the significant pause in 1.87), the teller redresses his main point (Jefferson, 1978: 229-233) by recycling his evaluation, this time in the form of what I call a ‘deontic’ story. The deontic component is here implied by the use of a second-person imperative (1.88) that is highly unlikely to address and implicate a co-present recipient. One could thus assume that it points to the talked-about party and stresses the difference between how she behaved and how she was expected to have acted instead (cf. Culpeper’s (2011a) definition of impoliteness; §1.1.1.). It is this deontic component that, as we will discuss further below, sheds light on the tellers’ understandings of moral norms by providing a critical commentary of others’ existing behaviours. What is also of note is that such stories more often than not are co-constructed with co-tellers who usually ratify the teller’s deontic scenario by offering more deontic possibilities (see 11.89-90), and thereby providing insights into group-specific moral standards (cf. additional extracts 13-14; Appx12).

This may well occur in stories targeting generalised others who are presented as acting inappropriately in a timeless present. Extract 5.5. below, a generic story, provides an example of how this is attained through metadiscursive categorising comments pointing to the improper conduct of the collective grouping of British people in generic terms<sup>95</sup>.

Prior to this extract, Ioli emphatically announces to her co-conversationalists (i.e. to Simeon and Vassia) that she wants to leave her current job (1.30; Appx8: event 4), which she first attributes to her ‘country’ of residence, potentially influenced by the framing of Vassia’s alternative question in the previous turn (1.29; cf. Pomerantz, 1988; Stivers, 2010). However, she then self-repairs and orients, first, to the macro-category of ‘culture’, and then to team-based issues, as sources of her negative attitude towards her current job (11.34-35). And she goes on to warrant this emphatic statement by means of an experience-based account that correlates the multinational character of other teams in the company with a more tolerant attitude towards their members (11.37-38)<sup>96</sup>. She then goes on to describe the synthesis of her own team, as shown below.

**Extract 5.5.** *‘They are the rudest and most hypocritical people’* (LON-11)<sup>97</sup>

50 IOL: >Εμένα η δικιά μου < είν’  
 I.ACC the.ART.NOM.F own.NOM.F I.GEN.POSS are.3PL  
*My own team is*  
 51 όλοι [eng] ΜΠΙΤΙΣ. (2.0)  
 all.NOM.M British  
*All are British. (2.0)*

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Appx12, additional extracts 4 and 5.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. Appx12, extract 3: 11.246-319, where Ioli, again, attributes her issues at work to the British origin of her colleagues, and orients to the notion of ‘respect’, which she links to the existence of non-British members in other teams.

<sup>97</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx8: event 4.

52 Είναι (0.7) γghα↑μώ το διάολό τους. (.)  
 Are.3<sub>PL</sub> damn the.ART.ACC.M devil.ACC.M they.GEN.POSS  
*They are (0.7) fucking hell. (.)*

53 Τους σιχ:αίνομαι. (.)  
 They.ACC.OBJ despise.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*I despise them. (.)*

54 Είναι οι πιο αγενείς άνθρωποι και  
 Are.3<sub>PL</sub> the.ART.PL.NOM.M more rude.PL.NOM.M people.NOM.M and  
*They are the rudest people and*

55 οι πιο υποκριτές που έχω γνωρίσει.° (.)  
 the.ART.PL.NOM.M more pretentious.PL.NOM.M that have.1<sub>SNG</sub> met.PRF  
*the most pretentious ((people)) I've ever met. (.)*

56 Όταν^ ντους ρωτάω μου λένε τα  
 When they.ACC.OBJ ask.1<sub>SNG</sub> I.GEN.OBJ say.3<sub>PL</sub> the.ART.PL.ACC.N  
*When I ask them, they say to me the*

57 KA↑λύτερα= Εννοούν τα χειρότερα  
 Best.PL.ACC.N mean.3<sub>PL</sub> the.ART.PL.ACC.N worst.PL.AC.N  
*Best=They mean the worst*

58 και δεν είν' υποστηρικτικοί ΠΟΥΘΕΝΑ.  
 And NEG are.3<sub>PL</sub> supportive.PL.NOM.M nowhere  
*And they are not supportive on anything.*

59 SIM: Ναι κι αυτό με το βαθμό που σου:=  
 Yes and this with the.ART.ACC.N score.ACC.N that you.GEN.OBJ  
*Yes and this regarding your score=*

60 VAS: =Πολύ άδικο ρε.  
 Very unfair.ADJ.N re.PRTCL  
*((It was)) very unfair {re}.*

The extract begins with Ioli's providing details about the ethnic diversity of other teams in her workplace, which she juxtaposes with the ethnic uniformity of her own team (ll.50-51). This is done after a significant pause and through an asyndeton scheme that foreshadows a troubles-telling (Jefferson, 1988). The significant loudness by which she articulates the ethnic category **ΜΠΡΤΙΤΙΣ** (l.51) is indeed indicative of the teller's negative affect, something that becomes more explicit in the subsequent turn (l.52), in which she draws on taboo language to categorise the members of this assumed-as-homogenous category. The significant pauses, along with the pitch shifts, the emphasis on διάολό, and the guttural delivery of the swear word γghα↑μώ coalesce here to index the teller's anger, an other-condemning emotion often linked to impoliteness (Spencer-Oatey, 2005). The teller's affective positioning reaches a climactic point in l.53, in which she mobilises an overt affective comment pointing to the emotional impact of her British colleagues' misconduct: she despises them<sup>98</sup>. This provides more insights into the teller's frustration as, according to Shaver et al. (1978; cited in Spencer-Oatey, 2011: 3571), the emotion label of 'disgust' clusters with anger. A strongly-framed categorising comment is then proffered in the position of the generic story's coda to attribute the teller's negative emotions to the generalised others' rudeness (αγενείς) and dishonesty

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Extract 1 in Appx12, where Ioli uses this loaded emotion predicate (i.e. σιχ:αίνομαι) to talk about other colleagues' affective stance towards her (British) ex-manager. Drawing on accounts of others that corroborate your own account (cf. Edwards & Potter, 1992) is a commonplace practice for warranting a complaint.

(υποκριτής) (ll.54-55). The superlative form of the adjectival characterisations, accompanied by prosodic emphasis, makes this comment hearable as serious and thus as morally implicative.

Notably, this generic story that draws on macro-culture as a tool to explain the characters' rudeness is followed by a habitual account that grounds the prior generic statement on particular communicative behaviours of the others (ll.56-58). These consist, first, in a discrepancy of the British others' *words* and *implied meanings*, as shown by the parallel structure in l.57, which indexes a dishonest stance, as well as in lack of support. The former is often linked to speaking behind one's back and/or telling lies and could thus be seen as a manifestation of inappropriate behaviour, while the latter can be deemed as a display of inconsideration. Notably, both of these forms of misconduct are closely linked to the concept of impoliteness in Greek (Fukushima & Sifianou, 2017), and are often invoked by this group's friends in their narratives about third parties as forms of impoliteness<sup>99</sup>. Again, the teller foregrounds the wrongdoers' agency in an extreme way (see the extreme case formulations of *ΚΑΤΛΥΤΕΡΑ/ΧΕΙΡΡΟΤΕΡΑ* 'better/worse' and *ΠΟΥΘΕΝΑ* 'nowhere'), so as to raise their moral culpability, and construct herself as the suffering victim of their impropriety. In doing so, she secures her co-tellers' affiliation (NP L2), as shown by the brief shared story they jointly invoke (ll.59-60), and which provides a situated exemplum of the others' 'unfair' misconduct. Note that the story of Ioli's bad appraisal is part and parcel of the group's interactional history as it has been told nine times in the course of two weeks, and has been constructed by the teller herself as unfair (Extract 11; Appx12), that is, as an attack to her 'equity rights' (Spencer-Oatey, 2002).

In sum, the extracts analysed above (cf. additional extracts 13-14; Appx12) have shown that participants display a serious stance in their categorisations of absent others in narrative talk, something that contrasts to the use of categorising comments in other settings (cf. Chapters Three and Four). Notably, this is also the case in stories comprising explicit expressions of other-condemning emotions, which I discuss in turn.

### 5.2.3. Expressing negative emotions on account of others' transgressions

The last process through which participants position third parties in stories about impoliteness-related events is that of unveiling the negative emotions that the talked-about others' misconduct has incurred. This manifests both through implicit emotional cues but also by means of overt affective comments which contain emotion predicates in the form of verbs (e.g. *με ενόχλησε* 's/he annoyed me'), adverbs (e.g. *ένιωσα άβολά* 'I felt uneasy'), nouns (e.g. *θέλω να κλάψω απ' την αγανάκτησή μου*

---

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Appx8, event 4: ll.150-174, where Ioli uses exactly the same phrasing to point to a particular individual's dishonesty and lack of support. See also Vignetter 3 (Appx9) on her ex-manager's 'hypocritical' stance, and additional extract 4: ll.87-93 (Appx12) where Simeon constructs his employer's act of speaking behind one's back as unethical.

‘I want to cry out of my dismay’), or (predicative) adjectives (e.g. *είμαι απογοητευμένη* ‘I am disappointed’), preceded or followed by propositions highlighting the emotion source situation (Spencer-Oatey, 2011). Notably, these propositions may include communication-oriented or categorising comments (e.g. *με ενόχλησε ο τρόπος του* ‘his manner annoyed/aggravated me’); while these categories of evaluations directly mark violations of communicative norms in the behaviour of others and/or cast them into negative categories, affective comments focus more closely on the self as a recipient or suffering victim of previously mentioned improprieties. They thus co-occur both with other types of explicit evaluations that are indicative of the source of emotion, as well as with non-linguistic cues enacting the teller’s negative affect in the here-and-now (Clift, 2007). Importantly, the interanimation of these more or less explicit resources helps construct affective comments in stories about absent others as serious, in contrast to their jocular rendering in stories about present others (see Chapter 4).

On another note, as already shown in the examples above, affective comments in narrative data capture negative emotions, which are associated with the prototype clusters (Shaver et al., 1987) of anger, sadness, and fear. More specifically, there were 78 anger prototype cluster references, including frustration (e.g. *εκφράζω την οργή μου* ‘I express my frustration’), irritation/annoyance (e.g. *με πείραζε* ‘it annoyed me’), exasperation (e.g. *δεν αντέχω άλλο* ‘I can’t stand it anymore’), and disgust (e.g. *τον/την σιχαίνομαι* ‘I despise them’), which corroborates the so far well-attested association between perceived impoliteness and the other-condemning emotion of anger (see Spencer-Oatey, 2005; Culpeper, 2011a). Sadness was the second most dominant prototype cluster (17 of 114 comments) linked to transgressive behaviours, while fear was ranked third (6 of 114). Some comments (13 of 114), however, were hard to classify in either of the three categories, as they reported a generic negative feeling that can well relate both to anger and to sadness (e.g. *έχει αντίκτυπο στην ψυχολογία μου* ‘it impacts my psychology’)<sup>100</sup>. Irrespective of this, as Table 5.1. above shows, affective comments are mainly of the metacommunicative type and mainly feature in breaking news stories, where they appear either in the abstract/preface announcing a forthcoming grievance or in the coda bridging the tale with the telling and thus opening up spaces for collaborative authoring. This happens in Extract 5.6. below, in which Simeon expresses his frustration about Iliada’s not having responded to his invitation for tomorrow’s gathering.

**Extract 5.6.** *‘It annoys me that she doesn’t respond’* (LON-13)<sup>101</sup>

01 SIM: Έστειλα και στην Ιλιάδα για αύριο  
 Sent.1<sub>SNG</sub> and to-the.ART.ACC.F iliada about tomorrow

<sup>100</sup> See Figure 1.8. Affective comments in narratives about third parties(Appx1) with all affective comments in stories about third parties and the related emotion cluster.

<sup>101</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx8: event 7.

I texted to Iliada too about tomorrow  
 02 Αλλά πολύ φοβάμαι ότι θα μας πιστολιάσει.  
 But very fear.1<sub>SNG</sub> that.CONJ will we.ACC.OBJ crap-out.SBJV.PFV.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*But I'm very much afraid she'll crap us out.*  
 03 IOL: Δε σου απάντησε, [έτσι?]  
 NEG you.ACC.OBJ responded.3<sub>SNG</sub> like  
*She didn't respond, [did she?]*  
 04 SIM: [Ναι] εν απάντησε  
 Yes NEG responded.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*[Yes she] didn't respond*  
 05 απ' το πρωί (.)  
 Since the.ART.ACC.N morning.ACC.N  
*since morning (.)*  
 06 Ενώ ρε παιδί μου θα μπορούσε  
 Although re.PRTCL kid.VOC I.GEN.POSS will could.PST.PROG.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Although {re} she could*  
 07 να μου πει: (.)  
 To.PRTCL I.GEN.OBJ say.SBJV.PFV.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*tell me*  
 08 Ναι: σίγουρα μπορώ (. ) τς για να ξέρω κιόλας=  
 Yes certainly can.1<sub>SNG</sub> ts.PRTCL in-order-to know.1<sub>SNG</sub> as well  
*Yes I definitely can (. ) ts so that I know as well=*  
 09 =Δηλαδή θα σηκωθώ το πρωί  
 That-is will get-up.1<sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.ACC.N morning.ACC.N  
*=That is, I'll get up in the morning*  
 10 να κάνω μια διαδικασία,  
 To do.1<sub>SNG</sub> a.ACC.F procedure.ACC.F  
*to run a procedure*  
 11 Να φτιά(η)ξω ένα κέικ (. )  
 To make.1<sub>SNG</sub> a.ACC.N cake.ACC.N  
*To make a cake (. )*  
 12 Και τς ↑θέλω να ξέρω, (. )  
 And ts.PRTCL want.1<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL know.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*And ts I want to know, (. )*  
 13 Μ' ενοχλεί που δεν απαντάει ρε γαμώτο.  
 I.ACC.OBJ annoy.3<sub>SNG</sub> that.CONJ NEG respond.3<sub>SNG</sub> re.PRTCL damn  
*It annoys me that she doesn't respond. Damn {re}!*  
 14 (0.5)  
 15 IOL: Ρε εμένα δε μ' ενοχλεί το< (0.6)  
 Re.PRTCL I.ACC.OBJ NEG I.ACC.OBJ annoy.3<sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.SNG.ACC.N  
*I get upset/annoyed with the (0.6)*  
 16 Μ' ενοχλεί το ΔΕ θα 'ρθω  
 I.ACC.OBJ annoy.3<sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.SNG.ACC.N NEG will come.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*I get upset/annoyed with ((her saying)) 'I won't come'*  
 17 γιατί γιατί: γίνεται πάρα πολύ συχνά=  
 As, As it happens very very frequently=  
 18 SIM: =Ναι  
 =Yes

In this extract, Simeon shares a breaking news story about inviting Iliada at tomorrow's home gathering. What is provided is the main event and some orientation material, with the reference to the main character being prosodically marked and thus signalling the possibility of a complainable (1.01; cf. Schegloff, 2005), while the evaluation is given in the form of a projection (1.02). In this, Simeon mobilises a *but*-prefaced affective comment (*πολύ φοβάμαι* 'I'm very much afraid'),

emphatically revealing his fear that Iliada will reject the invitation, and will thus act in a dispreferred manner. The pronominal shift from first-person pronoun to a collective ‘we’ as object is interesting here as it involves the co-teller and constructs her as a mutual recipient of Iliada’s projected misconduct. As we will see, the slang word choice *πιστολιάσει* (‘will crap us out’) is first introduced by Simeon in this telling, but it will become an iterative meta-term for describing Iliada’s rejections to the group’s invitations in a series of successive complaints (see §5.3.). Requesting more details about the tale, Ioli subsequently indexes not only alignment and involvement (1.03), but also her affiliation with Simeon’s affect, as her conducive tag question appended to a negative statement is predisposed towards an answer that would verify the third party’s misconduct (Quirk et al., 1985: 810; Bousfield, 2008: 243), while laying strong claims to epistemic authority (Raymond & Heritage, 2006: 694). This is actually done in Simeon’s uptake that strongly corroborates Ioli’s guessing, as shown by the agreement token and echoic utterance (1.04). Besides signalling agreement, he also appends an increment (Haugh & Obana, 2015) to his prior TCU (*απ’ το πρωί* ‘since morning’; 1.05) that amplifies Iliada’s impropriety entailed in not responding to a message from a friend several hours after it has been sent. One could assume that withholding this action indexes a fracturing of some aspect of the ‘deontic order’ (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012) among friends, as it is not in accordance with their relational entitlements (Spencer-Oatey, 2002), or the reciprocal rights and responsibilities that are bound to the category of ‘friend’. Simeon’s next-positioned adversative adverbial initiating a deontic story (11.06-08) adds to this interpretation by providing an upgraded negative evaluation of the third party’s action. The use of modality (*θα μπορούσε* ‘she could’) underlines exactly this deviation from expectation or normativity that implicates perceived impoliteness (cf. Culpeper, 2011a), while the words that the teller authors and puts into the third party’s mouth in this hypothesised plot (1.08) indicate that strong acceptance (cf. Pomerantz, 1984) is the preferred uptake on Iliada’s part. The absence of any uptake whatsoever is thus treated as frustrating and morally accountable, as indexed by the *ts*-particle (Stokoe & Edwards, 2006), given that it denies Simeon access to knowledge of the number of guests at his forthcoming gathering. Breaches of facets of the deontic and the epistemic order, therefore, interact here and invoke the ‘much larger and richer tapestry’ of the ‘moral’ order (Haugh, 2013: 57).

This becomes clearer in the embedded projection that Simeon latches onto his prior turn to illustrate and warrant his epistemic entitlement (11.09-11). Drafting this future scenario is important here in amplifying the third party’s offence, if considered in parallel with Simeon’s projected actions that display his polite intentions to best serve his guests. It is exactly the contrast between Iliada’s withholding a politic action, on the one hand, and Simeon’s planning to perform a polite and laborious action (i.e. offering food to guests) on the other, that constitutes the reprehensibility of the third party’s behaviour and legitimises the teller’s complaint. Having done so, he then proffers an explicit affective comment in the position of the breaking news story’s coda to overtly express his annoyance

*Μ' ενοχλεί* ('it annoys me'; l.13) on account of Iliada's untoward action of not responding to his invitation. Notably, the sharp intonation shift in conjunction with the use of swearing in his complaint-telling (*γαμώτο* 'damn'; Kurtyka, 2019) further convey the teller's emotive stance of anger, and make the expression of sympathy a relevant next.

However, Ioli does not seem to affiliate with Simeon's stance, as signalled by a significant pause (l.14) in the uptake (NP L2) that performs unstated disagreement (Pomerantz, 1984: 94), and by her subsequent turn that emphatically denies affective involvement (note the left-dislocation and repetition of first-person pronoun as object and recipient of the said emotion; *εμένα δε μ' ενοχλεί* 'I don't get annoyed with'), while cueing a shift of perspective via the turn-initial *re* (Georgakopoulou, 2001: 1887). This said, the speaker cuts-off her turn before denoting what she is not annoyed by, to initiate another turn that overtly points to what annoys her instead. The abrupt cut-off, along with the significant pause and the asyndeton scheme connecting the two parts of the parallel structure *δε μ' ενοχλεί το/ μ' ενοχλεί το* 'I don't get annoyed with the/ I get annoyed with the'; ll.15-16), increase the rhetorical effect of Ioli's talk and accentuate the consequences of Iliada's to-be-reported wrongdoing. This is done in the form of direct reported speech that serves to locate the complainable not in withholding a response to invitations but in (emphatically) rejecting them. This is important as it signals the point of Ioli's prior disagreement, and ultimately constructs her uptake as affiliative, given that she does share the same negative emotion with Simeon, yet on account of slightly different improprieties. And she goes on to account for her negative affect in the subsequent line (l.17) that portrays Iliada's misconduct as routine in light of the adverbial of time *πάρα πολύ συχνά* ('very frequently') and the use of timeless present. She thus employs what is close to a 'script formulation' (Edwards, 1994) to present Iliada's narrated misconduct as an example of a generalised pattern and thus to objectify her complaint. It is then through a habitual second story in the narrating world (NP L2) that Ioli signals her emotional involvement and support, which Simeon acknowledges by latching an agreement token onto Ioli's turn in response (l.18). This affiliative stance is sustained throughout the recorded interaction, in which both Ioli and Simeon complain about Iliada's misconduct, and express related emotions of anger and sadness (e.g. *με στεναχωρεί και με θλίβει* 'is saddens and depresses me'; ll.217-218; Appx8: event 7), which seem to emanate from a perceived violation of the responsibilities that go along with the category of the 'friend' (*θεωρητικά είμαστε φίλοι*. 'Theoretically, we are friends.'; l.223). In doing so, not only do they revisit their positions with regards to moral frames, but they also vent off their negative emotions on account of shared experiences. This type of 'affective sharing' could be considered a significant vehicle for reaffirming closeness, as well as for healing each other's wounds in a *quasi*-therapeutic way (cf. additional extracts 16-18, Appx12; Event 12, Appx8).

In sum, this section has shown how tellers position absent others in small stories about impoliteness-related behaviours by marking communicative deviations in their conduct, casting them into negatively-valenced categories, and by expressing negative emotions on account of their misconduct. Its focus has particularly been on the multi-semiotic resources that tellers mobilise in the realm of the story (NP L1) to seriously portray others as wrongdoers, while projecting for themselves the position of the suffering victim. Explicit evaluations appear to be particularly frequent in this interactional practice, as opposed to ongoing interactions, but usually combine with implicit prosodic, interactional and (non-)verbal features to help construct impolite others. This is in line with narrative studies from Labov (1972) to interactional accounts of storytelling (e.g. Ochs & Capps, 2001; De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2012; Georgakopoulou, 2013b), which have illustrated how internal/implicit/indexical/embedded features productively interanimate with external/explicit resources to cue the tellers' positions in talk. Importantly, the analysis has brought to the fore a systematic relation between the categories of explicit metapragmatic comments (i.e. communication-oriented, categorising, and affective metapragmatic comments) that partake in the aforementioned positioning processes, the types of stories, and the sequential placement of evaluations in these stories. In particular, categorisations and affective elements appeared mainly in breaking news stories, and usually followed upon the reported events and verbal interactions, thus opening up spaces for a joint exploration of moral frames in the narrating event. I now turn to this.

### 5.3. Social action of impoliteness evaluations and interactional negotiation in the narrating event

Having talked about the ways in which participants position absent others in the plot of their impoliteness stories, I will now consider what social action these stories perform in the interactive situation (NP L2), and how they contribute to the (re)affirmation of the participants' closeness. On some occasions, participants themselves provide insights into what they are doing with their impoliteness stories-in-interaction through metapragmatic comments explicitly orienting to the speech act of complaining (e.g. *Θέλω να πω τα παράπονά μου τώρα* 'I want to voice my complaints now', *Μ' έχει πιάσει το παράπονο ρε:* 'I've got a complaint {re}', etc.)

This said, such generic framing devices (Bauman, 2004) are scarce in the data, which poses a methodological challenge in studying these potentially ambiguous sequences (Edwards, 2005: 7). As Drew (1998: 302) comments, participants may not display an overt orientation to the matter as a complaint, hence, the 'moral work' surfacing in the circumstances of a possible complainable may be indexical. However, as we saw in §5.2., the data at hand do contain explicit references to the teller's stance, ranging from comments about marked communicative behaviours to negative actor-focused



categorisations and expressions of negative affect. They thus include explicit criticism of the target but, more importantly, they also involve an infringement and a grievance component, which is something that, as Edwards (2005: 8) comments, ‘criticism need not include’. Complaining is, therefore, viewed here as a way of ‘expressing feelings of discontent about some state of affairs, for which responsibility can be attributed to ‘someone’ (Heineman & Traverso, 2009: 2381; cf. Schegloff, 2005; Drew & Holt, 1987). The target of complaint-tellings in the data is always an absent (intimate) other (cf. Edwards, 2005: 6; Traverso, 2009: 2385 on ‘indirect’ or ‘third party’ complaints’), whom participants present in a negative light to ultimately do self-identity work in the here-and-now interaction with their close friends (cf. Traverso, 2009).

In this chapter, complaint-tellings revolve around issues of im/polite identity and, more broadly, of morality. In other words, they report breaches of ‘taken-for-granted’ expectations regarding what is appropriate/inappropriate, good/bad, polite/impolite, and, in doing so, they make participants notice ‘the familiar scenes of everyday life’, which are familiar ‘because it is morally right or wrong that they are so’ (Garfinkel, 1967: 35). These moral transgressions involve being sarcastic (Extract 5.1.), for example, challenging other (Extract 5.2.), speaking abruptly (Extract 5.3.), withholding contact (Extract 5.4.), being dishonest (Extract 5.5.), and not responding to messages (Extract 5.6.). They are thus ‘inherently *negative*’ reports (Edwards 2005: 8, original emphasis), which position the complaint-targets as agents of morally implicative acts, while presenting the complainant-teller as the experiencer of the said troubles.

As we saw, tellers sometimes exhibited an overt orientation to the reported conducts as complaints through explicit metapragmatic formulations of moral transgression and moral indignation (Drew, 1998: 306-311). They also mobilised a range of other more or less indexical means of signalling the complainable and of objectifying its complainability in the here-and-now situation in an attempt to ensure audience involvement. Such features included extreme case formulations (Pomerantz, 1986); metaphors (Edwards, 2005); expletives (Kurtyka, 2019); lexical intensification (Traverso, 2009); overdetermined descriptions and contrasts (Drew, 1998); marked terms of reference to the target (Stivers, 2007); amplification of the temporal scope of the complainable through habitual present and script formulations (Edwards, 1994); embedded circumstantial accounts exonerating the complainant (Drew, 1998); prosodically marked articulation of reported speech (Drew, 1998; Haakana, 2007; Kurtyka, 2019); and last, but not least, reported speech (Wooffitt, 1992; Holt, 1996; Drew, 1998; Holt & Clift, 2007; Heinrichsmeir, 2020, 2021).

As the analysis of extracts in §5.2. has so far shown, reported speech is used within the main narration to instantiate the nature of the complainable act (Benwell, 2012) and to unveil the target’s agency, before tellers make any overt criticism via metapragmatic comments. As Heinrichsmeier (2020: 52) comments, who is reported to speak in the story-world is a crucial factor in determining how

complaint-tellers ultimately position themselves. In animating the target as the only speaker (Extracts 5.1., 5.3.; cf. Extracts 1, 9, 18; Appx12), the complainant constructs herself/himself as inarticulate, as a helpless victim lacking the agency to overcome the target (cf. Muntigl et al., 2014: 768-770). In contrast, when the teller animates herself/himself as the only or the last character to speak (Extracts 5.4., 5.6.; cf. Extracts 3, 4, 10, 17; Appx12), s/he projects a more agentive sense of self that has the strength to fight back against the narrated impoliteness.

Wingard and Lockyer (2020) showed how survivors of sex trafficking used reported private thoughts in narratives to mark a transition point away from victimhood and towards regaining their agency. Extract 5.3. (cf. Extracts 9 and 18; Appx12) presents such a ‘turning point’ or a moment of realisation of the complainant’s victimhood. This also occurs in complaint stories evolving in long sequences within the same interaction (‘big packages’; Sacks, 1992: 354), where the teller-complainant’s positioning as voiceless in the first episode contrasts with their presentation as decisive and agentful in the second episode (Event 12; Appx8). Yet, the longitudinal nature of the data also enables us to mark this change in ‘successive complaints’ developing over the course of several interactions (Heinrichmeier, 2021), as the complainant may position herself/himself differently in recurrent stories implicating the same person as culpable figure. For instance, in Extract 5.3., we saw that Ioli presented herself as the passive recipient of her ex-manager’s abrupt manner of speaking and selfishness. This position was also assumed by the complainant-teller a week earlier when she first voiced this complaint about the same target (see Extract 9; Appx12), and merely animated a constructed thought about its moral implications. By contrast, the last in a series of three complaint-tellings produced within the same participation framework and implicating the same figure (see Extract 3: ll.297-308; Appx12; cf. Heinemann, 2009; Laforest, 2009) marked a transition whereby the complainant, with her use of reported self-speech, positioned herself as recovering agency and restoring her personal experience (Bamberg, 2012: 205).

This ‘temporalised’ view of story structure (Georgakopoulou, 2007) is crucial in revealing the ‘turning points’ and changes in one’s positioning towards impolite others in complaint stories. Nonetheless, the immediacy of the sequence is another significant factor. More specifically, on several occasions, the restructuring of the complainant’s agency occurs within a long sequence and is incumbent upon the dis/affiliative (Stivers, 2008) responses the complainant-teller receives from her/his co-tellers. Although complaint stories bring the story-recipients in the uneasy position of ‘hearing an earful of troubles’ (Edwards, 2005: 8), which may refer to others but is directed at them in the local interaction (Sacks, 1992, Vol. II: 297), the expectation is that listeners display both attentiveness and concern, especially if they are close friends with the complainant (Mandelbaum,

1991/1992; Traverso, 2009). This expectation is indeed fulfilled in the data at hand, as the co-tellers' contributions to complaint-tellings are basically affiliative<sup>102</sup>.

### 5.3.1. Displaying affiliation in complaint-tellings

Co-tellers operate with a wide range of affiliative mechanisms when engaged in positioning culpable others, the most frequent of which include explicit categorising comments, and embedded stories (i.e. generic and deontic stories; cf. Georgakopoulou, 2007: 93). Embedded shared stories (e.g. Extract 5.5.) and second stories displaying similarity (e.g. Event 12: Il.937-953) are less frequent in the data (see Table 5.2. below).

**Table 5.2.** Second evaluations in complaint-tellings

Evaluation	Number of tokens (N= 762)
<b>Categorising comments</b>	456
<b>Embedded stories</b>	268
<b>Other</b> (i.e. second stories, shared stories, etc.)	38

Extract 5.1. (§5.2.1.) provided an example of how categorising comments in the form of character/ action assessments are mobilised in the telling situation to cue ratification. As we saw, Ariadne proffered a topically aligned yet not clearly affiliative response (Mandelbaum, 1991: 105) to Ioli's prior evaluation (l.44), which gave rise to a habitual story (ll.45-48; Riessman, 1990) amplifying the temporal scope of the target's misconduct and thus raising its accountability (see below). It is after this story is told that Ioli secures her co-teller's strong affiliation, as shown by the emphatic agreement token and an explicit negative categorising comment *χοντρού* ('coarse'; l.49; Extract 5.7. below) that makes impoliteness relevant in the interaction (cf. Traverso, 2009: 2392). By latching an echoic yet upgraded categorisation onto her co-teller's prior contribution, Ioli in turn provides evidence that she has treated Ariadne's turn as supportive.

**Extract 5.7.** *'This was crass'* (LON-10)<sup>103</sup>

49 ARI: Ναι ναι ήταν χοντρού=  
 Yes yes was crass.SNG.NOM.N

<sup>102</sup> Contributions that were initially de-ratified or contested but at the end agreed upon were coded as instances of ratification/ legitimisation of the teller's evaluation.

<sup>103</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx8: event 10.

Yes, yes, it was crass/coarse/rude.  
 50 IOL: =Πολύ χοντρό ναί ρε<=  
 Very crass.SNG.NOM.N yes re.PRTCL  
 Very crass/coarse/rude, yes {re}=

Similarly, as we saw in Extract 5.4. (§5.2.2.), the co-tellers started proffering negative categorisations of the target as early as in 1.7, that is, before Simeon had even shared the verbal interaction that revealed the complainable matter. And following this, they overtly displayed their ongoing support by negatively assessing the target's conduct at the end of every narrated episode of the breaking news story. This affiliative stance culminated in ll.59-72, where the co-tellers mobilised explicit negative categorisations of the target in the telling situation, the main one being the impoliteness-implicative categorisation *γαϊδούρα*. This is first proffered by Ioli (1.62; Extract 5.8. below), following Vassia's prior exclamative (1.60) that inaugurated the series of negative evaluations of the complaint-target. Albeit contested by Simeon (1.63), this categorisation is nevertheless repeated by Ioli (1.64) on the basis of shared past experience (1.65). Ioli particularly embeds a one-line reference (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2007) in the interaction to account for her loaded evaluation of the complaint-target. And even though Simeon abstains from ratifying this repeated evaluation and disclaims any intention to criticise the third party (1.66), Vassia nevertheless adopts Ioli's position by repeating the categorising comment that the latter authored (1.69) and by warranting it through an account comprising yet another negative evaluation (*κακομαθημένο* 'spoiled'; ll.69-70) of the target's conduct. Notably, this evaluation is then personalised, as Ioli subsequently echoes it but directs it to the character's person rather than to her deeds (ll.71-72). And although Simeon initially cued some form of disalignment towards these other-characterisations (1.73), he nonetheless displayed agreement in the subsequent narrated episode, and went on to mobilise more loaded and morally-implicative categorisations (see Extract 5.4.; cf. additional extracts 10, 14, 18; Appx12).

**Extract 5.8.** *'What a mule!'* (LON-34)<sup>104</sup>

62	IOL:	Γαϊδούρα. Mule.SNG.NOM.F ( <i>What a</i> ) mule.	
63	SIM:	°Γαϊδούρα (.) Mule.SNG.NOM.F Mule (.)	[Ο,τι θέλει ας κάνει.°] whatever wants let's do.SBJV.3 <sub>SNG</sub> [She may do what she wants]
64	IOL:		[E γαϊδούρα ρε Συμεών] Eh.PRTCL mule.SNG.NOM.F re.PRTCL Simeon [Eh she's a mule {re} Simeon]
65		Της έκανες She.CLT.GEN.OBJ did.2 <sub>SNG</sub> You also paid	[και δώρο ταξίδι δηλαδή] and gift.ACC.N trip.ACC.N that-is [for the trip, that is]
66	SIM:		[Δεν ^γκρίνω γιατί: όκει]=

<sup>104</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx8: event 11.

NEG criticise.1<sub>SNG</sub> as okay  
 [I don't criticise, as, okay]=  
 67 IOL: =Ναι >για να μην^ γκριθείς.<  
 Yes so-as to.PRTCL NEG criticise.PASS.SBJV.PFV.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
 =Yes, so that you won't be criticised.  
 68 VAS: E(.hh)  
 E(.hh)  
 69 Για ἡ μούρα είναι. (0.4)  
 Mule.NOM.F is  
 A mule she is. (0.4)  
 70 Γιατί δηλαδή (.) είναι κακομαθημένο αυτό που έκανε=  
 As that-is is spoiled.SNG.ACC.N this.ACC.N that.CONJ did.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
 Because, that is, (.) it's spoiled what she did=  
 71 IOL: =Κακομαθημένη (.) μ' αυτό που κάνει.  
 Spoiled.SNG.NOM.F with this.ACC.N that.CONJ does.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
 =She'd spoiled (.) based on what she does.  
 72 [Γ ι ατί]  
 [Because]  
 73 SIM: [Κοί τ α]  
 Look.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
 [L o o k]

Albeit less dominant, embedded stories (Ochs & Capps, 2001) constitute another significant resource whereby co-tellers signal their affiliation to complaint-tellings. These are mainly subdivided into generic and deontic stories, with the former constructing the narrated transgression as deviating from universal norms and the latter presenting it as violating moral standards. By shifting telling modes and invoking higher-order norms which operate beyond the single 'breaching event', they thus put forth a strong argument against the wrongdoer's conduct and thereby signal a highly affiliative stance towards the complaint-teller. This is apparent in Extract 5.9. below, the sequel of Extract 5.7., where Ariadne launches a generic story to convey a stronger-affiliative stance, following her prior negative categorisation of the target's conduct, which elicited Ioli's agreement in return.

**Extract 5.9.** 'This is not a (nice) manner' (LON-10)<sup>105</sup>

51 ARI: =Αυτό το πράγμα δεν το λες  
 This.N the.ART.SNG.ACC.N thing.SNG.ACC.N NEG it.CLT.OBJ say.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
 You don't say this thing  
 52 σε ΚΑΝΕΝΑΝ άνθρωπο.  
 to.PREP nobody.ACC.M human.ACC.M  
 to no one.  
 53 Δεν ↑είναι τρόπος αυτός.  
 NEG is manner.NOM.M this.NOM.M  
 This is not a ((good)) manner.

<sup>105</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx8: event 10.

In particular, by expanding the referent to ‘this thing’ and by using habitual present (l.51, l.53), generic pronouns (ll.51-52), and an extreme case formulation (l.52), Ariadne makes a wider claim to the third party’s moral transgression and presents it as unequivocally diverging from communicative norms (cf. De Fina, 2003: 53). Note that in her metadiscursive comment (Δεν ↑↑είναι τρόπος αυτός ‘this is not a (good) manner’; l.53) the emphasis is not on the ‘what’ of the ex-manager’s speech act, but mainly on the ‘how’. Ariadne’s upgraded evaluation is, therefore, offered in the form of a generic story (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2007: 113), which is embedded (cf. Ochs & Capps, 2001: 36-40) within the main narrative frame to highlight its point about the ex-manager’s ill-formed behaviour (cf. Extracts 8, 9, 15; Appx12). In other words, what normally or universally does (not) happen informs here what has just happened and thus provides interpretative grids for future actions. The marked prosody used in this generic story further signals the co-teller’s support as it displays a similar emotional stance with the complainer (Traverso, 2009: 2392).

Less frequently, participants embed what I call ‘deontic’ stories within the main narrative frame to strongly affiliate with the complaint-teller’s stance by making an upgraded claim to ‘deontic authority’ (cf. Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). Extract 5.10., the continuation of Extract 5.6, provides an example of this affiliative mechanism.

**Extract 5.10.** ‘You should understand each other’ (LON-13)<sup>106</sup>

- 44 ARI: Γενικά πρέπει να συνεννοείσαι.  
 Generally must to.PRTCL connect-with.PASS.SBJV.PROG.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Generally, you should understand the other one.*
- 45 Αυτό είναι που- που μας δυσκολεύει.  
 This is that.CONJ we.GEN.OBJ make-difficult.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*This is what gives us a hard time.*
- 46 SIM: Ρε φίλε πες \*ΔΕ θα έρθω.  
 Re.PRTCL friend.VOC.M say.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> NEG will come.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
 {Re} say ‘I want come’.
- \*claps his hands
- 47 IOL: Ναι αυτό ή πες ↑θα λείπω αύριο,  
 Yes this or say.IM.2<sub>SNG</sub> will be-away.1<sub>SNG</sub> tomorrow  
*Yes this or say, ‘I will be away tomorrow,*
- 48 Καλά να περάσετε= Αυτό.  
 Well.ADV to.PRTCL pass.SBJV.PFV.2<sub>PL</sub> this.SNG.N  
*May you have a nice time’=This.*
- 49 Δε θα ‘πρεπε να πει δε μπορώ=  
 NEG will must.PST to.PRTCL say.SBJV.PFV.3<sub>SNG</sub> NEG can.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Shouldn’t she have said ‘I can’t,*
- 50 =Τα λέμε την άλλη βδομάδα?  
 Them.CLT.PL.N.OBJ say.1<sub>PL</sub> the.ART.ACC.F other.ACC.F week.ACC.F  
*see you next week’?*
- 51 SIM: Θα μπορούσε να πει αυτό ναί.  
 Will could.3<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL say.SBJV.PFV.3<sub>SNG</sub> this.ACC.N yes

<sup>106</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Event 7; Appx8.

*She could have said this, yes.*

Following a short digression (ll.20-43), Ariadne produces a deontic account, apparent in the use of deontic modality (*πρέπει* 'must'; 1.44), which could be heard as an evaluation to Ioli's and/or to Simeon's prior complaint-tellings. Indeed, this account that stresses the need to contact with others and, more importantly, to reach an understanding in communication (*συνεννοείσαι*), is formulated in generic terms, as shown by the turn-initial adverb 'generally' and the use of a generic 'you' pronoun. In doing so, Ariadne not only implicates her co-conversationalists, but she also makes a strong deontic claim about the rights and obligations entailed in human communication. Subsequently, though, through an inclusive *we*-pronoun (1.45), she shifts reference to this particular group of friends, which is portrayed as routinely having difficulty in undertaking this relational entitlement. Through a turn-initial *re*-marker, Simeon then signals a form disalignment (Georgakopoulou, 2001), yet the content of the constructed hypothetical speech seems to cue affiliation with Ariadne's prior claim. More specifically, Simeon authors an unrealised, hypothetical utterance and puts it into Iliada's mouth. This comprises a response to a message or invitation, probably to the one Simeon had referred to in his previously launched breaking news story (Extract 5.6.). The use of imperative, coupled with the prosodic and embodied emphasis, key the teller's tone as serious and authoritative, something that connects with Ariadne's former deontic claim. In addition, Ioli's subsequent agreement demonstrates 'deontic congruence' (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012), as she aligns to the deontic responsibility allocated to Iliada by the former speaker. Following this, she also offers an alternative hypothetical scenario, again preceded by the quotative *πες* in imperative form, which is here followed both by an implied account (*↑θα λείπω* 'I will be away'; 1.47) that the target would be expected to provide as a justification for the dispreferred rejection (Bolden & Robinson, 2010), and by an anticipated wish (*Κατ'λά να περάσετε* 'May you have a nice time'; 1.48). And she closes off her contribution to this co-constructed deontic account with a negative conducive question (Quirk et al., 1985) that makes a positive response relevant and thus explicitly marks Iliada's deviation from what she *ought to* have said (*Δε θα 'πρεπε να πει* 'Shouldn't she have said'; 1.49). This deontic scenario also includes a hypothesised promise committing Iliada to act along with the tellers' expectations in the future (1.50). That these expectations are shared among the co-tellers is evident in Simeon's uptake (1.51), in which he confirms that such a move would be morally desirable (note the use of the modal verb 'could'). As similarly shown by Tovares's (2010) analysis of hypothetical stories, deontic accounts comprising potential scenarios in my data are important in revealing what the speaker views as right or moral by juxtaposing the imagined scenarios s/he drafts to the existing negatively-assessed events (cf. Appx8, Event 7: ll.288-302; Additional extract 14: Appx12). More to this, the co-construction of such supposed scenarios provides glimpses into the participants' shared assumptions of moral norms.





*Yes, yes, it was crass/coarse/rude.*

As we saw in Extract 5.1., Ariadne’s well-prefaced response (1.44) to Ioli’s complaint-telling was aligned yet non-affiliative. This is also evidenced by Ioli’s uptake with a turn-initial *re* signalling unstated disagreement (Georgakopoulou, 2001). Following this, she constructs the complainable matter as routine, and goes on to illustrate this by means of a ‘habitual’ story. This not only enlarges the temporal scope of the target’s sarcastic behaviour by means of the adverb *σου↑↑νέχειλα* (‘all the time’; 1.46) and the use of timeless present, but it also expands the thematic field of it by noting the ends of an assumed continuum of actions that Ioli performs and is mocked for by the third party. These range from the way she conducts her job-related tasks to her command of the (English) language (ll.47-48). The extreme case formulations in her turn (Pomerantz, 1986; Edwards, 2005), in conjunction with the marked prosody displaying anger (note the sharp pitch elevation on *σου↑νέχειλα*, the rushed delivery in ll.47-48, and the emphatic tone on *μιλλάω*) further signal the complainant’s attempt to objectify her complaint to ensure affiliation. And she attains this, as shown by the co-teller’s uptake (1.49; cf. Extract 5.8.) in which she overtly takes a strand against the target’s situated conduct (note the use of past tense; cf. additional extract 19; Appx12) by overtly criticising her and constructing her behaviour as generically deviant. This said, the other co-teller’s stance remains somewhat ambiguous, as evidenced by the question Vassia poses next (*Αυτό όμως ↑πώς ε:=* ‘But how is this eh=’ 1.56). Hence, the complaint-teller embarks on a new attempt to persuade the second co-teller about the matter’s complainability, this time by means of a hypothetical scenario implicating both Ioli and Vassia.

**Extract 5.12.** *‘I won’t start swearing at you’* (LON-10)<sup>108</sup>

57 IOL: Πε            μπορεί να            δω                            ένα γραπτό σου  
 Re.PRTCL    may    to.PRTCL    see.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub> a.N text.ACC.N you.POSS.GEN  
*{Re} I may see a script of yours*

58            Και να            σου            πω (.)                            ρε            συ Βάσια  
 And to.PRTCL you.GEN.OBJ say.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub> re.PRTCL you Vassia.VOC  
*And tell you (.) {re} Vassia*

59            Εδώ έχεις            λάθος            ξέρω            ‘γω τς  
 Here have.2<sub>SNG</sub> mistake.ACC.N know.1<sub>SNG</sub> I    ts.PRTCL  
*Here you’ve made a mistake, I don’t know, ts*

60            >Πρόσεξέ το            λίγο γιατί: ε: πρέπει να<  
 Mind.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> it.CLT.OBJ a-bit because eh must to.PRTCL  
*Look at it a bit carefully because we must*

61            Το            στείλουμε            στο::ν^                            ντάδε            στο:: (.)  
 It.CLT.OBJ send.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>PL</sub> to-the.ART.ACC.M so-and-so to-the.ART.N  
*Send it to the so-and-so person to (.)*

62 VAS: Ναι ναι ναι  
 Yes yes yes

63 IOL: Στο                            δικαστήριό ξέρω            ‘γω

<sup>108</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx8; event 10.

to-the.ART.ACC.N court.ACC.N know.1<sub>SNG</sub> I  
*To the court, I don't know*

64 Γιατί με το μ- με το [eng] **λάνλορντ**  
 Because with the.ART with the.ART.ACC.M landlord.ACC.M  
*Because with the landlord*

65 Περνάμε δύσκολα ξέρω 'γω.  
 Pass.1<sub>PL</sub> hard.ADV know.1<sub>SNG</sub> I  
*We're having a bad time, I don't know.*

66 VAS: Ναι ναι.  
 Yes yes.

67 IOL: Καλά: (.) Ε ΔΕ ΘΑ ΣΟΥ ΠΩ (.)  
 Well eh.PRTCL NEG will you.GEN.OBJ say.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Well, (.) Eh I won't tell you (.)*

68 Ε ΤΙ ΓΑΜΗΜΕΝΗ ΚΑΡΙՕΛΑ είσαι=  
 Eh.PRTCL what fucked.SNG.VOC.F cunt.SNG.VOC.F are.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Eh what a fucked cunt you are=*

69 =Δε θ' αρχίσω να σε βρίζω.  
 NEG will start.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL you.ACC.OBJ swear.SBJV.PROG.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*=I won't start swearing at you.*

70 VAS: Ναι  
 Yes

71 IOL: Θα σου πω ΑΝ ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ (.)  
 Will you.GEN.OBJ say.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub> if can.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*I will tell you 'if you can (.)*

72 Την επόμενη φορά  
 The.ART.SNG.ACC.F next.SNG.ACC.F time.SNG.ACC.F  
*Next time*

73 να το διπλοτσεκάρεις.  
 To.PRTCL it.CLT.OBJ double-check.SBJV.PFV.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*You shall double-check it.'*

In this example, Ioli constructs an imagined event where she is in her ex-manager's position, as she notes a mistake in a text written by Vassia, while her co-teller plays the role of the target of criticism. Of interest in this example is how the author of this scenario manipulates reported speech (ll.58-65) to show how her own stance would differ from the existent stance of her ex-manager. While the latter was presented as levelling direct and unmitigated criticism against Ioli, the former assumes a somewhat softer stance towards the criticised party, as shown by the signs of trouble in her constructed utterances – the affective marker 're' (l.58), false starts (l.64), pauses (l.61), hesitations (ll.60-61), the minimiser 'a bit' (l.60), and the knowledge disclaimer 'I don't know' (l.59, l.61, l.63, l.65), which may not index a lack of knowledge so much as indicating distancing from a sensitive claim 'which may be taken as the basis for skeptical or negative inferences about [the recipient]' (Wooffitt, 2005: loc1769). This is also evidenced by her offering an account for the direct request she proffers in l.60 (*Πρόσεξέ το λίγο γιατί: 'Look at it a bit carefully because'*), thus constructing it as an accountable and potentially face-threatening move. Vassia's multiple repeats of 'yes' (l.62; Stivers, 2004) displays her stance that Ioli has already made her point that she would refrain from making fierce criticism in a comparable scenario (cf. l.66). Nevertheless, Ioli further highlights this by means of a parallel structure comparing what she would not say to what

she would indeed say in that imagined event (ll.67-73). In this, she particularly positions herself as rejecting swearing, as she first *shows* through a negated constructed speech (cf. Baynham, 2011 on ‘negated narratives’) and then overtly *tells* by means of a communication-oriented metapragmatic comment, that she would not use insulting language. Instead, she would assume a less authoritative stance by performing her request in a mitigated manner (*AN ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ* ‘if you can’; l.71). Prosody plays a significant role here, as the significantly raised voice not only provides emphasis but it also re-enacts the teller’s anger about the former breaking news incident (Extract 5.1.), in which the ex-manager was presented as highly insulting, by way of contrast. To sum up, Ioli’s hypothetical scenario ‘as a mode of representation that [she has chosen]’ (Riessman, 1993: 18) serves to create resistance to existing behaviours and give voice to her desired ways of acting. More importantly, by illustrating the difference between existent and imagined tale-worlds, the teller attains to persuade her co-teller about the said matter’s complainability, as also shown by Vassia’s highly affiliative response in the uptake (l.75) (cf. Appx8, Event 10: ll.335-361; Appx12: additional extract 12: ll.35-39; 16: ll.1100-1113).

### 5.3.3. Reclaiming power upon securing affiliation

Securing affiliation during the telling situation, either instantly or after several attempts, seems crucial in empowering complaint-tellers to fight back against the targets. As we foreshadowed in the beginning of this section, tellers who present themselves as silent sufferers of complainable matters in the plot of breaking news stories may experience moments of realisation of their victimhood, especially upon securing their co-tellers’ affiliation. This appears to be quite important in helping tellers recover their voice, as it gives rise to future plots whereby they (co)draft meeting scenarios to confront targets. Extract 5.13. below provides an example of the systematic link between this process of ‘change’ and a particular small story genre, namely projections (Georgakopoulou, 2007).

#### **Extract 5.13.** ‘I will tell her I can’t (stand) the rudeness of her character!’ (LON-10)<sup>109</sup>

100 IOL: Αλλά θα πάω αύριο να μιλήσω  
 But will go.1<sub>SNG</sub> tomorrow to.PRTCL speak.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*But I will go tomorrow to speak*

101 Στη [eng] **μάνατ ζέρ** μου.  
 to-the.ART.SNG.ACC.F manager I.POSS.GEN  
*To my manager.*

102 ARI: Καλά θα κάνεις.  
 Well.ADV will do.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*You’ll do well.*

103 IOL: Θα της πω ότι δε μπορώ άλλο

<sup>109</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx8: event 10.

Will her.GEN.OBJ say.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub> that.CONJ NEG can.1<sub>SNG</sub> anymore  
*I'll tell her that I can't take anymore*

104 To [eng] **ρουντ** του χαρακτήρα της  
 The.ART.SNG.ACC.N rude the.ART.SNG.GEN.M character.GEN.M her.POSS.GEN  
*The rudeness of her character*

105 Δεν αντέχω άλλο να με προσβάλλει,  
 NEG bear.1<sub>SNG</sub> anymore to.PRTCL I.ACC.OBJ insult.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*I can't bear anymore her insulting me,*

106 Να με κάνει [eng] **τσάλεντζ** χωρίς λόγο,=  
 To.PRTCL I.ACC.OBJ make.3<sub>SNG</sub> challenge without reason.ACC.M  
*To challenge me without a reason,=*

107 ARI: =E όχι βέβαια.  
 Eh.PRTCL NEG certainly  
 =Eh, of course not.

108 Πες της ότι δεν έχεις φωνή  
 Say.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> her.GEN.OBJ that.CONJ NEG have.2<sub>SNG</sub> voice.SNG.ACC.F  
*Tell her that you don't have a voice*

109 Σε αυτή την εταιρεία  
 In this.ACC.F the.ART.ACC.F company.ACC.F  
*In this company*

110 όταν η άλλη μιλάει έτσι.  
 when the.ART.NOM.F other.NOM.F speak.3<sub>SNG</sub> like-this  
*When the other speaks like this.*

111 IOL: Αυτό!  
 This ((thing exactly))!

Having elicited her co-tellers' support (see Extracts 5.7., 5.9. and 5.12. above), Ioli brings in a projection in which she rehearses a more agentive self to confront the target of her complaint. This projection is sequentially contiguous with a previous projection, in which Ioli has drafted a scenario about her ex-manager's supposed future actions (see Appx8: event 10). By prefacing her second projection with a contrastive *but*-marker (l.100), she indicates her disaffiliation with her ex-manager's hypothesised actions, while the declarative mood of the commissive speech act *θα πάω* ('I will go') and the lack of hedges in the announcement of the tomorrow tale index an assertive stance (ll.100-101). Upon securing her co-teller's agreement and affiliation (l.102), she embarks on the main part of her narration, that is, the verbal interaction between her and her ex-manager, organised along the lines of 'I-will-say'.

Interestingly, while in the breaking news story analysed above, Ioli made her own present voice appear 'absent' through reported speech, here, it is the ex-manager's voice and agency that is effaced. In particular, Ioli starts by displaying a negative emotional state (*δε μπορώ* 'I can't'; l.103) on account of the manager's 'rude character' (*To [eng] ρουντ του χαρακτήρα της*; l.104) through a categorising metacommunicative comment that makes impoliteness relevant in the interaction and, more importantly, presents it as routine and dispositional. The former is cued by the habitual present in the noun and non-finite clauses (see l.103, ll.105-106), while the latter is achieved through the invocation of a 'characterological formulation' (Edwards, 2006: 498) artfully woven into Ioli's account as a way of amplifying the third party's moral accountability (Stokoe & Edwards, 2015;

Alexander & Stokoe, 2020). In the subsequent lines, the teller spells out the particular communicative infringements that she associates with rudeness (i.e. insults and challenges), and which also constitute conventional impoliteness strategies (Culpeper, 1996; Bousfield, 2008). These communication-oriented comments could be seen as category-bound activities (Sacks, 1992) that the teller conventionally links to the category of rudeness, and which seem to be emotionally loaded too. This is shown by the comments' embeddedness within an affective metacommunicative comment ( $\Delta\varepsilon\nu$   $\alpha\uparrow\nu\tau\acute{\epsilon}\chi\omega$  'I can't stand'; l.105), which illustrates the negative emotional impact of the communicative transgressions on the teller: they give rise to an other-condemning, impoliteness-related emotion, that of exasperation or frustration (Spencer-Oatey 2005, 2011).

To this, Ariadne responds in a highly affiliative way by proffering strong agreement (l.107) with Ioli's prior turn and, more importantly, by co-constructing the details of the planned tale-world (ll.108-110). In particular, she emphatically urges Ioli to talk about her lost 'voice', that is, about her disempowerment in the company due to the third party's routinised verbal misconduct (note the habitual present in ll.109-110 and the temporal-conditional clause in l.110 stressing the iterative character of the third party's behaviour)<sup>110</sup>. Besides, the marked referent  $\eta$   $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\eta$  ('the other one'; l.110) indicates that the ex-manager maintains 'a shared prior focus' (Kitzinger et al., 2012: 122) for both co-tellers as a source of trouble. To this, Ioli responds with strong agreement (l.111), thereby endorsing the co-teller's contribution, which points to another major function of (co-authored) projections in the data, as acts of sharing and re-affirming the participants' closeness upon negotiating their views on moral issues (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2007).

What therefore transpires from this analysis (cf. e.g. Appx8: Event 5, Event 7; additional extracts 10, 12; Appx12) is the dual importance of projections embedded in complaint-tellings: first, they enable the teller to project and rehearse a more agentive self in the 'safe space' of an interaction with close friends. In this, s/he experiences an incipient turning-point from being a passive and voiceless recipient of the forces of others to recovering her/his agency and resisting the well-orchestrated moments of the experienced inarticulateness (McDermott, 1988). Secondly, by affording co-construction among the co-tellers, projections become a fruitful site for a collaborative attempt to restoring the moral order and personal experience<sup>111</sup>. Notably, as many projections lead to thematically related upcoming talk containing the tellers' general conceptualisations of what is right or wrong in a particular field of relationships (see Appx8, event 10: ll.112-120), they also prove

---

<sup>110</sup> Ioli has herself provided numerous examples of hers having lost her voice in the company, ranging from remaining silent in her meetings with her ex-manager to being interrupted when talking (see e.g. Extracts 1 and 2; Appx12).

<sup>111</sup> The longitudinal nature of the data enables us to examine this restoration process as, on several occasions, projections give rise to interactions and further plots, upon the realisation of pre-planned meetings (see Extract 7; Appx12, which is linked to the projection in Extract 5.13. above).

significant in allowing access to the tellers' more abstract views on im/politeness and morality (cf. Appx8, Event 5: ll.560-581, Event 7: ll.103-109; additional extracts 10, 12: Appx12).

In sum, while section 5.2. concentrated on the linguistic resources tellers mobilise to position third parties in stories about potential impoliteness (NP L1), this section has offered insights into the social actions that these stories perform in the interactive situation (NP L2) and the 'situational' (Zimmermann, 1998: 90) identities that tellers assume in the telling. Both the topic of small stories and the local interactional roles that tellers assume, bring into focus the 'situational' identities of complainant vs. supporter, which also have to do with role-relevant entitlements (i.e. with the rights and responsibilities of friends). To put it differently, the tellers' multi-semiotic choices place them in the situational identity of the complainant/support-seeker, while the co-tellers' affiliative contributions position them as support-givers, and inferably as 'good' friends. As anticipated, considering the co-conversationalists' intimacy, the majority of complaint-tellings receive affiliative uptake by co-tellers that either takes the form of negative criticism towards the targets or manifests in embedded (generic or deontic) narratives which point to the transgressive nature of the target's actions by appealing to wider norms. Although, at times co-tellers do not offer immediate support after the initiation of a complaint-telling, the invocation of once, habitual, or hypothetical stories by main tellers ultimately succeeds in eliciting support. And this proves crucial in motivating the latter to reclaim their agency, as shown by the emergence of projections where tellers assume a decisive stance towards the targets.

#### 5.4. From positioning other to self-identities: Constructing ethical selves and (re)asserting the moral order

So far, I have shed light on the linguistic and semiotic resources by which the participants portray absent others in small stories and display their agency 'in terms of initiative, responsibility, and knowledge' (Deppermann, 2015: 374) (NP L1). I have also analysed how the narrator relates to her/his co-tellers via the narrating (NP L2), focusing on the interactional moves that s/he makes, and which relate to the significance of the story in the here-and-now situation, answering the question 'why this now?' (Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008: 385). As shown in §5.2. and §5.3., practices of positioning on NP L1 and L2 have placed participants in paired situational identities of complainant/support-seeker vs. complaint-recipient/support-giver (Zimmermann, 1998). Importantly, the co-articulation of their telling-specific and situational roles finally brings to the fore wider social identities that point to the participants' self-positioning towards moral norms at NP L3, but also have to do with group-internal relations. More specifically, constructing the self as an agentless victim of impoliteness in the story-world (NP L1) and doing complaining about the said impoliteness in the telling event (NP L2), the tellers ultimately 'position themselves vis-à-vis cultural discourses and

normative (social) positions...by distancing, critiquing, subverting, and resisting them.’ (Bamberg, 2004: 336). More to this, by converging on their evaluations of third parties as impolite in the course of the telling, they also reaffirm closeness in positions pertaining to morality (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2007: 96). To put it another way, through their intense preoccupation with the other, the participants ultimately draft self-identities of politeness and morality, as they come to resolve what to say and do in meetings with friends, partners, or colleagues. Hence, they collaboratively construct shared ideologies of what a right or wrong behaviour is in the aforementioned fields of relationship (2007: 124), and set their moral and social boundaries in a way that informs present and future action. We should note, though, that any postulated links between linguistic choices and social identities cannot be seen as one-to-one deterministic connections but rather as loose, indexical, and indirect couplings (Zimmerman, 1998: 88).

This said, there are occasions in which the tellers embed explicit claims to their wider biographical identities (cf. Deppermann, 2013b) within alterity talk. The previous sections have already provided some glimpses into such self-identity claims that hold beyond singular interactions, evident in embedded or parenthetical narratives. For example, on several occasions, following a breaking news story’s coda, tellers embark on thematically-related subsequent talk which reveals their L3 positioning and metadiscursive awareness about politeness and related concepts in particular fields of relationships (see Appx8, Event 10: ll.111-120, Event 12: ll.947-960).

In addition, mobilising hypothetical or deontic stories that illustrate how the teller *would* behave in an imagined scenario, or how the third party *should* have behaved, as well as drawing on generalised as opposed to particularistic discourse through generic stories, seem to point to ‘who the teller *is*’ beyond local action (NP L3) and what their conceptualisations of moral standards *are* at a metadiscursive level. This becomes more explicit especially when these types of stories co-occur (see Extract 5.14. below; cf. e.g. Appx8, Event 7: ll.288-300).

**Extract 5.14.** ‘*This is a polite manner*’ (LON-10)<sup>112</sup>

335 IOL: Δηλαδή >αν θέλω να σου ζητήσω να κάνεις  
 That-is if want.1<sub>SNG</sub> to you.GEN.OBJ ask.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub> to do.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*That is, if I want to ask you to do*  
 336 κάτι αύριο <επειγόντως, (.)  
 something tomorrow urgently, (.)  
 337 ARI: Ναι  
 Yes  
 338 IOL: Μπορώ να σου πω (.) Αριάδνη (.) >μπορείς  
 Can.1<sub>SNG</sub> to you.GEN.OBJ say.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub> Ariadne.VOC can.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*I can tell you (.) 'Ariadne (.) can you*

<sup>112</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx8: event 10.

- 339 σε παρακαλώ να μου-< αύριο να το  
You.ACC.OBJ please.1<sub>SNG</sub> to I.GEN.OBJ tomorrow to it.CLIT.OBJ  
*please to- tomorrow to*
- 340 κοιτάξεις αυτό και να μου στείλει:ς  
Look.SBJV.PFV.2<sub>SNG</sub> this.OBJ and to I.GEN.OBJ send.SBJV.PFV.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*look at it and send to me*
- 341 τη:: γνώμη και το [eng] **φίντμπάκ** σου?  
The.ART.ACC.F opinion.ACC.F and the.ART.ACC.N feedback you.POSS.GEN  
*your opinion and your feedback?*
- 342 ARI: Ναι.  
*Yes.*
- 343 IOL: Αυτός είναι ένας ευγενει↑κός τρόπος (.)  
This.NOM.M is a.NOM.M polite.NOM.M manner.NOM.M  
*This is a polite manner (.)*
- 344 Άμεσος (.) να ζητήσεις κάτι από τον άλλο.  
Direct.NOM.M to ask.SBJV.PFV.2<sub>SNG</sub> something from the.ACC.M other.ACC.M  
*Direct (.) to ask something from the other ((one)).*
- 345 ARI: Ναι.  
*Yes.*
- 346 IOL: Υπάρχει και ο άλλος τρόπος.  
Exist.3<sub>SNG</sub> and the.ART.NOM.M other.NOM.M manner.NOM.M  
*There's the other manner too.*
- 347 ARI: ((Chuckles))
- 348 IOL: [eng] **Χάι** Αριάδνη [φ έ ρ σ τ ] **θινγκ ιν δε μόρνινγκ**  
*Hi Ariadne, [f i r s t] thing in the morning*
- 349 ARI: [((Chuckles))]
- 350 IOL: [eng] **Αι νιντ γιορ άνσερ ον δατ.**  
*I need your answer on that.*
- 351 (0.4)
- 352 IOL: [eng] **Μπικόζ α::: δερ ιζ- δερ αρ του ντίφερεντ ιμέιλς**  
*Because ah there's there're two different emails*
- 353 [eng] **Δατ ασκ μι φολ- φορ δις μπρ-**  
*That ask me fol- for this br-*
- 354 [eng] **Σ'ου πλιζ ντου ιτ ιν δε μόρνινγκ ΑΣΑΠ**  
*So, please do it in the morning asap*
- 355 [eng] **Εν ε:: >λετς χαβ α κατς απ τουμόροου<**  
*And eh let's have a catch-up tomorrow*
- 356 [eng] **Φέρστ θινγκ ιν δε μόρνινγκ.**  
*First thing in the morning.*
- 357 Υ- κι αυτός ο τρόπος.=  
And this.NOM.M the.ART.NOM.M manner.NOM.M  
*There's this manner too.=*
- 358 ARI: =Ναι.  
*=Yes.*
- 359 IOL: Που 'ναι άμ- έμμεσα αγενής, (.)  
That.CONJ is indirectly rude.NOM.M  
*Which is di- indirectly rude, (.)*
- 360 ARI: Ναι.  
*Yes.*
- 361 IOL: Και ↑επιθετικός.  
And aggressive.NOM.M  
*And aggressive.*

To further explain the said link between rudeness and stress, Ioli launches a hypothetical story where she is engaged in making an urgent request to her interlocutor (ll.335-336). The constructed speech





- This manner, ah, you say it's rude; (.)*
- 02 Δηλα- δηλαδή πώς το: ε εννοείς?  
That-is how it.CLT.ACC.OBJ eh.PRTCL mean.2<sub>SNG</sub>  
*That is, how do you mean it?*
- 03 IOL: Ε (.) ρε συ αυτό το: το θέλω ↑τώρα (.)  
Eh re.PRTCL you this the it.CLT.OBJ want.1<sub>SNG</sub> now  
*Eh (.) {re} this the 'I want this now' (.)*
- 04 [eng] **ΑΣΑΠ** ↑έχει κάτι: απότομο και εί- είναι  
Has something abrupt.ACC.N and is  
*Asap has something abrupt and is*
- 05 σα να σου βάζει ο άλλος  
Like to you.GEN.OBJ puts the.ART.NOM.M other.OM.M  
*As if the other puts you*
- 06 το μαχαίρι στο λαιμό.  
The.ART.ACC.N knife.ACC.N at-the.ACC.M throat.ACC.M  
*a knife under your throat.*
- 07 VAS: M:  
*Mm*
- 08 IOL: Δε ↑δε σου αφήνει το περιθώριο ούτε τυπικά: (.)  
NEG NEG you.GEN.OBJ lets the.ART.ACC.N time-frame.ACC.N neither formally  
*It doesn't allow you any room not even out of courtesy*
- 09 Να το κάνεις με τον τρόπο σου=  
To it.CLT.OBJ do.2<sub>SNG</sub> with the.ART.ACC.M way.ACC.M you.POSS.GEN  
*To do it your way=*
- 10 =↑Είναι σα να είμαστε στο σχολείο  
Is like to be.1<sub>PL</sub> at-the.ART.ACC.N school.ACC.N  
*=It's like we are at school*
- 11 ξέρω 'γω κι έχουμε τη δασκάλα  
Know.1<sub>SNG</sub> I and have.1<sub>PL</sub> the.ART.ACC.F teacher.ACC.F  
*I don't know, and we have the teacher*
- 12 με το: με το βούρδουλα ξέρω 'γω.  
With the with the.ART.ACC.M stick.ACC.M know.1<sub>SNG</sub> I  
*With the, with the stick, say.*
- 13 VAS: Ναι ναι ναι  
*Yes yes yes*
- 14 IOL: Κι αυτό ρε συ είναι [eng] **φουλ** αγχωτικό και::  
And this re.PRTCL you is full stressful.NOM.N and  
*And this {re} is very stressful and*
- 15 Σου κάνει κακό.  
You.GEN.OBJ does bad.ADJ.ACC.N  
*It hurts you.*
- 16 VAS: ↑M::  
*Mmm*

When asked to elaborate on her conceptualisation of rudeness in the playback interview following on from the interaction analysed in Extracts 5.3. and 5.14., Ioli again mobilised a generic narrative setting up a generalisation from specific actions. By expanding the referent to 'it' (l.02) and by employing timeless present and generic pronouns ('you' and 'the other'), she evoked a 'normative base' against which her ex-manager's specific act of making a bald request 'stand[s] out as anomalous' (Edwards, 1994: 218). The breach is particularly located in the use of temporal markers ('now' and 'ASAP') presenting the request as urgent and thus putting pressure on the recipient, as also shown by the metaphor mobilised in ll.05-06. The particular linguistic choices, therefore, seem to



only signal more stable aspects of self but, through their sequential contiguity with complaint-tellings about culpable others, they serve as a comparative base that better illustrates what kinds of behaviour the teller deems un/acceptable in a field of relationship.

This is also evident in sequences where the teller contrasts another third party's mode of conduct deemed as appropriate to that of the talked about complaint-target. As we will see below, referring to other characters as *exempla* of proper behaviour is often put forth as an analogy for what is evaluated in an interaction. More often than not, the teller *first* draws the portrait of a polite other and *then* contrasts this to the negative positioning of the target of an ongoing complaint-sequence, something that amplifies the reprehensibility of the latter's alleged offence and polarises the positions constructed for different others. Extract 5.17. below shows how such a comparison between a former Greek colleague (Fofi) and a current English one (Lesley) is overtly brought up to justify the teller's wish to leave the company for which she has been working.

**Extract 5.17.** 'Fofi versus the stupid Lesley' (LON-22)<sup>114</sup>

- 135 IOL: Αν ήταν η Φώφη η φίλη μου  
 If was the.ART.NOM Fofi.NOM the.ART.NOM.F friend.NOM.F I.POSS.GEN  
*If there was Fofi, my friend,*
- 136 θα μπορούσα να της πω (.)  
 Will could.1<sub>SNG</sub> to.PRTCL she.CTL.GEN.OBJ say.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*I could say to her (.)*
- 137 >Πωπω ρε μαλάκα τώρα  
 Oh re.PRTCL malaka.PRTCL now  
*Oh {re malaka} now*
- 138 μας τα πρήζουνε< γι' αυτή  
 we.GEN.OBJ they.CLT.ACC.OBJ swallow.3<sub>PL</sub> for this.ACC.F  
*Are they pestering us for this*
- 139 την αλλαγή?  
 The.ART.ACC.F change.ACC.F  
*change?*
- 140 Που θα την^ ↑ΓΚΑνουμε= Δεν είν' ότι (.)  
 Which will the.ART.ACC.F do.SBJV.PFV.1<sub>PL</sub> NEG is that.CONJ  
*Which we'll make=It's not that (.)*
- 141 Και θα μου 'λεγε ΝΑΙ ρε (.)  
 And would I.GEN.OBJ say.SBJV.PROG.3<sub>SNG</sub> yes re.PRTCL  
*And she would tell me 'Yes re' (.)*
- 142 >Και θα της έλεγα< (.)  
 And would she.GEN.OBJ say.SBJV.PROG.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*And I'd say to her (.)*
- 143 Ντάξει είναι [eng] **νάις του χαβ** αλλ<  
 Okay is but  
*Okay, it's nice to have it but*
- 144 Και μας τρέχουνε τώρα για ένα πράγμα  
 And we.GEN.OBJ run.3<sub>PL</sub> now for one.ACC.N thing.ACC.N  
*And they have us running now for something*
- 145 που θα τελειώνε μέσα σ' ένα μή:να.

<sup>114</sup> To read the full version of this extract, see Appx12: event 3.

Which would finish.SBJV.PROG.3<sub>SNG</sub> inside in one.ACC.M month.ACC.M  
*which would finish in a month.*

146 ARI: Ναι κατάλαβα ενώ [σ' αυτήν ( )]  
 Yes understood.1<sub>SNG</sub> but to.PRP this.ACC.F  
*Yes I understood but [to her ( )]*

147 IOL: [Και της το ΛΕΩ]  
 And she.CLT.GEN.OBJ it.CLT.ACC.OBJ say.1<sub>SNG</sub>  
*[And I say it to her]*

((further down))

148 Ντάξει είναι [eng] **νάις του χαβ** αλλά >και με κοιτάει< (.)  
 Okay is but and I.ACC.OBJ look.3<sub>SNG</sub>  
*Okay it's nice to have but, and she looks at me (.)*

149 ↓E: [eng] **μπατ ιζ φίζιμπολ.** (0.4)  
 Eh.PRTCL  
*'Eh/uh but it's feasible.'* (0.4)

Ioli starts off her narration about a particular incident at work, which implicates Lesley, a figure that has been introduced early on in the telling (Appx12, event 3: 1.40). As is common with complaint-tellings, this one too develops in long sequences ('big packages'; Sacks 1992: 354), with its plotline spreading over 100 lines, and thereby rendering an utterance-by-utterance analysis appear insufficient. To begin with, Ioli casts Fofi into the category of a friend (l.135) that signals a positive stance in the first place, and then presents herself as having the freedom/ability (see the use of dynamic modality; l.135) to express her negative affective stance towards her (Greek) superiors' decisions through an irritation-related affective comment (*μας τα πρήζουνε* 'they are pestering us'; l.138), which is indeed in the form of a transitive verbal structure constructing both Ioli and Fofi as recipients of their superiors' actions and as experiencers of their negative emotional impact. This is indeed done in an informal manner, as shown by the use of slang words and affective markers (*ρε μαλάκα*; l.137). Fofi is constructed not only as reciprocating the relaxed tone but also as proffering emphatic agreement and thus signalling affiliation. This in turn allows Ioli to elaborate on her complaint by further foregrounding Fofi's and her own suppressed agency (*μας τρέχουνε* 'they have us running'; l.144) and by challenging the grounds of their superiors' decision-making (ll.143-145). To this, Ariadne responds in a way that foreshadows Lesley's divergent reaction not to a hypothetical but to the realised breaking news complaint-telling about the discussed matter (l.146). What is interesting here is how Lesley's constructed reaction is presented as differing from Fofi's response to the same complaint. In particular, in stark contrast to Fofi's agreement, Lesley is portrayed as gazing at Ioli (l.148) and overtly disaffiliating with her stance, as shown not only by the content of her response but also by its low-pitched articulation, the hesitation (see the turn-initial 'eh/uh' marker) and the contrastive *but*-marker (l.149). By stressing the character's gaze focalisation before quoting her lexicalised response, the teller constructs Lesley's misalignment both on a visual and on a lexical level, and therefore makes her claim stronger. What is important for our discussion here is that the juxtaposition of two different others' actions not only creates a rhetorical effect that

magnifies the culpable other's untoward behaviour, but it also serves as a comparison base that reveals what types of actions the teller considers in/appropriate in a field of relationships beyond a single reported event. In other words, shifting telling modes and embedding hypothetical (or other realised) scenarios within the main narrative frame to create analogies indicates a form of reflexivity on the part of the teller and thus points to their L3 positioning.

This is also enabled by considering retelling of the complaint-telling either within a long sequence or over the course of several interactions. The incident narrated in Extract 5.17. above was particularly retold twice within the same interaction (cf. Appx12, Event 3: ll.58-108), which not only accentuated the routinised nature of Lesley's challenging behaviour at work but also indicated Ioli's more enduring understanding of 'challenge' in view of similar evaluative devices employed in both tellings. Looking at 'emblematic' events (Georgakopoulou & Giaxoglou, 2019), such as the above<sup>115</sup>, which emerge as central in the portrayal of specific characters on account of their recurrent invocation in brief retellings is important, as it affords additional insights into the teller's more stable aspects of self and conceptualisations of moral norms. As we saw in the extracts analysed in this section, these insights were also provided by hypothetical, deontic or generic scenarios, as well as by sequentially contiguous stories projecting polarised social positions for different others, *inter alia*, which coalesced to address the question 'Who is the teller?' beyond a single interaction. At the same time, this web of intermingled story-types contributed to our understanding of how the tellers jointly re-draft the local moral order. In other words, targeting impolite third parties on the basis of personal experiences in relationships with known others seems to afford tellers the right to reassert moral order in these social arenas. Interestingly, this process of restoring the moral order is not undertaken by a solitary ego but it is rather highly collaborative, as shown by the co-tellers' affiliative uptake of complaint-tellings that bear on the sharedness of certain social positions on morality.

## 5.5. Summary

In this chapter I set out to explore how participants talk about absent others' impoliteness in narratives. To so do, I mainly drew on small stories research (Georgakopoulou 2007) in its interconnections with positioning analysis (Bamberg, 1997; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008) and CA (Wooffitt, 1992).

This chapter has generated three overarching findings building on those of the previous analytical chapters. *Firstly*, it has demonstrated the existence of systematic relations between impoliteness and

---

<sup>115</sup> Cf. e.g., Event 12 (Appx8) in which Ioli produces multiple retellings of her complaint about John's behaviour in juxtaposition to Alkis's mode of conduct; Extract 5.3., Extract 9 in Appx12, and Extract 3 (ll.297-308) in Appx12, in which she recurrently complains about Iliada's behaviour.

small stories which are conducive to the positioning of others as impolite. As we saw, participants drew on particular small story types to target others as impolite, mainly on breaking news, which might relate to the urgency in sharing their troubles and thereby in co-drafting future scenarios of managing these troubles. In these stories, they either noted breaches of communicative norms in others' conduct (Extracts 5.1.-5.2.), or assigned them to impoliteness-related categories (Extracts 5.3.-5.5.), and/or expressed negative emotions attributable to others' improprieties (Extract 5.6.), while simultaneously projecting for the self the narrative position of the suffering and, at times, agentless victim (cf. additional extracts 1-20; Appx12). Importantly, in these other-positioning processes, they mobilised explicit impoliteness-related communication-oriented, categorising, and affective meta-comments that were hearable as unequivocally serious in light of their unhedged design, extreme case formulation, and emphatic prosodic embodiment.

This is important as it indicates the different ways in which participants react to situated impoliteness in ongoing talk on the one hand, and talk about it in the absence of targets on the other. The fact that they used considerably more explicit evaluations in this discourse activity than in ongoing interactions (cf. Chapters 3 and 4), and that they also invested in these evaluations, including affective ones, might be related to the very absence of targets and in turn to the non-existent possibility of directly threatening the other's face or damaging their relational connection (Spencer-Oatey, 2002). This finding, therefore, builds upon those of previous analytical chapters and stresses the importance of considering narrative data for analysing impoliteness phenomena, as they enable a better understanding of how participants approach impoliteness-related phenomena depending on the exigencies of the context or the participation framework (Goffman, 1981); shed light into the ways participants do affective positioning (cf. Giaxoglou, 2020) vis-à-vis impoliteness-related phenomena; and advance our understanding of the different types of metapragmatic evaluations of impoliteness, particularly of metacommunicative and metadiscursive comments (Kádár & Haugh, 2013) as these feature in particular small story types.

The *second* finding of this chapter relates to the social action that stories about impolite others perform during the telling, as well as to the interlocutors' role in co-constructing the identities achieved through alterity talk. As shown in the analysis, discourse of alterity in my data was used by participants to complain about recent past yet still unfolding troubles. This could possibly relate to the participants' focal concerns at that point in their lives, that is, to the various troubles that they were confronted with in their relationships with others, as well as to the identities of those others, and the high degree of their proximity to tellers. Complaint-tellings, thus, offered them the space to jointly work out this impact, as well as to co-draft future scenarios of resistance with their co-tellers. Needless to say, the participants' intimacy did facilitate the emergence of such tellings and in turn led to the elicitation of strong support (e.g. Mandelbaum, 1991; Traverso, 2009), which further enhanced the participants' relational connection.

In terms of the identity positions that participants assumed in these complaint-tellings, both the topic of breaking news stories and the local interactional roles that tellers took up brought into focus the ‘situational’ identities of complainant/support-seeker vs. complaint-recipient/support-provider, which might also pertain to the interlocutors’ role-relevant entitlements (i.e. with the rights and responsibilities of friends). Overwhelmingly, as I showed in §5.3., co-tellers produced affiliative responses to complaint-tellers’ stories whether by way of negative categorisations or embedded (generic or deontic) narratives (cf. Ochs & Capps, 2001), which amplified the transgressive nature of the target’s actions by appealing to wider empirical or moral norms (Extracts 5.7.-5.13.). Occasionally, however, co-tellers were seen to slightly disattend to the complaint-telling and distance themselves from the impoliteness evaluations proffered, which might well relate to tellability criteria or to the ‘inherently negative’ (Edwards, 2005) nature of complaint-stories. Importantly, the lack of immediate ratification by co-tellers acted as a discursive constraint on the kinds of identities tellers wished to achieve, and yielded additional interactional work on the part of tellers to ensure support. As we saw, this mainly involved the production of once, hypothetical, or habitual stories, which co-occurred with breaking news and helped legitimise the teller’s situated complaints by illustrating particularised behaviours that are stressed as emblematic of what has been previously described as typical; bringing in imaginary events that create analogies and implicate the co-tellers; and by constructing the transgressor’s reprehensive act as routine and thus dispositional.

In doing so, tellers ultimately elicited affiliative responses by their audience, something that had multiple implications: *first*, it provided complainants with a safe ‘community space’ for rehearsing a more agentive self that plans to overcome targets and thus effect change in their world (Bamberg, 2012: 205), while (re)affirming the participants’ friendship. This rehearsal for restoring one’s personal experience and in turn the moral order was enacted discursively through a specific narrative genre, namely, through projections (Extract 5.13.), which were in turn performed in specific spaces and were further narrativised. *Secondly*, looking at affiliative responses to impoliteness-related complaint-tellings also afforded an understanding of those conceptualisations of im/politeness that were constitutive of the localised moral order. Such aspects of im/politeness-related tellings would have been overlooked if we had adopted a conventional narrative analytic approach (Labov, 1972) that would focus on monologic narrative accounts. This finding, therefore, further underlines the validity of small stories and positioning analysis for researching impoliteness-in-interaction, as they provide an apparatus for analysing co-tellers’ contributions in the im/politeness-telling situation, besides the characters’ interaction in the tale-world.

*Thirdly*, as showed in §5.4., the links between impoliteness and small stories served as vehicles for the creation by participants of an ethical identity, as this was brought to the fore by means of the co-articulation of telling-specific and situational identities (Zimmerman, 1998). In other words, the narrative position of the victim of impolite conduct that tellers occupied in the tale-world combined



with the situational role of the complainant about transgressive behaviours in the telling, ultimately implicated a positive self-positioning of the teller as an ethical person on NP L3 (Bamberg, 2004). Hence, stories about *others* were basically mobilised to situate the *self* relative to circulating cultural discourses of morality in particular fields of relationships. Given the research gaps discussed in §5.1., this finding aspires to make a dual contribution to research: first, it addresses the under-representation of narratives within impoliteness scholarship by showing that participants verbalise their overt evaluations of impoliteness mainly in narrative and particularly in alterity talk. At the same time, it helps advance the analytical vocabulary for integrating processes of other-positioning with self-identity construction on the basis of narrative interactional analyses.

Finally, as the analysis illustrated, the co-occurrence of specific breaking news stories with non-particularistic deontic or generic scenarios involving generalised meta-talk about normative behaviour, with stories of hypothetical or habitual events implicating the self, as well as with other breaking news or habitual stories that juxtaposed two different others' modes of conduct (Extracts 5.16.-5.17.), enabled us to further tap into the tellers' enduring self-positions and conceptualisations of moral norms at a metadiscursive level (Kádár & Haugh, 2013). Reflexive talk in playback interviews and retellings of emblematic events (Georgakopoulou & Giaxoglou, 2019) or successive complaints (cf. Heinrichmeier, 2020) allowed additional insights into such 'rehearsed' social roles (Georgakopoulou, 2008) and sedimented understandings of moral norms that hold beyond local interactions. This renders support to studies taking a 'temporalised' approach to story structure (Georgakopoulou, 2007) as it helps capture both the sequential occasioning of stories in local contexts and processes of circulation and re-embeddedness of these stories in new contexts. This has proved significant in this study in unveiling biographical aspects of selves, as well as in indicating moral ideologies that have some entrenchment beyond situated encounters.

## CHAPTER 6. CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

The present thesis has illustrated a range of ways whereby social actors perform an evaluation of impoliteness in naturally-occurring face-to-face interactions. The analysis has looked at diverse discursive practices in which impoliteness evaluations arise, from ongoing interactions to narratives about present or absent parties, and it has documented systematicity in the design features, location, and the uptake of such evaluations. This systematicity in part hinges on the exigencies of the local participation framework, as well as on the identity positions that participants wish to project vis-à-vis politeness and morality. Having laid out the variable (in/explicit) ways of evaluating impoliteness, and having pointed to the interactional negotiation and the social actions that evaluations themselves yield, the discussion will now turn to address the contribution made in this thesis to the fields of im/politeness and narrative-and-identities research. This chapter will therefore link my findings to the wider theoretical issues discussed in Chapter One, by probing deeper into the view of im/politeness as social practice, and by exploring the interconnections between impoliteness, narratives, and identities. Finally, it will point to future research paths.

### 6.1. Contribution to im/politeness research

This section will show how my findings can contribute to the field of im/politeness research by advancing the line of inquiry into im/politeness evaluations in interaction (cf. §1.3.2.), as well as by contributing to research on lay understandings of im/politeness in Greek.

#### 6.1.1. Advancing research on im/politeness evaluations in interaction

My point of departure in this thesis was the view that lay im/politeness understandings are hard to identify in everyday interactions, as they scarcely surface in ongoing talk and, even when they do, they show in the form of intangible cues. My experience of situated encounters with Greeks living abroad offered me the kind of ‘contrastive insight’ that Hymes describes (1996: 6), that is, the apprehension of a gap between that prevailing account and what I actually saw happening around me: young Greek friends employing both implicit cues and explicit comments to point to recent past or still unfolding impoliteness-related behaviours. Since both implicit and explicit possibilities for conveying an impoliteness evaluation did exist in my data, the use of implicit instead of explicit modes of evaluating must have been a choice that participants made in consideration of the potential constraints posed by the context, the interactional goals and positionings of diverse participants, etc. I

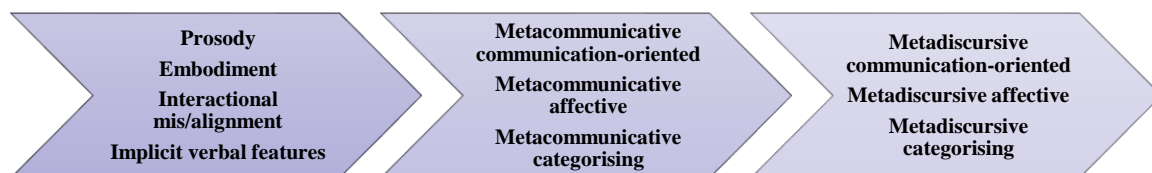
therefore decided to study im/politeness evaluations in diverse discourse activities to show whether and how impoliteness evaluations integrally connected with what got done in specific interactional contexts; how they arose out of concrete social moments and how they themselves engendered further social action. In other words, I set out to explore im/politeness-as-evaluative-practice in naturally-occurring talk, which necessitated bringing together an interactional pragmatic paradigm with a practice-based line of inquiry (cf. Haugh, 2013).

The discussion here will start with a consideration of the various (in/explicit) forms in which evaluations of impoliteness appeared in my data, and will then attempt to illuminate the indexical associations between these formal features and their context of use. Beginning with the realm of 'forms', the analysis has illuminated how participants mobilise a host of resources to judge others' behaviours vis-à-vis impoliteness, which go beyond Eelen's (2001) binary dichotomy (i.e. classificatory vs. metapragmatic politeness<sup>1</sup>). These resources were described as operating on a continuum (see Figure 6.1. below) ranging from the most implicit cues to the most explicit metacommunicative and metadiscursive comments. It is important to note that this divide is far from neat as explicit comments usually co-occurred with implicit cues to convey an evaluation of impoliteness. Put differently, impoliteness in my data was typically signalled through 'clusters of indexical cues' (cf. Bucholtz, 1999) that coalesced to indicate a situated evaluation of impoliteness. This is quite important as it underlines the necessity for looking at multi-modal cues in an integrated fashion (Brown & Prieto, 2021), and alongside metapragmatic commentary, to reach a fuller interpretation of im/politeness-in-interaction.

In addition, the analysis shed light on the variability of evaluative resources leveraged by participants in face-to-face interaction. I particularly looked at multi-modal, implicit cues, which had been overlooked by previous im/politeness scholars, and showed that they presented internal variability. Hence, implicit impoliteness evaluations appeared in the form of non-verbal elements, prosodic cues, interactional features, and of indirect verbal expressions, while participants presented a preference for the most tacit of these cues. Turning to explicit comments, these were delivered either through metacommunicative or through metadiscursive comments, targeting particularised or generalised others, respectively (cf. §2.5.3.; see Figure 6.1.). By bringing metapragmatics together with im/politeness-in-interaction -an integration that has been put forth by im/politeness studies based on various types of data but not on spontaneous face-to-face interactions (cf. §1.1.2)-, I was further able to analyse the structural components of these comments as well as their functions in interaction. Hence, we saw that explicit comments served three main functions in the data, particularly pointing to communicative transgressions, expressing negative emotions, and categorising others into impoliteness-related categories. Regarding their syntactic features, they mainly took the form of personalised negative references, assertions, or vocatives, which bore resemblance to those postulated by Culpeper as conventionalised forms of insults (2011a: 135-136). Considering these comments'

structure(s) and function(s), we would argue that they were themselves interpretable as impolite by their targets, and could thus be associated with the types of impoliteness described by Culpeper (2011a), namely, with affective, coercive, and performative impoliteness. In particular, through the use of affective comments participants attempted to unleash negative emotions of anger and sadness with impolite others, thus performing a form of affective impoliteness. Marking deviations from communicative norms and overtly casting others into negatively-valenced categories were linked to coercive impoliteness, as evaluators attempted to prove they had the right to hold others accountable for impolite actions that bore real-life consequences for themselves. Finally, the use of impoliteness evaluations in the data had a performative element too, as evaluative comments were not produced in a social vacuum but rather in front of an audience that was invited to verify the positions taken up by the speakers.

**Figure 6.1.** Continuum of in/explicit forms of im/politeness evaluations



Importantly, these ‘forms’ were examined within and across specific sites/ arenas and relative to the contingencies of the locally instantiated participation frameworks, which brought to the fore systematic relations between their design, location, and uptake per genre. To begin with, in the discourse activity of ongoing conversation (cf. Chapter 3) between the evaluation-instigator, the evaluation-target and ratified unaddressed recipients who were closely related to both parts of the instigator-target dyad, we encountered mainly implicit evaluations which were constructed through indexical prosodic, (non-)verbal and interactional cues. In addition, explicit metacommunicative comments were not only less common but they were also softened or rendered ambiguous *qua* seriousness, whilst the participants’ emotive stances were only tacitly indicated. Regarding their uptake, there was systematicity in the responses that these forms of evaluations got by different participants. More specifically, as we saw in §3.3., while targets of implicit evaluations tacitly challenged the evaluations and thereby disaffiliated with the speaker, ratified, unaddressed participants responded to them in implicit ways that were not clearly dis/affiliative with either interlocutor (Extracts 3.7., 3.8.), before eventually resorting to jocularity and leading all other parties to embrace this frame. In contrast, mitigated or mock explicit comments attracted playful responses by all interlocutors (Extracts 3.9.-3.12.). This does not only show that participation footings/alignments are distributed, variable and contingent on the role of recipients in interaction (cf.

Haugh, 2013), but that they are also consequential for the social actions that ensue from impoliteness evaluations (e.g. challenges, overdone assertions, etc.).

Furthermore, the systematic relations between the design of evaluations, their uptake, and the actions that they themselves engendered in subsequent talk were activity-specific. This becomes clearer if we compare these links in the narrative genres analysed in Chapters 4 and 5, namely, in retellings of known events about present others and in small stories about third parties. The first were narrated in the presence of the target and involved ratified, unaddressed participants who were connected both to the evaluation-instigator and to the evaluation-target, while the latter were told to an intimate other about a third party, with whom the teller was either closely linked or merely acquainted with. The analysis of situated interactions in Chapter 4 illuminated how the tellers of shared small stories regularly shifted from serious explicit comments to mock-impoliteness evaluations upon the mediation of ratified, unaddressed participants who systematically introduced a jocular interactional frame (e.g. Extracts 4.7., 4.10.), while the evaluation-targets typically oriented to the impoliteness evaluations in seriously disaligning or remedying ways (e.g. Extracts 4.8., 4.9.). This did not apply to affective comments though, which were both designed and responded to as jocular (e.g. Extracts 4.5., 4.11.).

In stark contrast to this pattern, as illustrated in Chapter 5, the impoliteness evaluations that tellers mobilised in small stories about absent others' transgressions manifested in explicit comments that were both designed and received by interlocutors as unquestionably serious. In addition, this activity also involved tellers' overtly expressing their negative emotions on account of impoliteness-related behaviours (e.g. Extracts 5.3., 5.5.). The analysis of situated extracts also illuminated systematicity in the location of these evaluations (especially of categorising and affective comments) close to the story's coda, something that was consequential for the interactional co-drafting of evaluations between the teller and her/his co-tellers. Finally, in terms of the uptake of impoliteness evaluations by co-tellers, this was predominantly affiliative and was expressed mainly through negative assessments of the absent targets or through embedded stories that served to construct the targets' storied *faux pas* as morally deviant or unacceptable (e.g. Extracts 5.9., 5.10.).

What transpires from this comparison of the different forms of impoliteness evaluations across different activities and participation frameworks is that their 'communicative how' (Georgakopoulou, 2007) is heavily contingent upon the complex array of participation footings and the affordances of different activities. More specifically, the level of in/directness and (non-)seriousness of the impoliteness evaluations identified in the data appeared to hinge both upon the presence/absence of the evaluation-target and on the ratified, unaddressed participants' footings. While the former has also been attested to by studies on 'gossip' stories or stories about third parties in general (e.g. Goodwin, 1984; Schuman, 2005), the latter constitutes a quite novel finding. More specifically, where the target

was present, participants designed their evaluations as implicit, mitigated/playful explicit (Chapter 3), or shifted from seriousness to non-seriousness in the course of an interaction (Chapter 4), while in small stories about third parties (Chapter 5), as well as in playback interviews, they proffered unequivocally serious evaluations and expressed their feelings. Also, the ratified, unaddressed participants' mis/alignment seemed consequential for the formal (re)drafting of evaluations, especially in narratives about present others (see Chapter 4), as it was upon their assuming a (disaligning) jocular footing that the evaluation-instigators shifted from evaluations of impoliteness in the beginning to evaluations of mock-impoliteness at the end. In contrast, the audience's strongly affiliative stance in narratives about absent figures strengthened the teller's serious positions. Notably, the story-recipient's disparate footings/alignments in the different narrative activities could be partly related to the presence of the target and the tension involved in the latter's 'public denunciation' (Garfinkel, 1956) in retellings of shared events, and in part to the level of the ratified, unaddressed participants' closeness to the target in each case: in retellings of shared events the target was a friend, while in small stories about absent figures, the target was commonly an acquaintance or a stranger.

It is also notable that the degree of the evaluations' explicitness and seriousness relates to the narrative genres' affordances. Narrative as a meta-representational genre enables the (re)evaluation of a delicate situation not in the heat of the moment but from some 'temporal distance' (Gadamer, 1975: 24), which is sometimes needed in order to fully interpret an event, and build up a stance towards it. In addition, it may well connect with the interweaving of two inextricable worlds in the same storytelling event (Bamberg, 1997), and the related self-lamination (Schiffrin, 1996) afforded by narrative practices, that is, with the possibility of the teller to present the self and the other as characters in the story-world and as interlocutors in the here-and-now of the telling event. By enabling tellers to highlight the accountability of the story-recipient's character in the story-world rather than of the direct addressee in the here-and-now event, narratives seem to be a designated site for proffering serious evaluations of impoliteness by minimising the face-threat involved in the evaluation that relates to a distant, talked about rather than to an immediate, ongoing incident. I will elaborate on this in §6.2.

The analysis has illuminated another important aspect of evaluations within and as social practices, namely, that they can be recycled and redrafted to suit local contexts. This was attained both by building collections of successive interactions involving the same participation framework, along the lines proposed by CA scholars (e.g. Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008), and by combining interactional data with playback interviews. The former practice permitted the examination of impoliteness-related events that were narrativised and revaluated by the same speakers yet from a more detached standpoint. As the analysis of contingent interactions in Chapter 4 showed, impoliteness evaluations of the same events were pluralised, nuanced, and 'temporalised' activities that changed as they travelled from ongoing interactions to retellings of shared events: as they were extracted from their

original context and re-embedded within narratives about present parties, they were rendered more explicit and serious. Nonetheless, the challenging responses by evaluation-targets and the jocular footings of ratified, unaddressed participants led to theirs being further reshaped as mock or, at least, ambiguous *qua* seriousness. Finally, the transposition and recontextualisation of these situated evaluations in elicited narratives generated within playback interviews resulted in their further re-construction as unequivocally serious. And while playback interview material pertaining to ongoing interactions or retellings of shared events documented *change* in the form of impoliteness evaluations across contexts and time frames (i.e. from indirect to direct and serious), participants' metacommentary in post-hoc interviews relating to narratives about third parties evidenced some form of *sedimentation* of the evaluations originally expressed in that context instead. This new finding about the affordance of playback interviews to trace either change or crystallisation of lay understandings not only corroborates the validity of merging interactional data with playback interviews, but it also raises the question of whether indirectness is related to the tellers' construction of a particular sense of self. I will elaborate on this below.

It is important to note here that by looking at forms-in-use, we begin to trace socio-historically contingent, locally emergent, and indirect associations between the micro-level linguistic choices and the participants' expectations, understandings of norms, and broader ideologies<sup>116</sup> of politeness. More specifically, the local production of indirect evaluative signs and the implicit (de-amplified or qualified) expression of emotions in contexts that involve the evaluation-target and ratified, unaddressed participants (i.e. in ongoing conversations and in retellings of shared events about present others) indicates an inculcated assumption that directly holding other accountable for social actions and negative feelings, and indeed in public, violates some group-specific or social norm. Notably, the stark contrast between using indirect signs in front of the target, and mobilising explicit signs, including affective ones, in the private setting of playback interviews or in narratives about third parties, adds to this tentatively postulated link.

Interview data provided clearer insights into this *quasi*-strategic management by unveiling the metapragmatic rationales (cf. Davies, 2018) that participants provided for backing the choice of indirectness *in situ*. These rationales foregrounded a somewhat intentional attempt on the part of lay participants to avoid friction in communication or preserve social harmony (e.g. Extracts 4.13., 4.14., 4.18.), thereby pointing to a perceived folk connection between indirectness and promotion of relationality (cf. Terkourafi, 2013). Indeed, this connection appeared to have some stability for the

---

<sup>116</sup> These ideologies, following Vološinov's (1973) framing, could be better conceptualised as 'behavioural' products, that is, as 'unsystematised' (1973: 91) and ephemeral evocations that emergent in local interactional settings, yet are informed by 'established ideologies', i.e. by 'already formalised ideological products' (1973: 91). Importantly, these widely recognised and entrenched products can also be (re)shaped by the local playing out of behavioural ideologies.

participants beyond local interview talk, as it was embedded within habitual stories (Riessman, 1990; e.g. Extract 4.15.), while oftentimes it was also endowed with universal applicability via the use of generic accounts (Georgakopoulou, 2010; e.g. Extract 4.18.). Interestingly, this lay connection resonates with the pragmatic view of politeness as an attempt to ‘maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations’ (Leech, 1983: 821 cf. Lakoff, 1989: 102). We could thus argue that the participants’ choice to qualify their evaluations of impoliteness and the expression of related emotions in contingent talk stemmed from their concern for being polite to their friends and thereby for promoting rapport (cf. Extract 4.16.).

Having said this, the promotion of relationality was also attained through the kind of sharing that participants did in narratives about third parties’ impolite actions. Talking about others’ impoliteness is certainly different from judging an (intimate) other as impolite in situated multi-party interaction, as it does not carry any face-threat potential for the recipient of the impoliteness stories. One could argue that it is even anticipated in interactions among friends to talk about transgressive behaviours that have somehow affected the speaker, given the role-relevant entitlement to freely express one’s thoughts, feelings, and focal concerns to friends and seek their support. Hence, the privacy of the friendly meeting and the closeness between the participants served as a safe ‘community space’ where participants articulated their evaluations of impoliteness, and sought their friends’ assistance to overcome the accountable targets. It is in this context, except for playback interviews, that they revealed their metadiscursive awareness about im/politeness in fairly straightforward ways, particularly associating impoliteness with inconsideration (e.g. Extracts 5.4., 5.6.) or with types of inappropriate (linguistic) behaviour (e.g. Extracts 5.1.-5.3.). I will elaborate on this in §6.2..

Overall, this kind of micro-, multi-modal, sequential, and trans-contextual analysis contributes to interactional approaches to im/politeness-as-practice by affording insight into: the different forms and functions of impoliteness evaluations in interaction; the social actions by which they are shaped and which they themselves engender; the importance of situating evaluations vis-à-vis the multiple participant footings in multi-party conversations; the various activities and participation frameworks in which evaluations emerge in talk and their systematic relations with particular evaluative categories; and finally into the potential reshaping of evaluations across contexts and time-scales (cf. §1.3.2.).

### 6.1.2. Addressing the current trends in im/politeness research

My findings do not only contribute to interactional approaches to im/politeness, but they can also address the current trends within the field, as these were discussed in §1.1.2. To begin with, my thesis has addressed the current ‘impoliteness rise’ in the field of im/politeness research by focusing on



impoliteness understandings, and paying particular attention both to the various forms in which they appear in discourse (i.e. in multimodal cues and metapragmatic comments) and to the specific activities in which they thrive (i.e. in small stories about third parties). Indeed, by looking closely at implicit cues as evaluative devices whereby participants may convey their impoliteness understandings, my analysis has also advanced the discussion around the relationship between impoliteness and multimodality. This has particularly been achieved by exploring the ways in which multi-modal cues (e.g. prosody, non-verbal moves, etc.) integrated with one another to convey a tacit evaluation of impoliteness, or coalesced with more explicit comments to refer to impoliteness. Furthermore, by analysing different types of explicit metapragmatic comments (i.e. metacommunicative categorising, communication-oriented, affective, and metadiscursive categorising, communication-oriented, affective), and by foregrounding their distinct potentialities for evaluating impoliteness in diverse discourse activities and participation frameworks, my thesis has addressed the rising plea for bringing metapragmatics together with impoliteness in naturally-occurring, everyday interactions. My analysis has also contributed insights into the relationship between impoliteness and affect in two ways: *first*, it has looked at the different, in/explicit resources that participants employ to construct natural emotion comments indicating an evaluation of impoliteness in talk-in-interaction. *Secondly*, it has tapped into the ways in which the multiple forms of emotion cues or comments varied according to the context in which they occurred. My participants were specifically found to de-amplify their emotions in ongoing interactions by tacitly signalling them through non-lexical cues (Chapter 3); to qualify them by adding smiles in retellings of known events about present others (Chapter 4); and to show them without modification in small stories about third parties (Chapter 5) and in post-hoc commentary in interviews. Last, but not least, the analysis has connected impoliteness with morality in spontaneous, face-to-face interactions, not least by looking at the moral implications of situated evaluations in the sequential analysis of ongoing discourse, but also by analysing specific small story genres that brought to the fore the construction of moral identities for the tellers and unveiled the participants' awareness of circulating moral norms (see e.g. 'deontic stories' in Chapter 5). I will elaborate on the relationship between im/politeness, morality and affect in §6.2.. I now turn to discuss how my analysis has advanced the line of inquiry into lay understandings of im/politeness in the Greek im/politeness scholarship.

### 6.1.3. Contributing to im/politeness research in Greek

The analysis of interactional data in Chapters 3-5 has contributed to interactional approaches to im/politeness in Greek in two ways: *first*, by drawing on an innovative dataset that has enabled the investigation both of explicit and of implicit understandings of im/politeness and, *secondly*, by showing how im/politeness-in-interaction is closely connected with morality, identity, and affect.

To begin with, as discussed in the Introduction, previous research on Greek im/politeness understandings has mainly elicited lay members' conceptualisations of im/politeness through questionnaires or interviews (e.g. Sifianou, 1992; Fukushima & Sifianou, 2017; Bella & Ogiermann, 2019), or it has relied on digital data (e.g. Georgakopoulou & Vasilaki, 2018; Vasilaki, 2020) which abound in explicit talk about im/politeness as a concept. This has brought about a focus either on particular behaviours that lay participants associate with the concept of im/politeness (e.g. Fukushima & Sifianou, 2017), or on linguistic strategies or choices that are linked with specific types of im/politeness (e.g. Georgakopoulou & Vasilaki, 2018; Vasilaki, 2020). In contrast, the present thesis has been based on audio- and video-recordings of natural interactions among a limited number of participants, which has thus afforded nuanced insights into the complex yet systematic ways in which Greek participants' evaluations of impoliteness emerge and are collaboratively negotiated in specific discursive activities. Importantly, the emphasis on sequences of talk-in-interaction has opened up a window for analysing not only explicit comments about im/politeness but also implicit understandings of im/politeness (Chapter 3), which had been overlooked by prior research. In addition to tracing the systematic features of evaluations in talk-in-interaction, the analysis of a big dataset of consecutive interactions among the same participants has also allowed us to investigate the degree to which these evaluations may change or get sedimented across contexts and over time.

By paying close attention to verbalised comments and multimodal, indexical cues as evaluative mechanisms, the analysis of interactional data in this thesis has also contributed to the discussion on the relationship between im/politeness, metapragmatics and multimodality. While prior work on metapragmatic im/politeness in Greek had indeed analysed explicit commentary in relation to im/politeness, this thesis has been the first study to look at emergent metapragmatic comments about im/politeness in Greek, as these were spontaneously mobilised by participants in diverse sites and participation frameworks. By cross-fertilising im/politeness with theoretical work on metapragmatics (cf. §1.1.2.), the analysis has also contributed insights into the various forms and functions of explicit evaluations of impoliteness in Greek naturally-occurring interactions. Finally, my findings have also advanced the discussion on the relationship between im/politeness-in-interaction and multimodality in Greek by affording insights into the non-verbal and paralinguistic aspects of impoliteness evaluations in actual discourse, something that had been neglected in prior work on lay understandings of im/politeness in Greek.

Last, but not least, the analysis of a big corpus of natural interactions among friends has contributed insights into the complex ways in which lay understandings of im/politeness in Greek are closely connected with identity, morality, and affect. While more recent research has started to tap into the systematic relations between these concepts (Georgakopoulou & Vasilaki, 2018), this endeavour has been based on (a limited set of) digital data and has prioritised institutional contexts rather than intimate relationships. In contrast, the fine-grained micro analysis of a series of situated interactions

among the same participants in this thesis has allowed insights into the multiple ways in which im/politeness interconnects with the construction of moral identities, as well as with the reaffirmation of the participants' closeness in different activities (see §6.2.1.). Finally, the analysis has offered glimpses into the different categories of negative emotions that Greek participants link with impoliteness in contingent interactions, the varied resources (i.e. affective comments or cues) that they mobilise to convey affect explicitly or implicitly, as well as into the ways in which emotive expression hinges on the activity-specific affordances and the particularities of the participation framework.

Obtaining these insights has unquestionably been facilitated by the synthesis of methodological perspectives that allowed room for fine-grained 'moment-by-moment and dialogic construction of interpretations' (Duranti, 1997: 43), while providing the amount of context and nuance needed to capture the natural histories of discourse and its broader significance for participants. This type of analysis has also shown the close links between im/politeness and identity, to which I turn now.

## 6.2. Contribution to narrative-and-identities research in its interconnections with im/politeness research

This section will illuminate how my findings can advance the line of research on the interconnections between im/politeness and identities (cf. §1.2.) by discussing the insights that my analysis has offered into the indexical association between im/politeness and identities, as well as by highlighting the validity of narrative-and-identities tools for im/politeness research and vice versa.

### 6.2.1. Insights into the indexical association between im/politeness and identities

As intimated earlier in this chapter, the participants' understandings of both activity-specific and wider moral norms infused their contingent evaluative practices in interaction. However, as this section will show, the 'communicative how' of participants' evaluations was also closely linked to the moral position that these individuals wished to project for themselves in specific contexts. Drawing on Ochs's (1992) work on indexicality and on Zimmerman's (1998) triptych of discourse-situational-transportable identities, I will here discuss how participants constructed multiple, fragmented, and nuanced ethical identities that were indexed by different situational stances and linguistic choices.

To begin with, the analysis illuminated how participants opted for indirect and playful linguistic and semiotic means to convey their evaluations in contexts where the evaluation-target was present (see Chapters 3 & 4). These formal features indexed a non-confrontational and humour-appreciative stance

(see Figure 6.2. below), which saved not only the hearer's but also the speaker's face-sensitive attributes. This is because it allowed the speaker to project for herself/himself and co-construct with their interlocutors' positive identities that relate to politeness and morality. Hence, indirectness in ongoing interactions and retellings of shared events about co-present others directly indexed a troubles-resistant stance, which in turn constituted (cf. Ochs 1992) an ethical/ polite identity for the speakers. This ethical identity was thus mediated by situation-specific stances.

Having said this, ethical identities in the data did not present an isomorphic relationship with specific linguistic features. As the analysis in Chapter 5 illustrated, an ethical identity was also indexed by more direct linguistic choices. More specifically, the serious and explicit 'ways of telling' (Hymes, 1996) that participants mobilised to construct absent others as impolite and the self as a suffering victim of impoliteness in the story-world, indicated a complaining stance in the telling-situation that activated the relational pair of complaint-teller/complaint-recipient for the members involved. By ratifying this position, the affiliative recipients of complaint-tellings about third parties, enabled tellers to rehearse a more empowering, troubles-resistant position that planned to overcome targets and uphold moral values (e.g. Extract 5.13.). As a consequence, the co-articulation of their discourse and situational identities (cf. Zimmerman, 1998) indirectly indexed larger ethical identities, which were indeed projected in specific small story genres (e.g. in deontic, hypothetical, habitual stories) and in reflexive metacommentary in interviews (see §6.2.2.).

Overall, the analysis has shown that 'doing being' ethical heavily depends on the contextual contingencies and the varied situational stances that participants assume in consideration of the participation framework and the activity in progress. In doing so, it has showcased the validity of 'indexicality' in foregrounding the multiple, loose couplings between micro- and macro-categories in ways that allow a context-specific and 'thick' interpretation of how im/politeness and identities are largely fragmented, plural and temporalised activities (e.g. De Fina, Bamberg & Schiffrin, 2006; Georgakopoulou, 2007) which, additionally, coexist in a mutually co-constitutive relationship.

**Figure 6.2.** Im/politeness and identity positions



This bifocal perspective on identities and im/politeness also pays dividends with regard to how participants reaffirm their closeness both in interactions in which they discuss absent others' improprieties, and in ongoing talk where they judge one another vis-à-vis group-internal or wider moral norms. In other words, the in/direct ways in which participants formulate their evaluations of im/politeness do not only constitute ethical identities but they also index and (re)assert the interactants' relational identity as 'friends'. This is achieved through the possibilities of 'quality interaction' afforded to participants in friendly meetings. Drawing on Heinrichsmeir (2020b), I view quality interactions as those that 'are enjoyable or in some way fulfilling for participants' (2020b: 143), interactions that encompass humour and exhibitions of alignment and affiliation, as well as those that afford the possibility of troubles-tellings through which participants can project positive identities (2020b: 146). Hence, ongoing interactions and retellings of shared events about present others where the evaluation-target was a friend, constituted quality interactions insofar as they involved humour, and allowed speakers to project troubles-resistant and non-confrontational positions which, in turn, constituted them as polite and ethical persons beyond the interaction on hand. In doing so, they ultimately reaffirmed the participants' intimacy.

On the other hand, narratives told to a friend about third parties' improprieties made up for quality encounter in a different way: here, quality lied in co-tellers' making way for their friends' troubles to be voiced instead of deflecting them as unpleasant accounts. And they did not only align to the troubles-tellings, but they also displayed strong-affiliative stances that showed the speakers share the same views, positions and even feelings about improper behaviours and actions. As the analysis illuminated, affiliation was consequential for the positive self-identity that tellers rehearsed and performed in particular story-genres, namely in projections (cf. §5.3.3.), which became for them a vehicle for reclaiming their agency and reasserting the moral order in the real-world. Quality encounters in this context then fostered the participants' intimacy by allowing them to project the positive identity of the ethical person, as well as by resembling therapeutic sessions in which

participants talked about their focal concerns, won support, and practiced their well-being in interaction (cf. Heinrichsmeir, 2020b: 155).

In sum, these findings illuminate how participants' moral and identity work are not only tightly woven into one another, but they are also integrated with the relational work in which participants engage in situated interaction. This is important as it reaffirms the indexical relationship between im/politeness, identities, and relationality (cf. §1.2.1.3.) in naturally-occurring face-to-face interactions, an area that had been neglected by prior research, and therefore contributes to the critical mass of studies that have advocated a cross-fertilisation of identities with im/politeness research (e.g. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Sifianou, 2017; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Georgakopoulou, 2021; cf. §1.2.). Another way by which the present thesis advances this line of inquiry into im/politeness- and identities-in-interaction is by showing the validity for im/politeness of small stories research and positioning analysis (cf. §1.2.2.).

#### 6.2.2. The validity of small stories research and positioning analysis for im/politeness research

To begin with, small stories research provided an outlet for the articulation of what seemed delicate or difficult to express *in situ* and in front of targets, as they were the site par excellence for expressing serious evaluative talk, either in naturally-occurring talk or in elicited narratives in interview settings. In particular, the interviewer's support in elicited stories helped tellers do serious evaluative and affective work, while winning endorsement on the somehow entrenched views they put forth through habitual and generic accounts. On the other hand, the support that co-tellers exhibited in naturally-occurring stories about third parties, either through negative other-categorisations or through embedded accounts (see §5.3.1.), proved crucial in helping tellers interpret their ongoing troubles, elicit support on their moral and ideological assumptions, and ultimately recover control over perceived improprieties. Hence, I would argue that serious im/politeness work thrives in small stories, mainly due to the relational work that the interactional nature of these stories affords.

Importantly, the portability and fragmentation of small stories that made them prone to circulation and recontextualisation (Georgakopoulou, 2007), offered insight into the 'turning points' in tellers' positioning with regard to agency, the tensions they introduced, as well as into the space between sameness and change (i.e. the 'diachronicity dilemma'; Bamberg, 2011a: 6). This was indeed facilitated by a look at narrative not as a fixed and homogenous supra-genre, but as encompassing pluralised narrative structures, each of which is strategically drawn upon by participants as a resource for achieving certain goals and positionings (Georgakopoulou, 2006, 2007). Hence, to become more specific, in naturally-occurring retellings of shared events about present others, participants complied

with the ratified, unaddressed participants' jocular frame and thus compromised the serious tenor of their initial evaluations and in turn their agency (Chapter 4). In contrast, in the elicited retellings of these events to the affiliative interviewer, participants regained control over their evaluations by taking up an unequivocally serious stance towards the narrated events, which projected a more agentive sense of self. This not only showcases the tensions that participants introduce in positioning self and other in various narrative activities, but also demonstrates that the contradictory positions they assume in interactional stories are threaded together with the genre-specific affordances and the diverse footings taken up by co-tellers in the telling situation.

This was also shown in 'breaking news' (Georgakopoulou, 2007) small stories about third parties' transgressions (see Chapter 5). In these stories' plot, as the analysis in §5.2. showed, participants often constructed themselves as silent sufferers of the talked-about characters' wrongdoings by reporting only the other's original words, while effacing their own contributions (e.g. Extract 5.1.). This said, the fine-grained micro-analysis of the sequential management of contingent narrative talk, combined with a look at narratives evolving in an episodic fashion and at narratives recycled and retold in successive interactions, allowed us to mark moments of transition in the participants' trajectories away from victimhood and towards regaining their agency. We saw, for instance, how the tellers' nascent sense of agency emerged in stories reporting their private thoughts (e.g. Extract 5.3.), or developed across multiple episodes of the same narrative event (e.g. Event 12; Appx8) or across varied retellings of the same incident (see Extract 3; Appx12). Most importantly, close attention to the immediacy of the sequence enabled us to see how the restructuring of the tellers' agency may also occur within a long sequence and indeed in a particular small-story genre (i.e. in projections; see Extract 5.13.). Therefore, the interactional yet temporalised approach to narrative within small stories research allowed us to tap into the 'agency dilemma' (Bamberg, 2011a), as well as to explore sedimentation and change in participants' evaluative practices and positioning processes.

The integration of im/politeness with small stories research has also helped further address the current trends in im/politeness scholarship (cf. §1.1.2.) by developing the discussion on the relationship between im/politeness and metapragmatics, while contributing to the line of work that explores the integration of im/politeness with morality and affect. First and foremost, drawing on small stories research in the analysis of interactional data has enabled us to probe deeper into the interconnections between im/politeness and metapragmatics in the neglected area of naturally-occurring face-to-face interactions in three ways: *first*, it has shed light into two disparate types of metapragmatic awareness that may surface in interactional data, namely, into metacommunicative and metadiscursive awareness (cf. Kádár & Haugh, 2013), and has also foregrounded a systematic relation between these categories of comments and particular small story-genres. More specifically, participants' metacommunicative awareness mainly surfaced in shared stories or in breaking news (Georgakopoulou, 2007) stories about specific targets' improprieties. Metadiscursive awareness, on the other hand, was brought into

light through ‘generic stories’ (Georgakopoulou, 2010) about generalised others, which were either naturally told in ongoing talk or elicited in interviews, as well as through thematically-related abstract talk ensuing from breaking news tellings. This is important as it addresses the research gap on how metadiscursive comments can emerge as evaluative devices in naturally-occurring talk, and not merely as abstract comments in discussions about im/politeness as concept. *Secondly*, being the exclusive site of affective work, small stories helped forge links between impoliteness, metapragmatics and affect. This was made possible through verbalised affective comments that only emerged in small story genres, and served as evaluative mechanisms, whereby participants held others accountable for the emotional impact of perceived improprieties (see §4.2.3., §5.2.3. and playback interviews). Hence, by bringing together metapragmatic theory with small stories research, the analysis illuminated the metapragmatic side of impoliteness-in-interaction and its affective dimension.

This affective dimension was particularly addressed in the following ways: *firstly*, the analysis showed that negative, other-condemning emotions often linked to impoliteness (e.g. anger, sadness) were overtly expressed only when narrativised (see Chapters 4, 5 and playback interviews). We saw, for instance, how Simeon and Ioli expressed negative feelings of annoyance on account of their friend’s unresponsiveness to their messages in a breaking news small story (Extract 5.6.). Having said this, it was in specific types of stories that emotions were expressed in the most overt ways, namely, in stories positioning absent others as wrongdoers, whilst they were denoted yet qualified through humour in shared stories about co-present, intimate others’ improprieties (see Extracts 4.5., 4.6.). This not only shows that the ‘communicative how’ of emotions was heavily influenced by the local participation order and the speaker-hearer relationship, but also indicates that participants were somewhat conscious about emotion ‘display rules’ (Ekman & Friesen, 1975). This was made clearer in some playback interviews where they lexicalised their difficulty in holding present others accountable for negative emotions (e.g. Extract 4.17.), and signalled this stance as entrenched and *quasi*-universal through generic narratives.

*Secondly*, the analysis of small stories brought to the fore a systematic relation between types of stories, impoliteness, identities, and emotions. More specifically, as we saw in Chapter 4, participants systematically used jocular affective comments (see Extracts 4.5., 4.6.) signalling negative, other-condemning emotions in references to known events (Georgakopoulou, 2006). In rendering their emotive discourse equivocal, they refrained from enacting the type of ‘affective impoliteness’ that, according to Culpeper (2011a: 223), holds the target accountable for generating that negative emotional state, and thus posits a threat to the other’s face. At the same time, the indirect venting off of emotions carries speaker-indexical connotations as, by projecting resistance to affective troubles, and consciousness of norms of emotive display in public, it constitutes the speaker as a moral person, while preserving her/his closeness to the target.



In contrast, the analysis of stories about third parties evidenced a close link between ‘breaking news’ (Georgakopoulou, 2006) tellings, affective impoliteness, and positions of ‘troubles-compliance’. Extract 5.6., for instance, illuminated how the teller of a still unfolding narrative account used both explicit emotion predicates and implicit emotive cues to signal his emotion of annoyance on account of a third party’s impropriety. In an effort to unleash this negative emotion, the teller thus made use of ‘affective impoliteness’ which, importantly, positioned the other as a wrongdoer and the teller as a ‘sufferer’ (cf. Georgakopoulou & Vasilaki, 2018). In addition, affective impoliteness in my data also had a ‘performative’ element (cf. Culpeper, 2011a), given that the stories on hand addressed an audience of intimate others, who were invited to verify the teller’s accounts and positions. This was also attested to by the location of most affective comments in the ‘coda’ (Labov, 1972) of breaking news stories, that is, in a position that appealed for co-construction. Importantly, by displaying strong affiliation to affectively-imbued stories, co-tellers not only reasserted their convergence with troubles-tellers on certain viewpoints, but they also enabled the latter to project agentive and moral aspects of self. The narrative analytical lens applied to the data on hand, therefore, helped advance the line of inquiry into im/politeness and emotions (cf. §1.1.2.) by featuring small stories as prime sites for the emergence of impoliteness-related emotions as evaluative practices and positioning mechanisms.

Last, but not least, small stories research helped investigate the so far neglected relationship between im/politeness- and im/morality-in-interaction, as this features in specific contexts and is negotiated by multiple participants in naturally-occurring interactions (cf. §1.1.2.). This was, first and foremost, made possible through specific genres of naturally-occurring or elicited small stories in which the tellers invoked aspects of the wider moral order to evaluate impoliteness-related incidents, and thus opened up a window into their lay views of im/morality. Deontic stories, a new small-story genre identified in the data on hand, were particularly salient in this respect, as they held others accountable for the violation of some facet of the ‘deontic order’ (Stevanovic & Peräkylä, 2012). In doing so, they signalled a contrast between reality and expectation, which was crucial in raising the target’s moral responsibility and in revealing the tellers’ endogenous understandings of moral norms. This was also achieved through ‘generic’ small stories (Georgakopoulou, 2010), which again amplified the target’s responsibility by presenting a specific negatively-assessed behaviour as deviating from universal normative standards (e.g. Extracts 3.16., 5.9., 5.1.4.); through ‘hypothetical’ scenarios (Tovares, 2010) which revealed aspects of the tellers’ metadiscursive awareness about im/politeness (e.g. Extract 5.14.); and through parallel ‘habitual’ stories (Riessman, 1990) which magnified the target’s moral accountability by juxtaposing her/his behaviour with that of another figure that was portrayed as an exemplum of proper behaviour (e.g. Extract 5.17.).

Nevertheless, the relationship between im/politeness and im/morality has not always been straightforward. The analysis has instead evidenced a tension between im/politeness and im/morality in stories about third parties, evident in the use of different types of impoliteness for the construction

of a moral sense of self. This tension has also been noted by Georgakopoulou & Vasilaki (2018) and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Kádár (2021), yet this study has been the first to examine the interconnections of im/politeness and im/morality in attestable aspects of naturally-occurring face-to-face interaction, and indeed to consider the ways understandings of morality are locally co-constructed by participants in interactional storytellings. In this respect, we examined not only aligning but also disaligning responses to troubles-tellings by co-tellers, which proved important in indicating that, albeit shared among the members of a friendship group, moral understandings are unlikely to be exactly the same across individuals because of one's own history of socialisation. For this reason, troubles-tellers often had to engage in interactional negotiations and produce 'exemplum' (Baynham, 2011) or 'hypothetical' (Tovares, 2010) accounts to better explicate their point and elicit support. Importantly, small stories research offered the tools for facilitating the kind of sequential analysis that is required to revealing the micro-negotiations and local (re)creations of the moral order, something that is central to a view of im/politeness as social practice (Haugh, 2013: 67).

Having discussed the implications of small stories research for im/politeness-in-interaction, I will now turn to consider the validity of im/politeness for storytelling and positioning.

### 6.2.3. The implications of im/politeness research for small stories research and positioning analysis

As discussed in §2.4.2., small stories research has been used as a framework for analysing a host of identities in diverse contexts. The present study further extended the analytical scope of this narrative paradigm by illuminating how it was productively applied to the study of yet another environment, that of im/politeness-in-interaction. This extension, except for advancing interactional approaches to im/politeness, also pays dividends to narrative and identities-in-interaction by contributing insights into the view of small stories as practices (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2008), as well as by showcasing the under-researched interconnections between self- and other-positioning processes (cf. §1.2.2.).

My im/politeness- and identities-in-interaction analysis contributed to a view of narrative as social practice in two ways: *first*, by documenting impoliteness-related stories as situated, dialogical and interconnected social actions in particular contexts and, *second*, by looking at such stories as temporalised activities with a natural history (Georgakopoulou, 2007), as palimpsests involving multiple layers of tellings, each of which has been recontextualised across time and space and has in turn yielded certain outcomes. To begin with, by looking at narrative as a mosaic of structures, each of which serves specific goals in context, I was able to trace patterned relationships between particular small story genres, types of impoliteness and identity positions, and thereby contribute to knowledge

about these genres' affordances for constructing impoliteness-related positions. In particular, I documented a systematic relation between references to shared stories (Georgakopoulou, 2007) about co-present others' improprieties, mock-impoliteness evaluations, and positions of troubles-resistance; a patterned relationship between 'breakings news' (Georgakopoulou, 2007) stories about third parties' transgressions, impoliteness evaluations with coercive, affective, and performative elements (Culpeper, 2011a), and troubles-compliant positions (see Chapter 5); and a regular association between 'habitual' (Riessman, 1990) and 'generic' (Georgakopoulou, 2010) narratives with reflexive meta-talk about absent others' improprieties in playback interviews, which were bound to elicit more sedimented understandings of impoliteness (cf. Georgakopoulou, 2010; Bamberg, 2011b).

Crucially, these links, albeit systematic, should not be regarded as clear-cut, one-to-one matchings but rather as context-contingent, anisomorphic associations between story-genres and social meanings. By this I mean that a specific small story genre can partake in multiple practices and perform disparate social actions itself. For instance, I illustrated how 'breaking news' stories could either be used to share urgent troubles with third parties, or be drawn upon as exempla to better explicate a point and elicit the co-teller's affiliation (e.g. Appx8: event 5). Similarly, 'habitual' stories were either mobilised to cue the tellers' enduring aspects of self in elicited or naturally-occurring tellings (e.g. Extracts 5.15., 5.16.), or as a means of securing affiliation upon recipients' slight misalignment in breaking news stories about absent wrongdoers (e.g. Extract 5.11.). Albeit fleeting and fragmented, all these narrative resources deserved analytical attention, as they performed significant impoliteness and identity work, especially through the ways in which they interwove with one another in the flow of discourse.

As discussed in §5.3.3., complaint-tellings involved elements of affective, coercive, and performative impoliteness (Culpeper, 2011a), and thus brought story-recipients in the uneasy position of hearing negative accounts which, albeit referring to absent others, were nonetheless directed at the participants in the here-and-now interaction (Sacks, 1992, Vol. II: 297). On some occasions, this led story-recipients to disattend to the breaking news complaint-tellings, and in turn urged tellers to do more interactional work to ensure affiliation. Impoliteness stories about third parties thus allowed a glimpse into the ways in which 'breaking news' co-occurred with other small story-genres that were embedded within the main narrative frame (cf. Ochs & Capps, 2001), in long sequences of discourse, to fulfil the teller's interactional goals and identity projects. Hence, we saw, for instance, how 'breaking news' were threaded together with 'habitual' stories enlarging the scope of the target's impropriety (Extract 5.11.), or contrasting the target's situated impropriety with the teller's own or another figure's appropriate routine (Extract 5.1.6); with 'hypothetical' scenarios describing how the complaint-teller would act if s/he was in the target's position on a similar occasion (Extract 5.12.); with 'projections' whereby co-tellers (co)drafted meeting scenarios to confront targets (Extract 5.13.); with previous 'habitual' or 'generic' accounts to provide an example of what had been presented as a

typical behaviour (Extracts 5.2., 5.3.); and with ‘deontic’ stories evaluating the here-and-now behaviour with reference to moral standards (Extracts 5.4., 5.6.). The analysis also illustrated how ‘hypothetical’, ‘deontic’ and ‘generic’ accounts often co-occurred to flesh out the teller’s broader conceptualisations of in/appropriate behaviour (Extract 5.14.). It therefore transpires that in order to share ‘negative’ accounts and ensure the verification of their projected identities by co-tellers, participants had to judge single events against the backdrop of wider norms and routines adding credence or validity, or in juxtaposition with others’ realised, imagined, or habitual conduct that represented moral exempla. Small stories’ flexibility, dialogicity, and polyfunctional nature facilitated this endeavour, while adding insight into processes of change and agency-building through temporalisation.

In addition, the analysis has illustrated that impoliteness is scarcely evaluated in a straightforward manner the moment when an impoliteness event occurs, but it often takes time and circulation of the same incident across contexts for participants to evaluate it explicitly. This had implications for narrative analysis by showing how small stories served as a key arena for co-constructing ‘temporalised’ im/politeness understandings, and thereby for tapping into their recurrence or change. In particular, I demonstrated how the (re)embeddedness of impoliteness evaluations in different small story-genres brought to the fore either moments of revelation, transition, and change, or emphasised the recurrence and resonance of particular understandings that participants carried along with them beyond the immediate telling event. Retellings have been mainly examined as loci for reproducing and crystallising lay understandings of im/politeness (see e.g. Georgakopoulou, 2013b; Saloustrou, 2019). While this was partly corroborated in the data through the analysis of retellings of stories about third parties either across successive interactions (e.g. the story in Extract 5.5.) or in playback interviews (e.g. Extract 5.15.), retellings here allowed us to examine ‘change’ to a certain extent too. This was particularly illustrated by the embeddedness of situated evaluations within references to shared stories in interviews (see §3.4.) or in naturally-occurring narrative talk (see Chapter 4), where we documented a shift in perspective from mock-impolite to serious impolite evaluations. Furthermore, we were able to trace transitions in stories evolving in long sequences within the same interaction, where the teller-complainant’s positioning as agentless in the first episode contrasted with their self-presentation as decisive and empowered in the second episode (Event 12; Appx8). This was also evident in storytellings that yielded scenarios of future action (Extract 5.13.). Overall, the possibilities of co-occurrence and temporalisation of narrative structures afforded by impoliteness-related small stories, allowed glimpses into the ways tellers build a tapestry of rehearsed, habitual positions while remaining unfinished and always ‘in-the-making’ (Bamberg, 2004a).

Lastly, the validity for narrative research of im/politeness lies in the latter’s contribution to an under-researched line of inquiry within narrative and identity studies, namely, to ‘discourse of alterity’ (Georgakopoulou, 2007). The analysis documented systematic links between the construction of

impolite others and self-identity work, by foregrounding a four-way connection between (breaking news) small stories, other-positioning processes, local telling roles, and larger self-identities. It specifically illuminated how ‘transportable’ (Zimmerman, 1998) self-identities of politeness and morality were constituted through the combination of the narrative position of the ‘suffering victim’ of impoliteness that tellers occupied in the tale-world of ‘breaking news’ stories about others, with the ‘situational’ role of the complaint-teller that they assumed in the narrating event. It was therefore through their concentration on the ‘other’ that tellers indexed identities for the ‘self’, thereby contributing to an under-researched apparatus for other identities within narrative studies (cf. §5.1.). This is equally important for im/politeness studies as well, as participants scarcely talk about ‘politeness’ understandings explicitly in discourse (e.g. Watts, 2003); instead, lay views of politeness are indicated through the participants’ focus on impoliteness, on what presents a clash with their own expectations and assumptions of norms. This was corroborated in the data analysis on hand as politeness-related assumptions were indirectly indexed by storytellings thematising impoliteness-related events. And even when participants voiced their own understandings of im/politeness in hypothetical, deontic, generic, or habitual stories (see e.g. Extracts 5.14., 5.1.6.), this sharing about the self, occurred in stories that were sequentially contiguous to previous stories about the ‘other’. Documenting a close line between self- and other-positioning processes in the data, therefore, makes a dual contribution to im/politeness and to narrative-cum-identities research and accentuates the importance of exploring them in tandem.

### 6.3. Final remarks

This thesis has argued that analysing face-to-face naturally-occurring interactions among groups of friends living abroad can allow glimpses into the underexplored aspects of lay im/politeness evaluations in interaction. By paying attention to the granular turn design of talk-in-interaction and its embodied features, the analysis has illuminated a host of in/direct, multi-modal and metapragmatic means whereby participants ‘do impoliteness’ in ongoing interactions and narratives about present or absent others. In addition, by looking closely to the organisation of context with respect to different activities, it has suggested that these forms vary according to the local participation order, and the affordances that diverse activities bring to bear on interaction. This emphasis on the meso-level of interaction has in turn showed that it is the co-articulation of micro-linguistic or semiotic features and situational actions that basically constitute larger identities (Ochs, 1992), relationships, moral orders, and emotions in interaction. The analysis has indeed drawn a line among these concepts by illustrating the inextricabilities between the normative work participants do, its emotive impact and the identity positions that it projects for both self and other. Importantly, by addressing the rising plea within sociopragmatics for bringing together the interactional, the normative, and the social dimensions of

language use (Haugh, Kádár & Terkourafi, 2021) to better study social phenomena such as im/politeness, while focusing on the meso-level of theorisation, this thesis has advanced the socio-pragmatic line of inquiry into im/politeness as evaluative practice. At the same time, it has also addressed the narrower, pragmalinguistic (Leech, 1983) aspect of im/politeness by illustrating how traditional pragmatic concepts, such as ‘in/directness’, have been reshaped as forms of social practice, as performances of social actors (Haugh, 2015: 319; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Georgakopoulou, 2021: 306). This has been brought into sharp focus through the ways in which in/direct forms of language use coupled with telling-specific roles or with the performance of complaints in narratives about third parties, to ultimately create ethical identities and reaffirm the participants’ allegiances. Finally, it has contributed to studies that have cross-fertilised im/politeness with narrative-and-identities research, starting with im/politeness-related analytical priorities, and highlighting the inextricability of im/politeness, morality, and identities in everyday languages use.

These insights have been particularly afforded by the type of sequential, temporalised and trans-contextual analysis that the intersection of different methodological tools and the back-and-forth movement between participant and analyst perspectives, have made possible in this thesis. The integration of im/politeness research with the CA apparatus, amidst the increasing plea for multi-disciplinarity in the field of im/politeness, has helped generate fine-grained, sequential analyses of contingent im/politeness evaluations in their local environment, whilst small stories research and positioning analysis have opened us up to explore the temporalised nature of discourse activities, and thereby tap into processes of sedimentation and change in the configuration of identities and moral understandings. Participant metapragmatic commentary in playback interviews and field-noted observations have further contributed to this project by adding extra layers of context and perspectivisation. Methodological eclecticism has, therefore, made it possible to shed light into what had so far seemed rather enigmatic or elusive, and furthermore to broaden the range of languages in which this phenomenon is studied.

Whilst the analysis has relied on a limited dataset and cannot claim to be representative of wider groupings, it has sought to throw new light into impoliteness by looking at ordinary language data instead of what may ‘stand out’. An important finding of this thesis is that impoliteness is omnipresent in ongoing talk-in-interaction. This is certainly a sign that, however difficult the task may be, the quest for natural im/politeness shall continue and extend to under-represented languages.

#### 6.4. Future research avenues

My research has focused on two friendship groups consisting of just seven participants altogether. I cannot therefore make any claims for statistical generalisability of its findings, although I hope I have

demonstrated that the fine-grained micro-discourse analysis of my participants' naturally-occurring interactions, embodied practices, and reflexive commentary in a combined focus, has the potential to inform the analysis of lay im/politeness understandings and also further the discussion on the interconnections of im/politeness with other concepts, not least with identities. I thus hope that the proposed heuristic for exploring im/politeness evaluations from different angles, particularly looking at the forms of emergent evaluations, the responses they get by multiple participants, and the potential redrafting or repetition of situated evaluations in post-hoc participant commentary, will be tested in different groups of people and in different languages in a way that will pay attention to culture-specific understandings and will thus promote theorising on im/politeness.

Nevertheless, there are certain aspects of these groups' interactions, stories and embodied practices that remain unexplored. *Firstly*, there is scope to build on the findings of this thesis regarding the kinds of behaviours that are constructed as im/polite by participants to further explore emic views on Greek im/politeness, in terms of the *what* and the *how*, that is, of the exact behaviours participants regard im/polite as well as of the language-specific metalanguage they use to refer to them. A more in-depth exploration of those behaviours could potentially speak to the current debate with respect to the positive or negative politeness ethos of the Greek society (see e.g. Sifianou, 1992; Bella & Ogiermann, 2019). The investigation of culture-specific metalanguage with respect to im/politeness, on the other hand, could contribute to moving 'forward out of a pragmatics that has been dominated to date by the scientific metalanguage of English' (Haugh, 2018b: 623), as well as to discussions about second-order definitions of im/politeness across disciplines (e.g. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2012: 83).

*Secondly*, there is scope for exploring how participants orient to space in their narrative talk. This has been a rather under-explored area in narrative and identities studies (De Fina & Georgakopoulou, 2015: 9), but for tellers living abroad and thus being in-between different cultural and social milieus, the orientation to a wide range of places, from larger-scale units, such as the nation-state, to smaller-scale ones like the office, might accomplish important identity and moral work. As Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005: 207) have suggested, spaces come with 'different orders of indexicality for their users –different codes and norms as to what is accepted as 'right', 'good', 'marked', 'unexpected', 'normal' and 'special' semiotic behaviour'. I have referred to this only in passing in §5.2., where I showed how my participants attached specific behaviours perceived as im/polite to particular spaces by employing topical shifters (Silverstein, 1976), or prepositional phrases involving the names of nations-states (e.g. 'in Greece'). I also touched upon the comparison work that participants did with their stories about different others who were *situated* in different spaces.

On a *third* note, there is ample room for considering the ways in which aspects of culture –either at a wider or at a local level- may impact on lay understandings of im/politeness. Given my commitment

to a CA-informed interactional analysis that paid attention to the categories participants themselves make relevant in the interaction and thus avoided imposing macro-categories such as that of culture in the analysis, I did not address the potential interanimations of ‘im/politeness’ and ‘culture’ in my analytical chapters. This would not only require a different dataset, that is, collective understandings elicited through surveys or interviews, but it would also call for an integration between im/politeness and cultural studies that exceeds the scope of the present thesis. Having said this, the similarities in the two studied groups’ conceptualisations of moral norms and negotiations of im/politeness evaluations were not only indicative of some localised, micro-culture but they might also index wider cultural (Greek) norms, as these often interact in a nexus. As the analysis illustrated, these conceptualisations were hardly ever discussed in explicit terms by the interactants but were rather tacitly indicated by the ways participants locally negotiated the implications of contingent evaluations of im/politeness in ongoing talk, as well as by the ways they projected moral identities for self and other in naturally-occurring or elicited narratives in different sites. These findings could thus be taken as a starting point to tap into how participants implicitly (indexically) constitute understandings of local or even wider culture in spontaneous interactions and thereby further the discussion around the relationship between im/politeness, morality and culture in Greek, but also in other communities and transnational groupings.

*Finally*, this research has focused on the construction of impoliteness evaluations in everyday interactions among young Greek friends. However, this approach to im/politeness could be replicated in contexts of people with different kinds of relationships (e.g. in formal contexts), or in different age groups and ethnicities.



## 7. REFERENCES

- Agha, A. (2007). *Language and Social Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alba-Juez, L. (2021). Affect and Emotion. In M. Haugh, D. Z. Kádár & M. Terkourafi (Eds.), *Handbook of Sociopragmatics* (pp. 340-362). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Alexander, M., & Stokoe, E. (2021). Characterological formulations of persons in neighborhood complaint sequences. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, DOI:10.1080/14780887.2020.1725950
- Alvanoudi, A. (2019). "May I tell you something?": When questions do not anticipate responses". *Text & Talk*, 39(4), 563–586.
- Andrews, M., C. Squires, & Tamboukou, M (2013). *Doing Narrative Research* (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Antaki, C. & Widdicombe, S. (Eds). (1998). *Identities in talk*. London: Sage.
- Archakis, A., & Tzanne, A. (2005). Narrative positioning and the construction of situated identities: Evidence from conversations of a group of young people in Greece. *Narrative Inquiry*, 15(2), 267-291.
- Arndt, H., & Janney, R. W. (1985). Politeness Revisited: Cross-Modal Supportive Strategies. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*, 23(1–4), 281–300.
- Arndt, H. & Janney, R. W. (1991). Verbal, prosodic, and kinesic emotive contrasts in speech. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 6, 521-549.
- Arundale, R. B. (2006). 'Face as relational and interactional: A communication framework for research on face, facework and politeness', *Journal of Politeness Research*, 2(2), 193–216.
- Arundale, R. B. (2009). Face as emergent in interpersonal communication: An alternative to Goffman. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & M. Haugh (Eds.), *Face, Communication and Social Interaction* (pp. 33-54). London: Equinox.
- Arundale, R. B. (2010). Constituting face in conversation: Face, facework, and interactional achievement. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42(8), 2078-2105.
- Arundale, R. B. (2013). Face as a research focus in interpersonal pragmatics: Relational and emic perspectives. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 58, 108-120.
- Attardo, S. (2013). Intentionality and irony. In L. R. Gurillo & M. B. Alvarado Ortega (Eds.), *Irony and humor: from pragmatics to discourse* (pp. 39-58). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Attardo, S., Eisterhold, J., Hay, J., & Poggi, I. (2003). Multimodal markers of irony and sarcasm. *Humor - International Journal of Humor Research*, 16(2), 243-260.
- Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to Do Things with Words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Avgerinakou, A. (2003). 'Flaming' in Computer-Mediated Interactions. In C. B. Grant, (Ed.), *Rethinking Communicative Interaction* (pp. 273–293). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bakhtin, M. (1981). Forms of time and of the chronotope in the novel: Notes towards a historical poetics. In M. Holquist (Ed.), *The dialogic imagination* (C. Emerson, & M. Holquist, Trans.), (pp. 84–258). Austin TX: University of Texas Press.
- Bamberg, M. (1997a). Positioning between Structure and Performance. *Journal of Narrative and Life History* 7(1-4), 335-342.
- Bamberg, M. (1997b). Language, concepts, and emotions. The role of language in the construction of emotions. *Language Sciences*, 19(4), 309-340,
- Bamberg, M. (2004). We are Young, Responsible, and Male: Form and Function of 'Slut-bashing' in the Identity Constructions in 15-year-old Males. *Human Development*, 47, 331-353.
- Bamberg, M. (2006). Biographic-Narrative Research, Quo Vadis? A Critical Review

- of 'Big Stories' from the Perspective of 'Small Stories'. In K. Milnes (Ed.), *Narrative, Memory and Knowledge: Representations, Aesthetics, Contexts* (pp. 63-79). Huddersfield: University of Huddersfield.
- Bamberg, M. (2011a). Who am I? Narration and its contribution to self and identity. *Theory & Psychology, 21*(1), 3–24.
- Bamberg, M. (2011b). Narrative Practice and Identity Navigation. In J. A. Holstein, & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Varieties of Narrative Analysis* (pp. 99-124). London: Sage Publications.
- Bamberg, M. (2012). Why narrative? *Narrative Inquiry, 22*, 202-210.
- Bamberg, M., & Georgakopoulou, A. (2008). 'Small Stories as a New Perspective in Narrative and Identity Analysis. *Text and Talk, 28*, 377-396.
- Bargiela-Chiappini, F. (2003). Face and Politeness: New (Insights) for Old (Concepts). *Journal of Pragmatics, 35*, 1453–1469.
- Bargiela-Chiappini, F. (2009). Facing the future: some reflections. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & M. Haugh (Eds.), *Face, Communication and Social Interaction* (pp. 307-326). London: Equinox.
- Bargiela-Chiappini, F., & Harris, S. (1997). *Managing Language. The discourse of corporate Meetings*. Amsterdam: Benjamins Publishing.
- Bargiela-Chiappini, F. & M. Haugh (Eds.). (2009). *Face, communication, and social interaction*. London: Equinox.
- Barker, C., & Galasinski, D. (2001). *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis. A Dialogue on Language and Identity*. London: Sage Publications.
- Barnes, R. & Moss, D. (2007). Communicating a feeling. The social organisation of 'private thoughts'. *Discourse Studies, 9*, 123-148.
- Barros García, M. I., & Terkourafi, M. (2014). First-order politeness in rapprochement and distancing cultures: Understandings and uses of politeness by Spanish native speakers from Spain and Spanish non-native speakers from the U.S. *Pragmatics, 24*, 1-34.
- Bateson, G. (1972). *Steps to an Ecology of Mind*. New York: Ballantine.
- Bauman, R. (1969). *Verbal art as performance*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- Bauman, R. (1986). *Story, performance, and event*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bauman, R. (2001). The ethnography of genre in a Mexican market: Form, function, variation. In P. Eckert, & J. Rickford (Eds.), *Style and sociolinguistic variation* (pp. 57–77). Cambridge: CUP.
- Bauman, R. (2004). *A world of others' words. Cross-cultural perspectives on intertextuality*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Bauman, R. (2005). Liquid Modernity and Dilemmas of Development. *Thesis Eleven, 83*(1), 61-77.
- Bax, S. (2011). *Discourse and Genre: Using Language in Context*. London: Macmillan.
- Baynham, M. (2011). Stance, positioning, and alignment in narratives of professional experience. *Language in Society, 40*(1), 63-74.
- Baynham, M. (2015). Narrative and Space/Time. In A. De Fina & A. Georgakopoulou (Eds.), *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis* (pp. 119-139). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Bayraktaroğlu, A., & Sifianou, M. (2001). Introduction. In A. Bayraktaroğlu & M. Sifianou (Eds.), *Linguistic Politeness across Boundaries: The Case of Greek and Turkish* (pp. 1-16). Amsterdam: Johns Benjamin Publishing Company.
- Beebe, L. M. (1995). Polite fictions: Instrumental rudeness as pragmatic competence Linguistics and the Education of Language Teachers: Ethnolinguistic, Psycholinguistics and Sociolinguistic Aspects. *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics*. Georgetown: Georgetown University Press.

- Bella, S. & Ogiemann, E. (2019). An Intergenerational Perspective on (Im)politeness. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 15(2), 163-193.
- Bennett, A. (1981). Interruption and the interpretation of conversation. *Discourse Processes*, 4, 171-188.
- Benwell, B. (2012). Common-sense anti-racism in book group talk: The role of reported speech. *Discourse & Society*, 23(4), 359-376.
- Benwell, B., & Stokoe, E. (2006). *Discourse and Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Blommaert, J. (2008). Multi-Everything London. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 7(1), 81-89.
- Blommaert, J. (2010) *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blommaert, J. (2015). Pierre Bourdieu and language in society. *Working Papers in Urban Language and Literacies*, 153.
- Blommaert, J., & Backus, A. (2011) Repertoires revisited: 'Knowing language in Superdiversity. *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies*, Paper 67. London: King's College. Available at: [https://www.academia.edu/6365319/WP67\\_Blommaert\\_and\\_Backus\\_2011\\_Repertoires\\_revisited\\_Knowing\\_language\\_in\\_superdiversity](https://www.academia.edu/6365319/WP67_Blommaert_and_Backus_2011_Repertoires_revisited_Knowing_language_in_superdiversity)
- Blommaert, J., Collins, J. & Slembrouck, S. (2005). Polycentricity and Interactional Regimes in "Global Neighborhoods". *Ethnography*, 6, 205-235.
- Blommaert, J., & De Fina, A. (2017). Chronotopic identities : on the spacetime organization of who we are. In A. De Fina, I. Didem, & J. Wegner (Eds.), *Diversity and superdiversity : sociocultural linguistic perspectives* (pp. 1-15). Washington DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Blommaert, J., & Rampton, B. (2011). Language and superdiversity: A position paper. *Diversities*, 13(2), 1-22. Available at: <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0021/002147/214772e.pdf#214780>
- Blum-Kulka, S. (1987). Indirectness and politeness in requests. Same of different? *Journal of Pragmatics*, 11, 131-146.
- Blum-Kulka, S., House, J., & Kasper, G. (1989). *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies*. New York, NY: Ablex Publishers.
- Blum-Kulka, S. (1992). The metapragmatics of politeness in Israeli society. In R. J. Watts, S. Ide, & K. Ehlich (Eds.), *Politeness in language: Studies in history, theory and practice* (pp. 255-280). Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Blum-Kulka, S. (1997). *Dinner Talk. Cultural Patterns of Sociability and Socialization*. London: Routledge.
- Bolden, G. B. (2003). Multiple modalities in collaborative turn sequences. *Gesture*, 3(2), 187-212.
- Bolden, G., & Robinson, J. (2011). Soliciting accounts with why-interrogatives in conversation. *Journal of Communication*, 61(1), 94-119.
- Bolívar, A. (2008). Perceptions of (im)politeness in Venezuelan Spanish: The role of evaluation in Interaction. *Pragmatics*, 18(4), 611-633.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bourdieu, P. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bousfield, D. (2008). *Impoliteness in Interaction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bousfield, D. (2013). Face in conflict. *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict*, 1(1), 37-57.
- Bousfield, D. (2018). Face(t)s of self and identity in interaction. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 14(2), 287-305.

- Bousfield, D., & Culpeper, J. (eds.). (2008). Impoliteness: Eclecticism and Diaspora. Special Issue. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 4(2).
- Bousfield, D., & Locher, M. (eds.). (2008). *Impoliteness in Language*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Brown, L. & Winter, B. (2019). Multimodal indexicality in Korean: “Doing deference” and “performing intimacy” through nonverbal behavior. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 15(1), 25–54.
- Bradac, J., Cargile, A., & Hallett, J. (2001). Language attitudes: retrospect, conspect, and prospect. In W. P. Robinson & H. Giles (Eds.), *The new handbook of language and social psychology* (pp. 137–55). Malden MA, Oxford, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.
- Briggs, C. (1997). Notes on a ‘Confession’: On the Construction of Gender, Sexuality and Violence in an Infanticide Case’. *Pragmatics*, 7(4), 519-546.
- Brockmeier, J., & Carbaugh, D. (Eds.) (2001). *Narrative and Identity*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Brown, L., & Prieto, P. (2017). (Im)politeness: Prosody and Gesture. In J. Culpeper, M. Haugh & D. Z. Kádár (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)politeness*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brown, P. (1980). How and why are women more polite: Some evidence from a Mayan community. In S. McConnell-Ginet, R. Borker, & Furman, N. (Eds.), *Women and Language in Literature and Society* (pp. 111-136). New York, NY: Praeger.
- Brown, P. (1990). Gender, Politeness and Confrontation in Tenejapa. *Discourse Processes*, 13, 123–141.
- Brown, P. (2011) Korean Honorifics and ‘Revealed’, ‘Ignored’ and ‘Suppressed’ Aspects of Korean Culture and Politeness. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & D. Z. Kádár (Eds.), *Politeness across cultures* (pp. 106-127). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness: Some Universals of Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brubaker, R., & Cooper, F. (2000). Beyond “identity”. *Theory and Society*, 29(1), 1-47.
- Bruckman, A. (2002) Studying the amateur artist: A perspective on disguising data collected in human subjects research on the Internet. *Ethics and Information Technology*, 4, 217–231.
- Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bruner, J. (1991). The narrative construction of reality. *Critical Inquiry*, 18, 1–21.
- Bucholtz, M. (1999). “Why be normal?”: Language and identity practices in a community of nerd girls. *Language in Society*, 28, 203–223.
- Bucholtz, M. (2000). The politics of transcription. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 32, 1439-65.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2005), ‘Identity and interaction: a socio-cultural linguistic approach’, *Discourse Studies*, 7(4/5), 585–614.
- Bucholtz, M. & Hall, K. (2008). Finding identity: Theory and data. *Multilingua*, 27, 151-163.
- Buss, S. (1999). Appearing respectful: The moral significance of manners. *Ethics*, 109(4), 795–826.
- Butler, J. (1997). *The Psychic Life of Power: Theories in Subjection*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Butler, J. (2000). From Black History to Diasporan History: Brazilian Abolition in Afro-Atlantic Context. *African Studies Review*, 43(1), 125-139.
- Calhoun, C. (2000). The virtue of civility. *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 29(3), 251–75.
- Cameron, D. (2009 [1990]). Demythologizing Sociolinguistics. In N. Coupland & A. Jaworski (Eds.), *The New Sociolinguistics Reader* (pp. 106-118). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Cameron, D., Fraser, E., Harvey, P., Rampton, B., & Richardson, K. (1992). *Researching Language: Issues of Power and Method*. London: Routledge.
- Canagarajah, S., & Silberstein, S. (2012). ‘Diaspora Identities and Language’, *Journal of Language*,

- Identity and Education*, 11(2), 81-84.
- Capps, L., & E. Ochs (1997). *Constructing Panic: The Discourse of Agoraphobia*. Cambridge, MA and London, England: Harvard University Press.
- Cashman, H. R. (2008). 'Accomplishing marginalization in bilingual interaction: relational work as a resource for the intersubjective construction of identity', *Multilingua*, 27, 129-150.
- Chan, A., Schnurr, S. & Zayts, O. (2018). Exploring face, identity and relationship management in disagreements in business meetings in Hong Kong. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 14(2), 279-306.
- Chang, M. (2008). Australian and Chinese perceptions of (im)politeness in an intercultural apology. *Griffith Working Papers in Pragmatics and Intercultural Communication*, 1, 59-74.
- Chang, M., & Haugh, M. (2011a). Evaluations of im/politeness of an intercultural apology. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 8, 411-442.
- Chang, M., & Haugh, M. (2011b) Strategic embarrassment and face threatening in business interactions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43, 2948-2963.
- Chang, M. & Haugh, M. (2021). Teasing and claims to non-serious intent in Chinese talk shows. *East Asian Pragmatics*, 6(2).
- Christopher, S. (2015). An introduction to black humour as a coping mechanism for student paramedics. *Journal of Paramedic Practice*, 7(12), 610-615.
- Cicourel, A. V. (2007). A personal, retrospective view of ecological validity. *Text & Talk*, 27(5-6), 735.
- Clifford, J. (1992). Traveling Cultures. In L., Grossberg, N., Carry & Treicher, P. (Eds.), *Cultural Studies* (pp. 96-116). New York: Routledge.
- Clift, R. (1999). Irony in conversation. *Language in Society*, 28, 523-553.
- Clift, R. (2007). Getting there first: non-narrative reported speech in interaction. In E. Holt & R. Clift (Eds.), *Reporting Talk. Reported Speech in Interaction* (pp. 120-149). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York,.
- Clift, R. (2013). No Laughing Matter: Laughter and Resistance in the Construction of Identity. In P. Glenn & E. Holt (Eds.), *Studies of Laughter in Interaction*. London and New York: Bloomsbury.
- Coates, J. (1996). *Women Talk. Conversation between women friends*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Comrie, B., Haspelmath, M., & Bickel, B. (2008). The Leipzig Glossing Rules: Conventions for interlinear morpheme-by-morpheme glosses. Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology & the Department of Linguistics of the University of Leipzig. Doi: <https://www.eva.mpg.de/lingua/resources/glossing-rules.php>.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E. (1996). The prosody of repetition: on quoting and mimicry. In E. Couper-Kuhlen & M. Selting (Eds.), *Prosody in Conversation* (pp. 366-405). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Couper-Kuhlen, E., & Tsuyoshi O. (2007). Incrementing in conversation: A comparison of practices in English, German and Japanese. *Pragmatics*, 17(4), 513-552.
- Coupland, N. (2001). Dialect stylization in radio talk. *Language in Society*, 30, 245-375.
- Coupland, N. (2009). Dialect Style, Social Class and Metacultural Performance: The Pantomime Dame. In N. Coupland & A. Jaworski (Eds.), *The New Sociolinguistics Reader* (pp. 311-325). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Craig, R. T., Tracy, K., & Spisak, F. (1986). The discourse of requests: Assessment of a politeness approach. *Human Communication Research*, 12(4), 437-468
- Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining validity in qualitative inquiry. *Theory into Practice*, 39(3), 124-130.
- Crotty, M. (1998). *The Foundations of Social Research*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin.

- Culpeper, J. (1996). Towards an anatomy of impoliteness. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 25(3), 349-67.
- Culpeper, J. (2005). Impoliteness and entertainment in the television quiz show: TheWeakest Link. *Journal of Politeness Research: Language, Behaviour, Culture*, 1, 35-72.
- Culpeper, J. (2008). Reflections on impoliteness, relational work and power. In D. Bousfield & M. A. Locher (Eds.), *Impoliteness in language: Studies on its interplay with power in theory and practice* (pp. 17-44). Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Culpeper, J. (2009). The Metalanguage of Impoliteness: Using Sketch Engine to Explore the Oxford English Corpus. In P. Baker (Ed.), *Contemporary Corpus Linguistics*, Contemporary Studies in Linguistics (pp. 64-86). London: Continuum.
- Culpeper, J. (2010). Conventionalised Impoliteness Formulae. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42, 3232-3245.
- Culpeper, J. (2011a). *Impoliteness: Using Language to Cause Offence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Culpeper, J. (2011b). Politeness and impoliteness. In Aijmer, K. & Andersen, G. (Eds.), *Sociopragmatics*, Volume 5 of *Handbooks of Pragmatics*, edited by Bublitz, W., Jucker, A. H. & Schneider, K. P. (pp. 391-436). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Culpeper, J., Bousfield, D., & Wichmann, A. (2003). Impoliteness reviewed: With special reference to dynamic and prosodic aspects. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 35, 1545-1579.
- Culpeper, J., & Hardaker, C. (2017). Impoliteness. In J., Culpeper, M., Haugh & D. Z. Kádár (Eds.), *Palgrave Handbook of (Im)politeness* (pp. 199-225). London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Culpeper, J., & Haugh, M. (2014). *Pragmatics and the English language*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Culpeper, J., & Haugh, M. (2020). The metalinguistics of offence in (British) English: A corpus-based metapragmatic approach. *Journal of Language, Aggression and Conflict*.
- Culpeper, J., & Haugh, M. (2021). (Im)politeness and Sociopragmatics. In M. Haugh, D. Z. Kádár & M. Terkourafi (Eds.), *Handbook of Sociopragmatics* (pp. 315-339). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Culpeper, J., Haugh, M., & Johnson, D. E. (2017), (Im)politeness: Metalinguistic labels and concepts in English. In R. Giora & M. Haugh (Eds.), *Doing Pragmatics Interculturally. Cognitive, Philosophical and Sociopragmatic Perspectives* (pp. 135-147). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Culpeper, J., Marti, L., Mei, M., Nevala, M., & Schauer, G. (2010). Cross-Cultural Variation in the Perception of Impoliteness: A study of Impoliteness Events Reported by Students in England, China, Finland, Germany, and Turkey. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 7(4), 597-624.
- Culpeper, J., O'Driscoll, J., & Hardaker, C. (2019). Notions of politeness in Britain and North America. In E. Ogiermann & P. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (Eds.), *From Speech Acts to Lay Understandings of Politeness. Multilingual and Multicultural Perspectives* (pp. 177-200). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Culpeper, J., Shauer, G., Marti, L., Mei, M. and Nevala, M. (2014). Impoliteness and emotions in a cross-cultural perspective. *SPELL: Swiss Papers in English Language and Literature*, 30, 67-88.
- Danziger, R. (2020). The pragmatics of flattery: The strategic use of solidarity-oriented actions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 170(2020), 413-425.
- Davies, B. L. (2011). Discursive histories, personalist ideology and judging intent: analysing the metalinguistic discussion of Tony Blair's 'slave trade apology'. In *Linguistic Politeness Research Group* (Ed.), *Discursive approaches to politeness* (pp. 189-219). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Davies, B. L. (2018). Evaluating evaluations: What different types of metapragmatic behaviour can tell us about participants' understandings of the moral order. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 14(1), 121-151.

- Davies, B. & Harré, R. (1990). Positioning: The Discursive Production of Selves. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour*, 20(1), 43-63.
- Davies, C. E. (2006). Gendered sense of humour as expressed through aesthetic typifications. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 38, 96-113.
- De Fina, A. 2000. Orientation in immigrant narratives: the role of ethnicity in the identification of characters. *Discourse Studies*, 2(2), 131-57.
- De Fina, A. (2003). Identity in Narrative. A Study of Immigrant Discourse. Ed. M. Bamberg. *Studies in Narrative*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- De Fina, A. (2013). Positioning level 3. Connecting local identity displays to macro social processes. *Narrative Inquiry*, 23(1), 40-61.
- De Fina, A. (2018). What is your dream? Fashioning the migrant self', *Language and Communication*, 59, 42-52.
- De Fina, A., & Georgakopoulou, A. (2008). Analysing narratives as practices. *Qualitative Research*, 8 (3), 379-87.
- De Fina, A., & Georgakopoulou, A. (2012). *Analyzing Narrative. Discourse and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. Cambridge: CUP.
- De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D., & Bamberg, M. (2006). *Discourse and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Deppermann, A. (2013a). Positioning in narrative interaction. *Narrative Inquiry*, 23(1), 1-15.
- Deppermann, A. (2013b). 'How to get a grip on identities-in-interaction. (What) Does 'Positioning' offer more than 'Membership Categorization'? Evidence from a mock story', *Narrative Inquiry*, 23 (1), 62-88.
- Deppermann, A. (2003c). Multimodal interaction from a conversation analytic perspective. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 46, 1-7.
- Deppermann, A. (2015), 'Positioning', in De Fina, A. and Georgakopoulou, A. (eds.), *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis* (pp. 369-87). Maldan MA, Oxford, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.
- Devís, E. & Cantero, F. (2014). The intonation of mitigating politeness in Catalan. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 10, 127-49.
- Dobs, M. A., & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P. (2013). Impoliteness in polylogal interaction: Accounting for face-threat witnesses' responses. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 53(2013), 112-130.
- Drew, P. (1987). Po-faced receipts of teases. *Linguistics*, 25(1), 219-253.
- Drew, P. (1998). 'Complaints about Transgressions and Misconduct', *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 31(3), 295-325.
- Drew, P. (2005). Conversation analysis. In K. L. Fitch & R. E. Sanders (Eds.), *Handbook of Language and Social Interaction*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Drew, P. & Heritage, J. (1992). Analyzing talk at work: an introduction. In P. Drew & J. Heritage, (Eds.), *Talk at Work: Interaction in Institutional Settings* (pp. 3-65). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Drew, P., & Holt, E. (1988). Complainable matters: The use of idiomatic expressions in making complaints. *Social Problems*, 35(4), 398-417.
- Drew, P., Raymond, G., & Weinberg, D. (Eds.) (2006). *Talk and Interaction in Social Research Methods*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Du Bois, J. W. (2007). The stance triangle. In R. Englebretson (Ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse* (pp. 139-82). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Duranti, A. (1997). *Linguistic anthropology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Duranti, A. (2003). Language as Culture in U.S. Anthropology: Three Paradigms. *Current Anthropology*, 43(3), 323-347.
- Duranti, A. (2005). On Theories and Models. *Discourse Studies*, 7, 409-429.

- Duranti, A. (2006). Transcripts, Like Shadows on a Wall. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*, 13(4), 301-10.
- Dynel, M. (2007). Joking aside: Sociopragmatic functions of conversational humour in interpersonal communication. In P. Cap & J. Nijakowska (Eds.), *Current Trends in Pragmatics* (pp. 245-267). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Dynel, M. (2008). No aggression, only teasing: The pragmatics of teasing and banter. *Lodz Papers in Pragmatics*, 4(2), 241-261.
- Dynel, M. (2009). Beyond a joke: types of conversational humour. *Language and Linguistics Compass. Semantics Pragmatics*, 3, 1284-1299.
- Dynel, M. (2012). Setting our House in Order: The workings of impoliteness in multi-party film Discourse. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 8, 161-194.
- Edelsky, C. (1981). Who's got the floor? *Language in Society*, 10(5), 383-421.
- Eder, D. (1991). The role of teasing in adolescent peer group culture. *Sociological Studies of Child Development*, 4, 181-197.
- Edwards, D. (1994). Script Formulations: A Study of Event Descriptions in Conversation. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 13, 211-47.
- Edwards, D. (1997). Structure and function in the analysis of everyday narratives. In M. Bamberg (Ed.), *Oral versions of personal experience: Three decades of narrative analysis. Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 7(1-4), 139-146.
- Edwards, D. (1998). The relevant thing about her: Social identity categories in use. In C. Antaki & S. Widdicombe (Eds.), *Identities in Talk* (pp.15-33). London: Sage.
- Edwards, D. (2000). Extreme Case Formulations: Softeners, Investment, and Doing Nonliteral, *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 33(4), 347-73.
- Edwards, D. (2005). Moaning, Whinging and Laughing: The Subjective Side of Complaints. *Discourse Studies*, 7(1), 5-29.
- Edwards, D., & Potter, J. (1992). *Discursive Psychology*. London: Sage.
- Eelen, G. (2001). *A Critique of Politeness Theories*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- Egbert, M., Yufu, M., & Hirataka, F. (2016). An investigation of how 100 articles in the Journal of Pragmatics treat transcripts of English and non-English languages. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 94, 98-111.
- Ekman, P., & Friesen, W. V. (1975). *Unmasking the Face: A Guide to Recognizing Emotions from Facial Clues*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall.
- Elo S., & Kyngäs, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advance Nursing*, 62, 107-115.
- Ervin-Tripp, S., Guo, J., & Lampert, M. (1990). Politeness and Persuasion in children's control acts. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14, 307-331.
- Fairclough, N. (1994). Conversationalisation of public discourse and the authority of the consumer. In R. Keat, N., Whitely, & N., Abercrombie (Eds.), *The Authority of the Consumer*. London: Routledge.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. London: Longman.
- Ferenčík, (2017). I'm not Charlie: (Im)politeness evaluations of the Charlie Hebdo attack in an internet discussion forum. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 111, 54-71.
- File, K. A. & Schnurr, S. (2019). That match was "a bit like losing your virginity". Failed humour, face and identity construction in TV interviews with professional athletes and coaches. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 152(2019), 132-144.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The archeology of knowledge*. New York: Harper and Row.
- Fraser, B. (1990). Perspectives on politeness. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14(2), 219-236.
- French, P., & Local, J. (1983). Turn-competitive incomings. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 7, 17-38.



- Fukushima, S. (2019). A Metapragmatic Aspect of Politeness: With a Special Emphasis on Attentiveness in Japanese. In E. Ogiermann & P. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (Eds.), *From Speech Acts to Lay Concepts of Politeness: A Multilingual, Multicultural Perspective* (pp. 226-249). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Fukushima, S., & Sifianou, M. (2017). Conceptualizing politeness in Japanese and Greek. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 14(4), 525-555.
- Gadamer, H.-G. (1975). *Truth and method*. (Ed. By G. Barden & J. Cumming). New York: Seabury Press.
- Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P. (2009) Impoliteness and identity in the American news media: The Culture Wars. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 5, 273-304.
- Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P. (2010). A genre approach to the study of im-politeness. *International Review of Pragmatics*, 2, 46–94.
- Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P. (2012). “Politics, “lies” and YouTube: A genre approach to assessments of im/politeness on Obama’s 9/9/2009 presidential address”. In L. Fernandez-Amaya et al. (Eds.). *New perspectives on (im)politeness and interpersonal communication* (pp. 62-90). Newcastle, Hutc
- Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P. (2013). Face, identity, and im/politeness: Looking backwards, moving forward – From Goffman to Practice Theory. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 9(1), 1-33.
- Garcés-Conejos Blitvich P. (2018). Globalization, transnational identities, and conflict talk: The complexity of the Latino identity. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 134, 120-133.
- Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P. (2022). Karen: Stigmatized Social Identity and Face-Threat in the On/offline Nexus. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 188, 14-30.
- Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P. & Bou-Franch, P. (2019). Emic conceptualizations of imagen in Peninsular Spanish. In E. Ogierman, & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P. (Eds.), *From Speech Acts to Lay Concepts of Politeness: A Multilingual, Multicultural Perspective* (pp.301-327). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P., Bou-Franch, P., & Lorenzo-Dus, N. (2013). Identity and impoliteness: The expert in the talent show Idol. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 9(1), 97–121.
- Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P., & Georgakopoulou, A. (2021). Analyzing identity. In M. Haugh, D. Z. Kádár & M. Terkourafi (Eds.), *Handbook of Sociopragmatics* (pp. 293-314). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P., & Sifianou, M. (2017). Im/politeness and identity. In J. Culpeper, M. Haugh & D. Z. Kádár (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)politeness* (pp. 227-256). London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P., & Sifianou, M. (2019). ‘Im/politeness and discursive pragmatics’, *Journal of Pragmatics*, 145, 91-101.
- Garfinkel, H. (1964/1967). Studies of the routine grounds of everyday activities’, *Social Problems*, 11, 225-250. (Republished in 1967, 35-75).
- Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ.: Prentice Hall.
- Gee, J. P. (2005). *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis Theory and Method* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (1997). *Narrative performances. A study of Modern Greek storytelling*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2001). Arguing about the future: On indirect disagreements in Conversations. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33, 1881–1900.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2005b). Styling men and masculinities: interactional and identity aspects at work. *Language in Society*, 34, 163–84.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2006). Thinking Big with Small Stories in Narrative and Identity Analysis. *Narrative Inquiry*, 16, 129-137.

- Georgakopoulou, A. (2007). *Small stories, interaction and identities*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2008). 'On MSN with buff boys' Self- and other-identity claims in the context of small stories. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 12, 597-626.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2010). Reflection and Self-Disclosure from the Small Stories Perspective: A Study of Identity Claims in Interview and Conversational. In D. Schiffrin, A. De Fina & A. Nylund (Eds.), *Telling Stories: Language, Narrative, and Social Life Data* (pp. 123-134). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2013a). Building iterativity into positioning analysis: A practice-based approach to small stories and self. Special Issue on Positioning. *Narrative Inquiry*, 23, 89-110.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2013b). Small Stories and Identities Analysis as a Framework for the Study of Im/politeness-in-interaction. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 9, 55-74.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2013c). Storytelling on the go: Breaking news as a travelling narrative genre. In M. Hatavara, L-C. Hydén & M. Hyvärinen (Eds.), *The Travelling Concepts of Narrative* (pp. 201-224). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2015). Small Stories Research: Methods - Analysis – Outreach. In A. De Fina & A. Georgakopoulou (Eds.), *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis* (pp. 255–271). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Georgakopoulou, A. (2016). Small Stories Research: A Narrative Paradigm for the Analysis of Social Media. In L. Sloan & A. Quan-Haase (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Social Media Research Methods* (pp. 266-282). London: SAGE.
- Georgakopoulou, A. & Giaxoglou, K. (2019). Emplotment in the social mediatization of the economy: The poly-storying of economist Yanis Varoufakis. *Language@internet*, 16(2018), 6.
- Georgakopoulou, A., & Vasilaki, M. (2018). The personal and/as political: Small stories and impoliteness in online discussions of the Greek crisis. *Internet Pragmatics*, 1(2), 216-241.
- Giaxoglou, K. (2015). 'Everywhere I go, you're going with me': Time and space deixis as affective positioning resources in shared moments of digital mourning. *Discourse, Context and Media*, 9(2015): 55-63.
- Giaxoglou, K. (2020). *A Narrative Approach to Social Media Mourning. Small Stories and Affective Positioning*. New York & London: Routledge.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Giora, R. (2003). *On Our Mind: Salience, Context, and Figurative Language*. Oxford University Press.
- Glenn, P. (2003). *Laughter in Interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Glenn, P., & Holt, E. (2013). Introduction. In P. Glenn & E. Holt (Eds.), *Studies of Laughter in Interaction* (pp. 1-22). London and New York: Bloomsbury.
- Goddard, C. (2009). Not taking yourself too seriously in Australian English: semantic explications, cultural scripts, corpus evidence. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 6, 29-53.
- Goffman, E. (1955). On face-work: an analysis of ritual elements in social interaction', *Psychiatry: Journal for the Study of Interpersonal Processes*, 18(3), 213–31.
- Goffman, E. (1956). Embarrassment and social organization', *American Journal of Sociology*, 62(3), 264–271.
- Goffman, E. (1959). *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*. London: Penguin.
- Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction Rituals. Essays on Face-to-Face Behavior*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Goldberg, J. A. (1990). Interrupting the discourse on interruptions. An Analysis in Terms of Relationally Neutral, Power- and Rapport-Oriented Acts. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14(1990), 883-903
- Goodwin, C. (1984). Notes on Story Structure and the Organization of Participation. In M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of Social Action* (pp. 225-246). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,.
- Goodwin, C. (1986). Audience Diversity, Participation and Interpretation. *Text*, 6, pp. 283-316.
- Goodwin, C. (2000). Action and embodiment within situated human interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 32(10), 1489-1522
- Goodwin, C. (2003). The Body in Action. In J. Coupland & R. Gwyn (Eds.), *Discourse, the Body and Identity* (pp. 19-42). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Goodwin, C. (2007). Participation, stance and affect in the organization of activities. *Discourse & Society*, 18(1), 53-73.
- Goodwin, C. (2015). Narrative as Talk-in-Interaction. In A. De Fina & A. Georgakopoulou (Eds.), *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis* (pp. 197-218). Malden MA, Oxford, Chichester: Wiley Blackwell.
- Goodwin, M. H. (1990). *He-said-she-said: Talk as Social Organisation among Black Children*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Goodwin, C., & Goodwin, M. H. (1987). Concurrent operations on talk: notes on the interactive organization of assessments. *Papers in Pragmatics* 1, 1-54.
- Graham, S. (2007). Disagreeing to agree: Conflict (im)politeness and identity in a computer mediated community. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39, 742-759.
- Grainger, K. (2004). Verbal play on the hospital ward: Solidarity or power? *Multilingua*, 23(1/2), 39-59.
- Grainger, K. (2011a). Indirectness in Zimbabwean English: A Study of Intercultural Communication in the UK. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & D. Z. Kádár (Eds.), *Politeness across cultures* (pp. 171-193). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Grainger, K. (2011b). "First order" and "second order" politeness: Institutional and intercultural contexts. In *Linguistic Politeness Research Group* (Eds.), *Discursive Approaches to Politeness* (pp. 167-188). Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Green, J., & Bloome, D. (1997). Ethnography and ethnographers of and in education: A situated Perspective. In J. Flood, S. B. Heath & D. Lapp (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teaching literacy through the communicative and visual arts* (pp. 181-202). New York: Macmillan Publishers.
- Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole & J. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and Semantics. Vol. 3. Speech Acts* (pp. 41-58). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Grice, M., Benzmüller, R., Savino, M., & Andreeva, B. (1995). *The intonation of queries and checks across languages: data from Map Task dialogues*. Proc. ICPhS 95, Stockholm.
- Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Günthner, S. (1995). Exemplary stories: the cooperative construction of indignation. *Versus*, 70/71, 147-175.
- Haakana, M. (2007). Reported thought in complaint stories. In E. Holt, & R. Clift (Eds.), *Reporting Talk. Reported Speech in Interaction* (pp. 150-178). Cambridge University Press, Cambridge and New York.
- Haberland, H. (2012). The politics of transcription: issues of multilingual and other non-standard data. In K. Ikeda & A. Brandt (Eds.), *Kansai University International Symposium: Challenges and New Directions in the Micro-analysis of Social Interaction* (pp. 3-8). Kansai University, Osaka.
- Haidt, J. (2003). The Moral Emotion. In R. J. Davidson, R. K. Scherer & H. H. Goldsmith (Eds.),

- Handbook of Affective Sciences* (pp. 852–70). Oxford University Press.
- Haidt, J. (2008). Morality. *Perspectives on Psychological Science*, 3(1), 65–72.
- Hall, S. (2000). Who needs identity? In P. Gay, J. Evans & P. Redman (Eds.), *Identity: A Reader*. London: Sage.
- Hall, K., & Bucholtz, M. (2013). Epilogue: Facing identity. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 9(1), 123–132.
- Hammersley, M., & Atkinson, P. (2007). *Ethnography. Principles in practice*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Hanks, W. F. (1987). Discourse genres in a theory of practice. *American Ethnologist*, 14(4), 668–692.
- Hanks, W. F. (1996). *Language and communicative practices*. Boulder CO: Westview.
- Hannerz, U. (1990). Cosmopolitans and locals in world culture. In M. Featherstone (Ed.), *Global Culture: Nationalism, globalization and modernity*. London Sage.
- Harris, M. (1968). *The rise of anthropological theory. A history of theories of culture*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell.
- Harris, M. (1979). *Cultural materialism: The struggle for a science of culture*. New York: Random House.
- Harris, M. (1990). Emics and Etics revisited. In Headland, T. N., Pike, K. L. & Harris, M. (Eds.), *Emics and Etics. The insider/ outsider debate* (pp. 48–61). London: SAGE.
- Harris, R., & Rampton, B. (2003). *The Language, Ethnicity and Race Reader* (pp. 1–14). London: Routledge.
- Harris, S. (2011). Epilogue. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & D. Z. Kádár (Eds.), *Politeness across cultures* (pp. 258–265). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Haugh, M. (2003). Anticipated versus inferred politeness. *Multilingua*, 22(4), 397–413.
- Haugh, M. (2007a). The discursive challenge to politeness research: an interactional Alternative, *Journal of Politeness Research*, 3(2), 295–317.
- Haugh, M. (2007b). Emic conceptualisations of (im)politeness and face in Japanese: Implications for the discursive negotiation of second language learner identities. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39, 657–680.
- Haugh, M. (2009). Face in interaction. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & M. Haugh (Eds.), *Face, communication, and social interaction* (pp. 1–30). London: Equinox.
- Haugh, M. (2010a). When is an email really offensive?: Argumentativity and variability in evaluations of impoliteness. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 6(1), 7–31.
- Haugh, M. (2010b). Intercultural (im)politeness and the micro-macro issue. In A. Trosborg (Ed.), *Politeness across languages and cultures* (pp. 139–166). Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton
- Haugh, M. (2010c). Jocular mockery, (dis)affiliation, and face. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42, 2106–2119.
- Haugh, M. (2011). Humour, face and im/politeness in getting acquainted. In B. Davies, M. Haugh & A. Merrison (Eds.), *Situated Politeness* (pp. 165–84). London: Continuum.
- Haugh, M. (2013). Im/politeness, social practice and the participation order. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 58, 52–72.
- Haugh, M. (2015). *Im/politeness Implicatures*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Haugh, M. (2016a). The role of English as a scientific metalanguage for research in pragmatics: Reflections on the metapragmatics of ‘politeness’ in Japanese. *East Asian Pragmatics*, 1(1), 39–71.
- Haugh, M. (2016b). “Just kidding”: Teasing and claims to non-serious intent. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 95, 120–136.
- Haugh, M. (2018a). Afterword: Theorizing (im)politeness. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 14(1), 153–165.

- Haugh, M. (2018b). Corpus-based metapragmatics. In A. Jucker, K. P. Schneider & W. Bublitz (Eds.), *Methods in Pragmatics* (pp.615-639), Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Haugh, M. (2019). The Metapragmatics of Consideration in (Australian and New Zealand) English. In E. Ogiermann & P. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (Eds.), *From Speech Acts to Lay Understandings of Politeness* (pp. 201-225). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haugh, M., & Bousfield, D. (2012). Mock impoliteness, jocular mockery and jocular abuse in Australian and British English. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 44, 1099-1114.
- Haugh, M., & Chang, M. (2019). Indexical and Sequential Properties of Criticisms in Initial Interactions: Implications for Examining (Im) Politeness across Cultures. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*, 23(4), 904-929.
- Haugh, M., Chang, Wei-Lin M. & Kádár, D. (2015). 'Doing deference': Identities and relational practices in Chinese online discussion boards. *Pragmatics*, 25, 73–98.
- Haugh, M., Davies, B. L., & Merrison, A. J. (2011). Situating Politeness. In B. L. Davies, M. Haugh, & A. J. Merrison (Eds.), *Situated Politeness*. London: Continuum.
- Haugh, M. & Hinze, C. (2003). A metalinguistic approach to deconstructing the concepts of 'face' and 'politeness' in Chinese, English and Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 35(10/11), 1581–1611.
- Haugh, M., & Kádár, D. Z. (2017). Intercultural Im/politeness. In J. Culpeper, M. Haugh & D. Z. Kádár, (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)politeness* (pp. 601-632). London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Haugh, M., Kádár, D. & Mills, S. (2013). Interpersonal Pragmatics: Issues and Debates. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 58, 1–11.
- Haugh, M., Kádár, D. & Terkourafi, M. (2021). Introduction: Directions in Sociopragmatics. In Haugh, M., Kádár, D. & Terkourafi, M. (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociopragmatics* (pp. 1-12). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haugh, M. & Obana, Y. (2015). Transformative continuations, (dis)affiliation, and accountability in Japanese interaction. *Text & Talk*, 35(5), 597–619
- Haugh, M., & Watanabe, Y. (2009). Analysing Japanese 'face-in-interaction': insights from intercultural business meetings. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & M. Haugh (Eds.), *Face, communication and social interaction* (pp. 78-95). London, United Kingdom: Equinox Publishing.
- Haugh, M., & Watanabe, Y. (2017). (Im)politeness theory. In B. Vine (Ed.), *Handbook of Language in the Workplace* (pp. 65–76). Routledge: London.
- Hay, J. (2000). Functions of humor in the conversations of men and women. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 32(6), 709-742.
- Hecht, M. L., (1993), 2002—A research odyssey: toward the development of a communication theory of identity. *Communication Monographs*, 60, 76–82.
- Heath, C., Hindmarsh, J., & Luff, P. (2012). Video in Qualitative Research [online text]. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Heinemann, T. (2009). Participation and Exclusion in Third Party Complaints. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41(12), 2435–2451.
- Heinemann, T., & Traverso, V. (2009). Complaining in interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41, 2381-2384.
- Heinrichsmeier, R. (2016). *The interactional construction of ageing identities: a linguistic ethnography of older women's narratives, talk and other practices in a hair-salon*. King's College London (Unpublished PhD thesis).
- Heinrichsmeier, R. (2020a). Who gets to speak: The role of reported speech for identity work in complaint stories. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 174(2021) 43-54.

- Heinrichsmeier, R. (2020b). Doing Micro-Analysis of Discourse: The Case of Ageing and Wellbeing. In A. De Fina & A. Georgakopoulou (Eds.), *The Cambridge Handbook of Discourse Studies* (pp. 143-164). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Heinrichsmeier, R. (2021). 'I am put on quite a bit': Recurrent complaining and the ambivalences of multigenerational near-co-residence. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 1–21.
- Heller, M. (2001). *UK Linguistic Ethnography Forum: Comments and reflections*. (Available online: <http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fss/organisations/lingethn/> leicester2001overseasreflections.html).
- Hillewaert, S. (2016). Tactics and tactility: A sensory semiotics of handshakes in coastal Kenya. *American Anthropologist*, 118(1), 49–66.
- Hepburn, A., & Bolden, G. (2013). The conversation analytic approach to transcription. In T. Stivers & J. Sidnell (Eds.), *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hepburn, A., & Bolden, G. (2017). *Transcribing for Social Research*. London: Sage.
- Heritage, J. (1984). *Garfinkel and Ethnomethodology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Heritage, J. (1997). Conversation Analysis and Institutional Talk. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method & Practice* (pp. 161-82). London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Heritage, J. (2005). Conversation analysis and institutional talk. In K. Fitch & R. Sanders (Eds.), *Handbook of Language and Social Interaction* (pp. 103-147). Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Heritage, J. (2009). Conversation analysis as social theory. In B. Turner (Ed.), *New Blackwell Companion to Social Theory* (pp. 300-318). Wiley-Blackwell, Hoboken, NJ.
- Heritage, J. & Raymond, G. (2005). The Terms of Agreement: Indexing Epistemic Authority and Subordination in Talk-in-Interaction. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 68(1), 15-38.
- Hill, J. (1995). The Voices of Don Gabriel: Responsibility and Self in A Modern Mexicano Narrative. In D. Tedlock & B. Mannheim (Eds.), *The Dialogic Emergence of Culture* (p.97–147). Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Hirschon, R. (2001). Freedom, solidarity and obligation: The socio-cultural context of Greek Politeness. In A. Bayraktaroğlu & M. Sifianou (Eds.), *Linguistic Politeness across Boundaries: The Case of Greek and Turkish* (pp. 17-42). Amsterdam: Johns Benjamin Publishing Company.
- Ho, Y.-F. D., Fu, W., & Ng, S. M. (2004). Guilt, Shame, and Embarrassment: Revelations of Face and Self. *Culture & Psychology*, 10, 64-84.
- Holmes, J. (1995). *Women, Men, and Politeness*. London & New York: Longman.
- Holmes, J. (1986). Compliments and compliment responses in New Zealand English. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 28(4), 485–508.
- Holmes, J. (2000). Politeness, power and provocation: how humour functions in the workplace. *Discourse Studies*, 2, 159-185.
- Holmes, J., Marra, M., & Vine, B. (2012). Politeness and Impoliteness in Ethnic Varieties of New Zealand English. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 44(2012), 1063-1076.
- Holmes, J., & Schnurr, S. (2005). Politeness, Humor and Gender in the Workplace: Negotiating Norms and Identifying Contestation. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 1(1), 121-149.
- Holmes, J., Marra, M., & Schnurr, S. (2008). Impoliteness and ethnicity: Māori and Pākehā discourse in New Zealand workplaces. *Journal of Politeness Research Language Behaviour Culture*, 4(2), 193- 219.
- Holt, E. (1996). Reporting on Talk: The Use of Direct Reported Speech in Conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 29(3), 219–45.
- Holt, E. (2010). The Last Laugh: Shared Laughter and Topic Termination. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42, 1513–25.
- Holt, E. (2013). 'There's many a true word said in jest': seriousness and nonseriousness in interaction.

- In P. Glenn, & E. Holt (Eds.), *Studies of Laughter in Interaction* (pp. 69-89). Bloomsbury, London.
- Holt, E., & Clift, R. (Eds.) (2007). *Reporting Talk: Reported Speech in Interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- House, J. (2000). Understanding misunderstanding: A pragmatic-discourse approach to analysing mismanaged rapport in talk across cultures. In H. Spencer-Oatey (Ed.), *Culturally Speaking* (pp. 145–164). London: Continuum.
- House, J. (2008). (Im)politeness in English as lingua franca discourse. In M. Locher & J. Strässler (Eds.), *Standards and Norms in the English Language* (pp. 351–366). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- House, J., & Kasper, G. (1981). Politeness makers in English and German. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *Conversational Routines* (pp. 157—185). The Hague: de Gruyter.
- Hübler, A., & Bublitz, W. (2007). Introducing Metapragmatics in Use. In W. Bublitz & A. Hübler (Eds.), *Metapragmatics in Use* (pp. 1-26). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Hutchby, I. (2008). Participants' orientations to interruptions, rudeness and other impolite acts in talk-in-interaction. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 4(2), 221–41.
- Hutchby, I., & Wooffitt, R. (2008). *Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge UK and Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Hymes, D. H. (1970). Linguistic method in ethnography: Its development in the United States. In P. Garvin (Ed.), *Method and theory in linguistics*. The Hague: Mouton De Gruyter.
- Hymes, D. (1996 [1978]). *Ethnography, Linguistics, Narrative Inequality: Toward an Understanding of Voice*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Hymes, D. (1999). Boas on the threshold of ethnopoetics. In R. Darnell & L. Valentine (Eds.), *Theorizing the Americanist tradition*. University of Toronto Press.
- Ide, S. (1989). Formal forms and discernment. Two neglected aspects of universals of linguistic Politeness. *Multilingua*, 8(2-3), 223-248.
- Ide, S., Hill, B., Yukiko, C., Ogino, T. & Kawasaki, A. (1992). The concept of politeness: An empirical study of American English and Japanese. In R. J. Watts, S. Ide & K. Ehlich (Eds.), *Politeness in Language. Studies in its History, Theory and Practice* (pp. 281-297). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Idemaru, K., Winter, B., Brown, L. and Oh, G. E. (2020). Loudness trumps pitch in politeness judgments: evidence from Korean deferential speech. *Language and Speech*, 60, 123–48.
- Işık-Güler, H., & Ruhi, Ş. (2010). Face and Impoliteness at the Intersection with Emotions: A Corpus-Based Study in Turkish. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 7-4(2010), 625–660.
- Jaffe, A. (Ed.). (2009). *Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Stance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jakobson, R. (1960). Linguistics and Poetics. In T. Sebeok (Ed.), *Style in Language* (pp. 350-377). Cambridge Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press.
- Jaworski, A., Coupland, N., & Galasiński, D. (Eds.) (2004). *Metalanguage: Social and ideological perspectives*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter.
- Jaworski, A., & Coupland, N. (Eds.) (2006). *The Discourse Reader* (Second edn.). London and New York: Routledge.
- Jay, W. (1992). *Cursing in America: A Psycholinguistic Study of Dirty Language in the Courts, in the Movies, in the Schoolyards and on the Streets*. Philadelphia/Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Jay, W. (2000). *Why we Curse: A Neuro-psycho-social Theory of Speech*. Philadelphia/ Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Jefferson, G. (1978). Sequential Aspects of Storytelling in Conversation. in J. Schenkein (Ed). *Studies in the Organization of Conversational Interaction* (pp. 219-248). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Jefferson, G. (1979). A technique for inviting laughter and its subsequent acceptance/declination. In

- G. Psathas (Ed.), *Everyday language: Studies in ethnomethodology* (pp. 79-96). New York: Irvington Publishers.
- Jefferson, G. (1983). Notes on some orderlinesses of overlap onset. *Tilburg Papers in Language and Literature*, 38, 1-24. Tilburg: Tilburg University.
- Jefferson, G. (1984). On the organization of laughter in talk about troubles. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of Social Action* (pp. 346-369). Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Jefferson, G. (1985). On the interactional unpacking of a "gloss." *Language in Society*, 14, 435-466.
- Jefferson, G. (1986). Notes on 'latency' in overlap onset. *Human Studies*, 9(2/3), 153-183.
- Jefferson, G. (1988). On the sequential organisation of troubles-talk in ordinary conversation. *Social Problems*, 35(4), 418-41.
- Jefferson, G. (2004). Glossary of transcript symbols with an introduction. In G. H. Lerner (Ed.), *Conversation Analysis: Studies from the first generation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Jefferson, G., Sacks, H., & Schegloff, E. (1987). *Notes on laughter in the pursuit of intimacy*. In G. Button & J. R. Lee (Eds.), *Talk and Social Organisation. Multilingual Matters* (pp. 152-205). Clevedon, UK.
- Jenks, C. J. (2011). *Transcribing Talk and Interaction: Issues in the Representation of Communication Data*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia/PA: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Johnson, G. (2009). Narrative inquiry and school leadership identities. *International Journal of Leadership in Education. Theory and Practice*, 12(3), 269–282.
- Joseph, J. (2013). Identity work and face work across linguistic and cultural boundaries. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 9(1), 35-54.
- Jucker, A. H., & Staley, L. (2017). (Im)politeness and Developments in Methods. In J. Culpeper, M. Haugh & D. Z. Kádár (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)politeness* (pp. 403-429). London: Palgrave MacMillan,.
- Jucker, A. H., Taavitsainen, I., & Schneider, G. (2012). Semantic Corpus Trawling: Expressions of 'Courtesy' and 'Politeness' in the Helsinki Corpus'. In C. Suhr & I. Taavitsainen (Eds.), *Developing Corpus Methodology for Historical Pragmatics, Studies in Variation, Contacts and Change in English 11*. Helsinki: Research Unit for Variation, Contacts and Change in English.
- Kádár, D. Z. (2017). *Politeness, Impoliteness and Ritual: Maintaining the Moral order in Interpersonal Interaction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kádár, D. Z. (2013). *Relational Rituals and Communication: Ritual Interaction in Groups*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kádár, D. Z., & Bargiela-Chiappini, F. (2011). Introduction: Politeness Research in and across Cultures. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & D. Z. Kádár (Eds.), *Politeness across Cultures* (pp. 1-16). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Kádár, D. Z., & Culpeper, J. (2010). Historical (im)politeness: an introduction. In J. Culpeper & D. Z. Kádár (Eds.), *Historical (Im)Politeness* (pp. 9–36). Berne: Peter Lang.
- Kádár, D. Z. & Haugh, M. (2013). *Understanding Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kádár, D., Haugh, M., & Chang, W. M. (2013). Aggression and perceived national face threats in mainland Chinese and Taiwanese CMC discussion boards. *Multilingua*, 32(3), 343-372.
- Kádár, D. Z. & Márquez-Reiter, R. (2015). (Im)politeness and (im)morality: Insights from intervention. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 11(2), 239–60.
- Kapogianni, E. (2013). *Irony and the literal versus nonliteral distinction. A typological approach with focus on ironic implicature strength*. University of Cambridge (unpublished PhD thesis).



- Karachaliou, R. (2015). *Προσφωνήσεις ως πραγματολογικοί δείκτες σε συνομιλιακές αφηγήσεις: Η περίπτωση του re και των συνδυασμών του*. (Salutations as pragmatic markers in conversational narratives. The case of *re* and its combinations). University of Patras, Greece (Unpublished PhD thesis).
- Karachaliou, R. & Archakis, A. (2015). Identity construction patterns via swearing: Evidence from Greek teenage storytelling. *Pragmatics and Society*, 6(3), 421-443.
- Karafoti, E. (2019). Attending to a possible complaint: Preference for noticings, anticipatory apologies and preemptive accounts to forestall potential conflict. *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict*, (2019), 2213-1272.
- Kasper, G. (1990). Linguistic Politeness: current research issues. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 14, 193-218.
- Kasper, G. (2008). Data collection in pragmatics research. In H. Spencer-Oatey (Ed). *Culturally speaking: Culture, communication, and politeness theory* (pp. 279-303). London: Continuum.
- Kasper, G. & Blum-Kulka, S. (Eds). (1993). *Interlanguage Pragmatics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kendon, A. (2004). *Gesture: Visible action as utterance*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kennedy, C. W., & Camden, C. T. (1983). A new look at interruptions. *Western Journal of Speech Communication*, 47(1), 45-58.
- Keltner, D., Young, R. C., Heerey, E. A., Oemig, C., & Monarch, N. D. (1998). Teasing in hierarchical and intimate relations. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75, 1231-1247.
- Kientpointner, M. (1997). 'Varieties of rudeness: Types and functions of impolite utterances. *Functions of Language*, 4(2), 251-287.
- Kientpointner, M. (2008). Impoliteness and emotional arguments. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 4(2008), 243-265.
- Kitzinger, C., & Wilkinson, S. (2003). Constructing identities: A feminist conversation analytic approach to positioning in interaction. In R. Harré & F. Moghaddam (Eds.), *The self and others* (pp. 157–180). Westport, CT: Praeger.
- Kitzinger, C., Shaw, R., & Toerien, M. (2012). Referring to persons without using a full-form reference: Locally initial indexicals in action. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 45(2), 116–136.
- Kleinke, S., & Bös, B. (2015). Intergroup Rudeness and the Metapragmatics of its Negotiation in Online Discussion Fora. *Pragmatics*, 25(1), 47–71.
- Klewitz, G., & Couper-Kuhlen, E. (1999). Quote–Unquote: The Role of Prosody in the Contextualization of Reported Speech Sequences. *Pragmatics*, 9(4), 459–85.
- Kotthoff, H. (1996). Impoliteness and Conversational Joking: On Relational Politics. *Folia Linguistica*, 30(3-4), 299-326.
- Kotthoff, H. (2007). Oral genres of humor : On the dialectic of genre knowledge and creative authoring. *Pragmatics*, 17(2), 263-296.
- Kurtyka, A. (2019). I complain, therefore I am: on indirect complaints in Polish. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 153, 34-45.
- Labben, A. (2018). Face and identity in interaction: A focus on Tunisian Arabic. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 128, 67-81.
- Labov, W. (1972). *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, W., & Waletzky, J. (1967). Narrative Analysis: Oral Versions of Personal Experience. In J. Helms, (Ed.) *Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

- Lachenicht, L. G. (1980). Aggravating language: a study of abusive and insulting language. *International Journal of Human Communication*, 13(4), 607-688.
- Laforest, M. (2009). Complaining in front of a witness: Aspects of blaming others for their behaviour in multi-party family interactions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41(12), 2452-2464.
- Lakoff, R. T. (1973). The logic of politeness; or, minding your p's and q's'. In C. Corum, T. Cedric Smith-Stark & A. Weiser (Eds.), *Papers from the Ninth Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society, April 1973* (pp. 292-305). Chicago, IL: Chicago Linguistic Society.
- Lakoff, R. T. (1975). *Language and Woman's Place*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.
- Lakoff, R. T. (1989). The limits of politeness: Therapeutic and courtroom discourse. *Multilingua-Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication*, 8(2-3), 101-130.
- Lakoff, G. (2016). Language and emotion. *Emotion Review*, 8(3), 269-73.
- Lambert-Graham, S. (2007). Disagreeing to agree: Conflict (im)politeness and identity in a computer mediated community. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39, 742-759.
- Lambropoulou, S. (2013). *Direct Speech, Self-presentation and Communities of Practice*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Lampert, M. D., & Ervin-Tripp, S. M. (2006). Risky laughter: Teasing and self-directed joking among male and female friends. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 38(1), 51-72.
- Lee, H. (2013). Telling stories and making social relations. Transnational women's ways of belonging in intercultural contexts. *Applied Linguistics*, 36, 151-173.
- LeDoux, J. E. (2000). Emotion circuits in the brain. *Annual Review of Neuroscience*, 23, 155-84.
- Leech, G. (1983). *Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Leech, G. (2014). *The Pragmatics of Politeness. Oxford studies in sociolinguistics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lerner, G. H. (1992). Assisted storytelling: Deploying shared knowledge as a practical matter. *Qualitative Sociology*, 15, 247-271.
- Lerner, G. H. (2013). On the Place of Hesitating in Delicate Formulations: A Turn Constructional Infrastructure for Collaborative Indiscretion. In M. Hayashi, G. Raymond & J. Sidnell (Eds.), *Conversational repair and human understanding* (pp. 95-134). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levinson, S. C. (1979). Activity types and language. *Linguistics*, 17(1979), 365-399.
- Levinson, S. C. (1988). Putting linguistics on a proper footing: explorations in Goffman's concepts of participation. In P. Drew & A. Wootton (Eds.), *Erving Goffman. Exploring the Interaction Order* (pp. 161-227). Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Li, W. (2018). Translanguaging as a Practical Theory of Language. *Applied Linguistics*, 39(1), 9-30.
- Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Ljung, M. (2011). *Swearing: A Cross-Cultural Linguistic Study*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Locher, M. A. (2004). *Power and Politeness in Action: Disagreements in Oral Communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Locher, M. A. (2006). Polite behavior within relational work: the discursive approach to politeness. *Multilingua*, 25(3), 249-267.
- Locher, M. A. (2008). Relational work, politeness and identity construction. In G. Antos & Ventola, E. (Eds.), *Handbooks of Applied Linguistics. Issue 2: Interpersonal Communication* (pp. 509-540). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Locher, M. A. & Graham, S. L. (Eds.). (2010). *Interpersonal Pragmatics*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Locher, M. A. (2010.) Introduction: Politeness and impoliteness in computer-mediated Communication. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 6, 1-5.
- Locher, M. A., & Langlotz, A. (2008). Relational work: at the intersection of cognition, interaction and emotion. *Bulletin Suisse de Linguistique Appliquée (VALS-ASLA) (Swiss association of applied linguistics)*, 88, 165-191,

- Locher, M. A., & Langlotz, A. (2017). (Im)politeness and emotion. In J. Culpeper, M. Haugh & D. Z. Kádár (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)politeness* (pp. 287-322). London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Locher, M. A., Bolander, B., & Höhn, N. (2015). Introducing Relational Work in Facebook and Discussion Boards. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 25(1), 1-21.
- Locher, M. A., & Luginbühl, M. (2019). Discussions on Swiss and German Politeness in Online Sources. In E. Ogiermann & P. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (Eds.), *From Speech Acts to Lay Understandings of Politeness* (pp. 250-179). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Locher, M. A., & Watts, R. J. (2005). Politeness theory and relational work. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 1, 9–33.
- Lorenzo-Dus, N. (2009). ‘You’re barking mad, I’m out’: Impoliteness and broadcast talk. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 5(2), 159–187.
- Lorenzo-Dus, N., Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P. & Bou-Franch, P. (2011). On-line polylogues and impoliteness: The case of postings sent in response to the Obama Regaetton YouTube video. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 10, 2578-2593.
- Lucy, J. A. (Ed.) (1993). *Reflexive Language: Reported Speech and Metapragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McAdams, D. P. (1993). *The stories we live by: Personal myths and the making of the self*. New York: William C. Morrow and Co.
- McAdams, D. P. (2011). Narrative identity. In K. Luyckx, S. Schwartz & Vignoles, V. (Eds.), *Handbook of identity theory and research* (pp. 99–115). Berlin, Germany: Springer.
- Madden, R. (2010). *Being Ethnographic: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Ethnography*. Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, Washington DC: Sage.
- Makri-Tsilipakou, M. (1994). Interruption revisited: Affiliative vs. disaffiliative intervention. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 21(4), 401–426.
- Makri-Tsilipakou, M. (2017). (Greek) Im/politeness: Predication and Evaluation Practices. *Selected Papers of ISTAL*, 23(2019), 284-304.
- Malle, B., Guglielmo, S., & Monroe, A. (2014). A theory of blame. *Psychological Inquiry*, 25(1), 147-186.
- Mandelbaum, J. (1991/1992). Conversational Non-Cooperation: An Exploration of Disattended Complaints. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 25, 97-138.
- Mandelbaum, J. (2010). Concurrent and Intervening Actions during Storytelling in Family “Ceremonial” Dinners. In D. Schiffrin, A. De Fina & A. Nylund (Eds.), *Telling Stories: Language, Narrative, and Social Life Data* (pp. 161-172). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.
- Mandelbaum, J. (2013). Storytelling in Conversation. In J. Sidwell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The Handbook of Conversation Analysis* (pp. 492-508). Malden MA, Oxford, Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Martin, J. R. & White, P. R. R. (2005). *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Marquez-Reiter, R. (2009). How to get rid of a telemarketing agent? Facework strategies in an intercultural service call. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & M. Haugh (Eds.), *Face, Communication and Social Interaction* (pp. 55–77). London: Equinox.
- Matsumoto, Y. (1989). Politeness and conversational universals – observations from Japanese. *Multilingua*, 8(2/3), 207–221.
- Mazeland, H. (2007). Parenthetical sequences. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39(2007), 1816–1869.
- McDermott, R. P. (1988). Inarticulateness. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Linguistics in Context: Connecting Observation and Understanding* (pp. 37-68). Norwood: Ablex.

- Mendoza-Denton, N. (2008). Language and identity. In J. K. Chambers, P. Trudgill & Schilling-Estes, N. (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change* (pp. 475–499). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Miller, E. (2013). Positioning Selves, doing Relational Work and Constructing Identities in Interview Talk. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 9(1), 75-95.
- Mills, S. (2003). *Gender and Politeness*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Mills, S. (2011). Discursive Approaches to Politeness and Impoliteness. In *Linguistic Politeness Research Group* (Eds.), *Discursive Approaches to Politeness* (pp. 19–56). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Mills, S. (2017). Sociocultural Approaches to (Im)politeness. In J. Culpeper, M. Haugh, & D. Z. Kádár (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)politeness* (pp. 41-60). London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Mitchell, N., & Haugh, M. (2015). Agency, accountability, and evaluations of impoliteness. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 11, 207-238.
- Moita Lopes, L. (2006). On being white, heterosexual, and male in a Brazilian school: multiple positionings in oral narrative. In A. De Fina, M. Bamberg & D. Schiffrin (Eds.), *Discourse and identity* (pp. 288–313). Cambridge University Press.
- Mondada, L. (2007). Multimodal resources for turn-taking: Pointing and the emergence of possible next speakers. *Discourse Studies*, 9(2), 195-226.
- Mondada, L. (2018). Multiple Temporalities of Language and Body in Interaction: Challenges for Transcribing Multimodality. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 51(1), 85-106.
- Mullany, L. (2004). Gender, politeness and institutional power roles: Humour as a tactic to gain compliance in workplace business meetings. *Multilingua - Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication*, 23(1-2), 13-37.
- Mullany, L. (2011). Im/politeness, Rapport Management and Workplace Culture: Truckers Performing Masculinities on Canadian Ice-Roads. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & D. Z. Kádár (Eds.), *Politeness across Cultures* (pp. 61-84). Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Muntigl, P., Knight, N. K., & Angus, L. (2014). Targeting emotional impact in storytelling: working with client affect in emotion-focused psychotherapy. *Discourse Studies*, 16, 753-775.
- Murray, I. R., & Arnott, J. L. (1993). Toward the simulation of emotion in synthetic speech: A review of the literature on human vocal emotion. *Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, 93(2), 1097–108.
- Murray, S. O. (1985). Toward a model of members' methods for recognizing interruptions. *Language in Society*, 13, 31-41.
- Nadeu, M., & Prieto, P. (2011). Pitch range, gestural information, and perceived politeness in Catalan. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43, 841-854.
- New London Group (1996). A Pedagogy of Multiliteracies: Designing Social Futures', *Harvard Educational Review*, 66(1), 60-93.
- Nikander, P. (2008). Working with transcripts and translated data. *Qualitative Research Psychology*, 5 (3), 225-231.
- Norris, S. (2019). *Systematically working with multimodal data: Research methods in multimodal discourse analysis*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Ochs, E. (1979). Transcription as theory. In E. Ochs & B. B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *Developmental Pragmatics* (pp. 43-72) New York: Academic Press.
- Ochs, E. (1992). Indexing gender. In A. Duranti & C. Goodwin (Eds.), *Rethinking context* (pp. 335-358). Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press.
- Ochs, E. and Capps, L. (2001). *Living Narrative*. Cambridge, MA: University of Harvard Press.

- O'Driscoll, J. (2011). Some issues with the concept of face: When, what, how and how much? In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & D. Z. Kádár (Eds.), *Politeness across Cultures* (pp. 17-41). London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- O'Driscoll, J. (2018). Dances with footings: a Goffmanian perspective on the Soto case. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 14(1), 39–62
- Ogiermann, E. (2019). Researching Im/politeness in Face-to-Face Interactions: On Disagreements in Polish Homes. In E. Ogiermann & P. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (Eds.), *From Speech Acts to Lay Understandings of Politeness* (pp. 146-174). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ogiermann, E. & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, P. (2019). Im/politeness between the Analyst and Participant Perspectives: An Overview of the Field. In E. Ogiermann & P. Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (Eds.), *From Speech Acts to Lay Understandings of Politeness* (pp. 1-24). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ogiermann, E., & Saloustrou, V. (2020). Conceptualisations of Politeness in Greece and Great Britain. *Glossologia*, 28(2020), 1-25.
- Oostendorp, M., & Jones, T. (2015). Tensions, ambivalence, and contradiction: a small story analysis of discursive identity construction in the South African workplace. *Text & Talk*, 35(1), 25–47.
- Orozco, L. (2008). Peticiones corteses y factores prosódicos. In Z. E. Herrera & P. Martín Butragueño, (Eds.), *Fonología instrumental. Patrones fónicos y variación* (pp. 335–55). México DF: El Colegio de México
- Parvaresh, V. & Tayebi, T. (2018). Impoliteness, aggression and the moral order. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 132, 91–107.
- Paternoster, A. (2012). Inappropriate inspectors: impoliteness and over-politeness in Ian Rankin's and Andrea Camilleri's crime series. *Language and Literature*, 21(3), 311-324.
- Pearson, C., Anderson, L. & Wegner, J. (2001). When workers flout convention: A study of workplace incivility. *Human Relations*, 54(11), 1387–1419.
- Perelmutter, R. (2018). Globalization, conflict discourse, and Jewish identity in an Israeli Russian-speaking online community. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 134, 134-148.
- Phoenix, C., & Sparkes, A. (2009). Being Fred: big stories, small stories and the accomplishment of a positive ageing identity. *Qualitative Research*, 9, 209-236.
- Piazzoli, E. (2015). Translation in Cross-language Qualitative Research: Pitfalls and Opportunities. *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts*, 1(1), 80-102.
- Piirainen-Marsh, Arja (2005). Managing adversarial questioning in broadcast interviews. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 1(2), 193-217.
- Pike, K. L. (1967). *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behaviour*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Pike, K. L. (1990). On the emics and etics of Pike and Harris. In T. N. Headland, K. L. Pike & M. Harris (Eds.), *Emics and etics: The insider/outsider debate*. London: Sage.
- Pizziconi, B. (2007a). The lexical mapping of politeness in British English and Japanese. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 3(2), 207-241.
- Pizziconi, B. (2007b). Facework and multiple selves in apologetic metapragmatic comments in Japanese. In W. Bublitz & A. Hübler (Eds.), *Metapragmatics in Use* (pp. 49-72). Amsterdam: Johns Benjamin Publishing Company.
- Pomerantz, A. (1978). Compliment Responses: Notes on the Co-Operation of Multiple Constrains. In J. Schenkein (Ed.), *Studies in the Organization of Conversational Interaction* (pp. 79-112). New York: Academic Press.
- Pomerantz, A. (1984). Agreeing and disagreeing with assessments: Some features of preferred/dispreferred turn shapes. In J. M. Atkinson & J. Heritage (Eds.), *Structures of Social Action: Studies in Conversation Analysis* (pp. 57-101). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Pomerantz, A. (1986). Extreme case formulations: a way of legitimizing claims. *Human Studies*, 9, 219-229.
- Pomerantz, A. (1988). Offering a candidate answer: an information seeking strategy. *Commun. Monogr.*, 55, 360-373.
- Pomerantz, A. (2005). Interactional practices. In H. Molder & J. Potter, J. (Eds.), *Conversation and Cognition* (pp. 93–115). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Portes, A. (1997). Globalization from Below: The Rise of Transnational Communities. Oxford: ESRC Transnational Communities Working Paper WPTC-98-01. <http://www.transcomm.oxford.ac.uk>.
- Potter, J. (2003). Discourse analysis and discursive psychology. In P. M. Camic, J. E. Rhodes & L. Yardley (Eds.), *Qualitative Research in Psychology: Expanding Perspectives in Methodology and Design*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Potter, J., & Hepburn, A. (2005). Qualitative interviews in psychology: Problems and possibilities. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 2(4), 281–307.
- Potter, J., & Hepburn, A. (2007). Crying Receipts: Time, Empathy and Institutional Practice. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 40(1), 89-116.
- Potter, J., & Wetherell, M. (1997). *Discourse and social psychology*. London: Sage.
- Quirk, R. Greenbaum, S. Leech, G., & Svartvik, J. (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. Longman, London and New York.
- Rampton, B. (1992). Scope for empowerment in sociolinguistics? In D. Cameron, E. Frazer, P. Harvey, B. Rampton & K. Richardson (Eds.), *Researching Language: Issues of Power and Method* (pp. 29–64). London: Routledge.
- Rampton, B. (Ed.) (1999). Styling the other: Introduction. *Thematic issue of Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 3, 421–427.
- Rampton, B. (2003). Hegemony, social class and stylisation. *Ethnography, discourse and hegemony. Special issue of Pragmatics*, 13, 49–83.
- Rampton, B. (2006). *Language in Late Modernity. Interaction in an urban school*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rampton, B. (2007a). ‘Linguistic Ethnography and the Study of Identities’, *Working Papers in Urban Languages and Literacies*. (Available at: [www.kcl.ac.uk/schools/sspp/education/research/groups/llg/wpull41.html](http://www.kcl.ac.uk/schools/sspp/education/research/groups/llg/wpull41.html), accessed 27/5/2017).
- Rampton, B. (2007b). Neo-Hymesian Linguistic Ethnography in the UK. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 11(5), 584-607.
- Rampton, B. (2009). Speech Community and Beyond. In N. Coupland & A. Jaworski (Eds.), *The New Sociolinguistics Reader* (pp. 694-713). Basingstoke: Macmillan.
- Rampton, B. (2010). From ‘multi-ethnic urban heteroglossia’ to ‘contemporary urban vernaculars’. *Working papers in Urban Language & Literacies*, 61.
- Rampton, B. (2013). Styling in a Language Learned Later in Life. *The Modern Language Journal*, 97(2), 360-382.
- Rampton, B. (2014). Linguistic ethnography, interactional sociolinguistics, and the study of identities. *Working Papers in Urban Languages and Literacies*, 43.
- Rampton, B. (2017). Interactional Sociolinguistics. *Tilburg Papers in Culture Studies*, 175.
- Rampton, B., Maybin, J., & Roberts, C. (2014). Methodological foundations in linguistic ethnography. *Working Papers in Urban Language & Literacies*, 125. (Available online: [https://www.academia.edu/5893933/Methodological\\_foundations\\_in\\_linguistics\\_ethnography](https://www.academia.edu/5893933/Methodological_foundations_in_linguistics_ethnography), accessed 25 July 2022).
- Rampton, B., Tusting, K., Maybin, J., & Barwell, R. (2004). *UK Linguistic Ethnography: A*

- Discussion Paper*. (Available Online: <<http://www.ling-ethnog.org.uk/publications.html>>, accessed 25 July 2022).
- Rampton, B., Tusting, K., Maybin, J., Barwell, R., Creese, A., & Lytra, V. (2005). *UK Linguistic Ethnography. A discussion paper*. (Available Online: [www.ling-ethnog.org.uk](http://www.ling-ethnog.org.uk), accessed 25 July 2022).
- Rai, T. S. & Fiske, A. P. (2011). Moral psychology is relationship regulation: Moral motives for unity, hierarchy, equality, and proportionality. *Psychological Review*, 118, 57–75.
- Rawls, A. W. (1987). The interaction order sui generis: Goffman's contribution to social theory. *Sociological Theory*, 5, 136–49.
- Raymond, G. (2004). Prompting Action: The Stand-alone 'So' in Ordinary Conversation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 37, 185–218.
- Raymond, G., & Heritage, J. (2006). The epistemics of social relations: Owning grandchildren. *Language in Society*, 35, 677–705.
- Riessman, C. K. (1990). *Divorce talk: Women and men make sense of personal relationships*. Kindle edn.; New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press.
- Riessman, C. K. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publication Inc.
- Riessman, C. K. (2008). *Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Robinson, J. & Bolden, G. (2010). Preference organization of sequence-initiating actions: the case of explicit account solicitations. *Discourse Studies*, 12(4), 501-533.
- Rossano, F. (2012). *Gaze behavior in face-to-face interaction*. Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Radboud University Nijmegen, Nijmegen.
- Ruhi, Ş. (2009). Evoking face in self and other-presentation in Turkish. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & M. Haugh (Eds.), *Face, communication, and social interaction* (pp. 155–174). London: Equinox.
- Ryan, M. E. (2008). Small stories, big issues: tracing complex subjectivities of high school students in interactional talk. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 5(3), 217-229.
- Sacks, H. (1974). An analysis of the course of a joke's telling in conversation. In R. Bauman & J. F. Sherzer (Eds.), *Explorations in the ethnography of speaking* (pp. 337–53). Cambridge University Press.
- Sacks, H. (1992). *Lectures on Conversation [1964-72] (2 Vols.)*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-Taking for Conversation. *Language*, 50(4.1), 696-735.
- Saloustrou, V. (2019). Greek women's stories about intimate relationships: Conceptualizing politeness through "small stories" and identity analysis. *Narrative Inquiry*, 29(1), 185-121.
- Saloustrou, V. (2020). To have or not to have a boyfriend? Large identities in small stories. *Text & Talk*, 40(3), 353-376.
- Saloustrou, V. (in press). "That was rude": metapragmatic impoliteness1 evaluations in breaking news small stories.
- Sampson, A. C. & Gross, J. J. (2012). Humour as emotion regulation: the differential consequences of negative versus positive humour. *Cognitive emotion*, 26(2), 375-84.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1991). Reflections on talk and social structure. In D. Boden & D. Zimmerman (Eds.), *Talk and Social Structure*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1992). On talk and its institutional occasions. In P. Drew & J. Heritage (Eds.) *Talk at Work: Interaction in Institutional Settings* (pp. 101-34). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1996). Some Practices for Referring to Persons in Talk-in-Interaction: A Partial Sketch of a Systematics. In F. Barbara (Ed.), *Studies in Anaphora* (33, pp. 437-485). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing Company.

- Schegloff, E. A. (1997). 'Whose text? Whose context?' *Discourse & Society*, 8(20), 165-87.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2002). *Tutorial on Membership Categorisation*, unpublished manuscript.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2005). On Complainability. *Social Problems*, 52(4), 449-76.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2007a). *Sequence Organisation in Interaction: A Primer in Conversation Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2007b). Categories in action: person-reference and membership categorization. *Discourse Studies*, 9(4), 433-61.
- Scheibman, J. (2007). Subjective and intersubjective uses of generalizations in English conversations. In R. Englebretson (Ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse* (pp. 111-38). Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Schiffrin, D. (1990). The management of a cooperative self during argument: the role of opinions and stories. In A. D. Grimshaw (Ed.), *Conflict talk* (pp. 241-59). Cambridge University Press.
- Schiffrin, D. (1996). Narrative as Self-portrait: The Sociolinguistic Construction of Identity. *Language in Society*, 26, 167-203.
- Schiffrin, D. (1997). Stories in Answer to Questions in Research Interviews. *Journal of Narrative and Life History*, 7(1-4), 129-37.
- Schneider, K. P. (2017). Is that a threat? Forms and functions of metapragmatic terms in English discourse. *AAA - Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, 42(2), 225-242.
- Schnurr, S., Marra, M., & Holmes, J. (2007). Being (im)polite in New Zealand workplaces: Maori and Pakeha leaders. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39(2007), 712-729.
- Schnurr, S., Marra, M., & Holmes, J. (2008). Impoliteness as a means of contesting power relations in the workplace. In D. Bousfield & Locher, M. A. (Eds.), *Impoliteness in Language: Studies in its Interplay with Power in Theory and Practice* (pp. 211-230). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Schuman, A. (2005). *Other People's Stories. Entitlement Claims and the Critique of Empathy*. University of Illinois Press.
- Searle, J. R. (1975). Indirect speech acts. In P. Cole & J. L. Morgan (Eds.), *Syntax and Semantics. Vol.3. Speech Acts* (pp. 59-82). New York, NY: Academic Press.
- Shaver, P., Schwartz, J., Kirson, D., & O'Connor, C. (1987). Emotion knowledge: further exploration of a prototype approach. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 52(6), 1061-1086.
- Sidnell, J. (Ed.) (2009). *Conversation analysis: Comparative perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sifianou, M. (1992). *Politeness Phenomena in England and Greece: A Cross-cultural Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sifianou, M. (2001). "Oh! How appropriate!" Compliments and politeness. In A. Bayraktaroğlu & M. Sifianou (Eds.), *Linguistic Politeness across Boundaries: The Case of Greek and Turkish* (pp. 391-430). Amsterdam: Johns Benjamin Publishing Company.
- Sifianou, M. (2011). On the concept of face and politeness. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & D. Z. Kádár (Eds.), *Politeness across Cultures* (pp. 42-58). Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sifianou, M. (2012). Disagreements, face and politeness. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 44(12), 1554-1564.
- Sifianou, M. (2013). On Culture, Face and Politeness. Again. Paper presented at the 1<sup>st</sup> Sosnowiec Symposium on "Communication across Cultures: Face and Interaction" (CC2013FACE), 26-27 April 2013, Institute of English, University of Silesia, Poland.
- Sifianou, M. (2015). Conceptualizing politeness in Greek: evidence from Twitter corpora. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 86, 25-30.
- Sifianou, M. (2019). Im/politeness and in/civility: A neglected relationship? *Journal of Pragmatics*, 147, 49-64.
- Sifianou, M., & Tzanne, A. (2010). Conceptualizations of politeness and impoliteness in Greek. *Intercultural Pragmatics*, 7(4), 661-687.



- Sifianou, M., & Tzanne, A. (2021). Face, Facework and Face-Threatening Acts. In M. Haugh, D. Z. Kádár & M. Terkourafi (Eds.), *Handbook of Sociopragmatics* (pp. 249-271). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Silverstein, M. (1976). Shifters, linguistic categories and cultural description. In K. H. Basso & H. A. Selby (Eds.), *Meaning in anthropology* (pp.11–55). Albuquerque NM: University of New Mexico Press.
- Silverstein, M. (1985). Language and the culture of gender. In E. Mertz & R. Parmentier (Eds.), *Semiotic Mediation* (pp. 219-259). New York: Academic Press.
- Silverstein, M. (2003). Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language & Communication*, 23(3–4), 193-229.
- Silverstein, M. & Urban, G. (1996). The natural history of discourse. In M. Silverstein & G. Urban (Eds.), *Natural histories of discourse* (pp. 1–17). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sinkeviciute, V. (2019). *Conversational Humour and (Im)politeness. A pragmatic analysis of social interaction*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Slembrouck, S. (2007). Transcription – the extended directions of data histories: a response to M. Bucholtz’s ‘Variation in Transcription’. *Discourse Studies*, 9(6), 822-827.
- Slembrouck, S. (2015). The Role of the Researcher in Interview Narratives. In A. De Fina & A. Georgakopoulou (Eds.), *The Handbook of Narrative Analysis* (pp. 239-254). Malden, MA: Wiley Blackwell.
- Snell, J., Shaw, S., & Copland, F. (Eds.) (2015), *Linguistic Ethnography. Interdisciplinary Explorations*. Kindle edn., Basingstoke UK and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sools, A. (2012). Narrative health research: Exploring big and small stories as analytical tools. *Health*, 17(1), 93-110.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2002). Managing rapport in talk: Using rapport sensitive incidents to explore the motivational concerns underlying the management of relations. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 34(5), 529–45.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2005). (Im)Politeness, face and perceptions of rapport: unpackaging their bases and interrelationships. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 1(1), 95–119.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2007). Theories of identity and the analysis of face. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 29(4), 639–656.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2008). Introduction. In H. Spencer-Oatey (Ed.) *Culturally Speaking. Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory* (pp. 1-8). Continuum, London.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2009). Face, identity and interactional goals. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & M. Haugh, (Eds.), *Face, Communication and Social Interaction* (pp. 137-154). London: Equinox,.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2011). Conceptualising ‘The Relational’ in Pragmatics: Insights from Metapragmatic Emotion and (Im)politeness Comments. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43, 3565–3578.
- Spencer-Oatey, H., & Franklin, P. (2009). *Intercultural Interaction: A Multidisciplinary Approach to Intercultural Communication*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Spencer-Oatey, H., & Kádár, D. Z. (2016). The Bases of (Im)politeness Evaluations: Culture, the moral order and the East-West divide. *East Asian Pragmatics*, 1(1), 73-106.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. & Xing, J. (2000). A problematic Chinese business visit to Britain: Issues of face. In H. Spencer-Oatey (Ed.), *Culturally speaking* (pp. 272-288). London: Continuum.
- Spencer-Oatey, H., & Xing, J. (2003). Managing rapport in intercultural business interactions: A comparison of two Chinese-British welcome meetings. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 24(1), 33–46.

- Sperber, D., & Wilson, D. (1986). *Relevance: communication and cognition*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Spradley, J. P. (1979). *The Ethnographic Interview*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
- Stevanovic, M., & Peräkylä, A. (2012). Deontic Authority in Interaction: The Right to Announce, Propose, and Decide. *Research on Language & Social Interaction*, 45(3), 297-321
- Stivers, T. (2004). “No no no” and Other Types of Multiple Sayings in Social Interaction. *Human Communication Research*, 30(2), 260-93.
- Stivers, T. (2008). Stance, Alignment, and Affiliation During Storytelling: When Nodding Is a Token of Affiliation. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 41(1), 31-57.
- Stivers, T. (2010). An overview of the question-response system in American English conversation. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 42, 2772-2781.
- Stokoe, E. (2012). Categorical systematics. *Discourse Studies*, 14(3), 345-354.
- Stokoe, E. & Edwards, D. (2007). ‘Black this, black that’: racial insults and reported speech in neighbour complaints and police interrogations. *Discourse Society*, 18(3), 337-72.
- Stokoe, E. & Edwards, D. (2015). Mundane morality: gender, categories and complaints in familial neighbour disputes. *Journal of Applied Linguistics and Professional Practice*, 9(2), 165–92.
- Stokoe, E. & Hepburn, A. (2005). “You can hear a lot through the walls”: noise formulations in neighbour complaints. *Discourse & Society*, 16(5), 647–73.
- Streeck, J. (1993). Gesture as communication I: Its coordination with gaze and speech. *Communication Monographs*, 60(4), 275-99.
- Tagliamonte, S. (2006). *Analyzing sociolinguistic variation: Key topics in sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tajfel, H. (1982). Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual Review of Psychology*, 33, 1–39.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1986). ‘The Social Identity Theory of Inter-group Behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (pp. 7–24). Chicago: Nelson-Hall.
- Talmy, S., & Richards, K. (2010). Theorizing Qualitative Research Interviews in Applied Linguistics. *Applied Linguistics*, 32(1), 1-5.
- Tanaka, N., Spencer-Oatey, H., & Cray, E. (2008). Apologies in Japanese and English. In H. Spencer-Oatey (Ed.), *Culturally Speaking. Culture, Communication and Politeness Theory* (pp. 73-94). Continuum, London.
- Tannen, D. (1983). When is an overlap not an interruption? One component of conversational style. In R. J. DiPietro, W. Frawley & A. Wedel (Eds.), *Selected Papers* (pp. 119–129). University of Delaware Press.
- Tannen, D. (1986). Introducing constructed dialogue in Greek and American conversational and literary narrative. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *Direct and Indirect Speech*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co.
- Taylor, C. (2015). Beyond sarcasm: the metalanguage and structures of mock politeness. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 87, 127-141.
- Taylor, C. (2017). The relationship between irony and sarcasm: insights from a first-order metalanguage investigation. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 12(1), 209-241.
- Terkourafi, M. (2005). ‘Beyond the micro-level in politeness research’, *Journal of Politeness Research*, 1(2), pp. 237–262.
- Terkourafi, M. (2011). From Politeness1 to Politeness2: Tracking Norms of Im/politeness across Time and Space. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 2, 159-185.
- Terkourafi, M. (2013). Re-assessing the speech act schema: Twenty-first century reflections. *International Review of Pragmatics*, 5, 197–216.

- Terkourafi, M. (2019). Im/politeness: a twenty-first century appraisal. *Foreign Language and Foreign Language Teaching [外语与外语教学]* (Dalian University of Foreign Languages), 2019(6), 1–17.
- Terkourafi, M., Catedral, L., Haider, I., Karimzad, F., Melgares, J., Mostacero, C., Nelson, J., & Weissman, B. (2018). Uncivil Twitter: A sociopragmatic analysis [J]. *Journal of Language Aggression and Conflict*, 1, 26-57.
- Ting-Toomey, S., & Kurogi, A. (1998). Facework Competence in Intercultural Conflict: An Updated Face-Negotiation Theory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 22(2), 187–225.
- Theofanopoulou-Kontou, D. (2002). *Γενετική Σύνταξη. Το Πρότυπο της Κυβέρνησης και της Αναφορικής Δέσμευσης* (Generative Syntax. The model of government and Anaphoric Binding). Athens: Kardamitsa.
- Tovares, A.V. (2010). All in the Family: Small Stories and Narrative Construction of a Shared Family Identity that Includes Pets. *Narrative Inquiry*, 20(1), 1-19.
- Tracy, K. (1990). The Many Faces of Facework. In H. Giles & P. Robinson (Eds.), *Handbook of Language and Social Psychology* (pp. 209–226). Chichester: Wiley.
- Tracy, K., & Tracy, S. J. (1998). Rudeness at 911: Reconceptualizing Face and Face Attack. *Human Communication Research*, 25(2), 225-251
- Traverso, V. (2002). Transcription et traduction des interactions en langue étrangère. *Cahiers de praxématique*, 39, 77-99.
- Traverso, V. (2009). The dilemmas of third-party complaints in conversation between friends. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 41(12), 2385–2399.
- Trudgill, P. (2009 [1974]). The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich. In N. Coupland & A. Jaworski (Eds.), *The New Sociolinguistics Reader* (pp. 60-65). London: Palgrave Macmillan,.
- Tzanne, A. (2001). “What you’re saying sounds very nice and I’m delighted to hear it”: Some considerations on the functions of presenter-initiated simultaneous speech in Greek panel discussions. In A. Bayraktaroğlu & M. Sifianou (Eds.), *Linguistic Politeness across Boundaries: The Case of Greek and Turkish* (pp. 271-306). Amsterdam: Johns Benjamin Publishing Company.
- Tzanne, A. & Sifianou, M. (2019). Understandings of impoliteness in the Greek context. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*, 23(4), 1014-1038.
- Upadhyay, Shiv R. (2010). Identity and impoliteness in computer mediated reader responses. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 6(1), 105–127.
- Vasilaki, M. (2020). *Impoliteness in the context of the Greek crisis: shifting blame in online political Discussions*. King’s College London (unpublished PhD thesis).
- Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse and Society*, 4, 249-283.
- Vásquez, C. (2011). TESOL, Teacher Identity, and the Need for “Small Story” Research. *TESOL QUARTERLY*, 45(3), 535-545.
- Verschueren, J. (2000). Notes on the role of metapragmatic awareness in language use. *Pragmatics*, 10(4), 439-456.
- Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6), 1024-1054.
- Volosinov, V. N. (1973). *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (L. Matejka, & I. R. Titunik, Trans.). Cambridge Harvard University Press.
- Walford, G. (2005). Research ethical guidelines and anonymity. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 28(1), 83-93.
- Ward, N. (2006). Non-lexical conversational sounds in American English. *Pragmatics and Cognition*, 14(1), 129-182.
- Watanabe, Y. (2011). Conflict, Culture and Face. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & D. Z. Kádár (Eds.), *Politeness across Cultures* (pp. 216-236). London: Palgrave Macmillan,.
- Watts, R. J. (2003). *Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Watts, R. J., Ide, S., & Ehlich, K. (1992). Introduction. In R. J. Watts, S. Ide & K. Ehlich (eds.) *Politeness in Language: Studies in its History, Theory and Practice* (pp. 1–17). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Weiste, E., & Peräkylä, A. (2014). Prosody and empathic communication in psychotherapy interaction. *Psychotherapy Research*, 24(6), 687-701.
- Wetherell, M. (1998). Positioning and interpretative repertoires: Conversation analysis and post-structuralism in dialogue. *Discourse and Society*, 9(3), 431–56.
- Widdicombe, S. (1993). Autobiography and change: rhetoric and authenticity of ‘gothic’ style. In E. Burman & I. Parker, Ian (Eds.), *Discourse Analytic Research: Repertoires and Readings of Texts in Action*. Routledge, London, UK.
- Widdicombe, S. (1998). Identity as an analysts’ and a participants’ resource. In C. Antaki & S. Widdicombe (Eds.), *Identities in talk* (pp. 191–206). London: Sage.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1987). *English speech act verbs: A semantic dictionary*. Sydney: Academic Press.
- Wilson, D., & Sperber, D. (2012). *Meaning and Relevance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wingard, L., & Lockyer, S. (2020). Reconstructing agency using reported private thought in narratives of survivors of sex trafficking. *Narrative Inquiry*, 30, 142-160.
- Wodak, R. (1997). Introduction: Some Important Issues in the Research of Gender and Discourse. In R. Wodak (Ed.), *Gender and Discourse* (pp. 1–20). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Wolfinger, N. H. (2002). On writing fieldnotes: collection strategies and background expectancies. *Qualitative Research*, 2(1), 85-93.
- Wolfson, N. (1984). Pretty is as pretty does: a speech act view of sex roles. *Applied Linguistics*, 5(3), 236-244.
- Wooffitt, R. (1992). *Telling tales of the unexpected: The organization of factual discourse*. Harvester Wheatsheaf: Barnes & Noble Books.
- Wooffitt, R. (2005). *Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis: A Comparative and Critical Introduction*. London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications.
- Wortham, S. (2001). *Narratives in action: a strategy for research and analysis*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Wortham, S. (2005). Socialisation beyond the speech event. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 15(1), 95–112.
- Wortham, S. (2010). *Learning Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Xie, C. (2018). (Im)politeness, morality and the internet. *Internet Pragmatics*, 1(2), 205–14.
- Zimmerman, D. H. (1998). Identity, context, and interaction. In C. Antaki & S. Widdicombe (Eds.), *Identities in Talk* (pp. 87-106). London: Sage Publications.
- Zohar, K., & Danziger, R. (2020). ‘You dribble faster than Messi and jump higher than Jordan’: The art of complimenting and praising in political discourse. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 15(1).

## 8. APPENDICES

### Appendix 1 – Figures

Figure 1.1. Approaches to analysing im/politeness

Im/politeness	First-wave approaches	Second-wave approaches	Third-wave approaches
Examples of analytic approach	Maxim-based Face-based	Discursive Relational	Socio-interactive Discursive-materialist Frame-based Revised maxims-based Discursive-relational Interactional-sociolinguistic Genre-based Socio-pragmatic
Pre-theorising about politeness	Yes Theorised with respect to pragmatic principles or psychological wants	No Social theorisation grounded in social practice theories	No
Epistemological assumptions	Essentialism Structuralism Reflectionism/ Determinism	Post-structuralism, Post-modernism, Constructionism	Post-modernism but with a technical conception of politeness
Definitions of politeness	Performance of redressive actions to mitigate face-threat	Discursively emergent form of emic evaluation, Im/politeness as social practice	Interpersonal attitude or attitudinal evaluation
Perspectives on context	Broad Static social variables that determine the choice of politeness strategies	Narrow Im/politeness as contextual judgement, social variables as discursively co-constructed	Both broad/macro and narrow/micro
Perspectives on culture	Macro Use of culture to explain differences in politeness forms/strategies, Categorisation of cultures into positive and negative	Micro Culture as interactionally constructed, Alternative (micro) units of analysis: CofP, relational network	Both macro and micro
Perspectives on cognition	Cognitivist Intention-based	Anti-cognitivist Grounded in hearer's evaluation and social norms Intention-based accounts of	Anti-cognitivist

		impoliteness	
<b>Status of the analyst</b>	Privileging analyst (etic) interpretations	Privileging participant (emic) understandings	Lay and scientific accounts of im/politeness
<b>Data collection</b>	Elicitation	Naturally-occurring data	Both elicited and naturally-occurring data
<b>Analysis</b>	Speech-act-level analysis Quantitative	Discourse-level analysis Qualitative	Both speech-act-based and discourse-based Both Qualitative and Quantitative

Figure 1.2. Approaches to analysing the metapragmatic side of im/politeness<sup>1</sup>

<b>Approach</b>	<b>Exemplar studies</b>
<b>Naturally-occurring face-to-face interactions</b>	Holmes, Marra & Vine (2012); Makri-Tsilipakou (2017); Haugh (2016), (2018), (2019)
<b>Naturally-occurring CMC</b>	Graham (2007); Locher (2010); Ferenčík (2017); Taylor (2015)
<b>Fictional interaction</b>	Paternoster (2012)
<b>Elicited surveys</b>	Sifianou (1992); Haugh & Hinze (2003); Bolivar (2008); Güler (2008); Pinto (2011); Barros Garcia & Terkourafi (2014); Ardila (2008); Sifianou & Tzanne (2011); Fukushima & Sifianou (2017); Fukushima (2019); Ogiermann & Saloustrou (2020)
<b>Elicited interviews</b>	Blum-Kulka (1992); Ogiermann & Suszczynska (2011); Spencer-Oatey (2011); Bella & Ogiermann (2019); Fukushima & Haugh (2014)
<b>Elicited diary/report method</b>	Culpeper <i>et al.</i> (2010); Félix-Brasdefer & McKinnon (2016)
<b>Elicited focus-group discussions</b>	Fukushima (2019); Garcés-Conejos Blitvich <i>et al.</i> (2010); Garcés-Conejos Blitvich & Bou-Franch (2019)
<b>Corpus analyses</b>	Culpeper (2009); Güler & Ruhi (2010); Culpeper (2011); Jucker <i>et al.</i> (2012); Schneider (2012); Kádár & Ran (2015); Taylor (2015); Taylor (2016); Culpeper <i>et al.</i> (2017); Culpeper <i>et al.</i> (2019); Haugh (2019); Sifianou & Bella (2019); Bou-Franch (2020); Culpeper & Haugh (2020)
<b>Lexical mapping</b>	Ide <i>et al.</i> (1992); Pizziconi (2007); Wetzel (2004); Watts (2008)

<b>Historical texts</b>	Sugimoto (1998); Kádár and Pan (2011)
<b>Etiquette manuals</b>	Kádár & Paternoster (2015)
<b>Media commentary</b>	Lakoff (2005); Haugh (2008); Davies (2011); Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2012); Tzanne & Sifianou (2019); Locher & Luginbühl (2019)
<b>Dictionary definitions</b>	Haugh (2004)
<b>Field notes</b>	Holmes, Marra & Vine (2012); Dunn (2013)

Figure 1.3. Approaches to analysing identity

Identity	First-wave approaches	Second-wave (interactionist) approaches		Third-wave approaches
		Ethnomethodological	Theoretically-oriented	
<b>Examples of analytic approach</b>	Social Identity Theory Variationist Sociolinguistics	Conversation Analysis Membership Categorisation Analysis Discursive Psychology	Critical Discourse Analysis	Critical Discursive Psychology Socio-cultural linguistic approach
<b>Pre-theorising about identity</b>	Yes Fixed, pre-discursive social variables – macro demographic categories Identity as a tool for analysis	No Attending to identity categories that the participants make relevant in interaction	Yes Pre-theorised differences in social status	No
<b>Epistemological assumptions</b>	Essentialism Structuralism Reflectionism/ Determinism	Anti-essentialism Post-structuralism Constructionism	Anti-essentialism Structuralism Determinism	Anti-essentialism Post-structuralism Constructionism
<b>Definitions of identity</b>	A person's or group's sense of self Macro demographic categories	Process located in interaction	Product of hegemonic political structures	Macro-demographic categories Local cultural positions Interactional stances and participant roles
<b>Perspectives on context</b>	Broad	Narrow (context as co-text)	Broad Discursive practice and	Broad/macro and narrow/micro

			socio-cultural context	
<b>Perspectives on culture</b>	Macro Culture as a pre-discursive structure that determines semiotic activity	Culture as interactionally constructed, Alternative (micro) unit of analysis: CofP	Macro Reflection of socio-economic relations and power inequalities	Both macro and micro
<b>Perspectives on cognition</b>	Cognitivist Personal identity resulting from inherent mental capacities, feelings and instincts	Anti-cognitivist Grounded in the participants' situated identity claims	Anti-cognitivist Grounded in power relations and hierarchies	Anti-cognitivist
<b>Status of the analyst</b>	Privileging analyst (etic) interpretations (correlations)	Privileging the meanings and identities that participants orientate to in interaction	Privileging analyst (etic) interpretations	Lay and scientific concepts
<b>Data collection</b>	Elicitation	Naturally-occurring data	Naturally-occurring data (texts)	Both elicited and naturally-occurring data
<b>Analysis</b>	Utterance-level Quantitative	Discourse-level analysis Qualitative	Discourse-level analysis Qualitative	Both qualitative and quantitative

Figure 1.4. Features of categorising and communication-oriented impoliteness evaluations in ongoing talk or field notes, and in retellings of known events

	<b>a) First evaluation in ongoing talk (in recording or field note) (N=25)</b>	<b>b) Second evaluation in first telling (N=25)</b>
<b>1</b>	Frowned eyebrows and serious eye gaze (implicit)	ήταν <sup>↑</sup> σοβαρή αγέ**νεια (‘It was serious rudeness’) **moves hands upwards
<b>2</b>	°Δε μπορώ όταν είναι έτσι: **ξινός\$.° (‘I can’t when he’s sour like that.’) **licks the marmalade	>°μου είσαι τόσο επιθετικός°< (‘You are so aggressive to me’)
<b>3</b>	Serious eye gaze (implicit)	ήταν °πολύ [eng] ανθόουτφουλ.° (‘It was very unthoughtful’)
<b>4</b>	Angry facial expression (mouth wide open) (implicit)	ήσουν °τόσο ξινισμένη° (‘you were so sour/grumpy’)
<b>5</b>	Frowned eyebrows and serious eye gaze (implicit) Μα μιάμιση ώ(h)ρα ρε φίλε? (‘But one and a half hours, man?’)	ήταν <u>τόσο</u> απαράδεκτο (‘It was so unacceptable’)
<b>6</b>	Angry facial expression (serious eye	ήταν πολύ άσχημο



	gaze and mouth wide open) (implicit)	('it was very bad')
7	Serious eye gaze (implicit)	ήταν πολύ: κακό ('it was very bad')
8	Angry facial expression (eyes opened wide) (implicit)	ήταν ↑τόσο [eng] <b>εξτρίμ</b> ('it was so extreme')
9	Angry facial expression (eyes opened wide and lips pressed tightly) (implicit)	ήσουν °πολύ γκρινιαάρης° ('you were very grumpy')
10	Serious eye gaze (implicit)	ήταν πολύ άσχημο ('it was very bad')
11	°Δε μπορώ όταν είναι έτσι: **ξινός\$.° ('I can't when he's sour like that.')	*Ενα είπα=**δεκαπέντε είπ***ες. (('I said one thing, you said fifteen')
	**licks the marmalade	*Glances at KIM **looks away  ***puts jar on table
12	'Γιατί με κρίνεις πάλι (.) πεθερά, μες στο σπίτι μου? (.) Πάψε πια με αυτά τα σχόλια!\$' ('Why are you criticising me again, as mothers-in- law do, in my house? Stop making such comments!')	Άρχισες πάλι... ↑Την κριτική: ('You started again... the criticism')
13	Serious eye gaze (implicit)	Μα μου 'κανες κριτική: ('But you criticised me')
14	Angry facial expression (frowned eyebrows) (implicit)	>Όλο γκρινιαζες ρε φίλε<. ('You were whining all the time')
15	Serious eye gaze (implicit)	Περίμενα να μου πεις συγνώμη ('I expected you to apologise to me')
16	Angry facial expression (frowned eyebrows and lips pressed tightly) (implicit)	Μου γκρινιαξες ε: που δεν απάντησα, ('You whined because I didn't respond')
17	Angry facial expression (frowned eyebrows) and hands opened wide (implicit)	Είπες όμως πράγματα που δε λέγονται. ('But you said things that are not to be told')
18	Serious eye gaze and hands opened wide(implicit)	Ούτε ↑ένα ευχαριστώ ρε φίλε. ('You didn't even say thank you {re})
19	Serious eye gaze (implicit)	*Μας ΤΑ' \$πρη**ξες!\$ ('You pissed us off')
		*Looks at ECT with hands down  **ECT turns to PAR / KIM looks at ECT
20	Serious gaze and loud tone (implicit)	\$Είχα- είχα τα νεύρα μου\$ ('he got on my nerves')
21	Serious gaze and loud tone (implicit)	\$Είχα τα νεύρα μου μαζί του\$ ('he got on my nerves')

22	Angry look (implicit)	Μας σπάσατε λίγο τα νεύ(η)ρα(η) \$με τη συμπεριφορά σας.\$ ('You got on our nerves a bit with your behaviour.')
23	A (.) ↑σταμάτα λίγο βρε >°να μ' αφήσεις να ολοκληρώσω°< ('Ah (.) stop a bit {vre} to let me finish.')	Για- γιατί μ' έ(η)βγαλες απ' τα ρού(η)χα μου χθες ('Be- because you drove me mad yesterday,')
24	Angry facial expression (frowned eyebrows) (implicit)	Μου 'πρηξες τα συκώ(η)τια όμως ((γέλιο)) ('You nagged me about it though ((laughter))')
25	Serious eye gaze (implicit)	\$Μα ήταν εκνευριστικό ρε παιδί μου.\$ ('But it was annoying/ irritating {re}.')

Figure 1.5. Communication-oriented comments in narratives about third parties

Communication-oriented comment	Marked behaviour
Με ειρωνεύτηκε (she mocked me)	Sarcasm
Με ειρωνεύεται (she mocked me)	sarcasm
Να με προσβάλλει (to insult me)	Insult
Να με κάνει τσάλεντζ (to challenge me)	Challenging
Σε κάνουν τσάλεντζ (they challenge you)	Challenging
Δε μου 'χε στείλει τίποτα (she hadn't texted me nothing)	Withholding communication
Δεν απάντησε (she didn't respond)	Not responding to messages
Δεν απαντάει (she doesn't respond)	Not responding to messages
Δε χρειάζεται να με κάνεις τσάλεντζ (you don't need to challenge me)	Challenging
Να με κάνεις τσάλεντζ (to challenge me)	Challenging
Να με κάνει τσάλεντζ (to challenge me)	Challenging
Δεν απαντώ (I don't respond)	Not responding to messages
Δε μιλάς με άνθρωπο (You don't speak to anyone)	Withholding communication
Να μην απαντάς (not responding)	Not responding to messages
Τους κατακρίνει (she criticises them)	Criticism
Μ' έκανε τσάλεντζ (he challenged me)	Challenging
Να με ειρωνεύεται (to mock me)	Sarcasm
Δεν μπορώ το τσάλεντζ για το τσάλεντζ (I can't change for the sake of challenge)	Challenging
Δε μπορώ την^ προσβολή (I can't take insults) (Δε μπορώ) τα κακόβουλα σχόλια (I can't take mean comments)	Insult
Φωνάζει όλη την ώρα (she shouts all the time)	Shouting
Φωνάζει όλη την ώρα (she shouts all the time)	Shouting
Δεν^ προσβάλλεις έτσι τον άλλον (you don't insult the other one like that)	Insult
Για να με προσβάλλεις (to insult me)	Insult
Φωνάζει	Shouting
Μιλάει δυνατά	Speaking loudly
Δε μ' αφήνει να ολοκληρώσω (she doesn't let me finish my turn)	Interrupting

Με διακόπτει συνέχεια (she interrupts me all the time)	Interrupting
Γαμιέται το τσάλεντζ που μου κάνει (It's fucking bad the challenge that she does to me)	Challenging
βάζανε λόγια (they we making up words)	Lying
Άρχισε να φωνάζει (he started shouting)	Shouting
Της μιλάω και δεν με κοιτάει (I'm speaking to her and she doesn't look at me)	Averting eye gaze
Δεν είναι τρόπος αυτός (this is not a ((nice)) manner)	Bad manner of speaking
Δεν συμφωνώ με τα νεύρα και την έκρηξη (I don't agree with the nerves and the outburst)	Speaking in a nervous manner
Φωνάζει (he shouts)	Shouting
Καμία απάντηση (No response)	Not responding to messages
Θα 'πρεπε να πρεσβέυει η ειλικρίνεια (honesty should prevail)	Dishonesty/ lying
Με χαλάει το ψέμα (I don't like lies)	Lying
Με διακόπτει (he interrupts me)	Interrupting
Μου έκανε κριτική (he criticised me)	Criticism
Δε σταμάταγε (he didn't stop)	Teasing
Με διέκοπτε (she was interrupting me)	Interrupting
Της μιλάω και κοιτάει από την άλλη (I speak to her and she looks away)	Averting eye gaze
Δε μ' αφήνει να πω μια κουβέντα (She doesn't let me speak)	Denying a turn
Μου έκανε κριτική (he criticised me)	Criticism
Με προσβάλλει (it insults me)	Insult
Φωνάζει	Shouting
Μιλάει δυνατά	Speaking loudly
Έχεις να με πάρεις να δεις τι κάνω μέρες ('You've not called me to see how I'm doing for days)	Withholding communication
Είχε υφάκι (she was using a tone)	Speaking with a tone
Δεν είπε ένα συγγνώμη (he didn't apologise)	Withholding an apology
Με ειρωνεύτηκε (he mocked me)	Sarcasm
Δε μου είπε ένα μπράβο	Lack of praise
Μου έκανε κριτική (he criticised me)	Criticism
Δε μ' άφηνε να πω μια κουβέντα (She wasn't letting me speak)	Denying turn
Σε προσβάλλει (it insults you)	Insult
Δεν απάντησε ποτέ (she never responded)	Not responding to messages
Μου έλεγε ψέματα (he was lying to me)	Lying
Μιλούσε με ένταση (he was speaking in a nervous manner)	Speaking in a nervous manner
Σε κριτικάρουν (they criticise you)	Criticism
Δε με πήρε να μου ευχηθεί (she didn't call to wish me)	Not sending wishes
Μου φώναζε (he was shouting at me)	Shouting
Άρχισε να με βρίζει (he started swearing at me)	Swearing
Με έβρισε (he swore at me)	Swearing
Δε μου ένα ευχαριστώ (he didn't say thank you)	Not saying 'thank you'
Δε με πήρε να με καλέσει (he didn't call to invite me)	Withholding communication
Σε προσβάλλουν (they insult you)	Insult
Διαφωνούσε συνέχεια μαζί μου (he was disagreeing with me all the time)	Disagreeing/ seek disagreement
Με κακολογούσε (he was bad-mouthing me)_	Dispraise

Δε μ' άφησε να μιλήσω (he didn't let me speak)	Denying turn
Με διέκοπτε συνέχεια (she was interrupting me all the time)	Interrupting
Με έθαβε (she was bad-mouthing me)	Dispraise/ talk behind one's back
Τα έλεγε πίσω απ' την^ μπλάτη μου (she was speaking behind my back)	Dispraise/ talk behind one's back
Με διακόπτει (he interrupts me)	Interrupting
Μου έκανε κριτική (he criticised me)	Criticism
Σε προσβάλλει (it insults you)	Insult
Δεν απάντησε (she did not respond)	Not responding to messages
Μου έλεγε ψέματα (he was lying to me)	Lying
Για να μου κάνει κριτική (to criticise me)	Criticism
Δεν πρόλαβα να κάνω μια ερώτηση (I didn't make it to pose a question)	Denying turn
Μου κάνουν τσάλεντζ (they challenge me)	Challenging
Μου το έλεγε με ύφος (he was using a tone)	Speaking with a tone
Με περιφρονείς (you scorn me)	Scorn
Με απείλησε (he threatened me)	Threatening
Με ένα τρόπο! (In such a ((bad)) manner)	Speaking in a bad manner
Τα έλεγε πίσω απ' την^ μπλάτη μου (she was speaking behind my back)	Dispraise/ talk behind one's back
Το να περιφρονείς (to scorn)	Scorn
Μου έκανε κριτική (he criticised me)	Criticism
Το να μην απαντάς (not responding)	Not responding to messages
Δε με αφήνει να κάνω διάλογο μαζί του (he doesn't let me make a dialogue with him)	Denying turn
Δε μου δίνει το δικαίωμα να απολογηθώ (he doesn't give me the right to apologise)	Denying turn
Με διακόπτει (he interrupts me)	Interrupting
Φωνάζει (he's shouting)	Shouting
Μιλάω και με γράφει (I speak and he doesn't pay attention)	Being unconcerned about your interlocutor)
Με κοροΐδευε (he mocked me)	Mocking
Με ειρωνευόταν (he was being sarcastic/ was mocking me)	Sarcasm
Με έβρισε (he swore at me)	Swearing
Σε γελοιοποιούν (they ridicule you)	Ridiculing
Δεν απαντάς (you don't respond)	Not responding to messages
Τους κατακρίνεις (you criticise them)	Criticism
Με αγριοκοίταξε (he glared at me)	Glaring at somebody
Δε με πήρε στα γενέθλιά μου (she didn't call me on my birthday)	Not sending wishes
Άρχισε τις κολακείες (she started flattering me)	Flattery
Δε μου έκανε ένα κοπλιμέντο (he didn't pay a compliment to me)	Not complimenting
Με κοίταξε μ' ένα βλέμμα! (he glared at me)	Glaring at somebody
Του μιλούσα και με έγγραφε (I was speaking to him and he wasn't pay attention)	Being unconcerned about your interlocutor)
Με ειρωνευόταν (he was mocking me)	Mocking
Με πείραζε όλη την ώρα (he was teasing me all the time)	Teasing



μου τη σπάει ('it annoys me')	A
νιώθω πάρα πολύ άσχημα ('I feel very bad')	A/S
μου 'χει γαμηθεί η ψυχολογία ('my psychology has been fucked up')	A/S
στενοχωρήθηκα ('I got sad')	S
ξενέρωσα ('I got underwhelmed')	S
με πείραξε ('it irritated me')	A
με πείραξε ('it irritated me')	A
δεν άντεχα ('I couldn't stand it')	A
εκνευρίστηκα ('I got irritated')	A
με έχει καταβάλει ('it has underwhelmed/ tired me')	S
ένιωσα άβολα ('I felt uneasy')	F
έχω πάθει σοκ ('I've been shocked')	F
έχω μείνει άναυδη ('I'm speechless')	F
έφυγα από 'κεί μέσα κλαίγοντας ('I left from there crying')	S
πολλή απέχθεια μου βγάζουνε ('they make me very disgusted')	A
I express my frustration	A
με πνίγει το δίκιο ('I feel it's unfair')	A
απογοητευμένη ('disappointed')	S
δε μπορώ άλλο ('I can't anymore')	A
τους σιχαίνομαι ('I hate them')	A
μου κάνει κακό ('it hurts me')	A/S
μ' εκνευρίζουνε ('they irritate me')	A
έχω βαρεθεί ('I'm bored')	A (exasperation)
με βγάζουνε εκτός εαυτού ('they drive me mad')	A
τα 'χω πάρει ('I'm upset')	A
δημιουργεί άγχη ('it makes you stressed')	F
με ενόχλησε ('it bothered me')	A
μου πρήζουν τα παπάρια ('they drive me nuts')	A
μου γαμάνε την ψυχή ('they fuck up my psychology')	A/S
σε πληγώνει ('it hurts you')	S
έχει αντίκτυπο στην ψυχολογία μου ('it impacts my psychology')	A/S
τι ψυχολογική πίεση μου ασκείται ('what sort of psychological pressure they inflict on me')	F
δεν την αντέχω άλλο ('I can't stand her anymore')	A
μη με πρήξεις ('don't drive me nuts')	A
μας τα 'χεις πρήξει ('you've driven me nuts')	A
δεν αντέχεται ('you can't stand her')	A
δεν αντέχεται ('you can't stand her')	A
συγχύζομαι ('I'm being upset')	A
μ' ενοχλεί ('it bothers me')	A
μ' ενοχλεί ('it bothers me')	A
με στεναχωρεί ('it saddens me')	S
με θλίβει ('it depresses me')	S
μου 'σπασε τα νεύρα ('they break my nerves')	A
με εξοργίζει ('it infuriates me')	A
δε μπορώ άλλο ('I can't anymore')	A
δε μπορώ άλλο ('I can't anymore')	A
μας έχει πηδήξει ψυχολογικά ('she's fucked up our	A



psychology')	
νευρίασα ('I got angry')	A
δε μπορώ να τρελαίνομαι ('I can't be driven mad')	A
με νευρίασε ('it made me angry')	A
μου 'χει σπάσει τα νεύρα ('she's broken my nerves')	A
μας τα 'χει πρήξει ('she's driven us nuts')	A
έχω νεύρα μαζί της ('I'm angry with her')	A
τσαντίστηκα ('I got angry')	A
εμένα αυτό είναι που μ' ενόχλησε ('what bothered me')	A
έχω βαρεθεί αυτή τη συμπεριφορά (I'm bored/ tired of this behaviour')	A
εμένα αυτό είναι που με διαλύει ('this is what devastates me')	S
έρχομα καθημερινά με τα νεύρα μου έτσι ('I come every day like that angry')	A
μη ζαλίζουμε και τ' αρχίδια του κόσμου ('we shall not drive people's nuts')	A
θέλω να κλάψω απ' την αγανάκτησή μου ('I want to cry out of despair')	S
με πείραξε ('it bothered/ irritated me')	A
με στεναχώρησε ('It saddened me')	S
με στεναχώρησε ('It saddened me')	S
Στεναχωρήθηκα ('I got sad')	S
μου σπάγανε τα νεύρα ('they were breaking my nerves')	A
με πληγώνει η αδικία ('injustice hurts me')	A/S
δεν αντέχω το κλίμα ('I can't (stand) the atmosphere')	A
με ενοχλεί ('it upsets/ bothers me')	A
έχω φτάσει στο σημείο που δεν πάει άλλο ('I've had enough')	A
με στενοχώρησε ('it saddened me')	S
μ' έχει γαμήσει ψυχολογικά ('it has fucked up my psychology')	A/S
δεν αντέχω άλλο ('I can't stand it anymore')	A
δεν αντέχω άλλο ('I can't stand it anymore')	A
γαμιέται η ψυχολογία μου ('my psychology is being fucked up')	A/S
έχω νεύρα ('I'm mad')	A
μ' ενοχλεί ('it upsets/ bothers me')	A
τσαντίστηκα ('I got angry')	A
δε μπορώ άλλο ('I can't (stand) anymore')	A
τι τραβάω! ('what am I going through!')	A/S
ένιωσα άσχημα ('I felt bad')	A/S
στενοχωρήθηκα ('I got sad')	S
με εκνεύρισε ('it irritated me')	A
πολύ φοβάμαι (I'm very much afraid')	F
Με επηρέασε ψυχολογικά ('It affected me emotionally')	A/S
αγανάκτησα ('I got indignant')	A
βαρέθηκα ('I got bored')	A
με εκνεύρισαν ('they irritated me')	A
με κούρασε ('it tired me')	A
χαλάστηκα ('I didn't like it')	A/S
μ' ενόχλησε ('it bothered/ upset me')	A
την ενόχλησε ('it bothered/ upset her')	A

μου την έδωσε ('It annoyed me')	A
σπάστηκα ('I got irritated')	A
τα πήρα ('I got angry')	A
(τον) σιχαίνομαι ('I hate him')	A
(τη) σιχαίνομαι ('I hate her')	A
(τον) σιχαίνομαι ('I hate him')	A
(τους) σιχαίνομαι ('I hate them')	A
(τον) σιχαίνομαι ('I hate him')	A
με χαλάει ('I don't like it')	A/S
ξέρεις πόσο άσχημα αισθάνθηκα ('you know how bad I felt?')	S
δε μπορώ μου 'χει ανεβάσει την πίεση ('I can't, he's driven me mad')	A
μου τη σπάει ('It irritates me')	A
δε μπορώ άλλο ('I can't anymore')	A
μου την έσπασε ('he irritated me')	A
τα πήρα ('I got angry')	A
μου 'σπασε τα νεύρα ('he broke my nerves')	A
στενοχωρήθηκα ('I got sad')	S
με στενοχώρησε ('she saddened me')	S
Νευρίασα ('I got angry')	A
δεν αντέχω άλλο ('I can't stand it anymore')	A
με ενόχλησε ('it bothered/ annoyed me')	A
ενοχλήθηκα ('I got upset')	A
βαρέθηκα ('I got bored')	A

## Appendix 2 – Information sheet for study

### INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

*Ethical Clearance Reference Number: LRS-18/19-8931*



### YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMATION SHEET

#### **Title of study**

**Close relationships in Greek youth storytelling: conceptualising im/politeness through small stories and identities analysis**

#### **Invitation paragraph**

I would like to invite you to participate in this research project which forms part of my PhD research. Before you decide whether you want to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what your participation will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.



### **What is the purpose of the study?**

The purpose of the study is to explore lay people's understandings of im/politeness norms in close relationships, particularly friendships, parental relationships and romantic relationships. In other words, I am interested in investigating what actions, characters and behaviours are seen as in/appropriate or im/polite by lay people in the field of close relationships. I would like to focus on young Greek friends and explore the stories that they tell about close relationships, since such stories often contain their evaluations of characters and actions as polite or rude. What is more, I am interested in Greek friends living abroad, in an attempt to investigate whether their perceptions of im/politeness might have been affected by their living abroad.

### **Why have I been invited to take part?**

You are being invited to participate in this study because you are young (between 20 and 29 years old), of Greek origin, and you are part of the Greek diaspora (Greek people living abroad).

### **What will happen if I take part?**

If you choose to take part in the study you will be asked to self-record your conversations with your group of friends at your spare time. Among the 4 participants in your group, there will be one person who will be in charge of turning the voice recorder on/off and transferring to me the recorded conversations. You will choose when you would like to audio- or tape-record your interactions. The participant recording the conversations will be given an encrypted voice recorder, which will be used in all audio-recordings. At the end of the recording sessions, the participant will have to give the voice recorder back to me. Moreover, you will need to participate in some playback interview sessions, in which I will play back to you some extracts of your recordings, and will ask you to clarify things for me. My intention is not to ask any particular questions. In terms of any impoliteness-related issues, I can confirm that the ensuing discussion will not be upsetting for you, since my intention will not be to judge your behaviour or thoughts as rude or inappropriate. I will just endeavour to tap into your endogenous understandings of im/politeness. What is more, I will be present in some of the recordings, as a participant and researcher during the period I will be spending in your city for fieldwork. We will certainly decide together when I can join your group and spend some time in your local community. In this case, I will try not to intervene in your conversations, nor will I provide any directions as to what you should talk about. Participation will take place at your private place where you usually socialise with your friends. As I need around 20 hours of such recordings from your group of friends, you will need to record 20 hours of your casual meetings. Playback interviews will not take more than an hour. As part of participation you will be asked to provide naturally-occurring data. This means that I am not interested in any specific topic or way of speaking. Instead, I would like you to talk about whatever you usually talk about with your friends at your casual meetings. You

won't need to disclose any personal or sensitive data. Finally, the use of any audio or visual recording equipment will be done with your prior consent.

### **Do I have to take part?**

Participation is completely voluntary. You should only take part if you want to and choosing not to take part will not disadvantage you in anyway. Once you have read the information sheet, please contact us if you have any questions that will help you make a decision about taking part. If you decide to take part, we will ask you to sign a consent form and you will be given a copy of this consent form to keep.

### **What are the possible risks of taking part?**

There will not be any foreseeable risks for you in case you participate in this study.

### **What are the possible benefits of taking part?**

The findings of this study may help you develop a better understanding of Greek im/politeness (in close relationships) as it is construed by lay people living abroad.

### **Data handling and confidentiality**

Your data will be processed in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation 2016 (GDPR).

- To ensure anonymity and confidentiality, all data will be pseudonymised and anonymised. I will remove the names of members, the mentions of names of family and/or friends, any references to sensitive data, and members' geographical location from all data collected from the audio- and video-recordings. At all times there will be no possibility of individuals being linked with the data.
- All information gathered from the communities will be held on password-locked computer files and locked cabinets within King's College London. No data will be accessed by anyone other than me, Vasiliki Saloustrou, and my supervisors. Anonymity of the material will be protected by using false names. Following King's College Policy guidelines, all anonymised data will be stored for 7 years after completion of this study. I can confirm that the data will only be shared within the research team or if it will be shared with any third parties, this will only be done with your prior consent.
- Your personal data will not be shared outside of the EU.

### **Data Protection Statement**

The data controller for this project will be King's College London (KCL). The University will process your personal data for the purpose of the research outlined above. The legal basis for processing your personal data for research purposes under GDPR is a 'task in the public interest'. You can provide your consent for the use of your personal data in this study by completing the consent form that has been provided to you.

You have the right to access information held about you. Your right of access can be exercised in accordance with the General Data Protection Regulation. You also have other rights including rights of correction, erasure, objection, and data portability. Questions, comments and requests about your personal data can also be sent to the King's College London Data Protection Officer Mr Albert Chan [info-compliance@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:info-compliance@kcl.ac.uk). If you wish to lodge a complaint with the Information Commissioner's Office, please visit [www.ico.org.uk](http://www.ico.org.uk).

### **What if I change my mind about taking part?**

You are free to withdraw your data from the study, without having to give a reason. Withdrawing from the study will not affect you in any way. You are able to withdraw your data from the study up until the 30<sup>th</sup> of May 2019, after which withdrawal of your data will no longer be possible because the data will have been anonymised or committed to the final report. If you choose to withdraw from the study, we will not retain the information you have given thus far.

### **How is the project being funded?**

This study is being funded by the London Arts & Humanities Partnership (<https://www.lahp.ac.uk/apply-for-a-studentship/ahrc-subject-area-definition/>). The study has been approved by the King's College London Research Ethics Committee.

### **What will happen to the results of the study?**

The results of the study will be summarised in my doctoral thesis and may be published in research journals, or presented in conferences and workshops. Any publication of the anonymised data will be made with your prior informed consent. You will be sent a copy of the published data by the researcher.

### **Who should I contact for further information?**

If you have any questions or require more information about this study, please contact me using the following contact details:

Vasiliki Saloustrou

PhD candidate in Language, Discourse & Communication, King's College London

Contact details:

E-mail: [Vasiliki.saloustrou@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:Vasiliki.saloustrou@kcl.ac.uk)

Telephone: +44 (0)7564034724, +30 6974959200

Work address: School of Education, Communication & Society, Franklin-Wilkins Building, 150 Stamford Street, London, United Kingdom

Home address: 75, Kensington Gardens Square, W2 4DJ, London, United Kingdom

**What if I have further questions, or if something goes wrong?**

If this study has harmed you in any way or if you wish to make a complaint about the conduct of the study, you can contact King's College London using the details below for further advice and information:

Vasiliki Saloustrou, [Vasiliki.saloustrou@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:Vasiliki.saloustrou@kcl.ac.uk) Waterloo Bridge Wing, Waterloo, London, United Kingdom, 07564034724

Eva Ogiermann (supervisor), [eva.ogiermann@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:eva.ogiermann@kcl.ac.uk) Waterloo Bridge Wing, Waterloo, London, United Kingdom, +44 (0) 20 7848 3243

**Thank you for reading this information sheet and for considering taking part in this research.**

Appendix 3 – Consent form

**CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS IN RESEARCH STUDIES**

**Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.**



**Title of Study: Close relationships in Greek youth storytelling:  
conceptualising im/politeness through small stories and identity analysis**

**King's College Research Ethics Committee Ref: 8931**

Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organising the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part. If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

**I confirm that I understand that by ticking/initialling each box I am consenting to this element of the study. I understand that it will be assumed that unticked/initialled boxes mean that I DO NOT consent to that part of the study. I understand that by not giving consent for any one element I may be deemed ineligible for the study.**

**Please tick**

**Please tick**

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet dated [12/11/2018 – version 081118] for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information and asked questions which have been answered to my satisfaction.
2. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study and understand that I can refuse to answer questions and I can withdraw from the study, without having to give a reason, up until [30 May 2019]
3. I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes explained to me in the Information Sheet. I understand that such information will be handled in accordance with the terms of the General Data Protection Regulation.
4. I understand that my information may be subject to review by responsible individuals from the College for monitoring and audit purposes.
5. I understand that confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained and it will not be possible to identify me in any research outputs
6. I agree that the research team may use my data for future research and understand that any such use of identifiable data would be reviewed and approved by a research ethics committee. (In such cases, as with this project, data would not be identifiable in any report).
7. I understand that the information I have submitted will be published as a report and I wish to receive a copy of it.
8. I consent to my conversations/interviews being audio-recorded.
9. I consent to my conversations/interviews being video-recorded.

10. I agree to maintain the confidentiality of focus group discussions.

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Name of Participant**                      **Date**                      **Signature**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Name of Researcher**                      **Date**                      **Signature**

#### Appendix 4 – Ethical approval letter

Vasiliki Saloustrou

29 January 2019



Dear Vasiliki,

LRS-18/19-8931: Close relationships in Greek youth storytelling: a model for conceptualising im/politeness through small stories and identity analysis

Thank you for submitting your application for the above project. I am pleased to inform you that full approval has been granted by the E&M Research Ethics Panel.

Ethical approval has been granted for a period of **three years** from 29 January 2019. You will not be sent a reminder when your approval has lapsed and if you require an extension you should complete a modification request, details of which can be found here:

<https://internal.kcl.ac.uk/innovation/research/ethics/applications/modifications.aspx>

Please ensure that you follow the guidelines for good research practice as laid out in UKRIO's Code of Practice for research: <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/research/support/integrity-good-conduct/index.aspx>

Any unforeseen ethical problems arising during the course of the project should be reported to the panel Chair, via the Research Ethics Office.

Please note that we may, for the purposes of audit, contact you to ascertain the status of your research.

We wish you every success with your research.

Yours sincerely,

Ms Laura Stackpoole  
Senior Research Ethics Officer  
For and on behalf of:  
E&M Research Ethics Panel

## Appendix 5 – Survey

### **Title: Perceptions of Politeness and Impoliteness in Greek**

**King’s College Research Ethics Committee Ref: MRS-18/19-10383**

#### **Invitation paragraph**

We would like to ask you to help us by answering the following questions about your perceptions of politeness and impoliteness in Greek. The research is part of Vasiliki Saloustrou’s PhD thesis on young Greek people’s perceptions of politeness and impoliteness in close relationships, and is conducted at King's College London. It is funded by the London Arts & Humanities Partnership. There are no right or wrong answers to the following questions, as this questionnaire is not a test. In fact, you do not have to put your name on it. The content is confidential and therefore information that may lead to the identification of the participant(s) will not be disclosed under any circumstances. We are interested in your personal opinion. We would kindly ask you to answer honestly, as only this can guarantee the success of our study. The questionnaire will take 10-15 minutes to complete. Your participation will be greatly appreciated.

#### **Questions**

*We would like you to answer the following questions by marking your answer in the lines that follow each question. Thank you very much for your help.*

1. What does politeness mean in a friendship in your opinion?
2. What does impoliteness mean in a friendship in your opinion?
3. What does politeness mean in a romantic relationship in your opinion?
4. What does impoliteness mean in a romantic relationship in your opinion?
5. What does politeness mean in a parental relationship in your opinion?
6. What does impoliteness mean in a parental relationship in your opinion?
7. Could you please give us 5 examples of polite behaviours?
8. Could you please give us 5 examples of impolite behaviours?

#### **Personal information**

*We would like you to answer the following questions either by selecting the appropriate box or by writing your answer in the space below the question. Thank you very much for your help.*

1. Which age group do you belong to?
  - 18-22
  - 23-32
  - 33-42
  - 43-60
  - 60+
2. What is your gender?
  - Female
  - Male
  - Transgender
  - Other....
3. Where do you live?
  - Metropolitan city
  - Big city
  - Small city
  - Village
  - Island
  - Other...
4. What is the highest level of education that you have completed?
  - Primary education
  - Secondary education
  - Bachelor's degree
  - Master's degree
  - Doctorate degree
  - Post-doctorate degree
  - Other....
5. What is your profession?

### **Contact information**

Thank you very much for your participation in this research. If you are interested in the results of the survey, you will receive a summary of the results.



If you have questions about the purpose of the survey or the questions in this questionnaire, you can contact Vasiliki Saloustrou (+30 6974959200 or [vasiliki.saloustrou@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:vasiliki.saloustrou@kcl.ac.uk)).

**Thank you very much for your participation!**

## Appendix 6 – Ethical approval letter for survey

24/01/2019

Vasiliki Saloustrou



Dear Vasiliki,

Survey on emic perceptions of im/politeness in close relationships

Thank you for submitting the additional information requested for your Research Ethics Minimal Risk Registration Form. This letter acknowledges confirmation of your registration; your registration confirmation reference number is MRS-18/19-10383

*Please note: For projects involving the use of an Information Sheet and Consent Form for recruitment purposes, please ensure that you use the KCL GDPR compliant [Information Sheet & Consent Form Templates](#)*

Be sure to keep a record your registration number and include it in any materials associated with this research. Registration is valid for **one year** from today's date. Please note it is the responsibility of the researcher to ensure that any other permissions or approvals (i.e. R&D, gatekeepers, etc.) relevant to their research are in place, prior to conducting the research.

### **Record Keeping:**

In addition, you are expected to keep records of your process of informed consent and the dates and relevant details of research covered by this application.

For example, depending on the type of research that you are doing, you might keep:

A record of the relevant details for public talks that you attend, the websites that visit, the interviews that you conduct

The 'script' that you use to inform possible participants about what your research involves. This may include written information sheets, or the generic information you include in the emails you write to possible participants, or what you say to people when you approach them on the street for a survey, or the introductory material stated at the top of your on-line survey.

Where appropriate, records of consent, e.g., copies of signed consent forms or emails where participants agree to be interviewed.

**Audit:**

You may be selected for an audit, to see how researchers are implementing this process. If audited, you will be expected to explain how your research abides by the general principles of ethical research. In particular, you will be expected to provide a general summary of your review of the possible risks involved in your research, as well as to provide basic research records (as above in Record Keeping) and to describe the process by which participants agreed to participate in your research.

Remember that if you have any questions about the ethical conduct of your research at any point, you should contact your supervisor (where applicable) or the Research Ethics office.

**Feedback:**

If you wish to provide any feedback on the process you may do so by emailing [rec@kcl.ac.uk](mailto:rec@kcl.ac.uk).

We wish you every success with this work.

With best wishes

Ms Elsa Ludlam

Research Ethics Office

## Appendix 7 – CA apparatus, transcription notations, and IGT key

### *a. Key components of CA apparatus*

In Section 1.2.1.2., I presented the key premises of the CA apparatus, while in Section 2.4.1. I provided an overview of the rationales for using this apparatus as a framework for studying im/politeness-in-interaction. This appendix aims to provide a brief overview of the basic components in this apparatus.

Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974) postulated two sets of components in their model: a) descriptive rules for turn-taking in talk-in-interaction, and b) the building blocks of turn-taking. The former pertains to features of conversation, such as that ‘one speaker talks at a time’ (1974: 700). Nevertheless, the authors acknowledged that there are some occurrences of ‘overlapping talk’ that are entitled by the system itself -as is the case with coinciding first starts by competing self-selectors for the next turn (Sacks et al. 1974: 706), mistimed Transition Relevance Places (TRPs, henceforth), or with varied articulations of the projected last part of a first possible completion of a turn, including the addition of post-completion optional elements (1974: 707). While the authors only used the terms ‘overlap’ and ‘simultaneous talk’ to describe occurrences of more-than-one-speaker-talking-at-a-time,

Schegloff (1973 lecture, cited in Bennet 1981: 172-173) did differentiate between different types of incursive talk, namely between ‘overlaps’ and ‘interruptions’, on the basis of the nearness of the next speaker’s beginning to the current speaker’s turn completion point. In his terms, the former is projected to begin at/near a possible completion point, and therefore represents a systemic error, while the latter penetrates well within the boundaries of the current speaker’s ‘unit-type’ and thus constitutes an infringement of his/her rights. Zimmerman and West (1975) followed the same formal criteria but set the TRP at more than one word while, in their later work (West & Zimmerman, 1983), the TRP was changed to a syllable, and thus served as a basis for distinguishing between ‘overlaps’, ‘swallow interruptions’ and ‘deep interruptions’. This indicates that the place in which various points for possible speaker transition can be selected is not fixed but malleable, thereby creating a fuzzy concept (Jefferson, 1983; Murray, 1985) that impedes the systematic identification of transition relevance points.

Based on this criticism, a bulk of studies have, since followed a qualitative approach instead (e.g. Bennett, 1981; Tannen, 1983; Murray, 1985; Tzanne, 2001; Makri-Tsilipakou, 1994; Hutchby, 2008), and have thus suggested ‘function-in-context’ over form as a valid criterion for identifying overlaps and interruptions. Following this line of inquiry, I interpret the role of simultaneous speech mainly according to the participants’ responses to simultaneous talk (Hutchby, 2008). Hence, I view ‘interruption’ as an interpretive category displaying the participants’ views of their speaking rights and obligations (Bennett, 1978: 562). I will thus use this term only in cases in which the interactants themselves orient to simultaneities as interruptive. In contrast, ‘overlap’ will be used as a descriptive term alluding to the ‘observable coincidence in time of contributions by two speakers’ (1978: 562). In addition, I draw on Jefferson’s (1983, 1986) formal categories of overlap onset, mainly on her distinction between ‘transition-space’ onset (1986: 153) and ‘interjacent’ onset (1986: 158); the former covers various types of overlap onset which are bound to occur at the endpoints of a unit-type and, on these grounds, are considered minimal and lawful (1986: 175), while the latter refers to cases in which the next speaker starts talking not before an utterance is transition-ready (1986: 158). Figure 7.1. provides an example of this distinction.

**Figure 7.1.** Categories of overlap onset

<p>286 IOL: Γιατί [τώρα παίζεται το μέλλον μου.]  As now play.PASS.3<sub>SNG</sub> the.ART.SNG.NOM.N future.NOM.N my.POSS.GEN  As [now my future is at stake.]</p> <p>287 SIM: [Σκοίτα (.) &lt;Αμα\$]  Look.IMP.2<sub>SNG</sub> if  [Look (.) if\$]</p>	<p><b>Interjacent onset</b> (SIM starts his turn (1.287) at a point in which IOL’s prior turn (1.286) is neither syntactically nor prosodically complete)</p>
---	---



**Figure 7.2.** Dis/preferred turn shape

<p>68 VAS: E(.hh) E(.hh)</p> <p>69 Γιαί<u>δο</u>ύρα είναι. (0.4) A mule she is. (0.4)</p> <p>70 Γιατί δηλαδή (.) είναι κακομαθημένο αυτό έκανε= Because, that is, (.) it's spoiled what she did= 71 IOL: =Κακομαθημένη (.) μ' αυτό που κάνει. =She'd spoiled (.) based on what she did.</p>	<p><b>Preferred turn shape</b></p> <p>L.70 assessment of third party prefers agreement</p> <p>L.71 Agreement produced without pause and with repetition</p>
<p>162 IOL: *Αυτό που κάνατε χθες What the two of you did yesterday *looks at VAS &amp; SIM</p> <p>163 Δε θα σας το συγχωρήσω πο*τέ. Never will I excuse it.  *raises eyebrows &amp; opens eyes wide</p> <p>164 VAS: E- [pe: δε σε ξεχά]↑σαμε, E- [{re} we didn't for]get you,</p>	<p><b>Dispreferred turn shape</b></p> <p>L.163 direct complaint invites apology</p> <p>L.164 dispreferred response prefigured by self-initiated self-repair and discourse marker (pe) and explicitly performed by the negation marker (δε)</p>

Another important concept in CA is the ‘repair’ mechanism that deals with errors and violations in the turn-taking system (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974: 723). Repair can be initiated by the current speaker (self-initiated self-repair), as shown in Figure 7.2. above, or by the next speaker, in which case it is termed ‘other-initiated other-repair’ and is least preferred. An example of this involves the use of interruptions markers (e.g. excuse me) by next speaker to orient to some trouble in talk, ask for clarification and ensure understanding of prior talk.

**b. Transcription key (adapted from Jefferson, 2004)**

(.)	Micro pause of less than 0.3 of a second
(0.0)	Pause in seconds and half seconds
=	Continuous utterances (latching)
[ ]	Overlap onset and overlap offset
↑	Sharp intonation rise in the following syllable
↓	Sharp intonation fall in the following syllable
word	Salient stress on the syllable underscored
wo:	Extension or prolongation of a sound
wo::	Long extension or prolongation of a sound
> <	Compressed or rushed talk
< >	Utterance slower than the surrounding talk
Wo-	A cut-off marker
.	Final intonation contour
,	Continuing intonation contour
¿	Intonation rise that is stronger than a comma, but weaker than a question mark
?	Rising intonation contour
WORD	Sharp loudness elevation

°word°	Material between "degree signs" is quiet
(word)	Uncertainty on the transcriber's part
((word))	Editorial comments (e.g., non-verbal elements)
word	English transcript
*	Onset of non-verbal features
^	Consonant voicing
(h)	'Plosiveness' in the word (in this extract, laughter)
ts	tutting
~	Tremulous voice
\$	Smiley voice
Wo<	Abrupt cut-off

**c. Interlinear Gloss Text key (adapted from *The Leipzig Glossing Rules*)**

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
ACC	accusative
ADJ	adjective
ADV	adverb(ial)
ART	article
CLT	clitic pronoun
COND	conditional
CONJ	conjunction
DEM	demonstrative
DIM	diminutive
ETH	Ethical (genitive)
F	feminine
FUT	future
GEN	genitive
IMP	imperative
M	masculine
N	neuter
NEG	negation
NOM	nominative
OBJ	Object
PASS	passive
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
POSS	possessive
PRF	perfect
PRP	preposition
PROG	progressive
PRS	present
PRTCL	particle
PST	past
REL	relative
SBJV	subjunctive
SNG	singular
SPRL	superlative
VOC	vocative

## Appendix 8 – Full versions of data extracts

### Event 1, ‘The sick marmalade’ (COP-32)

01 ECT: ((Εκτείνει το χέρι του για να πιάσει τη μαρμελάδα))  
 ((*extends his hand to reach the marmalade jar*))

02 \*>Αυτό \*\*τι έχει μέσα?  
*This thing what does it contain?*  
 \*ECT looks at the marmalade / PAR looks at ECT  
 \*\*KIM looks upwards and towards ECT

03 PAR: °Ε:μ°  
*Uhm*

04 VAS: Κ[ρατάνε της εποχής τους.]  
*T[hey are of the season.]*

05 ECT: \*Δεν είναι λίγο αρρω- Άρρωσ[το] °το χρώ[μα ( )°?]  
*Isn't it a bit si- sick [the] the co[lour ( )?]*  
 \*ECT opens the jar and looks inside / KIM looks at ECT

06 KIM: [Τς]  
*[Ts]*

07 PAR: \* [Ε ί ν αι]  
*[It is]*  
 \*looks at  
 the jar

08 Φ[ΡΑουλα=ΦΡΑουλα] °με αρρώστια.°  
*S[trawberry=strawberry] spoiled.*

09 KIM: \* [ΩΡΑΙΑ. (.) \*\*Μη το φας.]  
*[Fine. (.) Do not eat it.]*  
 \*looks at ECT with frowned eyebrows  
 \*\*moves head upwards / ECT looks at KIM

10 PAR: \*Έχει το [( )]  
*It has the [( )]*  
 \*ECT looks at the jar / KIM looks at his mobile phone

11 VAS: [(Γέλιο)]  
*[(Laughs)]*

12 ECT: Τς  
*Ts*

13 \*Τ' είν' το [(ντο)?]  
*What's the [(do)?]*  
 \*ECT & PAR look at the jar

14 PAR: [Τζα]  
*[Tza]*

15 ECT: Το [το (δανέζικη λέξη) ξέρω τι 'ναι]  
*The [the (danish word) I know what it is]*

16 PAR: \* [(Σα το μπάτμαν είναι [( )])  
*[(It's like batman [( )])]*  
 \*points to a word on the jar's label

17 KIM: \* [†ΦΑ]Ε ΚΑΛ\*\*Ε:: και σκάσ[ε\*\*\*:]  
*[Ea]t {kale} and shut [up]*  
 \*looks at ECT  
 \*\*ECT looks towards  
 KIM  
 \*\*\*ECT





*Ah Mark is there!*

32 VAS: *Bonjour Mark!*

((11.33-280 ECT, KIM, PAR and VAS talk with Mark about Mark's day at wok.))

281 KIM: \*Μα δεν έ:φαγες όμως.  
*But you didn't eat though.*  
 \*looks at ECT

282 \*Ούτε ήρθες [ήπλάι μου.&]  
*Neither did you come [close to me.]*  
 \*looks at ECT

283 ECT: \* [Μ α >ε ί -]  
*[But I sai-]*  
 \*looks at KIM

284 \*>ΕΚΑΝΑ ↑ΜΙΑ παρατήρηση<  
*I made one observation*  
 \*ECT looks at KIM

285 (Για) το χρώμα  
*(About) the colour*

286 Και μου έκανες=\*Ένα< μου είπες-  
*And you made to me=One ((thing)) you said*  
 \*glances at KIM

287 \*Ένα είπα=\*\*δεκαπέντε είπ\*\*\*ες.  
*I said one thing, you said fifteen.*  
 \*glances at KIM  
 \*\*looks away  
 \*\*\*puts the jar on the table

288 KIM: Εγώ είπα δεκαπέντε?  
*Was it me who said fifteen things?*

289 PAR: \*Ε ΦΑ' ΤΟ κι εσύ ΝΤΕ!  
*Eh you eat it on!*  
 \* looks at ECT & opens hands wide / ECT looks at PAR /  
 KIM looks at his phone

290 ECT: \*Να ο[ρ ί]στε.=\*\*°Να το.°  
*Here [w e] go.=This is it.*  
 \*looks down  
 \*\*PAR looks at ECT & smiles with hands  
 open / KIM looks at his phone

291 VAS: [.hh]  
 [.hh]

292 PAR: \$χgh:\$  
 chgh

293 ECT: \*[eng] °Τζίζους Κράιστ.°  
*Jesus Christ.*  
 \*looks at KIM / KIM looks at ECT

294 PAR: \*Μας ΤΑ' \$πρη\*\*ξες.\$  
*You pissed us off.*  
 \*looks at ECT with hands down  
 \*\*ECT turns to PAR /  
 KIM looks at ECT

295 ECT: \*\$Εγ↑ώ:?\$=((γέλιο))  
*Who me?=((laughter))*  
 \*KIM looks at ECT & smiles

296 (1.2)

297 VAS: \$Η γουρούνα έφαγα [τ ρ ί α.\$]

298 PAR: *The piggy me ate [t h r ee.]*  
 \*[\$Δ ε ν\$]  
 [It's not]  
 \*looks at the jar  
 299 ((είναι)) άσχημο [(β έ β-)]  
 bad [(though)]  
 300 ECT: \*[\$K ά τ ι] υποβό\*\*σκει `κει πέρα  
 [Th e re's] something underlying there  
 \*looks at KIM / KIM looks at ECT while  
 rubbing his phone over his pants  
 \*\*looks at the jar &  
 mingles the marmalade  
 301 \*Άμα- άμα >°μου είσαι τόσο επιθετικός°<  
 If you are so aggressive to me  
 \*looks at the jar / KIM looks at ECT & rubs his phone over  
 his pants  
 302 Με: (.) \*μια απλή παρατήρηση  
 Due to (.) a simple observation  
 \*looks at the jar / KIM looks at ECT  
 303 KIM: [Ποιος ήταν επι]θετικός?  
 [Who was agg]ressive?  
 304 ECT: [Για το χρώμα]  
 [About the colour]  
 305 ((Κουνάει το μαχαίρι μέσα στο βάζο))  
 ((Moves the knife in the jar))  
 306 Αυτής \*της μύξας. (.)  
 Of this slime. (.)  
 \*looks at the marmalade in disgust & takes some  
 outside of the jar to show it to the others /  
 KIM & PAR look at the marmalade  
 307 \*>Κοίτα `δώ.<=[\$Ωραίο ε?\$=ααA:]  
 >Look here.< [Nice eh?=  
 \*looks at PAR  
 308 VAS: [\$E όχι και μύξα βρε\$]  
 [It's not a slime {vre}]  
 309 PAR: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))  
 310 ECT: ((ο ECT βάζει το μαχαίρι μέσα στο βάζο χαμογελώντας και  
 Κοιτάει τον KIM))  
 ((ECT puts the knife into the jar and looks at KIM  
 while smiling))  
 311 ECT: \*>Θα φάω τώρα.< ((γέλιο))  
 I am eating now. ((laughter))  
 \*looks at VAS & KIM / PAR & KIM smile  
 312 PAR: \*\$Μην^ ντο κάνεις \*\*έτσι θα με [χ α λ -\$]  
 Don't do it like that it will [make me sick]  
 \*looks at the marmalade / KIM looks at ECT while smiling  
 \*\*ECT looks tastes the marmalade  
 313 VAS: [\*\$Τέ λε ι ο\$]  
 [P e r f e c t]  
 \*ECT jumps off his seat  
 while  
 smiling and looking at KIM  
 & VAS / PAR & KIM looks at  
 ECT while smiling  
 314 ((Δυνατό γέλιο))

((Raucous smile))  
 315 PAR: ((Ελαφρύ γελάκι))  
 ((Chuckles))  
 316 VAS: ((Γέλιο)) (.hhh)  
 ((Laughs)) (.hhh)  
 317 \*Παιδιά θα σας φτιάξω μαρμελάδα σύκο >κάποια στιγμή.<  
*Guys I will make marmalade from figs for you sometime.*  
*\*ECT looks at the marmalade, mingles it and smells it /*  
*PAP looks at him while smiling / KIM looks at ECT in*  
*curiosity*  
 318 Θα σας τη στείλω.  
*I will send it to you.*  
 319 PAR: \*Μανταρίνι δεν ήταν πριν?  
*Wasn't it mandarin before?*  
*\*turns and looks at VAS*  
 320 VAS: Μανταρίνι ναι [Σμετά όμως θυ]μή(h)θη(h)κα(h)Σ  
*Mandarin yes [after this however I re]membered*  
 321 ECT: [ΣΜανταρίνι έλα βρεΣ]  
*[Mandarin come on {vre}]*  
 322 VAS: [((Δυνατό γέλιο))]  
 [((Raucous laughter))]  
 323 PAR: [((Γελάει & κοιτάει τη VAS))]  
 [((Laughs & looks at VAS))]  
 324 ECT: \*[(Βάζει μαρμελάδα στο πιάτο)]  
 [((Puts some marmalade on the plate))]  
*\*KIM looks at ECT seriously*  
 325 ECT: \*Να- [Αυτό \*\*μάλιστα.]  
*There! [There you go.]*  
*\*points to KIM & looks at him*  
*\*\*moves backwards / KIM sits up to*  
*reach*  
*his cup*  
 326 VAS: [ΣΘυμήθηκα ότι] κάνω [και  
 σύκο.Σ]  
*[I remembered that] I also make jam [from*  
*figs.]*  
 327 ECT: [Α υ τ ό]  
 [T h i s]  
 328 Είναι: \*δι\*\*άδραση.(.) [fre] **Kimona \*\*\*le bébé.**  
 ((This)) is interaction. (.) Kimonas le bébé.  
*\*looks at KIM*  
*\*\*KIM grabs the cup, leaves the mobile*  
*phone on the table & looks at ECT / ECT looks at*  
*the pancake*  
*\*\*\*ECT looks at KIM*  
 329 PAR: ((Κοιτάει τον ECT με χαμόγελο))  
 ((Looks at ECT smiling))  
 330 VAS: ((Καθαρίζει το λαιμό της))  
 ((Clears her throat))  
 331 ECT: \*ΕΙΝΑΙ ΩΡΑΙΟ ΦΑ ΤΟ.  
*It's nice, eat it.*  
*\*nods down while putting marmalade on the pancake /*  
*KIM looks at ECT in a smile*  
 332 \*((Κουνάει το κεφάλι προς τα κάτω κοιτώντας τον KIM))  
 ((Nods down while looking at KIM))  
*\*KIM looks at ECT*

333 KIM: ((Κουνάει το κεφάλι προς τα κάτω & χαμογελά))  
 ((Nods down & smiles slightly))

334 ECT: \*((Κουνάει το κεφάλι προς τα κάτω κοιτώντας τον KIM))  
 ((Nods down while looking at KIM))  
 \*PAR turns to KIM, glances at him & turns back to look at  
 ECT

335 PAR: \*\$ΦΑ ΤΟ ΚΑΙ [ita accent] ΣΚΑΣΕ\$=  
 Eat it and [(ita accent)] shut up  
 \*looks at ECT

336 ECT: \*=Απ' το φα το  
 Rather than ((the phrase)) eat it  
 \*PAR & KIM smile

337 \*Και [ΣΚΑΣΕ Ω ΜΩΡΕ]  
 And [shut up och {more}]  
 \*PAR & KIM smile

338 VAS: [(( Γ έ λ ι ο ))]  
 [(L a u g h t e r)]

339 ECT: \*Ω Ω Ω Α Ω  
 Och och och ah och  
 \*PAR & KIM smile

340 PAR: \*\$>Τη μάνα μου φάτε  
 My mother eat  
 \*looks at the pancake / KIM smiles while looking at  
 the pancake

341 Και σκάστε<\$  
 And shut up

342 [>\$Ειν' η σωστή απάντηση.\$<]  
 [It's the correct response.]

343 ECT: [>H- μου δημιουργεί<]  
 [The- transfers to me]

344 \*Μια πολύ \*\*ΚΑΛΥΤΕΡΗ ενέργεια  
 Much better energy  
 \*moves hand  
 \*\*looks at KIM/ PAR looks at ECT/ KIM looks  
 at the pancake

345 [Στο σπίτι αυτή τη στιγμή.]  
 [In the house this moment now.]

346 PAR: \*['Ετσι θα σου πει φανιάζομαι.]  
 [So he'll tell you reckon.]  
 \*looks at ECT while slightly smiling

347 KIM: \*\$Όχι η ευδαιμονία είναι σημαντική.\$  
 No, bliss is important.  
 \*looks at ECT/ ECT looks at KIM & smiles/ PAR looks at ECT

&  
 smiles slightly

348 VAS: \*((Γελάει & αγκαλιάζει τον KIM))  
 ((Laughs & hugs KIM))  
 \*KIM looks at ECT & smiles/ ECT looks at KIM & smiles/ PAR  
 looks at ECT & smiles slightly

349 KIM: \*\$Στο χώρο.\$  
 In the atmosphere  
 \*looks at ECT/ ECT looks at KIM & smiles/ PAR looks at ECT

&  
 smiles

Event 2, 'Serious rudeness' (LON-15)

- 138 ILI: Αλλά και ποιοζ ^δεν είναι στο (eng) **κόμφορτ ζόουν** του  
*But who isn't in their comfort zone*
- 139 [γενικότερα?]  
*[in general?]*
- 140 VAS: [>Ε υπάρχουν άνθρω]ποι< πολύ πιο ευ[προσάρ]μοστοι  
*[>Eh there are peo]ple< who are more a[dapt]able*
- 141 IOL: [Ε τς]  
*[Eh ts]*
- 142 VAS: Που [αλλά]ζουν συνεχώς, θέλουνε να [ταξιδεύουν,] να  
*Who [chan]ge all the time, who want to [travel,] to*
- 145 IOA: [Και] [ναί ρε.]  
*[And] [yes {re}.]*
- 143 VAS: Αλλάζουν φίλουζ, ^να αλλάζουν γκόμενους, ν' αλλάζουνε  
*change friends, to change partners, to change*
- 144 σπίτια, να=  
*houses, to=*
- 146 ILI: =Αλλά ↑μέχρι κι αυτοί↑ μωρέ: Βάσια ↑είναι λίγο:=  
*=But even these people {more} Vassia are quite=*
- 147 IOL: =Κοίταξε [ε υπ]άρχει ένα [(eng) **λέβελ** ( ).]  
*=Look [eh the]re is [some level ( ).]*
- 148 ILI: [(eng) **Κόμφορτ.**]  
*[c o m f o r t.]*
- 149 SIM: ΕΓΩ ΕΙμαι °τέτοιος άνθρωπος.°  
*I am such a person.*
- 150 Δε μπορώ να κάνω τα ίδια πράγματα °συνέχεια.°  
*I can't do the same things all the time.*
- 151 Το 'χω κατα[λάβει].  
*I've under[stood] this.*
- 152 IOL: \*[Ε σ ύ:] είσαι παλιΓ'αν\*\*[θρωπος.]=  
*[Y o u] are a scoun[d r e l.]=*  
*\*looks at SIM*
- \*\*turns at IOL & looks at her with frowned eyebrows*
- 153 VAS: [\$Εσύ \*μα]ζέψου\$=  
*[\$You be]have=*  
*\*looks at SIM*
- 154 SIM: =\*ΣταMA[τ α]  
*=Stop [I t]*  
*\*looks at IOL*
- 155 VAS: [((γ έ λ ι ο))]  
*[((laughter))]*
- 156 ILI: ((Γυρνάει και κοιτάζει την IOL χαμογελώντας))  
*((Turns towards IOL & looks at her smiling))*
- 157 IOL: \*\$Πα↑λιάν[θρωπος είσ\*\*AI.]\$  
*\$A scoun[drel you are.]\$*  
*\*looks at SIM*
- \*\*looks down*
- 158 VAS: [(( Γ έ λ ι ο ))]  
*[(( Laughter ))]*
- 159 SIM: \*\$EγΩ:??\$=  
*Who me?*

\*looks at IOL  
 160 \*Με ↑ξέχασες ε- μα [↑είναι δυνα\*\*ιόν?]  
 You forgot me e- [h o w c o m e?]  
 \*looks at cup  
 \*\*places cup on  
 table & turns head  
 towards VAS & SIM  
 161 ILI: [\$Είναι κακοχαρακτήρες.\$]  
 [\$They are bad people.\$]  
 162 IOL: \*Αυτό που κάνατε χθες  
 What the two of you did yesterday  
 \*looks at VAS & SIM  
 163 Δε θα σας το συγχωρήσω πο\*τέ.  
 Never will I excuse it.  
 \*raises eyebrows & opens  
 eyes wide  
 164 VAS: E- [ρε: δε σε ξεχά]↑σαμε,  
 E- [{re} we didn't for]get you,  
 165 SIM: [Ρε συγνώμη ρε \*νιάξει.]  
 [{Re} sorry {re} okay.]  
 \*sits up & looks at IOL  
 166 VAS: >Προσπαθούσαμε ↑να βρούμε προς τα πού  
 We were trying to find about where  
 167 'ν' < το μα[γαζίζ]  
 the bar < [wasζ]  
 168 IOL: \*[Ρε ή]τανε ↑σοβαρή αγέ\*\*νεια.  
 [{Re} it] was serious rudeness.  
 \*looks at VAS & SIM  
 \*\*moves hand  
 upwards  
 169 Γιατί ↑χουβάλαγα το Γιώργο  
 Because I was carrying George along  
 170 Και σ- νιάξει εγώ σι' αρχ\*ίδια σας.=  
 And s- okay for me you don't give a fuck.=  
 \*moves hand  
 171 ↑Ηταν ο μό↑\*νος άνθρωπος που ↑δεν (εί-)(.)  
 He was the only person who did not (.)  
 \*moves head down  
 172 SIM: Ρε δε σε ξεχάσαμε.=  
 {Re} we didn't forget you.=  
 173 VAS: =Ναι ρε [eng] **σόρι** αν:=  
 =Yes {re} sorry if=  
 174 ILI: =Μωρέ δε θα το κάνανε: (.)  
 ={More} they wouldn't do it (.)  
 175 Επίτηδες.= Αφού είναι \$γλυκά τυπάκια!\$  
 Deliberately. Since they are sweet types/ characters!  
 176 IOL: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))  
 177 \$Αγγελούδια.\$  
 Little angels.  
 178 SIM: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))  
 179 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))  
 180 IOL: Πιάσε να \$φάμε λίγο κέικ!\$  
 Let's have some cake!

181 Μην ξανακάνεις με βούτυρο.  
*Don't use butter again ((for the cake)).*

182 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
*((Laughter))*

183 ILI: Έχουμε καιρό μέχρι το καλοκαί(η)ρι(η).  
*There's time until the summer.*

184 Χθες τελικά πού πήγατε?  
*Yesterday when did you go after all?*

185 IOL: Στο [eng] **Ρόνι**.  
*At Ronnie ((Scott's)).*

186 ILI: Α:!!  
*Ah!*

187 Κρίμα ρε:: που δεν ήρθα αλλά με τη βροχή,  
*It's a pity {re} I didn't come but due to the rain,*

188 IOL: Άσε κι εγώ::  
 188 ΕΤ↑χαμε ΠΕΙ ότι το μαγαζί είναι κο\*νιά  
*We'd said that the bar is not far*  
 \*moves head down

189 Οπότε >εγώ έβαλα αυτά τα< παπούτσια πρώτον  
*So I wore this pair of shoes first*  
 \*hand gesture

190 Για να μην^ γκρυώνω γιατί τς (0.5)  
*In order not to be cold because ts (0.5)*

191 Όλα μου τα παπούτσια είναι πέδιλα.=  
*All my shoes are sandals.*

192 =Και δεύτερον (.)  
 =And second (.)

193 ↑Ήξερα ότι δε θα περπατήσουμε πολύ.↑ (.)  
*I knew we'd have a short walk.*

194 Το πόδι μου- μου το- δεν υπάρχει.  
*My foot is killing me.*

195 ILI: °Τι έβαλες παιδί μου?°  
*What did you wear {re}?*

196 IOL: ↑Κάτι γοβάκια↑ που έχω πολύ ωραία.  
*Some very nice pumps I've got.*

197 ILI: °Τι έβαλες παιδί μου?°  
*What did you wear {re}?*

198 IOL: ↑Κάτι γοβάκια↑ που έχω πολύ ωραία.  
*Some very nice pumps I've got.*

199 ILI: Μ: αυτά που ήταν να πουλήσεις  
*Mm these that you'd sell*

200 στην ε: τέτοια?  
*to e:h that person?*

201 [Στην Αριάδνη?]  
*[To Ariadne?]*

202 IOL: [Όχι όχι όχι.]=Γοβά[κια]: άλλα.  
*[No no no.] = Pu[mps] another pair.*

203 ILI: [M:]  
 [Mm]

204 (0.7)

205 IOL: Έχω πάρα πολλά παπούτσια.  
*I've got too shoes.*

206 Χέστο τώρα. (.)  
*Scratch that now (.)*

207 Τι το ψάχνεις? (.)  
*What are you looking for? (.)*

208 Και τα φοράω μία στο τόσο που βγαίνουμε=  
*And I wear them once in a while that we go out=*

209 =Μία φορά στιζ ^δεκαπέντε, (.)  
 =*Once every fifteen days, (.)*

210 ILI: Ναι [ναι.]  
*Yes [yes.]*

211 VAS: [M :]  
 [M m]

212 SIM: ((γέλιο))  
 ((*laughter*))

213 IOL: ↑Οπότε↑ (0.4) τς (. ) ↑δε μπορούσα να περιπατήσω  
*So (0.4) ts (. ) I couldn't walk*

214 Γιατί αυτή\* είπε τρία λεπτά  
 \*points towards VAS  
*Because she said it was a three-minute walk*

215 Κι ήταν εννιά, (0.5)  
*And it turned out to be nine minutes, (0.5)*

216 Και με το δικό μου το ΒΑδην  
*And due to my slow walk*

217 Ήταν [έ ν α τ έ τ α ρ τ ο . ]  
*it was [f i f t e e n m i n u t e s.]*

218 ILI: [Πω πω μες στο κρύο.=πωπω:]  
 [Oh my in the cold.=Oh my]

219 ↑Και καλά συγνώμη↑ κι απ' την (eng) Όξφορντ  
*And well sorry even if (you started off) from Oxford*

220 Που είν' η πιο κοντινή στάση να το ΠΑρεις, (0.5)  
*Which is the closest (tube) stop, (0.5)*

221 ↑Είναι ένα εφτάλεπτο. (.)  
*It's a seven-minute walk. (.)*

222 IOL: Παιδί [μου σου λέω \*αυτή,]  
*My friend [I tell you she,]*  
 \*points to VAS

223 SIM: \*[Από 'κει πέρα σχεδόν] ↓περπατήσα(η)με(η).↓  
 [It was almost from there] that we walked.  
 \*looks at IOL

224 IOL: \*Πόσο περπατήσαμε?=  
*How much did we walk?=  
 \*looks at SIM*

225 SIM: =\*Από 'κει πέρα ↓περπατήσαμε.=Είναι εννιά λεπτά.↓  
 =*It was from there that we walked.=It's nine minutes.  
 \*looks at IOL*

226 IOL: \*>Μισή ώρα περπατήσαμε.<=Φτιάσαμε \*\*δώδεκα η ώρα  
*We walked for half an hour.=we arrived at \*\*midnight  
 \*looks at SIM*  
 \*\*raises her eyebrows

227 \*Εξω απ' το [μαγαζί:]  
*Outside of the [b a r ]*  
 \*looks at SIM

228 ILI: [Μ ι σ ή ώ ρ α] [αποκλείεται ρε παιδιά.]  
 [*Half an hour*] [*no way {re} guys.*]

229 VAS: \* [Ο:χι ρε] δε φτιάσαμε  
 [*No {re}*] *we didn't arrive*  
 \*looks at IOL and raises her  
 palm

230 δώ-



at mid-  
 231 \*Κατ' αρχάς (.) έλεγε \*\*το είδες.  
 For one thing (.) it was saying, you saw this.=  
 \*looks at IOL  
 \*\*looks at SIM / SIM looks at VAS  
 232 VAS: =\*Μαζί δεν^ ντο είδαμεζ=  
 Didn't we see it togetherζ=  
 \*looks at SIM  
 233 SIM: \*=↓Μαζί το [εί δα με.]  
 =Together [we saw it.]  
 \*looks down  
 234 VAS: \* [↑Έλεγε↑] \*\*ε τρία [λε]πτά με το  
 [It was saying] \*\*eh three [mi]nutes by  
 \*looks at SIM  
 \*\*looks at IOL  
 235 SIM: [E-]  
 [Eh-]  
 236 VAS: \*αυτοκίνητο,  
 car,  
 \*moves her hand with pinched fingers  
 237 (0.4)  
 238 VAS: \*ΚΑΙ \*\*[εννέα λεπτά με τα] πό:[δια.]  
 \*And \*\*[nine minutes on] foot  
 \*looks down and sits up  
 \*\*looks at IOL  
 239 SIM: [Κι εννέα λεπτά με τα (πο)[δια.]  
 [And nine minutes on (f)[oot.]  
 240 ILI: M[ : ]  
 M[ m ]  
 241 VAS: [Απ'λώζ] ↑εμείς, (0.5) μιλού:σαμε,  
 [J u st] we, (0.5) were talking,  
 242 Χαζεύαμε, >προσπαθούσαμε με το Συμεών  
 Were looking around, we were trying with Simeon  
 243 Να δούμε  
 To figure out  
 244 προς τα [πού πάμε (γιατί στρίβαμε) συνε\*χώ-<]  
 Towards [where are going as we were turning all the tim-  
 245 Είσυ μιλούσεζ  
 You were talking  
 \*looks at SIM  
 245 με το Γιάννη=Εγώ μιλούσα με τον^< ΜΠΕτρο=  
 to John, I was talking to Petros=  
 247 SIM: [Ντάξει εγώ μιλούσα και με το \*Γιάννη μετά:]  
 [Okay I was also talking to John after that]  
 \*looks at IOL  
 248 IOL: \*=Κατάλαβες? (.) [η Γιαδικιάρογλου με]  
 =you see? (.) [Giadikiaroglou and]  
 \*looks at ILI  
 249 VAS: [Και ξεχάστη:καίμε.]  
 [And we forgot it.]  
 250 IOL: την^ Μπειροξβασίλη μι[λούσανεζ\$]  
 Petrovassili were [talking] to each other  
 251 VAS: [((γέλιο))]  
 [((laughs))]  
 252 IOL: Εκεί Π'ερα και με:: α[φήσανε πίσω.]  
 Over there and they [left me behind.]

253 ILI: [Παιδιά με] δουλεύετε? (.)  
 [Guys are you] kidding me? (.)

254 Κάτω από το:: ↑τέτοιο είναι.=Από το εμπορικό.  
*It's located below the that one.=The department store.*

255 (1.0)

256 ILI: Πώς [το λένε το- το (eng) **Λίμπερτι.**]  
*What's [its name the- the Liberty.]*

257 IOL: [Παιδί μου δε σου ↑λέω μόνοι γι' αυ]τό.=Μετά  
*[My friend I'm not talking just about i]t.=Once*

258 φεύγοντας από ['κει,]  
*we left that [place,]*

259 VAS: [Ο χ ι] λέει για το μετά: από ['κει.]  
*[N o] she is talking about after [that.]*

260 IOL: [Θέλαμε]  
*[we wanted]*

261 [να πάμε]  
*[to go]*

262 ILI: [Α για το] μετά:=  
*[Ah about] what happened next=*

263 IOL: =[Ναι:?]  
*= [Yes? ]*

264 ILI: [Α : ] >αυτό δεν^ ντο ξέρω.<  
*[A h ] I don't know about it.*

265 VAS: Α που πη[γαίναμε προς] το (eng) Ρόνι.  
*Ah on our [w a y t o] Ronnie.*

266 IOL: [↑Α:: ε]  
*[Ah eh]*

267 ILI: Αυτό [δεν^ ντο ξέρω.]  
*This [one I don't know.]*

268 VAS: [Είχε ↑αρκετά] >να στρίψουμ' από 'δώ  
*[We had ↑a lot] >to turn this way*

269 Να στρίψουμ' από 'κεί να (στρμ) ↑οπό[τ ε?]  
*To turn that way to ↑[s o ?]*

270 ILI: M:[: :]  
 M:[: :]

271 SIM: [Γιατί]  
*[Since]*

272 πήγα [με στο (eng) **Κα]χούις,**  
*we we[nt to Ca]hoots,*

273 VAS: [Ε Ι χ α μ ε :]  
*[W e h a d ]*

274 SIM: φάγαμε το:::- το ά[κ υ ρ ο,]  
*We got bru- br[ushed off,]*

275 VAS: [Το [χι:]]  
*(We got) [brushed [off]*

276 ILI: [A::] [όκει όκει όκει όκει.]  
*[Ah] [okay okay okay okay.]*

277 SIM: [Και από 'κει περπατήσαμε]  
*[And from there we walked]*

278 για το (eng) Ρονις.=  
*to Ronnies.=*

279 VAS: \*=↑Ναι: κι εγώ λέω ↑ντάξει  
*=Yes and I say okay*  
 \*looks at ILI & IOL

280 [Περπα↑τάει με το Γιώργο,]  
*[She is walking with George,]*

281 ILI: \*[Πω πω μες στο κρύο.]  
 [Oh my in the cold.]  
 \*looks at IOL

282 VAS: Οπότε ας προπορευτούμε;  
*So, let's go before?*

283 \*↑να βρούμε το δρόμο.  
*to find the way.*  
 \*turns head & looks at SIM

284 (1.0)

285 VAS: \*Δεν^ ντο:- [(eng) **σόρι** άμα σε πείραξε.]  
*I didn't [I'm sorry if it upset you.]*  
 \*looks at IOL

286 IOL: \*↑A::λλο να προπορευ [**\*\*θ** ούμε,]  
*[Going before is di::ffe [**\*\*r e n t**]*  
 \*looks at VAS & puts the mug on the table  
 \*\*moves head on the  
 right, looks at SIM with  
 raised eyebrows and  
 touches the table

287 VAS: [Ναι=ναι.]  
 [Yes=yes.]

288 IOL: Κι άλλο αφήνουμε τον άλλο  
 ((from)) *leaving the other person*

289 δέκα λεπτά πίσω. (.)  
*ten minutes behind (.)*

290 \*Ήταν πολύ άσχημο αυτό που μου κάνατε.  
*It was very bad what you did to me.*  
 \*looks VAS

291 SIM: Ναι ρε [eng] **σόρι**.  
*Yes [re] sorry.*

292 ILI: Αγώνες δρό(η)μου(η) με τακούνια ((γέλιο))  
*Foot races on heels ((laughter))*

293 Σήμερα είπαμε, (.)  
*Today we said, (.)*

294 Το παπούτσι θα ν' **ά**νετο.  
*The shoes will be comfortable.*  
 \*moves head upwards

295 IOL: Τα- μα [>τα κόκκινα θα βάλω.<]  
*The but I [will wear the red pair of shoes.]*

296 ILI: [T ε λ ε ί : ω σ ε .]  
*[It's over.]*

297 IOL: Να πηγαίνω [§τρέχ]οντας.\$  
*In order to (be able to) [run.]*

298 ILI: [ M ]  
 [ M ]

299 (0.5)

300 IOL: ↑Άσε↑ με καημένη δεν^ ντο ξαναβάζω  
*It's over I'm not wearing again*

301 [τώρα το κείνο το παπού(τσι).]  
*[now that pair of shoes]*

302 VAS: [Παιδί μου χτες]  
*[My friend yesterday]*

303 είχε και βρο- ↑ήτανε:: ολισθηρό το έδαφος  
*it was rain- too, the ground was slippery*

304 [Από τη βροχή.]

[Due to the rain.]

305 IOL: \*["M: ολισθηρό."]  
[M slippery.]  
\*looks at ILI

306 (0.7)

307 VAS: Ολισθηρό:.  
Slippery.

308 ILI: ((γέλιο))  
((laughter))

309 VAS: ((γέλιο))  
((laughs))

310 (0.7)

311 VAS: (.hhh) πω πω!  
(.hhh) oh my!

312 IOL: Εγώ φόραγα στιλέτο.  
I was wearing stiletto heels.

313 VAS: N[αι.]  
Y[es.]

314 IOL: [Και] κόλλησε [μέσα στο πεζοδρόμιο.]  
[And] they got stuck [in the pavements.]

315 VAS: \*["Εγώ ↑τρομάξα]  
[I got scared]  
\*looks at IOL

316 Που ΚΟΛλησε μέσα 'δώ που σε είχα ↑εγώ.  
As it got stuck in here, as I was carrying you.

317 \*Γιατί ο Γιώργος, (.)  
Because George, (.)  
\*looks at SIM and touches him

318 \*Τη μπαίρνει, τη σηκώνει, τη βάζει στον ώμο.  
Can take her, lift her up, put her on his shoulders.  
\*looks at IOL and then at ILI

319 ILI: M  
M

320 IOL: \$Τσαντάκι.\$  
Like a small bag.

321 VAS: εγώ ((γέλιο))  
I ((laughter))

322 SIM: ((Γέλιο))  
((Laughter))

323 ILI: ((Γέλιο))  
((Laughter))

324 SIM: \*η κυ(h)ΡΤΙ(h)α από 'δώ [δεν είχε ελπίδα.]  
This lady here [had no hope.]  
\*looks at IOL & ILI

325 VAS: [\$Δεν \*Ημουνα] τόσ(ο)\$.  
[I was not] so.  
\*touches SIM

326 SIM: \*Τριάντα κιλά κάνει στο γυμναστήριο  
She lifts only thirty kilos in the gym.  
\*looks at IOL & ILI

327 =\$Δεν^ γκάνει παραπάνω.\$  
=She doesn't do more.

328 VAS: \*\$Θα ↑παίρναμε κι οι ↑δύο.\$  
We would both (fall).\$  
\*looks at SIM

329 IOL: \*Εγώ [κάνω τριάντα]=\*\*αυτή: δεκαοχτώ:.



187 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))

188 SIM: Ωχ  
 Och

189 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))

190 IOL: >Ερχετ' έρχεται.<  
*It's coming it's coming.*

191 ((Κάποιος/α ακουμπάει κάτι στο τραπέζι))  
 ((Someone places something on the table))

192 (0.7)

193 IOL: Θα σ' ενδιέφερε ποτέ, (.)  
*Would you ever be interested in, (.)*

194 Άκου τώρα 'γω τι σκέφτηκα.  
*Listen now what came to my mind.*

195 VAS: >Αυτι που μου λες< εχθΕςι=  
*What you were saying to me yesterday?=  
 =Yes.*

196 IOL: =°Ναι.°  
 =Yes.

197 VAS: ↑E:∶  
 Eh

198 (0.6)

199 VAS: E[πι-]  
 O[ver]

200 IOL: [Άκου] ↓τώρα.  
 [listen] now.

201 VAS: Συμεών,  
 Simeon,

202 IOL: \$Ερχεται >κρατήσου.<\$  
*It's coming brace yourself.*

203 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))

204 IOL: ( )

205 VAS: ↑((Γέλιο)) ΙΣΘΙ ΕΤΟΙΜΟΣ ΕΝΤΑΞΕΙ?  
 ((Laughs)) *be ready okay? ((in ancient Greek))*

206 SIM: ↑Ωχ \$ωχ ω Ω:\$.  
 Och och aw aw

207 VAS: [((Γ έ λ ι ο))]  
 [((Laughter))]

208 IOL: [Δεν [↑^γκζέρω] ↑A N]  
 [I don't [k n o w] whether]

209 SIM: [(Ωχ) ΠΟΛΥ: Η] ΔΥΟ [ΔΑΧΤΥΛΑ?]  
 [(Och)much or] two [fingers] (of wine)

210 VAS: [((Γ έ λ ι ο))]  
 [((Laughter))]

211 (0.5)

213 SIM: [Άσε ΤΩρα] γνωρι[στήκαμε ( )]  
 [Leave it] we've just [met ( )]

214 VAS: [E ο ε] [Βά[λε \$↑ό]λο το [πο↑]τ ή ρ ι &]  
 [E o e] [Fi[ll the who]le [gla] s s]

215 IOL: [Κ ρ α σ ί] [(σιαμάτια εδώ)]  
 [W i n e] [(stop here)]

216 Σιαμάτια λίγο τώρα βρε πουλά(κι) (.)  
*Stop a bit now {vre} birdie (.)*

217 Θα σ' ενδιέφερε (.) να δουλέψεις (.)  
*Would you be interested (.) to work (.)*

218 ΚΑπου τύπου [eng] **ΕΡΓΚΟΝ**?  
*Somewhere like in Ergon?*

219 (0.5)

220 SIM: Ναι: μ' αρέσει.  
*Yeah I like it.*

221 (0.7)

222 \*Μ' Αρέσουνε τέτοια μαγαζιά.  
*I like this kind of stores.*  
*\*puts something on the table*

223 (1.1)

224 VAS: Στο μΕ:λλον όμως.  
*In the future though.*

225 IOL: Στο †μΕ:λ[λον αυτιά που τα `χου]με [περίμε]νε.  
*In the fu[tu]re we'll do these [w a i ]t.*

226 VAS: [Ο χ ι τ Ω ρ α]  
 [N o t n o w]

227 SIM: [Μάλισ- ]  
 [Y e p]

228 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))

229 SIM: Μ' αρέσουνε ε::μ (.)  
*I like these uhm (.)*

230 Γιατί ξέρεις ποιο είναι το [eng] **κόλσεπτ**  
*Because do you know what's the concept*

231 VAS: Κι εμέ[να κι η καρυδόπιτα]  
*Me to[o, I also (like) the walnut cake]*

232 SIM: [Του [eng] **Εργκον** (.) είν' οτί]  
 [Of Ergon (.) it's that]

233 VAS: Του [eng] **Εργκον**,  
*Of Ergon,*

234 SIM: Α ε (.)  
*Ah eh (.)*

235 Μ' [αρέσει μ: ' αρέσει ένα:]  
*I [like I like a]*

236 IOL: [†Α:σ' την ^γκαρυδόπιτα] τώρα,=>Περίμενε<°  
*[Leave the walnut cake now,=Wait*

237 Συγκεκριμένο [eng] **κόνσεπτ**.  
*Particular concept*

238 SIM: Τ' οτί: (.) παίρνεις τα πράγματα (.)  
*The fact that (.) you buy the things (.)*

239 που: πουλάς ουσιαστικά (.)  
*that you basically sell*

240 Και φτιάχνεις συνταγές μέσ' απ' αυτά.  
*And make recipes out of them.*

241 (0.4)

242 SIM: Πρώτον  
*Firstly*

243 IOL: †Α::κου [°τ ώ ρ α°]  
*Listen [n o w ]*

244 SIM: [Και δεύτε]ρον το [eng] **έργον** κι όλ' αυτά (.)  
 [And sec]ond ergon and all these (.)

245 Δουλεύουνε κυρίως  
*Work ((i.e. serve)) mainly*

246 (0.4)

247 SIM: [eng] **μπ:ραντς**,

brunch  
248 (0.5)  
249 SIM: και [eng] **λαντζ.**  
*and lunch.*  
250 (0.6)  
251 SIM: Δηλαδή [δεν] είναι τόσο του [eng] **ντίνερ.**  
*That is it does [not] work with dinners that much.*  
252 VAS: [M:]  
[M]  
253 SIM: >Δεν είναι τόσο του ότι θα< [(πάρω) ( )]  
*It's not that much like I'll [(have) ( )]*  
254 IOL: [↑Οι ↑δεν είναι.]  
[No it's not.]  
255 ↑>Εφτά η ώρα< [κλεί]νει=  
*At seven o' clock it [clo]ses=*  
256 VAS: [M]  
[M]  
257 SIM: =Ναι.  
=Yes.  
258 ((κάποιος ήχος))  
((some sound))  
259 SIM: Οποτε >επειδή εμένα μ' αρέσουν τα [eng] **μπραντσάδικα**<  
*So since I like brunch restaurants*  
260 Για[τί ( )]  
*Since ( )]*  
261 VAS: [↑ΚΑΙ ↑ΩΡΑΙΑ Ωρα που κλείνουν]  
[And the time they close it's a nice one]  
262 ↑Παζ^ μετά για ύπνο  
*You can go to sleep after that.*  
263 SIM: Ε:μ (.) [E-] ΚΑΙ Έχει Ζ:Ωή:  
*Uhm (.) e- and it has*  
264 VAS: [χα]  
[*((ha))*]  
265 IOL: °Αι μωρή βάβω!°  
*Get along you oldie!*  
266 >τιώρα μιλάω σοβα[ΡΑ δεν ^γκάνω< °πλάκα°.]  
*I'm talking seri[ously now I'm not kidding.]*  
267 SIM: [Και έχει ζω][ή κι είναι]  
[*It's also lively*][*ly and it's*]  
268 VAS: [Ναι ρε.]  
[*Yes {re}*]  
269 SIM: Πολύ ωραία φάση. >Εμένα μ' αρέσουν [°( )°]<  
*Very nice. >I like [( )<]*  
270 IOL: [↑Α:κου τώ]ρα.  
[*Listen now*]w.  
271 (1.3)  
272 VAS: Πι[εσ Συμεών.]  
*Dri[nk Simeon.]*  
273 SIM: [§Ωχ (.)] ωχ ωχ ωχ§ (.)  
[*Och (.)*] *och och och (.)*  
274 >Θα μου κάνει πρόταση [ν' α:νοίξ]ουμε μαγαζί.<  
*She'll suggest that we open a new store.*  
275 IOL: [Ε λ α]  
[*Come on*]  
276 Πίνε. (.) θ' α[νοίξουμε μαγαζί.]  
*Drink. (.) we'll [open a new store.]*



277 VAS: [Π X I E Σ.=↑E ί ν α ι]  
[D r I n k . =I t ' s ]

278 σοβαΡΗ↑: >η (πορ-) η ΠΡΟταση<  
*a serious pro- proposal*

279 >που θα σου [κάνει .]<  
*the one she'll [m a k e] to you.*

280 IOL: [Δεν εί]↑ναι αστείο  
[It's no]t a joke

281 Αυτό που σου \*λέω.  
*What I'm telling \*you.*  
*\*places the glass on the table*

282 [Δεν ^ντιο κάνω για πλάκα.]  
[I'm not kidding.]

283 SIM: [N' ανοίξουμε μαγαζί.]  
[To open a new store.]

284 IOA: A- (.) ↑σταμάτα λίγο  
*Ah (.) just stop*

285 °>Να μ' αφήσεις να ολοκληρώσω.<°  
*To let me finish.*

286 IOL: Γιατί [τώρα παίζεται το μέλλον μου.]  
*As [now my future is at stake.]*

287 SIM: [\$Κοίτα (.) <Αμα\$]  
[Look (.) if\$]

288 [\$Έχω το [Γι ά]↑ννη>\$]>  
[\$I have [J o] hn\$]

289 VAS: [((Δυνατό γέλιο))]  
[((Raucous laughter))]

290 IOL: [χαχα]  
[haha]

291 SIM: [\$<Το φίλο μου:>\$]  
[The friend of mine]

292 VAS: [((Γ έ λ ι ο))]  
[((L a u g h t e r))]

293 IOL: \$↑Άσε (h) [το(h) [Γιά-\$]  
Leave [J o [h -]

294 VAS: [((Δυνατό γέλιο))]  
[((Raucous laughter))]

295 SIM: [\$ (μαγαζ) ί\$]  
[(s t o re)]

296 VAS: (.hhh)

297 IOL: ↑↑A:σ' [>\$↑το Γιάννη να:↑< συνεννοη]θούμε\$.  
*Stop talking about John so that we can communicate.*

298 VAS: [\$Δε ↑σου λέω εγώ↑\$]  
[*I'm telling you*]

299 SIM: \$Λέγε [ρε \$]  
*Say (it) [{re}]*

300 IOL: [Λοι]↑ΠΟΝ (.)  
[*S ]o (.)*

301 ↑Ο παΤΕραζ^ μου ζωή να 'χει °ο άνθρωπος [παναγία μου°]  
*My father may he be healthy [my goodness]*

302 VAS: [Ζωή να 'χει]  
[*May he be healthy*]

303 IOL: (.hhh) και χρόνια.

(.hhh) and may he live long.

304 (.hhh) να τα παίρνει απ' τουζ^ μαλάκες  
*May the god take them off the assholes*

305 >Να τα δίνει στον^ μπατέρα μου<=  
*And may he give them to my father=*

306 SIM: °Α γεια σου°  
*Well said.*

307 Σ' αυτό εδώ θα συμφω[νήσουμ'] όλοι.  
*On this we will all [a gree.]*

308 VAS: [Ναι:(h)]  
*[Y e s]*

309 SIM: >Κι αζ^ μην ^ντιον ^γκζέρω τον ^μπατέρα της.<  
*Even though I don't know her father.*

310 VAS: [M : ]  
*[M(uh)]*

311 IOL: [θ α] τον γνωρίσεις τώρα.  
*[You'll] get to know him now.*

312 (0.4)

313 IOL: >Θα πάρεις άδεια άλλη μέρα.= [Μην ^μπάρεις ( )<]  
*You'll take a day off on another day.[=Don't take ( )]*

314 SIM: [Εμείς θα κάνουμε::]  
*[We will get (along)]*

315 Κάνουμε πολλή παρέα με το-  
*We'll get along very well with-*

316 IOL: Θα σε βάλω [να τον βγάλεις] βόλτα.=Δε θα κάτσει εδώ  
*I will have you [t a ke h i m] out.=He won't stay here*

317 SIM: [Είμαι σίγουρος.]  
*[I'm s u r e.]*

318 IOL: †ΔΕ θα την ^ μπ- δε α την ^μπαλέψει μόνος του.  
*He will str- he will struggle alone.*

319 SIM: [Δ ε ]  
*[Won't]*

320 VAS: [(.hhh)]

321 IOL: [θ α] 'χει >φέρει κι αυτή [έ ν α φ ί λ ο<]  
*[She'll] have also brought [a friend of hers]*

322 SIM: [Ε : ν ν ο ε ί τ α ι ρ ε]  
*[It goes without saying {re}]*

323 VAS: [(Γ έ λ ι ο)]  
*[(L a u g h t e r)]*

324 SIM: [°Ε ν ν ο ε ί τ α ι °]  
*[It goes without saying]*

325 VAS: [(Γ έ λ ι ο)]  
*[(L a u g h t e r)]*

326 SIM: [θ' α]ΛΛΑξω το ρεπό εκατό °τοις εκατό.°  
*[I'll shi]ft my day off for sure.*

327 VAS: [(Γ έ λ ι ο)]  
*[(Laughter)]*

328 IOL: Ωραία >βάλ' το Τε[τάρτη °ή Πέμπτη.<°]  
*Nice take it on Wed[nesday or Thursday.]*

329 SIM: [Τ ε Τ Α ρ τ η] ή Πέμπτη ναι.  
*[W e d n e s d a y] or Thursday yes.*

330 VAS: ((καθαρίζει το λαιμό της))  
*((clears her throat))*

331 SIM: [Είναι για μία μέρα °δε μπορώ άλλη.°=  
*[It's for one day I can't do ano]ther one.*

332 VAS: [Α θα 'ναι κι ένας ιφίλος μου °εδώ.°]

[Ah a friend of mine will also be here.]

333 IOL: =Βάλ' το Πέμπτη για να 'ρθω κι εγώ.  
=Take the day off on Thursday so that I too can come.

334 (.hhh) ↑E::[ : : ]  
(.hhh) uuu[u u h m]

335 [Τετάρτη τ ό]τε °για να τα πούμε μόνοι μας.°  
[On Wednesday the]n so as to meet alone.

336 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
((Laughter))

337 SIM: ((Δυνατό γέλιο)) (.hhh)  
((Raucous laughter)) (.hhh)

338 IOL: Λοιπόν=  
So=

339 SIM: =\$Όχι ρε νιάξει.\$  
=No {re} fine.

340 IOL: Άκου >τώρα πέρ' απ' την^ μπλάκα.< (.) ↑Ο πατέραζ^ μου  
Listen now beyond the jokes. (.) my father

341 (1.0)

342 IOL: ΘΕλει ↑NA:: °α ε°  
Wants to ah<sub>[prtc1]</sub> eh<sub>[prtc1]</sub>

343 SIM: Ν' ανοίξει [μαγαζί?]  
To open a new [st ore?]

344 IOL: [Τς ε]  
[Ts eh]

345 Μας ↑ΕΧΕΙ ένα ΠΡΟ>γραμμα τέλος πάντων<  
He's put into a (savings) plan anyways  
Κι εμένα και της αδερφής μου,  
Both myself and my sister,

345 (0.6)

346 Και ↑ΘΑ ΠΑΡΟΥΜ' ΈΝΑ Εύλογο πο↑σό: (.)  
And we'll get back a good sum of money (.)

347 Του ↑ΧΡΟΝΟΥ ή του παραχρόνου.  
Next year or the year after next.

348 (0.7)

349 SIM: ( )

350 IOL: Περίμενε °τώρα συ.°  
Wait now.

351 SIM: Και εισοδηματίας.  
(You are) an earner too.

352 IOL: Σταμάτα. (.) ↑ΠΑΡ- εί↑ναι σχεδόν τριψήφιο το νούμερο,  
Stop<sub>[2nd sng imp]</sub> it. (.) it's almost a three-digit number

353 σε χιλιάδες.  
in thousands.

354 VAS: Εγ[ώ τα: τα] ↑ξέρω °Συμεών° εσ[ύ:]  
I [know it] Simeon y[ou] ((should listen))

355 SIM: [Μπρά:βο] [↑Μπράβο]  
[G e e] [G e e]

356 (1.7)

357 IOL: <Και Εγώ ↑πρέπει> ↑Τώρα να ΣΠΑσω το κεφάλι μου  
And now I have to puzzle over

358 Δηλαδή τα ΛΙγα τα ΠΕΝΤ' Έξι εγκεφαλικά κύ[τ τ α ρα]=  
That is the few five or six cerebral ce[l l s]=

359 VAS: [(γέλιο)]  
[(laughs)]

360 IOL: =\$Που μου 'χουνε μείνει(h)\$  
=That are left

361 VAS: \$Για[τ ι]  
*Beacu[s e]*

362 SIM: [\$Για]τι του τηζ^ [TA KATIEI ΌΛΑ Ο Άλλος\$]  
*[S in]ce that guy [destroys all her cerebral cells]*

363 VAS: [\$ΔΕ ΜΙΛΑμε για τόσα πολλα\$]  
*[We're not talking about that many]*

364 SIM: °\$Ναι\$°  
*Yes*

365 IOL: \$Πιο πολλα δεν \*Εχει.\$  
*There aren't many more.*  
*\*slams the hand on the table*

366 VAS: (.hhh)

367 IOL: E:::  
*Eh*

368 (0.5)

369 IOL: Να κά- να τα ↑κάνω ↑Κ'Ατι.  
*To do to do something out of (this sum).*

370 <Εγώ ↑δε μπορώ> να 'μαι στο [eng] **κόρπορεϊτ** \*μια ζωή  
*I can't be in the corporate sector \*my whole life.*  
*\*slams the table*

371 Θ' ασπρίςουνε πριν της ώρα(ς) τους και θα δε θέ-  
*(My hair) will gray before its time and will I don't w-*

372 Δεν εί[μαι για βαφές.]  
*I don't [feel like dying it.]*

373 VAS: [Γιατί ↑δεν ^ντια] κάνεις μια δημόσια βιβλιοθήκη?  
*[Why don't you] make a public library?*

374 [((Δυνατό γέλιο))]  
*[((Raucous laughter))]*

375 SIM: [( )]

376 VAS: Ναι.  
*Yes.*

377 SIM: Συνέχισε συ γιατί αυτό δεν έχει(h) [\$ ( )\$]  
*You continue<sub>[imp]</sub> because this does not [make (sense)]*

378 VAS: [((Δυνατό γέλιο))]  
*[((Raucous laughter))]*

379 IOL: [Μ ι λ άω] σοβα[ρά=μη μου γαμάς] °τη συζήτηση.°  
*[I'm talking] serious[ly=don't fuck] the discussion.*

380 SIM: [( )]

381 VAS: [((Δυνατό γέλιο))]  
*[((Raucous laughter))]*

382 IOL: E:::  
*Eh*

383 (0.9)

384 IOL: ↑Είχα σκεφτεί λοιπ'ον επειδή ο πατέραζ^ μου (.)  
*I'd thus thought because my father*

385 έχει ΠΑρα πολλέζ^ γνωριμίες (.)  
*has too many acquaintances*

386 Με [eng] **λόκαλς** στην Ελλαδα παραγωγούς,  
*(he knows) local producers in Greece*

387 Που φτιάχνουνε: και [eng] **ποπ**  
*Who also make (???)*

388 Και διάφορα τέτοια πράγματα=  
*And various such things=*

389 =>Δηλαδή έχουμε μία-<  
*=That is we have one*

390 (0.6)

391 IOL: Τς είναι μικΡΑ κτήματα >να στο πω< έτσι  
*ts there are small lands to put it this was*

392 Η ε ή ε α- ή αγρότ[ες °ή οτιδήποτε, °]  
*Or eh<sub>[prtcl]</sub> or eh<sub>[prtcl]</sub> f- or farm[ers or whatsoever,]*

393 SIM: [Θα σου ΠΩ ΜΕτά °εγώ]  
*[I'll tell you afterwards.]*

394 IOL: Περίμενε δεν έχω ολοκληρώσει.  
*Wait<sub>[prtcl]</sub> I've not finished.*  
*\*slightly slams her hand on the table*

395 (.hhh) Ε::: (.) και ΦΤΙΑχνουνε (.)  
*(.hhh) eh and they make (.)*

396 Ο ένας φτιάχνει χειροποίητες πίτες  
*Some make handmade pies*

397 Τις καταψύχει και τις π- τις πουΛΛει, (.)  
*They freeze them and sell them, (.)*

398 Στη [eng] **λόκαλ** αγορά ΑΛΛΑ Έχει- έχει π-  
*In the local market but they have- have p-*

399 Έχει παραγωγή έχει μονάδα παραγωγής  
*They produce they have an industry*

400 <Μικρή> ↑αλλά Έχει.  
*A small one but they do have.*

401 (0.8)

402 IOL: Ο Άλλος ξέρω 'γω::: ε καλλιεργεί όσπρια  
*Others eh<sub>[prtcl]</sub> cultivate pulses*

403 Δεν ^γκζέρω τι (.hhh)  
*I don't know what (.hhh)*

404 Ο Άλλος έχει ΛΑδι: (.)  
*Others have olive oil (.)*

405 ΟΙ Άλλοι έχουνε κοΠΑδια ΚΡΕατΑ: και τς διάφορα=  
*Others have bands of meat and ts various things=*

406 =Και τα τΑ::: (0.4) αλλά κανένας ↑δεν ↑έχει  
*=And they they (.) but nobody has*

407 [eng] ↑**ΜΠΡΑντιγκ** προϊόντα.  
*Branded products.*

408 (0.9)

409 SIM: Ωραίο αυτό καλό.  
*Nice, this is good.*

410 IOL: κριτσίνια τέτοια το 'να τ' Άλλο=  
*bread sticks and stuff like that and other things=*

411 =δηλα↑δή (.) μας φέρνει απ' την ↑^Γκghρήτη  
*=that is (.) he ((my father)) brings us from Crete*

412 ΚΑτι κghρίτσίνια κάτι °τέτοια° Άρωστα.  
*some bread sticks and stuff like that that are yummy.*

413 SIM: °η πιο βασική λέξη. (.) Κρήτη.°  
*the most basic word. (.) Crete.*

414 VAS: ΚΡΗτη. (.) °την αγαπάω.  
*Crete. (.) I love this place.*

415 IOL: Λοι[πόν έχει Πάρα έχει] πάρα πολλούς στην ^Γκρήτη.  
*S[o he's got too many] ((producers)) in Crete.*

416 VAS: [Βασική λ έ ξ η.]  
*[Basic w o rd.]*

417 IOL: Εμπορους. (.) φίλους του (.) φίλουζ^ μου  
*Merchants (.) friends of his (.) friends of mine*

418 Ο πατέ- φίλους του: ο πατέραζ^ μου. (.)  
*My fa-(ther) has many friends. (.)*

419 ΛοιΠΟΝ,

420 so,  
 (0.9)  
 421 IOL: Και ΉΤΙΧΑ ΠΑΕΙ ΜΙΑ ΜΕΡΑ στο [eng] **Εργκον**  
*And I'd gone to Ergon one day*  
 422 Και το σκεφτόμουνα  
*And I was thinking about it*  
 423 Γιατί μου την ΉΜΠΕταξε αυτή την ιδέα  
*Because ((my father)) let me know about his idea*  
 424 Ο πατέραζ^ μου:=δηλαδή (.)  
*My father=that is (.)*  
 425 Πώζ^ μπορούμε ν' αξιοποιήσουμε αυτά τα χρήματα, (.)  
*How we can leverage this sum of money, (.)*  
 426 Την Αγγλιτ^α (.) και τους ΠΑραγωγούς.  
*England (.) and the producers.*  
 427 SIM: Κάτσε μισό να το σηκώσω.  
*Wait a moment to answer the call.*  
  
 ((Simeon speaks on the phone with his boss and the discussion is left unfinished))

#### Event 4, 'They are the rudest and most hypocritical people' (LON-11)

01 IOL: Οκ- η μόνη θέση που θα μπορούσα να φύγω  
*Ok- the only position for which I could leave*  
 02 Είναι μία κι αυτή::  
*((the UK)) is one and this ((is))*  
 03 (0.6)  
 04 Και πάλι.  
*And still.*  
 05 Ε::  
*Eh*  
 06 (1.4)  
 07 Και μία εταιρεία. (.) [eng] **Γιούνι**.  
*And one company. (.) Uni((lever)).*  
 08 Δε θα ξαναγ[ύ-]  
*I wouldn't go [b ack]*  
 09 VAS: [ E ] κεί που ήσουνα.  
*[Where] you worked.*  
 10 IOL: Όχι όχι=  
*No no=*  
 11 VAS: =[Ο χ ι ε ζ ]  
*=No eh*  
 12 IOL: [>Εκεί που ή]μουνα δεν ^μπάω με τίποτα.<=Το- τ-  
*[No way would] I return to the previous company.*  
 13 Θέλω να φύγω από 'δώ θα πάω απο 'κεί?  
*I want to leave from ((the company)) here, would I*  
*Ever go there? ((in Greece))*  
 14 (0.4)  
 15 Φεύγω με τη: μ- φεύγω με  
*I'm leaving under the m- I'm leaving under*  
 16 Τις χειρότερες  
*the worst*  
 17 VAS: Ναι αλλά [ε ί χ ε ς κ α λ ή:]

- Yes but [you've had a good]
- 18 IOL: [Των εντυπώσε(ων).]  
[Of impressions.]
- 19 VAS: >Καλή συνεργασ[ί α.<]  
Good collabora[tion.]
- 20 [ > Μ ε] το [eng] **μάνατζέρ** μου<=  
[With] my manager=
- 21 VAS: =Ναι.  
=Yes.
- 22 (0.5)
- 23 IOL: Τον λατρεύω. (.) Αλλά ε (.) ε  
I adore him. (.) but eh (.) eh
- 24 Η εταιρεία\* έχει μία=μία κοινή φιλοσοφία.  
The company's philosophy is common ((globally)).  
\*sound of glass
- 25 VAS: M:  
Mm
- 26 IOL: (.hhh) Ντάξ αυτό που βίωσα εδώ πέρα (0.4)  
(.hhh) well what I've experienced over here. (0.4)
- 27 Δ: εν (.) ↓θέλω να το ξαναβιώσω↓.  
I don't (.) want to experience it again.
- 28 (0.6)
- 29 IOL: Δεν μπαίξει °↓>να μείνω σ' αυτήν την εταιρεία.<↓°(.)  
No way will I stay with this company. (.)
- 30 IOL: Θέλω να φύγω Αύριο.  
I want to leave tomorrow.
- 31 VAS: Είναι εται- θέμα εταιρείας, θέμα χώρας; (.) πώς<=  
Is it a matter of company, of country? (.) how?=  
32 IOL: =Θέμα:: >χώρας<.  
=A matter of country.
- 33 (0.4)
- 34 IOL: Θέμα κουλτούρας.\* (.)  
A matter of culture. (.)  
\*puts the glass on the table
- 35 >Και θέμ(α)< βασικά-εί-ναι-θέμα οΜΑδας.  
And a matter basically, it is a matter of team.
- 36 ((Κάποιος ήχος))  
((Some sound))
- 37 IOL: Γιατί: απ' ό,τι βλέπω στις άλλες ομάδες είναι  
Since as far as I can see the other teams are
- 38 Πιο ανεκτικοί=>επειδή είναι πιο πολύ< [eng] **μουλτινάσιοναλ**,  
More tolerant because they are more multinational.
- 39 VAS: M:  
Mm
- 40 (0.7)
- 41 IOL: το [eng] **Κένκο** έχει μία (.) Τουρκαλοαγγλίδα, (.)  
Kenco's ((team)) consists of a (.) Turkish-British  
woman, (.)
- 42 Μία Ιταλίδα, (.) ένα Σκωτσέζο,  
One Italian woman, (.) a Scottish man,
- 43 (0.4)
- 44 Και μία πο- Πακιστανή.  
And of one Pa- Pakistani woman.
- 45 Αυτ' είν' η ομΑδα.  
This is the team.
- 46 (0.7)

47 <Η ομάδα του [eng] **Λορ**> έχει μία Γαλλίδα, (.)  
*Lore's team comprises a French woman, (.)*

48 Μία Αγγλίδα ↑και έναν ΕΛβε↑τΟ.  
*A British woman and a Swiss man.*

49 (1.2)

50 >Εμένα η δικιά μου< είν'  
*My own team is*

51 όλοι [eng] **Μπρί↑τις**. (2.0)  
*Everyone is British. (2.0)*

52 Είναι↑ (0.7) γghα↑μώ το διάολό τους. (.)  
*They are (0.7) fucking hell. (.)*

53 Τους σιχ:αίνομαι. (.)  
*I despise them. (.)*

54 Είναι οι πχιο αγενείς °άνθρωποι και  
*They are the rudest and*

55 οι πιο υποκριτέs που έχω γνωρίσει.° (.)  
*the most hypocritical people I've ever met. (.)*

56 Όταν^ ντους ρωτάω μου λένε τα  
*When I ask them, they say to me the*

57 ΚΑ↑λύτερα=Εννοούν τα χει↑ρότερα  
*Best=They mean the worst*

58 και δεν είν' υποστηρικτικοί ΠΟΥΘΕΝΑ.  
*And they are not supportive on anything.*

59 SIM: Ναι κι αυτό με το βαθμό που σου:=  
*Yes and this regarding your score=*

60 VAS: =Πολύ άδικο ρε.  
*=Very unfair {re}.*

61 IOL: Ακόμα ↑δεν^ ντο καταλαβαίνω. (.)  
*I still don't understand it. (.)*

62 >Και πήγα σήμερα και μίλησα στη [eng] **μάνα↑τζέρ** μου,<  
*And I went today to talk to my manager,*

63 (0.8)

64 Και της είπα ότι: "εάν >δεν είσ- ικανοποιημένη<, (.)  
*And I told her "if you are not satisfied, (.)*

65 Με κΑτι >↑μην ^μπε↑ριμένεις °↓δώδεκα μήνες μετά  
*With something, don't wait for twelve months*

66 Να μου το πεις.<↓°"  
*To let me know about it."*

67 (ήχος από μαχαιροπύρουνο)  
*((sound of cutlery))*

68 VAS: ((πνιχτό γέλιο))  
*((laughs))*

69 IOL: Τηζ^ λέ- >[και της το] 'πα Έτσι,<  
*I tell her [and I said] it to her like that,*

70 (VAS:) [((γέλι ο))]  
*[((laughs))]*

71 IOL: Δε [μ' αρ]έσουν οι εκπλήξεις.  
*I'm [not f]ond of surprises.*

72 VAS: [ μ : ]  
*[ m m]*

73 (0.6)

74 IOL: Προτιμώ: να:(φ) να αγγίξεις τα όρια της αγένειας  
*I'd rather you border on rudeness*

75 >Και να μου πεις ότι ΔΕρ< λειτουργεί,  
*And tell me that it doesn't work,*

76 (0.4)



77 IOL: ΑΛΛΑξέ το μ' αυτόν τον ^ντρό:πο,  
*Change it this way,*

78 (0.5)

79 IOL: Η πρότεινέ μου ένα [τρόπο που θα σε β- που]  
*Or suggest to me [a way that would (he-) you that]*

79 VAS: [(καθαρίζει το λαιμό της)]  
 [(clears her throat)]

80 IOL: Θα: μπορούσ(ε) να το αλλάξεις, (.)  
*Could help change it, (.)*

81 IOL: >ΠΑΡΑ να περ(ι)μ-< να φτιάσω δώδεκα μήνες  
*Instead of waiting for me to have worked twelve months*  
 >Και να πάρω δύο.<  
*And get a two ((in my performance appraisal.))*

82 Και να μη γκζέρω και το λόγο.=  
*Besides this, I don't know the reason behind this.=*  
 =Να μην [↑^γκατα]ΛΑΒΑΪνω↑ το λόγο. (.)  
 =I don't [u n der]stand the reason.

83 VAS: [ M : : ]  
 [ M m m ]

84 IOL: (.hhh) γιατί και τώρα που ↑μου το εξηγού↑νε, (.)  
 (.hhh) as even now that they explain it to me, (.)

85 IOL: Το λόγο ↑ΔΕΝ τον↑ ^γκαταλαβαίνω.  
*I don't understand the reason.*

86 (1.1)

87 IOL: ↑ΔΕΝ τον ^γκαταλαβ>αίνω δεν τον δέ↑<χομαι.=  
 =I don't understand it, I don't accept it.

88 =Θεωρώ ↑ότ' \* είν'↑ >εκατό τοις εκατό< τιμωρία. (.)  
 =I think that it's a hundred percent punishment. (.)  
 \*claps her hands

89 IOL: Γιατί του την είπανε γι' αυτή τη μαλακία.  
*Because they dressed him down for this fuck-up.*

90 (0.7)

91 VAS: Η νέα [eng] **μάνατζερ**, (0.8) πώς το εξηγεί?  
*The new manager, (0.8) how does she explain it?*

92 (0.9)

93 IOL: Δεν ↑^ντο- °↓δεν ^ντο εξηγεί. °  
*She doesn't she doesn't explain it.*

94 >Και δε θα πάρει θέση.<  
*And she won't take sides.*

95 (0.5)

96 VAS: Α δε σου είπε:=  
*Oh she didn't tell you=*

97 IOL: =Και συγνώ- [Ο τ α ν,]  
 =Well excu- [w h e n,]

98 SIM: [(ντάξει)] και δε θέλει >να πάρει θέση  
 [W e l l ] and she doesn't want to take sides

99 Γιατί είναι καινούρια [eng] **μάνατζερ**.<  
*As she is a new manager.*

100 °>Ετσι?<°=  
*Right? =*

101 VAS: =M: [ ν α ι . ]  
 =Mm yes.

102 IOL: [(Ναι για-)]  
 [Yes becau]((se))

103 SIM: [ ( ) ] λ(ι)-

104 IOL: ↑Και: ρ- είν' η καινούρια [[eng] ↑**μάνατζερ**, ]

And she is the new [manager,]  
 105 SIM: [(Εγώ γι' αυ-]  
 [That's why I-]  
 106 IOL: Γιατ==  
 Becau((se))=  
 107 SIM: =ΓΙΑΤΙ δεν ^γκζέρει ούτε την: α:: Ιόλη  
 =Because neither does she know Ioli  
 108 Πώς δουλεύει, (.)  
 How she works, (.)  
 109 SIM: ΟύτΕ:: (0.8)  
 Nor ((does she know)) (0.8)  
 110 VAS: Ναι=[ναι=ναι (μ).]  
 Yes=[yes= yes (m).]  
 111 SIM: [Το τι γίνε](ται) >στην ε--σου λέει<  
 [How things go] in the c((ompany))=she'd think  
 112 (Γ)ιατί να δημιουργήσω μία αντιΠΑθεια πι-χί  
 Why should I create resentment for example  
 113 Άμα πάρω το μέρος των άλλωνών?  
 If I take the others' side?  
 114 (.hhh) προς την ^νιτέ::ην Ιωάννα που μπορεί: εν τέλει  
 (.hhh) with Ioli who is likely after all  
 115 Να είναι: [eng] **βάλιουαμπλ μέμπερ** έτσι?=  
 To be a valuable team member, right?=  
 116 VAS: =N:[α ι]  
 =Y [e s]  
 117 IOL: [M α] τη ρώτησα ε μέχ- μ- μέχ- α κι μου ↑λέει  
 [But] I asked her unti- m- unti- and she says  
 118 Θα αφιερώ\*νουμε ένα τέταρτο απ' το [eng] **σέσιον**  
 "We will devote fifteen minutes of our session  
 \*she puts the glass on the table  
 119 Που έχουμε κάθε βδομάδα, το:  
 That we have every week, the  
 120 (0.5)  
 121 IOL: [To:: το μια ώρα,\*  
 [Which lasts o]ne hour  
 \*she puts the glass on the table  
 122 VAS: [ M : ]  
 [ M m ]  
 123 VAS: ↑M  
 M  
 124 IOL: Το μια ώρα για να >σου ↑δίνω [eng] **φίντμπακ**."< (.)  
 Of our one-hour session "to give you feedback". (.)  
 125 VAS: Ω[ραία.]  
 That's [good.]  
 126 IOL: [Για ομιδή]ποτε από το πιο μικτρό  
 [For every]thing from the least  
 127 >Μέχ- το πιο μεγάλο<=κ(αι) τηζ^ λέω  
 To the most important. and I tell her  
 128 "↑Μόνο έτσι °θα με κάνεις **ντιβέλον**."°  
 "Only in this way will you help me develop ((my skills))."  
 129 IOL: (.hhh)  
 130 VAS: N[αι.]  
 Y[es.]  
 131 IOL: [M ην] ↑^μπε\*ριμένεις τς δώδεκα μήνες μετά=Και  
 [Don't] wait ts for twelve months"=And  
 132 Τηζ^ λέω ↑ΞΕρω πόσο θα πήξεις,

- 133 *I tell her "I know how busy you will be,"*  
(0.5)
- 134 IOL: Το επόμενο διάστημα;  
*In the following period?*
- 135 (0.5)
- 136 IOL: Α:λλΑ προ-γμα-τι-ΚΑ:, (.)  
*But honestly, (.)*
- 137 IOL: †ΔΕΝ ΘΕλω να έχω (0.8) Ε:: Άλλη::  
*I don't want to get (.8) eh<sub>[prtcl]</sub> another*
- 138 Άλλες εκπλήξεις. (.) γιατί έχω βρεθεί::,  
*Other surprises. (.) because I've got*
- 139 (1.2)
- 140 VAS: Προ εκπλή[†ξ ε ω ς,]  
*surpri[s e d,]*
- 141 IOL: [προ εκπλή]ξεως και<,  
*[s u r pri]sed,*
- 142 VAS: Ν[αι.]  
*Y[es.]*
- 143 IOL: [( )] κι ακ'ομα >και να< και να μου το εξηγήσεις,  
*[( )] and still even if you explain it to me,*
- 144 IOL: Δε θα καταλάβω γιατί βρέθηκα εδώ.  
*I won't understand why I got here.*
- 145 (1.7)
- 146 IOL: †Δε θα καταλάβω.†=Δεν το δέχομαι.  
*I won't understand.=I don't accept it.*
- 147 (1.3)
- 148 IOL: (.hhh) και: †της Ε'πα(τ)†  
*And I told her*
- 149 Η- δηλαδή >για να σου δώσω να καταλάβεις  
*That is, to help you understand,*
- 150 Η ομάδα μου< περιστοιχίζεται από έναν< αρχί-\* αρχί-  
*My team is managed by a bull-\* bull-*  
*\*sound of glass*
- 151 (Κι)αρχίδα,  
*bullshitter,*
- 152 (0.9)
- 153 IOL: †Δεν έχω λό†για να πω >δη(λ)αδή,<  
*I can't find the words to say, that is,*
- 154 (0.5)
- 155 VAS: Ο Peter?  
*Who Peter?*
- 156 IOL: Ναι:.  
*Yes.*
- 157 ΔΕν †έχω† ΛΟγία: γι' αυιό-τον άνθρωπο.=  
*I can't find the words to describe this person.=*
- 158 =Δη(λ)αδή, εί†ναι σαν αυτές τις χγαζογκόμενες,  
*=That is, he's like these bimbos,*
- 159 (0.4)
- 160 IOL: Στην Ελλάδα που σου "ΑΓΑπη μου: †πόσ'† όμορφη  
*In Greece who ((say)) to you "my love how beautiful*
- 161 >Είσαι σήμερα!=αχ πόσο σου πάει καλά νιάξει  
*Are you today!=ah<sub>[prtcl]</sub> how nice it is on you†, well*
- 162 Είσαι [ μια κούκλα ΘΕ< ] [Α ,]"  
*You are [a doll, ((a)) god][ess]"*
- 163 SIM: [Κι από πίσω, ( ) ]  
*[And behind your back,]*

164 VAS: [Ω::]  
[A w]

165 IOL: Κι από πίσω σου ε::μ:,  
*And behind your back uhm,*

166 SIM: °Ναι μ.°=  
*Yes m.*

167 VAS: =Αυτό το γghλοιώ[δες το]::  
*This kind of sli[my the]*

168 IOL: [Πω πω]  
*[Oh dear]*

169 ↑Είναι αυτό το↑ πράγμα σε ΆΝΤρα,  
*He is this thing but in a man's version,*

170 VAS: Πω πω: ναι.  
*Oh dear yes.*

171 IOL: Και μάλιστι↑Α Έχει και: [eng] **πόκερ φέις**=  
*Besides this he's got a poker face.=*

172 =Δεν ^γκαταλαβαίνεις.  
*=You don't understand.*

173 VAS: [M :]  
[M μ]

174 IOL: [Σου] λέει ↑τα ΚΑΛύτεΡΑ,  
*[H e] says the best about you,*

175 Εννοεί τα χειρότεΡΑ,  
*He means the worst,*

176 Ε δεν είναι καθόλου υποστηρικτικός,  
*Eh he's not supportive at all,*

177 SIM: Χειρότερο αυτό.=  
*That's worse/the worst.=*

178 VAS: =M:.  
*=Mm.*

179 IOL: >Και δεν ^γκαταλαΒΑίνεις και τι έχει ↑γίν[ε ι . <]  
*And you don't understand what has really ha[p pened.]*

180 VAS: [↑ναι ρε]  
[yes {re}]

181 ↑Καλύ↑τερα να ο άλλος μη σου μιλάει να: να σου λέει  
*Better if they don't talk to you if if they tell you*

182 [Να σε] ΒΡΙζει να(h),  
*[If they] swear at you,*

183 IOL: [↑Ναι!]  
[Yes!]

184 VAS: Παρά να: ( )  
*Rather than ( )*

### Event 5, 'They challenge you' (LON-18)

45 IOL: Εγώ σήμερα είχα [eng] **κολ** με τα παιδιά απ' την Ελλάδα.  
*I had a call with the guys from Greece today.*

46 Ήρθε να μου μιλήσει ο πρώην [eng] **μάναιζέρ** μου, (.)  
*My ex-manager came to talk to me, (.)*

47 ↑ΗΡΘΑνε τα παιδιά που είναι [eng] **ΝΑΜΣ**, (.)  
*The guys who are NAMS came, (.)*

48 Μου λένε (.) γου- I ↑missed you.=>Δηλαδή< τς

They tell me (.) we- I missed you.=That is, ts  
 49 ARI: Ναι:  
 Yes  
 50 IOL: >↑Μου λέει ο Πάνος<  
 Panos tells me  
 51 Λείπεις απ' το γραφείο. (.)  
 We miss you in the office. (.)  
 52 Εδώ πέρα (.) μα↑λάκα <↑↑ό,τι και να τους↑↑ ρωτή:σεις>  
 Here (.) {malaka} whatever you may ask them  
 53 <↑↑Ο:τι και να τους ρωτή↑↑σεις, (.)  
 Whatever you may ask them  
 54 Απ' ↑↑το πιο↑↑ απλό: (.)  
 From the simplest thing (.)  
 55 Σε ↑κάνουν [eng] ↑↑**τσάλεντζ**.  
 They challenge you.  
 56 (0.8)  
 57 ARI: Ναι:  
 Yes  
 58 IOL: >Ρε μαλάκα< ν- να σου δώσω να καταλάβεις.  
 {Re malaka} t- to help you understand.  
 59 Καθόμουνα στο γραφειάκι μου (.) στην Ελλάδα.  
 I was sitting in my office (.) in Greece.  
 60 (0.4)  
 61 ↑Ρώταγα τη Φώφη (.) ρε μαλάκα Φώφη, (.)  
 I was asking Fofi (.) {re malaka} Fofi  
 62 Εδώ σ' αυτό το: [eng] **άρτγουορκ**,  
 Here in this artwork,  
 63 (1.1)  
 64 Είχε ένα αστερίσκο αλλά δεν υπάρχει [eng] **κλέιμ**.  
 There was an asterisk but there's no claim.  
 65 Μήπως ^να τον ΒΓ'Αλουμε γιατί δε χρειάζεται?  
 Shall we remove it because it's redundant?  
 66 Ναι ρε ναι.  
 Yes {re} yes  
 67 IOL: Σε ↑:διο σε πειρίπου σε ↑ίδιο [eng] **λέβελ** εργασιακό.  
 At the same, at about at the same work level.  
 68 Έτσι?=  
 Right?  
 69 ARI: =M:  
 70 IOL: Δε^ μπήγα να ρωτήσω το [eng] **μάνατζέρ** μου.  
 I didn't go to ask my manager.  
 71 Που και το ↑Χγήαρη να ρώταγα=  
 Even if I asked Harris  
 72 =>Θα μου 'λεγε< ΒΓ'ΑΛ' το ρε Ιόλη.  
 He'd tell me remove it {re} Ioli.  
 73 Εέγω 'γω ή:: μη το βγάλεις  
 I'd say, or don't remove it.  
 74 >Γιατί χρειάζετ' αυτό.<  
 Because we need to do this.  
 75 (0.5)  
 76 Αλλά σ' ένα ↑ύφος (0.5) τς (0.6)  
 But in a manner (0.5) ts (0.6)  
 77 Ναι ρε παιδί μου ↑κάν' το ξέρω 'γω,  
 Yes my lad do it, I'd say  
 78 Η: τσέκαρ' αυτό.=>Σα- σα- συμβουλευτικό:  
 Or check this.=Advice-giving

79 ↑↑Η:: παρακινητικό.  
Or motivational.

80 ARI: Ναι.  
Yes.

81 IOL: Εδώ πέρα [παίρνω]  
Here [I call]

82 ARI: [Λογικό.]  
[Reasonable.]

83 (1.2)

84 IOL: Τη μαλάκω τη Λέσλι (.)  
The stupid Lesly (.)

85 >Που 'ναι κι ένα χρόνο μικρότερή μου<  
Who's a year younger than me

86 Α της χώσω καμιά αινάποδη, (0.6)  
I'll give her a smack, (0.6)

87 Και τηζ^ λέω (.)  
And I tell her (.)

88 Ρε συ Λέσλι (.)  
{Re} Lesley

89 <Υπάρχει αυτό το θέμα σ' αυτό το [eng] **άρτυσορκ**> (0.6)  
There's an issue with this artwork (0.6)

90 >°Σ' ένα καινούριο προϊόν  
On a new product

91 Που θέλουμε να λανσάρουμε τέλος πάντων.°<  
That we want to launch anyways

92 (0.7)

93 ΝΑ το βγάλω?  
Shall I remove it?

94 ↑ΠΟΙΑ είν' η δική σου γνώμη?  
What's your opinion?

95 ↑Η να το κρατήσω γιατί: (0.4)  
Or shall I keep it because (0.4)

96 Για [eng] **ρέγκιουλατόρι** λόγους ξέρω 'γώ.  
For regulatory reasons maybe.

97 ARI: Μ:  
98 (0.8)

99 IOL: Τς (0.6) [eng] **γουέλ** Ιόλη (.)  
Ts (0.6) well, Ioli (.)

100 [eng] **γούι χαβ του μάναιζ δι εξπεκτέισονς φρομ σέντραλ**  
We have to manage the expectations from central<

101 (.hh) °Ασε με ρε κουκλίτσα μου°  
Leave me alone, my dear

102 Να βαρέσω το κεφάλι μου!  
To hit my head.

103 ARI: ↑Μ::  
Mmm

104 IOL: Ε-χω-'κα-τό [eng] **ΠΡΑΪΌριτις** >αυτή τη στιγμή<  
I'm having so many priorities at the moment

105 Δεν έχω κάτσει να φάω η Χριστιανή,  
I've not sat to eat, me the Christian,

106 >Και θα κάτσω να τσεκάρω τον αστερίσκο< ας πούμε?  
And I'll go to check the asterisk, you mean?

107 (0.7)

108 ARI: Τς ναι (.hh)  
Ts yes (.hh)

109 IOL: >Δη(λ)αδή γι- γιατί ↑γαμιέστε τόσο πολύ?=<



I was never flattering anyone=Will I flatter them now?  
 138 ARI: Ναι αυτό: είναι:: τρα[γ ι κ ό]  
 Yes this is tra[g i c]  
 139 IOL: [↑Σί χα μα α]  
 [Disgusting]  
 140 ARI: Κι έχουμε εμείς τη: φήμη ότι γλείφουμε.  
 And it's us who have the fame of flattering.  
 141 IOL: Ποιοζ ^γλείφει ρε μαλάκα=Ποιοζ γλείφει?  
 Who flatters {re malaka}=Who flatters?  
 142 Να σε πάρω όπως είσαι να σε βάλω μες στην εταιρεία  
 I shall take you to the company  
 143 την Ελληνική να καταλάβεις τη διαφορά.  
 The Greek one so that you can understand the difference.  
 144 ARI: Ναι  
 Yes  
 145 IOL: Που τρώμε το γαμήσι του αιώνα γιατί δεν ήμασταν  
 Where we work extremely hard because we weren't  
 146 και [eng] **λίντερ μάρκετ**. (.)  
 A leader market. (.)  
 147 [eng] **Λίντιν μάρκετ** (.) πώς το λένε.  
 Leading market (.) How do they say it.  
 148 ARI: Ναι: και δουλεύεις με υπερω[ρ ί ε ς]  
 Yes you work over[t i m e]  
 149 IOL: [Και δου]λεύεις  
 [And you] work  
 150 μέχρι τιζ ^δέκα η ↑ώρα το βράδυ=Η Φώφη που::  
 Until ten o'clock in the evening=Fofi who  
 151 η φίλη μου που ήτανε εκεί και της ζήτησα κάτι  
 My friend who was there and I asked her for something  
 152 γιατί δουλεύουμε για το ίδιο [eng] **μπραντ**, (.)  
 Because we're working for the same brand, (.)  
 153 πλέον (0.4) και θα λανσάρουν κι αυτοί αυτό που:  
 Now (0.4) and they'll too launch what  
 154 κάνω [eng] **λιντ εγώ** (.)  
 I'm leading (.)  
 155 °°Ακου αν έχεις το Θεό σου°° >τέλος πάντων<  
 Listen, if you believe in God, anyway  
 156 Τηζ ^λέω στείλ' το μου=  
 I say to her, 'Send it to me'=  
 157 >Μου λέει μαλάκα πήζω (.)  
 She says, '{Malaka} I'm swamped with work (.)  
 158 δεν μπορώ να στο στείλω τώρα  
 I can't send it to you now  
 159 γιατί θα φύγω ↑↑δέκα η ώρα από 'δω μέσα=  
 Because I'll leave at ten o'clock from here=  
 160 =θα στο στείλω αύριο. (.)  
 =I'll send it to you tomorrow. (.)  
 161 Αλλά θέλω να σου πω ότι ακόμα κι αυτό:  
 But I want to tell you that even this  
 162 Είναι ότι δε θα μου πρήξει τ' αρχίδια.  
 It's that she won't bust my balls.  
 163 ARI: Όχι και νιάξει μπορεί να φεύγεις δέκα η ώρα  
 No and okay you may leave at ten o'clock  
 164 αλλά ό- το όλο [π ε ριβάλλον]  
 But the entire [a t mosphere]  
 165 IOL: [Ρε δεν έχεις] [eng] **at-ti-[tu de.]**



[{Re} you don't] have an atti[tu de.]

166 ARI: [N α ι]  
[Y e s]

167 IOL: Δεν έχουν [eng] **ATTitude** οι άνθρωποι αυτοί.  
*These people don't have an attitude.*

168 Η Φώφη δεν έχει [eng] **attitude**.  
*Fofi does not have an attitude.*

169 ARI: Όλοι έχουμε ένα [eng] **attitude**.  
*All of us have an attitude.*

170 IOL: Ναι αλλά θέλω να σου πω <ΔΕ ΧΡΕΙΑΖΕΤΑΙ>  
*Yes but I want to tell you, you don't need*

171 να με κάνεις [eng] †**τσάλενιζ** σε όλα  
*To challenge me for everything*

172 καλή μου γυναίκα.=†Έχω και προσωπική ζωή  
*My good lady.=I have a personal life too*

173 Δε χρειάζεται να τρελαθώ από σένα.  
*I don't need to get crazy because of you.*

174 IOL: >Άμα θέλω παίρνω το Γιάννη να με τρελάνει.<  
*If I want so, I call John to drive me mad.*

175 ARI: ((πνιχτό γέλιο)) αύριο.  
*((laughter)) tomorrow.*

176 IOL: Δε μπορεί να βάλλομαι< ε μαλάκα  
*It's not possible that I get inveighed< eh {malaka}*

177 Με παίρνει μου στέλνει (.) Τετάρτη και Πέμπτη (.)  
*She calls me, she texts me (.) Wednesday and Thursday (.)*

178 θέλω να πω τα παράπονά μου τώρα=  
*I want to tell my complaints now=*

179 =>Θα κάτσεις πέντε λεπτά να μ' ακούσεις<  
*=You'll sit for five minutes to listen to me*

180 γιατί θα τρελαθώ.  
*Because I'll get crazy.*

181 ARI: Ναι ρε σ' ακούω. (.) Έτσι κι αλλιώς δεν [έχω::]  
*Yes {re} I listen to you (.) Anywise I don't [ha ve]*

182 IOL: [TETAp]τη  
[Wedne]sday

183 και Πέμπτη (.) είναι: ήτανε οι μέρες <γάμη-σέτα.>  
*And Thursday (.) the days are, were fucked up.*

184 Ήμασταν από το ΠΡΩΤΙ μέχρι το βράδυ σε συναντήσεις,  
*We were from day to night at meetings,*

185 (.hh) για τα [eng] **μίντια** για το ένα για το άλλο  
*For the media, for this one and that one*

186 για το έτσι για το γιουβέτσι (.)  
*For this one and that one (.)*

187 δεν ^μπρολαβαίναμε να βάλουμε τον^ γκώλο μας  
*We didn't have time to sit our arse*

188 κάτω πέντε λεπτά να ΔΟΥλεύσουμε τις παρουσιάσεις  
*down for five minutes to work on the presentations*

189 που επείγουνε. (.) Και τα πρότζεκτ και  
*That are urgent. (.) And the projects and*

190 'α έρχονται τα [eng] **ιμέιλ** βροχή. (.)  
*The emails were pouring in. (.)*

191 Σήμερα το πρωί είχα †ENENHNTA ΕΦΤΑ [eng] **ιμέιλ**  
*This morning today I had ninety-seven emails*

192 ν' απαντήσω.  
*To answer.*

193 ARI: Απαντάς σε όλα [α υ-]



For the coffee. (.)

228 Για να δω αν είναι:: (.) οκέι (.) ώστε να τα  
*To see if they're (.) okay (.) so that we*

229 χρησιμοποιήσουμε κι αυτό το [eng] Q.  
*Can use them during this Q as well.'*

230 °°Είναι [eng] **κουόρτερ** γιατί χωρίζουμε  
*It means 'quarter' because we split*

231 σε [eng] **Qs** εμείς το χρόνο και δουλεύουμε τώρα  
*Time into quarters and we are now working*

232 για τον ΙΟΥλιο. (.) Ε::  
*For July. (.) Eh*

233 Μη σου πω τώρα για το Γε- Δεκέμβρη.=  
*Or maybe for Je- for December.=*

234 =Δεν ^γκαταλαβαίνω πώς περνάν τα χρόνια,  
*=I don't understand how the years pass by,*

235 Κάνω πλάνα για το Δεκέμβρη αλλά τέλος πάντων.  
*I am planning for December but anyway.*

236 ARI: Ναι ναι  
*Yes yes*

237 IOL: Και τηζ ^λέω ΚΑΛή μου γυναίκα (.)  
*And I tell her, 'My good lady (.)*

238 >Μου λέει γιατί δε μου 'τα χεις στείλει ακόμα?=  
*She says, 'why haven't you sent them to me yet?=  
 239 =°Πού βρίσκεται' η διαδικασία?°<  
 =Which stage has the process reached?'*

240 Μου τα ζήτησε την ^Τετάρτη το βράδυ και  
*She asked them from me on Wednesday evening and*

241 της λέω (.) <Όπως ξέρεις την ^Τετάρτη και την ^ΜΠΕμπτη>  
*I say (.) 'As you know, on Wednesday and Thursday*

242 ήμασταν και εσύ και εγώ όλη μέρα  
*We were, both you and I, all day long*

243 σε συναντήσεις. (.)  
*In meetings. (.)*

244 Πούθε να προλάβω να τα κοιτάξω  
*How could I find the time to look at-*

245 να δω ΠΟΥ στο διάλογο είναι?  
*To see where they are?*

246 Επίσης όπ- μου λέει Είπα< >εν τω μεταξύ<  
*Also, as- she says, I said, meanwhile*

247 Πριν μου τα ξαναζητήσει για Τρίτη φορά, (.)  
*Before she asked them from me for the third time, (.)*

248 τηζ ^λέω ΔΕΝ Έχουμε τέτοια [eng] **μπάνερς**  
*I say, 'We don't have such banners*

249 Είχαμε φτιάξει μόνο για το Amazon=  
*We had created only for Amazon=*

250 ΔΕΝ έχουμε [eng] **τζε-νέρικ μπάνερ**  
*We don't have generic banners*

251 >για να διαφημίζουμε τον^ γκαφέ.=Ήτανε  
*To advertise coffee.=They were*

252 [eng] ↑**φόκουζντ** στο Amazon.  
*Focused on/ catered to Amazon.*

253 ARI: Και πρέπει να το φτιάξεις  
*And you need to make it*

254 απ' την αρχή εσύ τώρα.  
*From scratch now.*

255 IOL: Ναι ρε παιδί μου πρέπει

Yes {re} I have to  
 256 να το φτιάξω απ' την αρχή αλλά (.)  
*Make it from scratch but (.)*  
 257 Ισχυριζότανε ότι έχουμε. (.)  
*She was claiming that we have. (.)*  
 258 Δεν ↑↑έχουμε καλή μου γυναίκα τηζ ^λέω.  
*'We don't have, my good lady,' I say.*  
 259 Έχουμε ένα για το Amazon και ένα για το  
*We have one for Amazon and one for the*  
 260 [eng] **σαμπσκριψιον όφερ** που έχουμε.  
*Subscription offer that we've had.*  
 261 ΔΕΝ έχουμε για ό- όλο το [eng] **πορτφόλιο**  
*We don't have for the entire portfolio*  
 262 του Tassimo στην Αγγλία.  
*Of Tassimo in England.*  
 263 ↑ΔΕΝ έχουμε φτιάξ<=Όχι έχουμε.  
*We haven't made.'='No, we have.'*  
 264 Ε δεν είσαι [eng] ↑↑**φόκουζνι ον ντιτέιλς**.  
*'Eh you are not focused on details.'*  
 265 Ω να σου γαμήσω::  
*Oh holy shit!*  
 266 ARI: ((γέλιο))  
*((laughter))*  
 267 IOL: Και κάθισα >τώρα εγώ μέσα σε ενενήντα εφτά  
*And I sat now amid ninety-nine*  
 268 [eng] **ιμέιλς<** που ήθελαν όλα σήμερα  
*Emails that all needed*  
 269 για σήμερα [eng] **άξιον** (.) να βρω (.)  
*Some action today (.) to find (.)*  
 270 ARI: Τα [eng] **μπάνερς**.  
*The banners.*  
 271 IOL: Όχι τα [eng] **μπάνερς**=>Μα δεν υπάρχουνε  
*Not the banners=But they don't exist*  
 272 Που 'α τα βρω 'α τα γεννήσω;<  
*Where shall I find them? Shall I bear them?*  
 273 ARI: Να [βρ εις]  
*To [f i nd]*  
 274 IOL: [Να τηζ] ^βρω την επικοινωνωνία (.)  
*[To fin]d the communication thread for her (.)*  
 275 ARI: °Που έλεγε ότι δεν [έ -]  
*Which was saying that you don't [h -]*  
 276 IOL: [Ο τ]ι ΔΕΝ Έχουμε. (.)  
*[Tha]t we don't have. (.)*  
 278 >↑↑Πέντε διαφορετικά [eng] **ιμέιλς**  
*Five different emails*  
 279 της έστειλα και λέει<=Α [eng] **γιου αρ ράιτ**.  
*I sent to her, and she says=Ah you are right.*  
 280 ARI: ((γέλιο))  
*((laughter))*  
 281 IOL: [eng] **Γουάις γιορ ρεκομεντέισον νάου?**  
*What's your recommendation now?*  
 282 [eng] **Γουάι γουί χαβ του ντου?**  
*What do we have to do now?*  
 283 ARI: \$Να σε πνίξουμε να ησυχάσουμε.\$  
*\$(We have)) to drown you, so that we can calm down.\$*  
 284 IOL: Σου [λέ ω] τώρα ένα πράγμα.

I [te ll] you one thing.  
 285 ARI: [Πω πω]  
 [Oh my]  
 286 IOL: Αυτό είναι ένα μέσα στα ενενήντα (.) εννιά (.)  
 This is one among the ninety (.) nine (.)  
 287 μη σου πω εκατό που 'χα να κάνω σήμερα.  
 To not even tell you one hundred things I had to do today.  
 288 ARI: Αυτό είναι και το πιο σπαστικό  
 This is the most annoying  
 289 Απ' ότι καταλαβαίνω.  
 As far as I understand.  
 290 IOL: Αυτό γίνεται για Ό::λα τα πράγ-μα-τα που κά-νω.  
 This happens with all the things I do.  
 291 ARI: Ναι:  
 Yes  
 292 IOL: Μου στέλνει σήμερα Παρασκευή δώδεκα η ώρα  
 She emails me today, on Friday, at midday  
 293 Θέλω [eng] **μίντια μπριφ** (.) ΜΕΧΡΙ ΤΗ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ.  
 I want a media brief (.) until Monday.  
 294 >ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ:< (.) ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ.  
 On Friday (.) on Friday.  
 295 Γιατί καλή μου γυναίκα δε μου το λες  
 Why, my good lady, you don't tell me about it  
 296 από την επόμενη βδομάδα?=Και παίρνω  
 Next week?=And I call  
 297 το Ραμ που δουλεύουμε μαζί  
 Ram with whom I work together  
 298 ARI: M:  
 Mm  
 299 IOL: Και του λέω (.) ΜΟΥ ΄ΕΧΕΙ ΖΗΤΗΣΕΙ [eng] **ρικουέστ**  
 And I tell him (.) She's requested me  
 300 για την^ ΜΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ (.)  
 For Friday (.)  
 301 ΠΟΤΕ είναι το [eng] **μίντια μπριφ?** (.)  
 When is the media brief for? (.)  
 302 Το Μάιο.  
 For May.  
 303 ARI: ((γέλιο))  
 ((laughter))  
 304 IOL: Και θα τους στείλουμε το πρώτο [eng] **ντραφτ**  
 And we're sending to them the first draft  
 305 την^ Μπαρρασκευή: αλλά τέλος Απριλίου::  
 On Friday but at the end of April  
 306 είναι το [eng] **οφίσιαλ μπριφ**.  
 It's the official brief.  
 307 ARI: Αυτό πόσο θέλει να το φτιάξεις?  
 How much time do you need to make this?  
 308 IOL: Θες να δεις την^ μπαρουσίαση? (.)  
 Do you want to see the presentation? (.)  
 309 Είκοσι εννιά [eng] **σλάιντ** μ' αριθμούς?  
 Twenty-nine slides with numbers?  
 310 Που εγώ πρέπει να τουζ ^βρω και να να  
 Which I have to find and to to  
 311 Κάνω [eng] **ριτριβ** από τιζ^ δε- απί τιζ^ βάσεις,  
 To retrieve them from the data bases  
 312 Να σκεφτώ σε τι κοινό θέλουμε ν' απευθυνθούμε,

To think which audience we want to address,  
 313 να σκεφτώ τι γεωγραφικά στοιχεία:=  
 To think what geographic features=  
 314 =ε τι [eng] **ντεμογραφικ ντέιτα** πρέπει να έχουμε,  
 =Eh what demographic data we must have,  
 315 και να σκεφτώ και ΠΟΙΑ είναι τα [eng] **ομπτζέκτιφς**  
 And to also think what our objectives  
 316 μας για το επόμενο [eng] **Q**.  
 For next Q(uestion) are.  
 317 ΜΕΧΡΙ μέ- μέχρι τη Δευτέρα.  
 Until until Monday.  
 318 ARI: Ναι  
 Yes  
 319 IOL: Και τώρα >γιατί της ^λέω ΔΕΝ είναι  
 And now, 'why', I tell her, 'it's not  
 320 το μόνο πράγμα που έχω να κάν-< λέ-  
 The only thing that I have to do', she says  
 321 [eng] **πραϊόρατάιζ** ιτ. (.)  
 Prioritise it. (.)  
 322 [eng] **Αι νιντ ιτ ον Μάντειϊ**.  
 I need it on Monday.  
 323 Μα της ^ΛΕΩ έχω αυτό κι αυτό. (0.4)  
 But I tell her, 'I have to do this and that.' (0.4)  
 324 Εδώ στο δικό της το τέτοιο λέει ΙΟΛΗ πάνω.  
 Here, on her c\*\*\* writes 'Ioli' on it.  
 325 ARI: Πω: ρε φίλε αυτό τώρα θα σου πάρει  
 Oh my, {re}, this will now take you  
 326 κάνα διήμερο να φαντασιώ: διήμ-  
 Around two days, I imagine, two-  
 327 όχι διήμερο μόνο αυτό αλλά  
 Two day, not just this but  
 328 πρέπει ν' ασχολη[θεις μ' αυτό ένα διήμερο.]  
 You have to work [on it for a couple of days.]  
 329 IOL: [Μαλάκα ε ↑τι πρέπει να] δουλέψω τώρα.  
 [{Malaka} eh what, I must ] work now.  
 330 ARI: Και θα δουλέψω και την^ Γκυριακή (.)  
 And I'll work on Sunday too (.)  
 331 >και τη Δευτέρα θα πάω στη δουλειά< (.)  
 And on Monday I'll go to work (.)  
 332 κι έχω κάνει [eng] **μπουκ** το [eng] **κάλεντάρ** μου να μη  
 And I've booked my calendar so that  
 333 >με κλείσει κάνας άλλος< και δεν έχω χρόνο  
 Nobody will book a meeting with me and I won't have time  
 334 ARI: Ναι  
 Yes  
 335 IOL: Να το κάνω πριν τη Δευτέρα στις τέσσερις  
 So that I'll have done it before Monday at four  
 336 Που πρέπει να της το παρουσιάσω.  
 When I have to present it to her.  
 337 (0.4)  
 338 Και έχω και- ↑έχω τα ενενήντα εφιά ακόμα αδιάβαστα.  
 And I have and I have the ninety-nine emails still unread.  
 339 ARI: Δεν ^ντη ρώτησες ρε παιδί μου πότε το χρειαζόμαστ' αυτό?  
 Didn't you ask her {re}, 'when do we need this?'  
 340 IOL: Μου είπε δε- επειδή μου λέει έχει αλλάξει το [eng] **πρόσες**  
 She told me, 'Because', she says, 'the process has changed'

341 και έχει γίνει πάρα πολύ [eng] **σέντραλίζντ**  
*And has become very centralised*

342 πρέπει να: είμαστε: [eng] **προάκτιβ.**  
*We must be very proactive.'*

343 ARI: \$Συγγνώμη [δ ε]  
*\$Sorry [didn't]*

344 IOL: [Γ ι α] το ΜΑΙΟ.  
*[F o r] May.*

345 ARI: Δεν είν' αυτή όμως τώρα [eng] **μάναιζέρ** σου;  
*She is not your manager now though;*

346 IOL: Όχι αλλά αυτή κάνει [eng] **μάναιζ** τα [eng] **μίντια.**  
*No, but she is the manager of the media ((department)).*

347 Και μας έχει ηδηξει κι εμένα και το Ραμ μαζί.  
*And she has fucked both me and Rm together.*

348 ARI: M: ναι  
*Mm yes*

349 IOL: Ε δε γίνεται άλλο αυτή η κατάσταση! =  
*Eh this situation can't go on! =*

350 =Και σου λέω αυτό (.)  
*=And I'm telling you this one (.)*

351 >Τώρα αυτή τη στιγμή σου περιγράφω 'ΕΝΑ.<  
*This moment now I'm describing to you one thing.*

352 ARI: M: ναι  
*Mm yes*

353 IOL: Εέρεις πόσα έχω στη ε: στην [eng] **τουντού** μου **λιστ**?  
*Do you know how many things I've got in my to-do list?*

354 †ΔΕ ΜΠΟΡΩ ΝΑ ΤΡΕΛΑΙΝΟΜΑΙ άλλο έτσι  
*I can't be driven mad like this anymore*

355 γαμώ τα λεφτά τους γαμώ!  
*Damn their money, damn!*

356 ARI: Η φάση είναι ότι και εκατόν εικοσπέντε να 'χες  
*The thing is that even if you had one hundred twenty-five*

357 στην [eng] **τουντού λιστ** (.)  
*((things)) in your to-do list (.)*

358 Αν υπήρχε ηρεμία γενικότερα και:  
*If there was calmness, generally speaking, and*

359 >και συνεννόηση και συνεργασία<  
*And understanding and cooperation*

360 IOL: Όχι δεν υπάρχει [eng] **ΤΑΙΜ πλ:ν.** (.)  
*No, there isn't a time plan. (.)*

361 Τα θέλουν όλα για τώρα.  
*They want it all now.*

362 Η άλλη τηζ ^λέω=  
*The other one, 'I tell her' =*

363 ARI: =Ναι δε γίνεται=  
*=Yes, it can't work like that =*

364 IOL: Έχουμε λανσάρει ένα προϊόν. (.)  
*We have launched a product. (.)*

365 Αυτό το παντοφλάκι όπως το βλέπεις.  
*This flip flop, as you see it.*

366 Για να σου δώσω να καταλάβεις τι τραβάω.  
*To help you understand what I'm enduring/ undergoing.*

367 (.hh) Όχι αυτό το παντοφλάκι άσ' το.=  
*(.hh) No, just ignore this flip flop. =*

368 Φέρε 'δω †τι ν' αυτό μπισκότα?  
*Bring here, what's this? Cookies?*

369 A τη σοκολατίτσα όπως τη βλέπεις.  
*Ah the chocolate, as you see it.*

370 Έχει αυτή την ^μπεριγραφή (.) αυτές τις γλώσσες  
*It has this descriptions (.) these languages*

371 Και πρέπει να βγει στην αγορά τον ΑΥ:γουστο:..  
*And it must be released into the marker in August.*

372 Αυτό το προϊόν μέσα έχει [eng] **ex** ποσοστό σοκολάτας  
*This product contains X percentage of chocolate*

373 >γάλα και δεν ^γκζέρω κι εγώ τι άλλο.<  
*Milk and I don't know what else it contains.*

374 ((Αφήνει τη σοκολάτα στο γραφείο))  
 ((She lays the chocolate on the desk))

375 Το [eng] **RND** (.)  
*The RND*

376 ARI: [eng] **RND** λέγοντας?  
*What's RND?*

377 IOL: Ε ε ε θα σου πω.=  
*Eh eh eh I will tell you about it.=*

378 Λανσάραμε εμείς αυτό το προϊόν σαν [eng] **λίμιτιντ εντίσιον**.  
*We launched this product as a limited edition.*

379 Βγαίνει στην αγορά από Αύγουστο μέχρι Φλεβάρη.  
*It's launched into the market from August to February.*

380 ARI: M

381 IOL: Για το [eng] **σιζονάλιτι** των Χριστουγέννων. (.)  
*For the Christmas season. (.)*

382 Και ↑τώρα αποφασίσαμε επειδή εφ- ή- έφερε  
*And now we decided because it brought*

383 Πάρα πολύ:: ( ) στην εταιρεία (.)  
*Too much ( ) ((profit)) to the company (.)*

384 Να το ξαναλανσάρουμε αυτό το [eng] **Q:::**  
*To relaunch it this Q(arter)*

385 °°Αύγουστο με τέτ-°°  
*From August to th-*

386 ARI: Ναι  
*Yes*

387 IOL: Ένα προϊόν που ΗΔΗ ΕΧΕΙ λανσαριστεί=  
*A product that has already been released=*

388 =Έχει γίνει ΠΑραγωγή: έχουν συμφωνηθεί τα:  
*=It has been produced; we have agreed on the*

389 [eng] **νουτρίσιοναλ ινφορμέ:ισσον** το [eng] **ΠΑ:κατζιν**  
*Nutritional information, ((on)) the packaging*

390 ARI: Ειν' έτοιμο.  
*It's ready.*

391 IOL: [eng] Το **άρ:τιγουορκ**=Όλα.  
*On the artwork=Everything.*

392 Το μόνο που είναι να πατήσεις (.)  
*The only thing that needs to be done is to click (.)*

393 Να πατήσεις< κάνεις >ένα ολόκληρο [eng] **πρόσες**<  
*To click< you do an entire process*

395 Αλλά θέλω να σου πω ότι είναι ένα εύκολο [eng] **πρόσες**=  
*But I want to tell you that it's an easy process=*

396 =Κάνεις ένα [eng] **ριλόντς**.  
*You do a relaunch*

397 ARI: M

398 IOL: Το [eng] ↑**RND** αποφάσισε:  
*The RND decided*



399 ARI: To [eng] **RND?**  
*The RND?*

400 IOL: >Αυτοί που 'ν υπεύθυνοι για το προϊόν.<  
*Those responsible for the product.*

401 Ότι τα [eng] **νουτρίσιον ινφορμέ:ισον**  
*That the nutritional information*

402 μπορεί να χρειάζονται και: αλλαγή.  
*May need to change.*

403 >Και τουζ ^λέμε (.) Καλοί μου ράνθρωποι (.)  
*And we tell the (.) Our good people (.)*

404 ARI: °°Αφού 'ναι ίδιο.°°  
*Since it's the same thing.*

405 IOL: Είναι ΙΔΙΟ το προϊόν=  
*It's the same product=*

406 =>Δε θέλουμε να κάνουμ' αλλαγή< και δεν έχουμε  
*=We don't want to do a change and we've not*

407 πλανάρει και στο [eng] **ΤΑιμ πλαν** αλλαγή:  
*Planned for a change on the time plan*

408 ARI: M

409 IOL: Η οποία θέλει έξι και δώδεκα ε::  
*Which needs six plus twelve eh*

410 >Πώς το λένε?<=E:: δεκαοχτώ βδομάδες (.)  
*How do we say it?=>Eh eighteen weeks (.)*

411 Για τ- για για να γίνει.  
*To be done.*

412 ARI: Δεκαοχτώ βδομάδες  
*Eighteen weeks*

413 IOL: Οπότε τηζ ^λέω >εγώ δεν^ ντις έχω αυτές  
*So, I tell her, 'I don't have these*

414 τις δεκαοχτώ βδομάδες<=Μου λέει (.)  
*Eighteen weeks'=She says (.)*

415 Δε μ' ενδιαφέρει και πώς γίνεται να μην τις έχεις  
*'I don't care and how come you don't have them*

416 όταν α:: το [eng] **σταρτ πρότζεκτ** έγινε τότε  
*When ah the project started at that time*

417 και ντ- δε γίνεται να να: θες να λανσαριστεί  
*And you can't want to launch it*

418 τόσο του Αυγούστου.=ΛΕω ΝΑΙ κι όμως γίνεται  
*At that time in August.=I say, 'Yes, it's possible though*

419 γιατί είναι ένα προϊόν που ξαναλανσάρεται.  
*Because it's a product that is being relaunched.*

420 Και αν υπήρχανε αλλαγές στα [eng] **νουτρίσιον ινφορμέ:ισον**  
*And if there were changes on the nutritional information*

421 Γιατί δε μου τις είπες από ΠΕ:ρσι  
*Why didn't you tell me about them last year*

422 >που λανσαρίστηκε< και ξαφνικά τις θες τώρα?  
*That it was launched, and you suddenly want them now?*

423 ARI: Ναι  
*Yes*

424 IOL: ΔΕν ^γκαταλαβαίνω όμως γιατί δεν έχεις κάνει:  
*'I don't understand though why you've not done'*

425 [eng] **κικ-οφ μίτινγκς** (.)  
*Kick off meetings (.)*

426 Όταν ξεκινάει ένα πρότζεκτ (.) γιατί (.)  
*When we start a project (.) since (.)*

427 την^ προηγούμενη βδομάδα έγινε [eng] **απρούβ**

Last week it got approved  
 428 >το πρότζεκτ άρα πρέπει να κάνεις [eng] **κικ-οφ μίτινγκς** (.)  
*The project, so you have to do kick off meetings (.)*  
 429 (.hh) και της λέω τα [eng] **κικ-οφ** έχουνε ξεκινήσει (.)  
 (.hh) and I say, 'The kickoff meetings have begun (.)  
 430 ΠΡΙΝ πάρουμε το [eng] **απρούβαλ** γιατί το ΞΕΡΑΜΕ  
*Before we got the approval because we knew*  
 431 ότι θα το πάρουμε ↑ΓΙΑ να μας πείτε  
*That we'd get it, so that you tell us*  
 432 τα [eng] **τάιμινγκς** που θέλετε. (.)  
*About the timings you want.'* (.)  
 433 Και έρχεσαι τώρα να μου πεις ότι θέλω και δώδεκα  
*And you come now to tell me that I want twelve*  
 434 και δεκαοχτώ εβδομάδες >για να λανσάρεις?<=  
*Eighteen more weeks to launch it?<=*  
 435 \*Σόρι δεν^ ντις έχω.  
*Sorry, I don't have them.*  
 \*claps her hands  
 436 Το προϊόν θα βγει όπως έχει.  
*The product will be launched as it is.*  
 437 >Εφ' όσον δεν έχει πρόβλημα.<  
*Since there isn't a problem with it.*  
 438 ARI: ↑Ναι: και φαίνεται πολύ χαζό το ν' αλλάζεις στοιχεία  
*Yes, and it seems very stupid to change the information*  
 439 δηλαδή ο πελάτης=  
*That is, the client=*  
 440 IOL: =ΔΕ θα το καταλάβει πουλάκι μου ο καταλαναλωτής=  
*=The consumer won't understand it, my dear=*  
 441 ARI: =↑Ναι=  
*=Yes=*  
 442 IOL: =Εσύ θα καταλάβεις αν αυτό έχει δέκα ή δώδεκα  
*=Will you understand if this contains ten or twelve*  
 443 τοις εκατό:=  
*Per cent=*  
 444 ARI: =Όχι  
*=No*  
 445 IOL: Περιεκτικότητα σκόνης ΓΑλακτος=Χέσε με!  
*Milk powder=Leave me alone!*  
 446 ARI: Μα έγινε κάποια αλλαγή ουσιαστική=  
*But did a substantial change happen=*  
 447 IOL: =Κα↑μί:α αλλαγή↑ >δεν έχει γίνει=Ειν' αυτό  
*=No change has happened=This is*  
 448 που με τρελαίνει.<  
*What drives me crazy.*  
 449 ARI: Εσείς τι θ' αλλάξετε?  
*What will you change?*  
 450 IOL: Κάνει ένα [eng] **μπρούινγκ τεστ**  
*They do a brewing test*  
 451 ARI: N[αι]  
*Y[es]*  
 452 IOL: [Nα] δει ↑αν η::: το:: ΚΑΨΟΥΛΑ του γάλακτος  
*[To] see if the milk pod*  
 453 χύνει περισσότερη ζάχαρη από πέρσι.  
*Pours more sugar than last year.*  
 455 ARI: ((γέλιο))  
 ((laughter))

456 IOL: Ρε μαλάκα τώρα αλήθεια?  
*{Re malaka} really now?*

457 ARI: Ξστο Συμεών να το πεις αυτό.\$  
*You should tell this to Simeon.*

458 IOL: Αλήθεια τώρα?=*Καταλαβαίνεις >δλαδή< δε μπορεί*  
*Really now?=*You see, that is, it's not possible**

459 *Ακόμα και σ' απλά πράγματα που έχουν αρκετή*  
*Even in simple things that have much*

460 *δουλειά από πίσω >για να ξαναβγούν στην αγορά< (.)*  
*Work behind to be relaunched into the market (.)*

461 *Δεν αποφασίζω εγώ σήμερα και λέω (.)*  
*I don't decide today and say (.)*

462 *Αριάδνη (.) άκου να δεις σαν εργοστάσιο*  
*Ariadne (.) listen, as a factory*

463 *Τράβα πάραξέ μου ξέρω 'γω::*  
*Go produce, say,*

464 *τριάντα χιλιάδες τόνους απ' αυτό (.)*  
*Thirty thousand tons of this (.)*

465 *Γιατί εγώ αποφάσισα να το ξαλ- ξαναλανσάρω. (.)*  
*Because I decided to re- relaunch it. (.)*

466 *Όχι δε ντο- δε γίνεται έτσι.*  
*No, you don't, it doesn't happen like that.*

467 ARI: *Ναι [και π-]*  
*Yes [and you]*

468 IOL: *[Υπάρχει] μια διαδικασία που παίρνει<*  
*[There's] a process that takes*

469 *Σκέψου ότι ξεκίνησε πριν μια βδομάδα (.)*  
*Think that it began a week ago (.)*

470 *Που σημαίνει αρχές Μά- αρχές*  
*Which means at the beginning of Ma- at the beginning*

471 ARI: *Μάρτη=*  
*Of March=*

472 IOL: *=Μάρτη (.) για να βγει τον Αύ:γουστο στην αγορά.*  
*=March (.) to be be launched in August into the market.*

473 ARI: *Ε ναι και με τέτοια ποσότητα και τέτοιο [πο λυ εθνικό:]*  
*Eh yes considering the amount and the [multinational]*

474 IOL: *[↑Δε μπορείς]*  
*[You can't]*

475 *Να 'ρχεσαι καλή μου γυναίκα και να μου λες*  
*Come and tell me, my good lady,*

476 *>Εγώ θέλω ν' αλλάξω τα [eng] **νουτρίσιον ινφορ\*μέ:ισους***  
*I want to change the nutritional information*

477 *Στο ΙΔΙΟ προϊόν. (.)*  
*On the same product (.)*

478 *Και να μου- να με κάνεις [eng] **ΤΣΑλεντζ***  
*And challenge me*

479 *γιατί σε κάνω [eng] **ΤΣΑλεντζ** με τα [eng] **τάιμινγκς**.*  
*Because I challenge you with respect to the timings.*

480 *Γιατί είναι το ↑↑ίδιο=Δε θέλω να βγάλω ↑↑άλλο.*  
*Because it's the same=I don't want to launch another one.*

481 *Αν θέλω να βγάλω άλλο θα σ' ενημερώσω.*  
*If I want to launch another one, I'll let you know.*

482 *Να μου κάνεις τα eng] **νουτρίσιον ινφορ\*μέ:ισον***  
*So that you'll fetch the nutritional information*

483 *απ' την αρχ\*ή.*  
*\*claps her hands*

*From scratch.*

*\*claps her hands*

- 484 ARI: Αυτή 'ναι σ' άλλο [eng] **ντιπάρτμεντ**=Δεν έχει<  
*She is in a different department=she doesn't have*
- 485 IOL: Είναι [eng] **κρος φάνξιοναλ**  
*It's cross-functional*
- 486 ARI: M::  
*Mmm*
- 487 IOL: Ό,τι και να κάνεις σ' αυτή την εταιρεία.  
*Whatever you may do in this company.*
- 488 Δεν υπάρχει το μάρκετινγκ μόνο.  
*There isn't such a thing as marketing in itself.*
- 489 ARI: Ναι όμως δεν έχει να κάνει με την Έλεν  
*Yes but it doesn't have to do with Ellen*
- 490 αυτό ας πούμε=Έχει να κάνει [μ ε ι ά λ λ η ::]  
*This this, say=It has to do [with another one]*
- 491 IOL: [Όχι >(είναι) όλοι<]  
*[No, it's all of them]*
- 492 ARI: M=  
493 IOL: =Είναι η νοοτροπία των ανθρώπων εδώ πέρα τέτοια=  
*=It's the mentality of people here such=*
- 494 ARI: =M  
495 IOL: Σου γαμάνε τη ζωή (.) χωρίς λόγο=  
*That they fuck your life (.) without a reason=*
- 496 =>Δεν υπάρχει< ε <δεν υπά::ρχει κανέ::νας λόγος>  
*=There's no eh there's no reason*
- 497 Να με κάνει [eng] **τσάλεντζ** σ' αυτό το πράγμα.  
*To challenge me on this thing.*
- 498 Κανένας. (.) Γιατί δεν είναι ένα καινούριο προϊόν  
*None. (.) Because it's not a new product*
- 499 Που λέω ώπα μαλάκα τώρα (.)  
*That I say, oh {malaka} now (.)*
- 500 ΝΑΙ κάτσε να περιμένω.  
*Yes, I shall wait.*
- 501 ARI: Ναι  
*Yes*
- 502 IOL: Γιατί δεν ^γκζέρω τι θα βγάλω στην αγορά.  
*Because I don't know what I'll launch into the market.*
- 503 Το 'χω ήδη βγάλει.  
*I've already launched it.*
- 504 ARI: Ναι τς υπάρχει ένας παραλογισμός από πίσω.  
*Yes ts it sounds irrational.*
- 505 Είναι σαν εμένα να μου πουν θέλω τις ε  
*It's as if they told me 'I want the eh*
- 506 θέλω το [eng] το το **ριβιού** αυτό  
*I want this review*
- 507 Το οποίο θα μου πάρει ένα μήνα δουλειάς (.)  
*Which will take me a month of work (.)*
- 508 Το θέλω σε μια βδομάδα. (.)  
*I want it in a week's time.'* (.)
- 509 Και θα πω ναι αλλά >άμα το κάνω σε μια βδομάδα  
*And I'll say, 'Yes but if I do it in a week*
- 510 Θα 'ναι πάρα πολύ πρόχειρο=  
*It'll be much worse=*
- 511 =Δε θα 'χουμε προχωρήσει στη γνώση.  
*=We won't have made progress.*

512 IOL: Να το κάνεις >σε μια βδομάδα<  
*You shall do it in a week's time*

513 Άμα χρει- άμα δεν ^γκαταλαβαίνει ο Χριστιανός  
*If you ne- if the other one does not Understand*

514 >Τι κάνεις [απ' το πρότζεκτ σου<]  
*What you do [in your project]*

515 ARI: [ <Τ ς α υ τ ό :: ]  
*[T s i n d e e d]*

516 IOL: ΝΑ ΤΟ ΑΛΛΑΞΕΙΣ. (.)  
*You shall change it. (.)*

517 Άμα όμως το 'χεις ΉΔΗ τς πώς το λένε?  
*If, however, you've already ts, how to phrase it?*

518 Το 'χεις- ε το 'χεις ήδη κάνει [eng] **ριβιού**  
*You've already reviewed it*

519 Με κάποιον=  
*With someone=*

520 ARI: =M

521 IOL: >Δεν ^γκζέρω πώς να στο πω< και σου πει  
*I don't know how to say it, and they say*

522 ΝΑΙ όκει βγαίνει συμπέρασμα (.)  
*'Yes, okay, the conclusion is valid (.)*

523 ARI: M

524 IOL: Να τι ↑α κάνεις?=Το ξανατρέξεις απ' την αρχή?  
*What shall you do?=Shall you run it from scratch?*

525 ARI: Όχι:  
*No*

526 IOL: Δεν ^γκάνουμε [eng] **πρόντακτ ντιβέλοπμεντ παιδιά**  
*We are not doing product development, guys.*

527 [eng] **Ριλόνιτς** κάνουμε. (.) Ηρεμήστε λίγο. (.)  
*We are doing product relaunch. (.) Take it easy a bit. (.)*

528 Δηλαδή δε θα τρελάνετε εσείς τον ^γκόσμο.  
*That is, you won't drive us all crazy.*

529 ARI: Ναι  
*Yes*

530 IOL: Και τώρα τ- άμα κάτσουμε εδώ πέρα μπορώ  
*And now if we stay here, I can*

531 να σου κά-παραπονιέμαι για ό,τι μου  
*Complain to you for whatever*

532 για ό,τι 'χει συμβεί. (.)  
*Has happened to me. (.)*

533 Την ^ντελευταία τις τελευταίες βδομάδες.  
*The last ((week)), the last weeks.*

534 Από τότε που< καλά με την Έλεν νιάξει  
*Since< well, with Ellen, okay*

535 Έχω παραδώσει πνεύμε ↓δε: μπορώ άλλο.↓  
*I have given up the ghost, I can't anymore.*

536 Δε μπορώ ν' ασχοληθώ=  
*I can't deal with her=*

537 ARI: =Αυτή θα μείνει εν τέλει?  
*=Will she stay after all?*

538 IOL: >Δεν ^γκζέρω τι 'α κάνει<=  
*I don't know what she'll do=*

539 =Μπορεί να πά να πνιγεί? (.)  
*=Can she go get drowned? (.)*

540 Να πά να πνιγεί μπορεί?  
*Can she get drowned?*

541 ARI: Τς  
542 IOL: Που μου ζητάει Παρασκευή για τη Δευτέρα?  
*That she's asking me ((this)) on Friday for Monday?*  
543 (0.5)  
544 ARI: Ε ναι τώρα αυτά είναι: τραγικά: ε τς  
*Eh yes now these things are tragic eh ts*  
545 IOL: Τέλος πάντων (.) Πα να φάω και πα να πιάσω αυτό.  
*Anyway (.) I am going to eat and start working on this.*  
546 Τι ώρα είναι?  
*What's the time?*  
547 ARI: Ναι είναι τέσσερις και τέταρτο.  
*Yes it's a quarter past four.*  
548 IOL: Εγώ πέντε και τέταρτο έχω σταματήσει  
*I'll have stopped by a quarter past five*  
549 Κι έχω πάει γυμναστήριο. (.)  
*And have gone to the gym. (.)*  
550 Να (.) θα τα κάνω την ^Γκυριακή.  
*Eat my shorts! (.) I'll do it on Sunday.*  
551 Και τη Δευτέρα. (.)  
*And on Monday. (.)*  
552 ARI: Α έχεις και την εκδρομή [fre] demain.  
*Ah you are going on an excursion tomorrow too*  
553 ((γέλιο))  
*((laughter))*  
554 IOL: [fre] **Ντεμάν** έχω και την εκδρομή. (.)  
*Tomorrow, I'm going on an excursion tomorrow too. (.)*  
555 Καλά δεν υπήρχει περίπτωση να δουλέψω σαββατοκύριακο.  
*Well, there's no way I'd work on a weekend.*  
556 Είτε είχα την εκδρομή είτε όχι. (.)  
*Either I had the excursion or not. (.)*  
557 Είναι εξαίρεση τ' ότι μπορεί και να κάτσω  
*It's an exception that I may sit ((and work))*  
558 [την^ Γκ]υριακή  
*[On Sun]day*  
559 ARI: [N α ι :]  
*[Y e s ]*  
560 IOL: Αλλιώς τη Δευτέρα και θα της πω  
*Otherwise, on Monday, I'll say*  
561 >Εέρς κάτι ↑δε πρόλαβα.<  
*'You know what? I din't have time.*  
562 Δοζ ^μου λίγο χρόνο παραπάνω.  
*Give me some extra time.'*  
563 Επ[ειδή >εσύ αποφάσισες να δουλέψεις σπίτι την^ Ντρίτη<]  
*Be[cause you decided to work from home on Tuesday]*  
564 ARI: [↑Ναι: έτσι κι αλλιώς σου είπε να]  
*[Yes, anyway, she told you to]*  
565 Να είσαι πιο διεκδικητική.  
*To be more assertive.*  
566 IOL: Ναι θα της πω δεν ↑έχω χρόνο τη Δευτέρα. (.)  
*Yes, I'll tell her, 'I don't have time on Monday. (.)*  
567 [ita] (Τσόο) δεν^ μπρόλαβα. (.)  
*Ciao, I didn't make it. (.)*  
568 Επρεχα αυτό (.) το σαββατοκύριακο  
*I was having many thins to do (.) in the weekend*  
569 δεν θα: το χαλάσω γι' αυ[τ ό]  
*I won't ruin my weekend for th[i s]*

570 ARI: [↑Ναι] στην ουσία σου ζητάνε  
[Ye s] in fact they ask you

571 Να κάνεις π- prioritising αλλά βάσει  
To do, to prioritise but based on

572 των δικών τους προτεραιοτήτων.  
Their own priorities.

573 IOL: Ναι 'γώ με- για μένα [>δεν προτεραιότητα αυτό τώ]ρα.<  
Yes I, for me, [It's not a priority no]w

574 ARI: [\$Που α- (.hh)\$ τς]  
[\$That a (.hh)\$ ts]

575 Που: ναι.  
That yes.

576 Να το κάνω μέχρι την ^Ντρίτη ναι=  
To do it until Tuesday, yes=

577 =Το κάν- αλλά επειδή εσύ θες να δουλέψεις  
=I do it but because you want to work

578 από το σπίτι την^ Ντρί:τη και δε θα είσαι  
From home on Tuesday and you won't be there

579 να το κάνεις [eng] ριβιού  
To review it

580 ARI: Τς κα[τά λαβα]  
Ts I [s e e ]

581 IOL: [Ναι δε] ↑θελειζ ^να:: να στο στείλω την ^Ντρίτη.  
[Yes you] don't want to send it to you on Tuesday.

#### Event 6, 'Lack of compliment' (COP-12)

01 ECT: Είναι όλα τα υλικά [α κ ρ ι β ώς.]  
There are all the ingredients [we need.]

02 VAS: \* [Ανασκουμπώ ]θηκα για δουλειά.  
[I got ready] to work.  
\*shows her T-shirt

03 Μη με \* [↑βλέπεις,]  
Don't [look at me] ((like that))  
\*shows her clothes again (i.e., jogging pants & T-shirt)  
Do not [get confused] by seeing me like that

04 ECT: [Τα υ λ ι]κά είν' ακρι[βώς κάτι] τέτοιο.  
[The ingre]dients are exac[tly what] we need I think.

05 VAS: [↑ Βλέπεις] ↑μέσα στην ε::  
[You see] I am in the eh

06 \*↑απλότητα↑ είμαι.  
((I'm)) dressed simply.  
\*Sound coming from opening the plastic bags

07 VAS: [Και τη σε]μνό]τητα(h)  
[And with modes]ty

08 KIM: [\$Κοίτα εδ<sup>ω</sup>\$]  
[\$Look here\$]

09 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
((Laughter))

10 KIM: \$Η σεμνότητα ΦΑΙνεται.\$  
\$Modesty is visible/ shines through.\$

11 ECT: ↑I:: >Κιμονάκο τι [λόγια είν' αυτά<]

12 KIM: Aw Kimonas what [sad words you speak]  
 [↑KPA κάνει η σεμνότητα(h)]  
 [It screams modest]

13 ECT: στην ^γκοπέλα?  
 to the girl?

14 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))

15 KIM: \$Αγαπητή [μ ο υ .]\$  
 My dear.

16 ECT: [\$Γ ί ν ε σ αι] προσβλητικός Κιμονάκο\$=  
 [\$You're being] offensive, Kimonas\$=  
 =°Σε παρακαλώ μ' εκθέτεις.°  
 =Please, you're exposing me.

17 KIM: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))

18 KIM: \*Κοίτα καλά μ' έχει με το βούρδουλα  
 Look, well, he is treating me with the stick today.  
 \*ECT opens the plastic bags

19 VAS: Απαπαπαπα:: (.) Σε παρακα[λ ώ με εκθέ:τεις]  
 Gosh (.) Pleas[e you expose me]

20 VAS: [((Γ έ λ ι ο))]  
 [((L a u g h t e r))]

21 KIM: Και κουνή[σ ο υ,]  
 And move [a l o n g,]

22 VAS: [((Γ έ λ ι ο))]  
 [((Laughter))]

23 KIM: Κι άντε από 'δώ κι >άμα δε θες να με  
 And leave me alone and if you don't want to  
 βοηθήσεις=να μη με βοηθήσεις,<  
 help me, don't help me.

24 ((H VAS και ο KIM κοιτάζονται στον καθρέφτη))  
 ((VAS and KIM look themselves in the mirror))

25 VAS: \$↑Κοίτα τι ωραίοι\$  
 Look how beautiful

26 \$Που είμαστε εκεί απέναντι\$.  
 We look over there.

27 KIM: Ε καλά τώρα άμα [λά-]  
 Oh well now if [( )]

28 VAS: [Που] δε φαίνονται  
 [As] it doesn't show

29 \$οι ατέλειες(h).\$  
 our imperfections.

30 KIM: ((Γελάκι))  
 ((Slight laughter))

31 VAS: ((Δυνατό γέλιο))  
 ((Raucous laughter))

32 KIM: [>E γ ώ] δεν έχω ατέλειες<=  
 [ I ] don't have imperfections

33 VAS: [((Γ ε λάκι))]  
 [((Chuckles))]

34 VAS: =\$Εγώ έχω ↑πάρια πολλές\$  
 I have too many

35 KIM: [Ασε που μωρή σιχgh]αμένη  
 [Besides you shit]ty ((person))

36 VAS: [\$>Αυτή την ^μπερίοδο<\$]  
 [These days]



39 KIM: Δε μου πες τίποτα  
*you dint't say a word about my beard*

40 °Για το μουσάκι μου  
*About my beard*

41 Που το 'κοψα°  
*Which I had cut*

42 [°Κι είμ' άλλος άνθρωπος. °]  
*[And I am a different person.]*

43 VAS: [ΤΕ↑ΛΕΙΟ [είναι]  
*[Perfect [it is]*

44 PAR: [↑Α ::]  
*[a h]*

45 [Γι' αυτό μαλάκα πολύ ωραίο.]  
*[That's why malaka very nice.]*

46 VAS: [\$Μα σ' έχει ↑βλέπω έ] [χει-§]  
*[But it has I see it] [h a s]*

47 ECT: [N α]  
*[I' ll]*

48 σου πω ΚΑτι?  
*tell you what?*

49 [Ε π ι] ΤΕλους σ- συγγνώμη  
*[F i n a]lly s- sorry*

50 VAS: [Ε χ ε ι]  
*[It has]*

51 ECT: [Στο 'χα πει εγώ.]  
*[I'd told you about.]*

52 VAS: [ (( γ ε λ ά κ ι )) ] ναι.  
*[((Slight laughter))] yes.*

53 KIM: [Κανένα σχό]λιο  
*[N o c o m]ment*

54 VAS: [(Α υ τ ό)]  
*[(T h i s)]*

55 Κι απ' τους τρεις [σας].  
*From none of [you.]*

56 ECT: [ΣΑΝ] ^ΜΠΑΠΑΣ  
*[Like] a priest*

57 ήσουν.=  
*you were.*

58 KIM: =[Μπράβο.]=  
*[Bravo.]*

59 VAS: =Σ- εξαιρετι[κός.]  
*S- aweso[m e.]*

60 KIM: [φ ί]λοι.  
*[frie]nds.*

61 ((ήχος από σακούλα))  
*((sound coming from opening the plastic bags))*

62 VAS: ↑Ε-ξαι-ρε-[τι-κό.]  
*A w e [s o m e]*

63 PAR: [Σ ΚΕψου] πόσο ωραίος  
*[Imagine] how handsome you*

64 [ε ί σ αι]  
*[a r e]*

65 VAS: [↑Δε σου εί]πα εΓΩ  
*[Didn't I tell you]*

66 Τι ωραίος που είσαι όταν ήρθες?  
*How handsome you are when you came in?*

67 ((ήχος από σακούλα))  
 ((*sound coming from opening the plastic bags*))

68 VAS: ↑Γιατί [μα:] βάζεις λόγια  
*Why [but] do you put words in my mouth*

69 KIM: [Καλά]  
 [Well]

70 VAS: Που δεν έχω πει:?  
*That I've not said.*

71 KIM: °Ασ' τις γαλιφιές εσένα.  
*You stop using flatteries.*

72 VAS: ↑ΕΓΩ (.) °ΠΕ:Σ Πάρι:.  
*I (.) speak Paris*

73 KIM: ΠΕΣ ΠΑΡΙ.  
*Speak Paris.*

74 ECT: ΠΕΣ ΠΑΡΙ.  
*Speak Paris.*

75 PAR: ΤΟ ΕΊΠε.  
*she said this.*

76 VAS: ↑Α [φχαριστώ.]  
 Αω<sub>[prtcl]</sub> [t h anks.]

77 PAR: [ΝΑΙ ΤΟ] εΐ[πε=Εγώ εγώ ↑το] Άκουσα.  
 [yes she] s[aid this=I I ] heard it.

78 VAS: [↑Όχι ( )]  
 [No ( )]

79 ((ήχος σακούλας))  
 ((*sound coming from opening the plastic bags*))

80 PAR: Μ↑:  
*Mm*

81 KIM: Μπβου↑:=  
*Nah nah=*

82 VAS: =Ναι ναι.  
 =Yes yes.

83 ((ήχος σακούλας))  
 ((*sound coming from opening the plastic bags*))

84 PAR: Μ↑:  
*Mm*

85 VAS: Λοιπόν να κόβω τις πιπεριές?  
*So, shall I start cutting the peppers?*

#### Event 7, 'It annoys me that she doesn't respond' (LON-13)

01 SIM: Έστειλα και στην Ιλιιάδα για αύριο  
*I texted to Iliada too about tomorrow*

02 Αλλά πολύ φοβάμαι ότι θα μας πιστολιάσει.  
*But I'm afraid she'll crap us out.*

03 IOL: Δε σου απάντησε, [έ τ σι?]  
*She didn't respond, [did she?]*

04 SIM: [Ναι δ]εν απάντησε  
 [Yes she] didn't respond

05 απ' το πρωί (.)  
*since morning (.)*

06 Ενώ ρε παιδί μου θα μπορούσε  
*Although {re} she could*

07 να μου πει: (.)  
to tell me

08 Ναι: σίγουρα μπορώ (.) τς για να ξέρω κιόλας=  
Yes I definitely can (.) ts so that I know as well=  
09 =Δηλαδή θα σηκωθώ το πρωί  
=That is, I'll get up in the morning  
10 να κάνω μια διαδικασία,  
to run a procedure

11 Να φτιά(η)ξω ένα κέικ (.)  
To make a cake (.)

12 Και τς ↑θέλω να ξέρω, (.)  
And ts I want to know, (.)

13 Μ' ενοχλεί που δεν απαντάει ρε γαμώτο.  
It annoys me that she doesn't respond. Damn {re}!  
14 (0.8)

15 IOL: Ρε εμένα δε μ' ενοχλεί το< (0.6)  
I get upset/annoyed with the (0.6)

16 Μ' ενοχλεί το ΔΕ θα 'ρθω  
I get upset/annoyed with ((her saying)) I won't come  
17 γιατί γιατί: γίνεται πάρα πολύ συχνά=  
As it happens very very frequently=  
18 SIM: =Ναι  
=Yes

19 IOL: Και η μία και η άλλη κι η Μάρα.  
Both the one and the other, Mara.

((further down; in 11.20-43 SIM talks on the phone))

44 ARI: Γενικά πρέπει να συνεννοσίσαι.  
Generally, you should understand one another.

45 Αυτό είναι που- που μας δυσκολεύει.  
This is what gives us a hard time.

46 SIM: Ρε φίλε πες \*ΔΕ θα έρθω.  
{Re} say 'I want come'.  
\*claps his hands

47 IOL: Ναι αυτό ή πες ↑θα λείπω αύριο,  
Yes this or say , 'I will be away tomorrow,  
48 Κατλά να περάσετε= αυτό.  
May you have a nice time=this.'  
49 Δε θα 'πρεπε να πει δε μπορώ=  
Shouldn't she have said 'I can't,  
50 =Τα λέμε την άλλη βδομάδα?  
see you next week'?

51 SIM: Θα μπορούσε να πει αυτό ναι.  
She could have said this, yes.

52 IOL: Και σου λέω (.)  
And I tell you (.)

53 Έγραψες εσύ τ' ότι θα φτιάξεις κάτι. (.)  
You wrote that you'll make something. (.)  
54 Το κέικ.  
The cake.  
55 (0.8)

56 VAS: Που νιάξει ρε παιδί μου θα 'φτιαχνα.  
Which, okay, {re} I'd make ((something)).

57 IOL: Ναι μην ορκίζεσαι ότι το 'χει παρατηρήσει.  
Don't swear that she'll have noticed it.

58 Αφού δεν απάντησε σ' αυτό.=  
*Mara, say, didn't respond to it.=*

59 VAS: =Ναι ναι.  
 =Yes yes.

60 (0.6)

61 IOL: Δεν είπα παιδιά (.) εγώ μη με υπολογίζετε. (.)  
*She didn't say, 'Guys (.) I- don't count me in.' (.)*

62 Δε: ε δεν είμαι για να βγαίνω. (.)  
*I'm not in the mood of going out. (.)*

63 Αν θέλετε τα λέμε μες στη βδομάδα ή::  
*If you want, we can catch up during the week or*

64 το άλλο σουκού ή ό,τι.  
*Next weekend or else.*

65 Ντάξει. (.) Δεν απαντιώ. (0.4)  
*Okay. (.) I don't respond. (0.4)*

66 Εγώ θα της το πω.  
*I will say it to her.*

67 (0.8)

68 ARI: [N α ι :]  
 [Y e s]

69 IOL: ['λ α δή] (0.8) μία δύο τρεις ↑πώς καταλαβαίνεις  
*[That is] (.) once, twice, thrice, how do you understand*

70 οτί (0.5) δεν^ γκαταλαβαίνεις οτι κάπου  
*that (0.5) don't you understand that at some point*

71 χάνεται λίγο η επικοινωνία?  
*You lose contact?*

72 (0.5)

73 VAS: Ναι γιατί είναι που είναι δύσκολη(h)  
*Yes, because it's difficult anyways*

74 IOL: Ναι δηλαδή όλοι είμαστε χαμένοι μες στη βδομάδα.  
*Yes, that is, we are all lost during the week.*

75 (0.4)

76 IOL: Κι εγώ δε θα γράψω πολύ: ( )  
*And I will not write a lot ( ) ((in the chat))*

77 Αλλά θα πω μια μαλακία μέσα στη: μέρα έτσι  
*But I'll say something nonsense during the day so*

78 για να κρατιέται κι η επαφή μη:  
*That we keep in touch, so as not*

79 μη βρισκόμαστε μόνο σουκού.  
*So as not to see each other only in the weekends.*

80 SIM: Ναι απλώς είναι τόσο έντονες οι ζωές και οι:  
*Yes, it's just that our lives are so hectic and the*

81 απαιτήσεις όλων και διαφορετικές κιόλας που::  
*Everyone's demands and so different too that*

82 Αυτό αν δεν^ γκρατάς την επικοινωνία και  
*Indeed, if you don't stay in touch and*

83 δεν^ μπροσπαθείς (.) ε: χάνεσαι σε κάποιο:  
*You don't try (.) eh you get lost at some*

84 σε κάποια φάση.  
*At some point.*

85 (0.6)

86 Δεν^ γκζέρω βέβαια και σε τι φάση είναι τώρα  
*I don't know, though, how she is doing now*

87 με το σπίτι ανακατατάξεων και τα: σχετικά,  
*With the house, the changes, and so on,*

88 IOL: Ναι ρε φίλε το καταλαβαίνω αλλά δηλαδή (0.9)

Yes {re} I understand it but, that is, (0.9)  
 89 Όταν θα ηρεμήσει αυτό (0.4)  
 When this calms down (0.4)  
 90 >Θα με πάρεις τηλέφωνο θα μου πεις< ↑έλα  
 You will call me and say 'Hi  
 91 Πέρασαν δυο μήνες πάμε να πιούμε μια μπύρα?  
 It's been two months shall we go for a beer?  
 92 ARI: Όχι ναι νιάξει γιατί πάντα ο καθένας μας έχει  
 No, yes, okay, since every one of us always has  
 93 ρε παιδί μου πολλά  
 Many ((things to do)) {re}  
 94 IOL: Τς όλοι μας έχουμε πολλά (.)  
 Ts we all have many ((things to do)) (.)  
 95 Κι εγώ ψάχνω δουλειά και π- τρέχω με τις συνεντεύξεις  
 I am too looking for a job and am having many interviews  
 96 και κάθε μέρα μιλάω στα τηλέφωνα και στη δουλειά  
 And I am every day on the phone and at work  
 97 γαμιέμαι και δε μ' αρέσει αυτό που κάνω και  
 I get fucked up and I don't like what I do and  
 98 δε μ' αρέσει εκεί που είμαι και δε μου είναι εύκολο.  
 I don't like it where I am and it's not easy for me.  
 99 Και θέλω να πω δυο μαλακίες με δυο φίλους μου. (0.7)  
 And I want to say a few words with my friends. (0.7)  
 100 ↑Όχι όταν τους έχω ανάγκη.=  
 Not when I need them.=  
 101 VAS: =Ναι ναι.  
 =Yes yes.  
 102 (0.5)  
 103 IOL: Εγώ θα το πω. (.)  
 I will say it. (.)  
 104 Και στη μία και στην άλλη.=  
 To both the one and to the other.=  
 105 =>Θα πω νιάξει< ΦΕΥγεις=  
 =I will say, okay, you' re leaving=  
 106 =Αλλάζεις χώρα. (0.4)  
 You' re moving to another country. (0.4)  
 107 Δε μιλάς με άνθρωπο που είναι 'δω?  
 You don't speak to anyone here?  
 108 Γιατί εμένα έχεις να με πάρεις τηλέφωνο  
 Because you have to call me  
 109 Να με ρωτήσεις τι κάνω:: από [π ρ ι ν] τα Χριστούγεννα.  
 To see how I' m doing [before] Christmas.  
 110 ARI: [N α ι :]  
 [Y e s]  
 111 (0.6)  
 112 VAS: Εγώ της έστειλα της λέω σε κάποια φάση:  
 I texted her, I tell her at some point  
 113 Τηζ^ λέω μπορείτε: όπως μου έστειλες μια ηχογράφηση  
 I tell her 'Can you, as you sent me one recording  
 114 Να κάνετε άλλη μία με- το προηγούμενο σουκού?  
 To do one more wi- last weekend?  
 115 Να κάνετε άλλη μία ηχογράφηση με την Ariadne  
 To do one more recording with Ariadne  
 116 Όταν πίνετε καφέ ξέρω 'γω χαλαρά?  
 While drinking coffee, say, in a relaxed tone?  
 117 \$Και μου γράφει: (.) το δεύτερο χρεώνεται τς

118 And she writes to me (.) the second will be charged ts  
 Και της κάνω χαχαχά ξέρω 'γω όκει. (.)  
 And I say 'hahaha, say, okay'. (.)  
 119 Και δε μου απά- δε μου ξαναπάντησε.  
 And she didn't re- she didn't get back to me again.  
 120 IOL: Βράζεις νερό?  
 Are you boiling water?  
 121 VAS: Ναι:  
 Yes  
 122 IOL: Βάλε μου λίγο σε παρακαλώ.  
 Give me some, please.

((123-128 Βράζουν νερό για τσάι και συζητούν για τα ποιά στο ψυγείο.))

129 IOL: Αλλά ντάξει τι ν- ε: πραγματικά=  
 But okay what ((can I say) eh really=  
 130 SIM: =Ναι είναι λίγο άκομψο τς  
 =Yes it's a bit untactful ts  
 131 IOL: Όχι δεν είναι μόνο άκομψο. (.)  
 No, it's not just tactless. (.)  
 132 Είναι λίγο και σ' έχω γραμμένο στ' αρχίδια μου.  
 It's also a bit like I don't care about you.  
 133 Και δεν είναι- τς δεν είναι σωστό.  
 And it's not- ts it's not right.  
 134 (0.6)  
 135 Γιατί μετά (.) η Μάρα ρε παιδί μου: την^ γκαταλαβαίνω  
 Since after this (.) Mara, {re}, I understand her  
 136 Γιατ' η κοπέλα:: τς ήτανε τόσο- τόσον^ γκαιρό:  
 Because the lady ts was for such such a long time  
 137 πήγαιν' έλα=πήγαιν' έλα ε:::  
 Come and go=Come and go  
 138 °Αυτό τώρα°  
 This now  
 139 VAS: Θα σου χαλάσει=βάλ' το στο ψηγείο.  
 It will spoil=Put in into the fridge.  
 140 IOL: Θα το βάλω στο ψηγείο=  
 I'll put it in the fridge=  
 141 VAS: =M:::  
 =Mmm  
 142 IOL: Δεν έχει χαλάσει ρε. (.) E:::  
 It hasn't spoiled {re} (.) Eh  
 143 VAS: Ρε παιδί μου ο καθένας [έ χει]  
 {Re} every one [h a s]  
 144 IOL: [H Μάρ]α την^ γκαταλαβαίνω.  
 [M a r]a, I understand her.  
 145 Έχει μια δικιολογία γιατί ήτανε με μια βαλίτσα  
 She has an excuse as she had been with a suitcase  
 146 στο χέρι (.) όλη μέρα (.) επί τρεις μήνες (.)  
 At hand (.) all day long (.) for three months (.)  
 147 Εφευγε και<  
 She was leaving and<  
 148 ARI: Ναι  
 Yes  
 149 IOL: Την^ γκαταλαβαίνω την^ γκούρασή της και μπορεί να  
 I understand her fatigue and she may

150 >θέλει ν' ανακάμψει και και και και και< (.)  
*Want to bounce back and so on (.)*

151 Η Ιλιάδα το προηγούμενο σαββατοκύριακο πιστόλιασε.  
*Iliada, last weekend, crapped out.*

152 E:: στην έξοδο. (.) Αυτό μπιστόλιασε=  
*Ehh at the outing. (.) She crapped out this weekend too=*

153 'λαδή (.) Ρε παιδιά η ζωή μας τι θα είναι? (.)  
*That is, (.) {re}/ guys, our life what will be like? (.)*

154 Σ' αυτή τη γαμωπόλη? =Εγώ δε μπορώ να είμαι σε μια πόλη  
*In this fucked up city? =I can't be in a city*

155 και να μη ζω φυσιολογικά. (.)  
*And not live in a normal way. (.)*

156 Και φυσιολογικά με τους δικούζ ^μου ρυθμούς.  
*And, ((when saying)) normally, ((I mean)) at my own pace.*

157 SIM: [<N α ι>]  
*[Y e s]*

158 IOL: [Βλέπεις] ότι δεν είμαι κάθε σαββατοκύριακο και παρτάρω.  
*[You see] that I' m now every weekend out partying.*

159 SIM: Όχι [ναι: ( )]  
*No [yes [ ( )]]*

160 [ΑΛΛΑ θέλω ρε φίλε] όταν είμαι λίγο πιο [eng] φρι=  
*[But I want {re}] when I'm a bit freer=*

161 VAS: =Συνήθως είσαι με το Γιάννη κι αράζεις.=  
*=You are usually with John chilling.=*

162 IOL: =Τς και πάλι θα βγω για ένα [eng] **μπραντς**=  
*=Ts and still I will go for a brunch=*

163 =>Θα βγω για [ένα καφέ]=Θα προσπαθήσω να τουζ^ δω όλους  
*=I will go for [a coffee]= I' ll try to see them all*

164 VAS: [Ναι ναι]  
*[Yes Yes]*

165 IOL: Αλλά:  
*But*

166 VAS: Ντάξει δεν είναι πάντα εύκολο να τουζ ^βλέπεις όλους (.)  
*Well, it's not always easy to see them all. (.)*

167 Αλλά μια στο τόσο [ε ί -]  
*But every so often [it' s]*

168 IOL: [>Σ τ ]ις καθημε-< την^ καθημερινή  
*[On the] weekdays, on the weekdays*

169 Κάθομαι μες στο σπίτι μου. (.)  
*I stay home. (.)*

170 Την^ Μπρασκευή συνήθως πηγαίνω στο Γιάννη, (.)  
*On Fridays I usually go to John's place, (.)*

171 Αν ο Γιάννης βγει το Σάββατο θα- ↑θα 'θελα να [βγω κι] εγώ:  
*If john goes out on Saturday, I'd I'd want to [go out] too*

172 VAS: [N α ι:]  
*[Y e s]*

173 IOL: Και να δω τουζ ^φίλους μου αλλά μα↑λάκα πραγματικά=  
*And see my friends but, really, man=*

174 =Από όχι σε όχι. (.)  
*=From 'no' to 'no'. (.)*

175 VAS: Ντάξει είναι ό- ρε παιδί μου=  
*Well, it is th- {re}*

176 IOL: =Αν δεν είχα το Συμεών (0.3) πραγματικά=  
*=If I didn't have Simeon (0.3) really=*

177 VAS: =Είναι πιο εύκολο όταν μ: έχεις ας πούμε δυο μέρες  
*=It's easier when mm you've got, say, two days*

178 Και λες ότι αυτές τιζ ^δύο μέρες (.)  
*And you say that these two days (.)*

179 Δεν έχω τίποτα να κάνω.  
*I don't have anything to do.*

180 Ας πούμε εγώ:=  
*For instance, I=*

181 IOL: =°Αύριο αυτό.°  
*=((I'll do)) this tomorrow.*

182 VAS: Τς έχω πάντα δουλειά δυνητικά. (.)  
*Ts I always have work to do, potentially. (.)*

183 Θα επιλέξω να πω όχι στη δουλειά (.)  
*I'll choose to say no to the work (.)*

184 >Που κι εγώ θέλω ρε παιδί μου να σας δω και να πάω  
*As I too want {re} to see you and go*

185 κάπου και να κάνω πράγματα.< (0.3)  
*Somewhere and do stuff. (0.3)*

186 Είναι πιο εύκολο για κάποιον που έχει δυο μέρες  
*It's easier for someone who has two days*

187 Τελείως κενός να πει ότι θα βγώ.  
*Totally free to say that 'I'll go out.'*

188 Κι εγώ δηλαδή άμα τις είχα θα ήμουν συνεχώς ↑έξω.  
*I too, that is, if I had them, I'd always be out.*

189 Γιατί τς αν έχω το χρόνο (.) ιδιοσυγκρασιακά (.) είμαι πολύ  
*Because ts if I have time (.) personally (.) I am very*

190 της κοινωνικότητας και του να δω πράγματα=  
*Sociable and like seeing things=*

191 [Να πάω >αυτό εκείνο τ' άλλο<]  
*[Going here and there]*

192 IOL: [Ρε δεν είναι μόνο δεν είναι μό-] είναι (.)  
*[[{Re} it's not just, it's not ju]st, it's (.)*

193 Πραγματικά εγώ δεν^ ντιο καταλαβαίνω. (.)  
*I really don't understand it. (.)*

194 Δεν το καταλαβαί:νω. (.)  
*I don't understand it. (.)*

195 >ΔΕ δε< μπορώ να καταλάβω δηλαδή είσαι 'φχαριστημένος  
*I can't can't understand, that is, you are pleased*

196 μ' αυτό που κάνεις? (0.3)  
*With what you do? (0.3)*

197 Που έχεις κλειστεί μες στο σπίτι?  
*That you are housebound?*

198 ↑ΑΝ έχεις κλειστεί μες στο σπίτι και δε και δε βρ-  
*If you are housebound and you don't and you don't*

199 Εγώ θα το- (.) Είπα στη Γιάννα την ημέρα που πήγαμε 'κει  
*I will (say) (.) I said to Gianna the day we went there*

200 στα ουζοτέτσια=  
*To the tavern=*

201 SIM: =M:  
*=Mm*

202 IOL: Πω πω δεν είπα στο Γιάννη να φέρει λίγο χαμομήλι=  
*Oh I didn't say to John to bring some chamomile=*

203 Μήπωζ ^να του πω:?=  
*Shall I tell him?=  
 204 VAS: =Δεν έχουμε πολύ:?  
 =Don't we have much/ enough?  
 205 IOL: Έχουμε αλλά τέλος πάντων θα πάρω φακελάκια.  
 We do but, anyway, I'll buy tea bags.*



206 E:::  
Eh

((206-215 They are looking for the infuser))

216 IOL: Τέλος πάντων αλλά θέλω να σου πω (.)  
Anyway, but I want to tell you (.)

217 ότι ντάξει (.) εμένα με στεναχωρεί και με θλίβει  
That okay (.) it saddens and depresses me

218 Γιατί αντιλαμβάνομαι::: πράγματα που δε μ' αρέσουνε.  
Because I realise things that I dislike.

219 'δὴ εγώ δε θα σε πάρω μόνο για να βγω.  
That is, I will not call you only to go out.

220 Δε σε θεωρώ< δεν είν- δεν είμαστε <παρέα> (.)  
I don't consider you< it's not, we're not a bunch (.)

221 χαϊστες που βγαίνουνε.  
People who love going out.

222 ARI: Τς ναι [ρε να υπάρχει μια επικοινωνία]::  
Ts yes [{re} there shall exist some form of contact]t

223 IOL: [Θεωρητικά είμαστε φίλοι.]  
[Theoretically, we are friends.]

224 Δε θα σε πάρω ε< στο πρόβλημά μου μόνο=  
I won't call you eh< only when I have problems=

225 Θα σε πάρω να δω και τι κάνεις.  
I will call you to see how you are.

226 ARI: M:  
Mm

227 IOL: Τώρα (.) το να βγαίνω για έναν καφέ (.)  
Now (.) going out for a coffee (.)

228 κάθε βδομάδα (.) και αν βγω (0.3)  
Every week (.) and if I go/ which is not sure (0.3)

229 Που πρέ- και πρέπει να πάω και στο [eng] **Κανάρι Γουόρφ**  
That I mu- and I must got to Canary Wharf too

230 Δηλαδή τς (.)  
That is ts (.)

231 ARI: Ναι  
Yes

232 IOL: Στο::: στα κορίτσια. (.) ↑0: °ντάξει τι να λέμε?° (.)  
To the to the girls (.) okay, what should we say? (.)

233 Ή σπίτι σας ή τίποτα? (.)  
Either at your place or nothing? (.)

234 Και κλει\*σμένων των θυρών?  
And inside the house too?  
\*claps her hands

235 Και ε- εμένα μου 'χει χτυπήσει πολύ άσχημα γιατί  
And, to me, it has struck very badly because

236 τς αν εγώ είχα μπιστολιάσει φίλουζ ^μου, (.)  
Ts it I had crapped out my friends, (.)

237 Τους είχα πει ότι θα πάμε ταξίδι, (.)  
I had told them that we will go on a trip, (.)

238 Και ξαφνικά σαζ ^λέω όχι, (.)  
And suddenly I tell you 'no', (.)

239 Θα φρόντιζα να είμαι πολύ πιο τυπική απέναντί τους  
I'd see to be way more proper with them

240 σε πολλά πράγματα=>δηλαδή τς< μου λεζ ^να βγού-  
To various things=that is ts, you tell me to go-

241 Να πάμε για καφέ. (.)  
*To go for coffee. (.)*

242 Ναι. (.) Ε όντως επειδή εγώ είχα σοβαρό πρόβλημα. (0.4)  
*Yes. (.) Eh*

243 Κόβω το λαιμό μου ότι δεν είναι τίποτα  
*I am absolutely sure that it's nothing*

244 αυτό με °την Ιλιάδα.°  
*This about Iliada.*

245 VAS: Μακάρι [αν και: ναι]  
*May it not [although yes]*

246 IOL: [Τη βλέπω ρε] μαλάκα τη ΒΛΕπω. (.)  
*[I see her {re}], I see her. (.)*

247 ΔΕ θα ήταν τόσο ψύχραιμη=>Αλλάζει σπίτια  
*She wouldn't be so calm=>She changes houses,*

248 Αλλάζει το 'να αλλάζει τ' άλλο< (.)  
*She changes one thing, she changes another (.)*

249 Να είχε και εγχειρήσεις και η άλλη  
*If she had surgeries too, and the other one*

250 φεύγει ξέρω 'γω και την^ γκρεμάει τς (.)  
*Is leaving, I don't know, and is letting her down ts (.)*

251 ΔΕΝ ΠΑΙΖει να συμβαίνει κάτι.  
*It's unlikely that something is going on*

252 Απλά θέλει να πάει Αυστραλία.  
*She simply wants to go to Australia.*

253 ΔΕ μου το βγάζεις εμένα απ' το μυαλό=γιατί όταν της είπα  
*There is no doubt in my mind=since when I told her*

254 και για τον Οκτώμβρη που το συζητάμε εμείς, (.)  
*About October too, that we are discussing it, (.)*

255 Που θα μαζευτούμε=είναι το μόνο σίγουρο  
*That we'll gather together=it's the only sure thing*

256 δηλαδή (.) >Είναι το μόνο εύκολο να βρεις ανθρώπους  
*That is (.) it's the only easy thing to find people*

257 όταν^ γκοιτάς για τόσο μακριά.<=  
*When you are planning for so long ahead.=*

258 VAS: =°Μακροπρόθεσμα ναι ναι.°°  
*=In the long term yes yes.*

259 IOL: Μπ- τς γιατί το συζητήσαμε >κι ήταν πολύ κοντινό< (.)  
*Ts because we are discussing it and it was too close (.)*

260 Ε (.) μου λέει ↓ναι μ:: θα δούμε ξέρω 'γω  
*Eh (.) she tells me, 'yes, we'll see, I don't know,*

261 γιατί' είναι κι η Αυστραλία↓ (.)  
*Because I'm thinking about Australia too (.)*

262 Ε ΠΕΖ ^μου ότι >μαζεύεις λεφτά να πας στην Αυστραλία<  
*Eh tell me that you saving up to go to Australia*

263 Και ΓΑΜΗΣε με τώρα.  
*And fuck me now.*

264 VAS: (.hhh) <Ναι>  
*(.hhh) yes*

265 IOL: >Γιατί της Αυ- για να πας< στην Αυστραλία (.)  
*Because for Au- to go to Australia (.)*

266 Είναι πολύ πιο πολλά τα χρήματα [και την^ ΜΠΕρίοδο]  
*It's a lot more money [and that period]*

267 VAS: [Καλά σίγουρα.]  
*[Well for sure.]*

268 IOL: >Που θεζ ^να πας=που θεζ ^να πας< μες στα Χριστούγεννα.  
*Since you want=since you want to go in Christmas.*

269 SIM: °<Σίγουρα ναι.>°  
*Definitely yes.*

270 IOL: ↑↑Μη με δουλεύεις όμως.  
*Don't fool me though.*

271 SIM: Εντάξει θα μπορούσε να [ˈναι: (.) ωραία]  
*Okay, she could [be (.) well]*

272 IOL: [Π Ε Ζ ^μ ο υ]  
*[T e l l m e]*

273 SIM: >Ρε παιδί μου [ό τι] ξέρεις κάτι?=  
*{Re}/ my lad [that] you know what?=  
 274 IOL: [↑NAI]  
*[Ye s]**

275 =Γιατί εσύ λύσσαξες και μου το 'βαλες=  
*=Because you were so frantic, and you planned it for me=  
 276 =Κι εγώ πλήρωσα πέντε μέρες άδεια απ' το μισθό μου (0.3)  
 277 =And I paid five days off from my salary (0.3)  
 277 Για να έχω να πάω κι εκεί.  
*To be able to afford it there.**

278 VAS: Ναι κι αλλάξατε και τις ημερομηνίες.  
*Yes and you changed the dates too.*

279 IOL: ΑΛΛΑξαμε τις ημερομηνίες=>έχω πάρει άδειες τέλος πάντων<  
*We changed the dates=I've taken days off, anyway  
 280 Τς (.) δικό μου πρόβλημα που εμπιστεύτηκα. (.)  
 281 Ts (.) that's my own problem that I trusted ((her)) (.)  
 281 ΑΛΛΑ >δε- ΔΕ μπορώ< να σου στέλνω μήνυμα  
 282 But I can't, I can't send you a message  
 282 Και να μην απαντάς. (.)  
 283 And ((having)) you not responding. (.)  
 283 Δηλαδή >εμένα με είχε πάρει η Ιλιάδα τ:ην ^Μπέμπτη<  
 284 That is, Iliada had called on Thursday  
 284 να πάμε για καφέ. (.)  
 285 To go for coffee. (.)  
 285 Έπρεπε αν της- να μην ^ντης απαντήσω και να υποθέσει  
 286 I shouldn't have answered and ((let her)) suspect  
 286 ότι δεν θα 'ρθω?  
 287 That I'll not come?  
 287 SIM: °Όχι όχι κι εμένα αυτό με:: μ' ενοχλεί ρε παιδί μου.°=  
 288 No no it bothers me too {re}.=  
 288 IOL: =Στην όποια συνάντηση=Την αυριανή:=  
 289 =To whichever meeting=The ((one scheduled for)) tomorrow=  
 289 VAS: =Ναι [και με ↑ό:]ποιον γενικά.  
 290 =Yes [and with who]mever in general.  
 290 IOL: [Τη σημερινή:]  
 291 [The current]  
 291 Στην όποια.  
 292 To whichever one.  
 292 ARI: Είτε είναι φίλος σου είτε δεν είναι=  
 293 Either s/he is your friend or not=  
 293 IOL: =Ναι=  
 294 =Yes=  
 294 VAS: =χ να πεις ρε παιδί μου ότι::  
 295 =You must say {re} that  
 295 IOL: ΠΕΖ ^μια μαλακία=>ΠΕΖ δε ↑↑θα 'ρθω=  
 296 Say something nonsense=Say I won't come=  
 296 VAS: =[Ναι (.) ότι έ- έχω δουλειά]  
 297 =[Yes (.) that I' m busy]*

297 IOL: =[Θα σε κρεμάσει κανένας?]  
 =[Will anybody hang you?]  
 298 VAS: Η έχω: αυτό ντάξει. (.)  
 Or I've got this ((to do)), okay. (.)  
 299 Είναι πιο ωραίο απ' το να μην απαντήσεις=  
 It's nicer than not responding at all=  
 300 IOL: =Ναι  
 =Yes  
 301 VAS: Και να πει:ς  
 And say  
 302 IOL: Πεζ ^μου εσύ!  
 You tell me!

### Event 8, 'He got on my nerves' (COP-01)

01 PAR: Για πες για την Πράγα!  
 Tell us about Prague!  
 02 ECT: Δεν ξέρω αν σου- αν το θυμάσαι Παρούλη,  
 I don't remember if you remember it Paris  
 03 Αλλά σου είχα ανακοινώσει=  
 But I'd announce to you=  
 04 PAR: =Ναι:  
 Yes  
 05 ECT: Τουλάχιστον <δύο φορές>  
 At least twice  
 06 PAR: Ναι.  
 Yes.  
 07 ECT: Προσωπικά σε σένα  
 Personally, to you  
 08 Γιατί θυμάμαι στο^ γκαναπέ (.)  
 Because I remember on the sofa (.)  
 09 Όταν υπήρχε ο καναπές αυτός,  
 When that sofa existed  
 10 (0.7)  
 11 Η προέκτασις. (0.4)  
 The extension. (0.4)  
 12 Κάναμε αυτή τη^ γκουβένια (.)  
 We've had this conversation (.)  
 13 >Και μου 'λεγες< (0.4)  
 And you were telling me (0.4)  
 14 ↓Α ναι το 'χα ξεχάσει.  
 Oh yes I'd forgotten about it. ((imitative))  
 15 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))  
 16 PAR: Ναι.  
 Yes.  
 17 ECT: Σου λέω το σουκού δε θα 'μαι δώ  
 I tell you, 'In the weekend, I won't be here  
 18 Γιατί θα 'μαι στη^ Μπράγα.  
 Because I will be in Prague'.  
 19 Και σου λέω μετά θα πάω και στη Μάλαγα,  
 And I tell you, 'After that I'll go to Malaga,

20 Για τον ίδιο σκοπό'.  
*For the same purposes'.*

21 Και μου λες εσύ (.) ↑Α αυτό το θυμάμαι.=  
*And you tell me (.) 'Oh I remember this.=*

22 =Για τη^ Μπράγα είχα ξεχάσει'.  
*= 'I'd forgotten about Prague'.*

23 PAR: Ναι.  
*Yes.*

24 ECT: Τώρα ↑τι μου το παί-<  
*Now why are you faking it?*

25 \$Είχα- είχα τα νεύρα μου\$,  
*\$He got on my nerves\$,*

26 \$Είχα τα νεύρα μου μαζί του\$ (.)  
*He got on my nerves (.)*

27 Που ξέχασε το ταξίδι μου,  
*Because he forgot my trip,*

28 KIM: \$↑M: ναι\$.  
*Mm yes.*

29 ECT: Και >τώρα πάει να μου το  
*And now he is about to*

30 ↑παίξει:< ↑↑Α για πες  
*fake it to me, 'Ah tell me/us*

31 για τη^ ↑↑Μπράγα.  
*about Prague'.*

32 PAR: \$Ωραία, ωραία, ωραία\$.  
*Okay, okay, okay.*

33 Το παραδέχομαι ότι έσφαλα, ((δραματικός τόνος))  
*I admit that I made a mistake, ((dramatic tone))*

34 Αλλά αυτό δε σημαίνει  
*But this does not mean*

35 ότι ~σε ξέ(η)χασα και ↑δε σ' αγαπώ(η)~.=  
*That I forgot about you and don't love you.=*

36 ECT: =(Δυνατό γέλιο)  
*=((Raucous laughter))*

37 KIM: =(Δυνατό γέλιο)  
*=((Raucous laughter))*

38 PAR: ((Γέλιο))  
*((Laughter))*

39 ECT: Ξέρεις τι κάνει?  
*Do you know what's he doing?*

40 (Δη)λαδή είναι σουπιά.=  
*That is he is a sly old fox.*

41 =Είν' γυναίκα σουπιά ο Πάρις.=  
*Paris is a female sly old fox.*

42 PAR: Δεν είμαι καθόλου σουπιά.  
*I'm not at all a sly old fox*

43 KIM: °Είναι γυναίκα λεσβία.°  
*He is a lesbian woman.*

44 PAR: Αυτό μάλισια!  
*That's correct!*

45 KIM: ((Γέλιο))  
*((Laughter))*

46 ECT: Λέω να κάμω σουπιές σπανάκι αύριο.  
*I'm thinking of making cuttlefish with spinach tomorrow.*

47 Τρώτε?  
*Do you like it?*

48 KIM: ((Καθαρίζει το λαιμό του))  
 ((Clears his throat))  
 49 \$Προτιμώ Πάρη με σπανάκι.\$  
*I prefer Paris with spinach.*  
 50 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))  
 51 PAR: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))

### Event 9, 'Don't discuss it with him!' (LON-37)

((In lines 1-20 Ioli describes the order they have placed, while other participants talk about Simeon's heavy workload.))

21 ILI: So, is the order coming or not?  
 22 IOL: Τι [eng] **νοτ** ρε μαλάκα? (.)  
*What not {re}? (.)*  
 23 ILI: Μην^ ντο συζητάς μαζί του!  
*Don't discuss it with him!*  
 24 ILI: =Μα (. ) εγ- ε: (. ) ten minutes more then?  
*But (. ) I eh (. ) ten minutes or more then?*  
 25 IOL: Ρε ↑περς του ότι έχει ξεχάσει  
*{Re} tell him that he has forgotten*  
 26 το ένα: (. ) γιατί πεινάμε.  
*one ((of the items)) (. ) because we are hungry.*  
 27 ILI: ΙΟΛΗ (. ) So ↑is the order on the way?  
*Ioli (. ) So is the order on the way?*  
 28 IOL: Μα δεν^ του λες αυτό που πρέπει  
*But you don't tell him what you should*  
 29 >Ρε παιδάκι μου< ε: (. )  
*{Re}/ dude eh (. )*  
 30 >Ότι το 'χουν ξεχάσει,<  
 31 Του λες >°τα ίδια  
*You are telling him the same*  
 32 και τα ίδια°<.  
*that same ((things)).*  
 33 ILI: I know you are busy (. ) but when are you delivering  
 34 the missing item? (. ) Ten minutes [or t w e n t y ?]  
 35 IOL: [↑Τι [eng] **τεν** **μί-**?]  
*[What ten mi-?]*  
 36 ΦΕΡ' τον εδώ.  
*Pass me the phone.*  
 37 Θ' αρχίσω να φωνάζω (. )  
*I'll start shouting (. )*  
 38 Τι [eng] **TEN MINUTE**?  
*What ten minutes?*  
 39 ILI: In ten minutes. (. ) Okay (. ) thank you.  
 40 (0.4)  
 41 ↑Φωνέ::ς ακούω φωνέ:ς.  
*Shouts, I'm hearing shouts.*  
 42 SIM: Δεν- δεν^ γκερδίζεις κάτι  
*You don't gain anything*  
 43 με τις φωνές ρε.

by shouting {re}.

44 IOL: Ναι ρε ντάξει (.)  
Yes {re} okay (.)

45 ↓Αρκεί να μη σε κοροϊδεύουν.  
Least they don't mock you.

46 Δε μπορεί να μου λέει ε: (.)  
He can't tell me eh (.)

47 μπε- > μια ώρα μετά<.  
An hour later.

48 ILI: Ναι βρε παιδί μου το' χε καταλάβει ο άνθρωπος.  
Yes {re} he had understood that.

49 [Απλά πρέπει να ξαναπάει στο μαγαζί,]  
[He just had to go the restaurant again,]

50 IOL: [>Και τι με νοιάζει εμένα ότι είναι [eng] **μπίζι**?<]  
[And why should I care about him being busy?]

51 ILI: Για να πάει την^ παραγγελία και παίρνει τηλέφωνο:  
To collect the order and calls

52 τη [eng] **ντελιβερού** αλλά: δεν^ ντο σηκώνουν αυτή τη στιγμή  
Deliveroo but they don't answer this moment

53 >που τους παίρνει το τηλέφωνο και ξαναπαίρνει< και δεν το  
That he calls them and he calls back and they don't

54 σηκώνει γιατί είναι [eng] **μπίζι** η [eng] **ντελιβερού**.  
Respond because Deliveroo is busy.

55 Και μου λέει ότι λογικά είναι στο δρόμο και θα 'ρθεί  
And they tell me that it must me on the way and will arrive

56 σε δέκα με δεκαπέντε λεπτά.  
In ten to fifteen minutes.

57 Τι να του πω εγώ?  
What should I say?

58 IOL: [Ναι ρε]  
[Yes {re}]

59 ILI: [Να::] την ακυρώναμε?  
To cancel it?

60 IOL: Όχι καλά είπες αλλά  
No you said right but

61 Ρε μ' εκνευρίζουνε.=Στην Ελλάδα (.) θα 'χε έρθει τώρα.  
{Re} they annoy me.=In Greece (.) it would have come by now.

62 SIM: Ξέρεις τι? [Το θέμα είναι ότι δεν έχει δικό:: του τέ-]  
You know what? [The thing is that he doesn't have his own]

63 VAS: [Εντάξει άλλο τελείως διαφορετικό σύστημα.]  
[Well, it's a totally different system.]

64 SIM: Δεν έχει δικό του μηχανάκι.= [Κ α τ ά λ α β ε ρ ς ?]  
He doesn't have his own motorbike.= [You see?]

65 VAS: [Δεν έχει::] ναι.  
[He doesn't have] yes.

66 SIM: Αυτή είν' η μαλακία.  
That's the bad thing.

67 IOL: Ναι, ναι τέλος πάντων (.)  
Yes, yes anyway (.)

68 SIM: \$Ας ελπίζουμε ότι δε θα φάμε τον^ γκαναπέ.\$  
\$Let's hope we won't eat the sofa.\$

69 ILI: \$Τα νύ(h)χια μας βλέπω να τρώμε.\$  
\$I'm seeing us eating our fingernails.\$

70 IOL: ((Γέλιο))  
((Laughter))

Event 10, 'She mocked me!' (LON-10)

- 01 IOL: Αυτή αρρώστησε (.)  
*She got sick (.)*
- 02 Και με πήρε η [eng] **εϊτσαρού**,  
*And the HR manager called me*
- 03 Και μετά με πήρε ο [eng] **γκλόμπαλ μάρκετινγκ μάνατζερ**  
*And then the global marketing manager called me*
- 04 Γιατί κάποιος έπρεπε να την^ γκαλύψει την άλλη. (.)  
*Because somebody should cover for her. (.)*
- 05 Πολύ μικρή συνάντηση. (.)  
*Very brief meeting. (.)*
- 06 Τύπου δέκα λεπτά ε: μ' αυτών.=  
*Something like ten minutes eh with him.=*
- 07 =Με την άλλη ήμουν μιάμιση ώρα.  
*=With the other one I'd been for one and a half hour.*
- 08 ARI: Παναγιά μου(h)!  
*My Gosh(h)!*
- 09 IOL: Ναι μου λέει <τα [eng] **κομιουνικέισον σκιλς** σου  
*Yes, she tells me "Your communication skills*
- 10 Είναι ένα απ' τα [eng] **αντβάνιατζίς**> σου.=  
*Are among your advantages.=*
- 11 =Λέω πού να 'ξερες ότι στην άλλη εταιρεία  
*=I say "how could you have known that in the other company*
- 12 Μου λένε(h) ότι δεν είναι."  
*They say(h) that they are not.*
- 13 ARI: ((Γελάκι))  
*((Chuckles))*
- 14 (.hh) Ντάξει είν' ακραίο όμως στην άλλη εταιρεία. (.)  
*(.hh) Well, it's extreme though in the other company. (.)*
- 15 Δηλαδή [αυτό το πράγμα]  
*That is [t h i s t h i n g]*
- 16 IOL: [>Είν' ακραία σκηνικά.<]  
*[These are extreme situations.]*
- 17 ΜΑ ΔΕ< ΟΤΑΝ Έ- ΟΤΑΝ ΈΡΕΠΙΣ οτί τς (.)  
*But when e- when you know that whatever ts (.)*
- 18 ΟΤΙ ΚΑΙ ΝΑ ΠΕΙΣ, (.)  
*Whatever you may say, (.)*
- 19 Ό,τι και ιδέα να ρίξεις στο τραπέζι  
*Whatever idea you may bring on the table*
- 20 Θα έχεις απέναντί σου ταυτή την αντιμετώπιση,  
*You will get this treatment,*
- 21 (.h) από έναν ή από περισσότερους,  
*(.h) from one ((person)) or more ((people)), (.)*
- 22 Κυρίως από έναν, (0.3)  
*Mainly from one ((person)), (0.3)*
- 23 ΡΕ σήμερα πάλι >ερχόντουσαν τα [eng] **έιτζενσις** σε μένα  
*{Re} today again the agencies' reps were coming to me*
- 24 Και με ρωτάγανε  
*And they were asking me*
- 25 †Να σου πω αυτό εννοεί? (.)  
*"May I ask you, is this what she means?"*



26 ΔΕ ΜΠΟΡΩ ΝΑ ΚΑΝΩ [eng] **MANATZ** αυτό το πράγμα.  
*I cannot manage this thing.*

27 Τη φοβού:νται όλοι, (.)  
*Everybody is afraid of her, (.)*

28 Γιατί τους πρήζει τ' αρχίδια,  
*Because she busts their balls,*

29 Γιατί τους κατακρίνει και γιατί  
*Because she criticises them and because*

30 >τίποτα δεν ^γκάνουνε  
*they do nothing*

31 ε- οι άλλοι καλά παρά μόνο αυτή.<  
*e- the others ((do nothing)) correctly apart from her.*

32 Και πάω σήμερα στο γραφείο αυτήνης  
*And I go today to her office*

33 Να δούμε την^ παρουσίαση  
*To look at the presentation*

34 Για ένα νέο προϊόν και ΤΙ μου λέει?  
*About a product and what does she say to me?*

35 °Ε τς εδώ θα έπρεπε  
*Eh ts here you should have*

36 Να έχεις βάλει αόριστο,  
*Used past simple,*

37 Όχι ενεστώτα. (.)  
*Not present simple. (.)*

38 Αυτό το συμπέρασμα το περίμενα  
*I was expecting this conclusion*

39 Σε αυτό το επίπεδο που βρίσκεσαι  
*On your level*

40 Και με απογοητεύει.°  
*And it disappoints me.*

41 ARI: Ορίστε?  
*What?*

42 IOL: Με ειρωνεύτηκε  
*[She m]ocked me*

43 >Καλή μου κοπέλα<.  
*My good lady.*

44 ARI: Ντάξει αυτό τώρα::  
*Okay, this now*

44 ARI: Ντάξει αυτό τώρα::  
*Well, / Okay, this now*

45 IOL: Ρε: δεν είν' η πρώτη φορά  
*And it's not the first time*

46 Να πω< με ειρωνεύεται συ↑νέχεια  
*To say, she mocks me all the time*

47 >Απ' το επίπεδο της δουλειάς μου  
*From the level of my work*

48 Μέχρι το επίπεδο που μιλάω.<  
*To the level of my language competence.*

49 ARI: Ναι ναι ήταν χοντρό=  
*Yes, yes, it was crass/coarse/rude.*

50 IOL: =Πολύ χοντρό ναι ρε<=  
*Very crass/coarse/rude, yes {re}=*

51 ARI: =Αυτό το πράγμα δεν το λες  
*You don't say this thing*

52 σε ΚΑΝΕΝΑΝ άνθρωπο.  
*to no one.*

53 Δεν ↑↑είναι τρόπος αυτός.  
*This is not a ((good)) manner.*

54 IOL: Ναι ναι  
*Yes yes*

55 (0.5)

56 VAS: Αυτό όμως ↑πώς ε:=  
*But how is this eh=*

57 IOL: =Ρε μπορεί να δω ένα γραπτό σου  
*{Re} I may see a script of yours*

58 Και να σου πω (.) ρε συ Βάσσια  
*And tell you (.) {re} Vassia*

59 Εδώ έχεις λάθος ξέρω 'γω τς  
*Here you've made a mistake, I don't know, ts*

60 >Πρόσεξέ το λίγο γιατί: ε: πρέπει να<  
*Look at it a bit carefully because eh we must*

61 Το στείλουμε στο::ν^ νιάδε ξέρω 'γω στο:: (.)  
*Send it to that person, I don't know, to (.)*

62 VAS: Ναι ναι ναι  
*Yes yes yes*

63 IOL: Στο δικαστήριο ξέρω 'γω  
*To the court, I don't know*

64 Γιατί με το μ- με το [eng] **λάνλορντ**  
*Because with the landlord*

65 Περνάμε δύσκολα ξέρω 'γω.  
*We're having a bad time, I don't know.*

66 VAS: Ναι ναι.  
*Yes yes.*

67 IOL: Καλά: (.) Ε ΔΕ ΘΑ ΣΟΥ ΠΩ (.)  
*Well, (.) Eh I won't tell you (.)*

68 Ε ΤΙ ΓΑΜΗΜΕΝΗ ΚΑΡΙΟΛΑ είσαι=  
*Eh what a fucked cunt you are=*

69 =Δε θ' αρχίσω να σε βρίζω.  
*=I won't start swearing at you.*

70 VAS: Ναι  
*Yes*

71 IOL: Θα σου πω ΑΝ ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ (.)  
*I will tell you 'If you can (.)*

72 Την επόμενη φορά  
*Next time*

73 Να το διπλοισεκάρεις.  
*You shall double-check it."*

74 Αλλά >ξες [κάτι?<]  
*But you know [what? ]*

75 VAS: [N α ι:] ρε έχεις δίκιο=  
*[Y e s ] {re} you're right=*

76 IOL: =Δύσκολους ανθρώπους μπορώ να τους κά-  
*=Difficult people I can*

77 Μπορώ να τους κοντρολάρω.  
*I can handle them.*

78 Δούλευα στην εταιρεία στην Ελλάδα (.)  
*I was working for a company in Greece (.)*

79 Σε μια πολύ μικρή εταιρεία α- Ε:λληνική  
*For a very small Greek company*

80 Που ο άλλος έριχνε Παναγίες με το που έμπαινε.  
*Where the other was cursing by the time he arrived.*

81 Δεν ήξερε τις διαδικασίες που χρειαζόταν η εφορία (.)

82 He didn't know the procedures that the tax office needed (.)  
 °Γιατί δούλευα στο οικονομικό της εταιρείας°  
 Because I was working in the financial department

83 Και μου 'λεγε- μ' έκανε [eng] **τσάλεντζ**  
 And he was saying to me, he was challenging me

84 Που δε χρειαζόνταν  
 That was not needed

85 >Και μου 'λεγε ΔΕΝ ^ντια ξέρεις καλά (.)  
 And he was saying "You don't know it well (.)  
 86 Χρειαζόνται.<  
 They are needed.

87 (.h) Αλλ' αυτός ο άνθρωπος  
 (.h) But this person

88 Ήξερα ότι αυτός είν' ο τρόπος του, (.)  
 I knew that this is his way, (.)

89 Δεν ήθελε να κάνει κακό, (.)  
 He didn't want to harm, (.)

90 Δεν ήταν σπιούνος.  
 He wasn't a mole.

91 SIM: M::  
 Mm

92 IOL: ΑΥΤΗ (.) θα πάει αύριο στη Μόνικα  
 She (.) will go tomorrow to Monica

93 Και θα της πει >Η Ιόλη δεν είναι καλά προετοιμασμένη=  
 And she will tell her "Ioli is not well-prepared"=  
 94 =Εδώ έχει λάθη.< (0.4)  
 =Here, she's got mistakes. (0.4)

95 ΚΑΙ η Μόνικα που στο κεφάλι της ε:  
 And Monica who in her head eh

96 Μαναιζάρει ε μια ομάδα μια κατηγορία ένα [eng] **μπράντ**  
 She is managing eh a team, a category, a brand

97 Ε: ε- δέκα [eng] **μπράντζ** και τα λοιπά  
 Eh ten brands and so on

98 ΔΕ θα κάτσει να κολλήσει στη δική μου μικρή λεπτομέρεια  
 Will not get stuck to my own small detail

99 Να να τς  
 To, to ts

100 Αλλά θα πάω αύριο να μιλήσω  
 But I will go tomorrow to talk

101 Στη [eng] **μάναιζέρ** μου.  
 To my manager.

102 SIM: Καλά θα κάνεις.  
 You'll do well.

103 IOL: Θα της πω ότι δε μπορώ άλλο  
 I'll tell her that I can't take anymore

104 Το [eng] **ρουντ** του χαρακτήρα της  
 The rudeness of her character

105 Δεν αντέχω άλλο να με προσβάλλει,  
 I can't stand anymore her insulting me,

106 Να με κάνει [eng] **τσάλεντζ** χωρίς λόγο,=  
 To challenge me without a reason,=

107 ARI: =Ε όχι βέβαια.  
 =Eh, of course not.

108 Πες της ότι δεν έχεις ΦΩΝΗ  
 Tell her that you don't have a voice

109 Σε αυτή την εταιρεία

In this company  
 110 όταν η άλλη μιλάει έτσι.  
 when the other ((one)) speaks like this.  
 111 IOL: Αυτό!  
 This ((thing exactly))!  
 112 Το πιο σημαντικό ρε είναι το: (.)  
 The most important is the (.)  
 113 Το πώς ε: αντιμετωπίζουν  
 How they deal with  
 114 >Οι εταιρείες τους ανθρώπους.<  
 ((How)) the companies ((deal with)) the people.  
 115 ARI: Το πιο σημαντικό.  
 The most important.  
 116 IOL: Ναι και για μένα το πιο σημαντικό  
 Yes, and for me the most important  
 117 Είναι να υπάρχει εκτί- να εκτιμάς  
 Is that there is appre- that you appreciate  
 118 Τη δουλειά του άλλου και να τον ε:  
 The other's work and to eh  
 119 Να τον υποστηρίζεις! =  
 To support her/him! =  
 120 ARI: =M:  
 =Mm  
 121 IOL: Κι εγώ εκεί μέσα >↑δεν παίρνω τίποτα  
 And, in there, I receive nothing  
 122 Από τα δύο< και θα της το πω. =  
 From the two and I'll tell her about it. =  
 123 SIM: =Ε ναι ειδικά αν πάει κι αυτή και:  
 =Eh yes especially if she too goes and  
 124 Που δε φτάνει που σου είπε  
 I mean, it's bad enough that she told you  
 125 [Σήμε ρα]  
 [To d ay]  
 126 IOL: [Εν νοερί]ται ότι θα πάει.  
 [It goes] without saying that she will go.  
 127 ARI: Θα πάει στην [ά -]  
 She will go to [o -]  
 128 IOL: [ <MA ] ΠΟΙΟΣ^ ΜΟΥ ΒΑΛΕ ΔΥΟ<  
 [But] who gave me a two  
 129 Ρε συ.: Αριάδνη?  
 {Re} Ariadne?  
 130 ΠΟΙΟΣ ΜΕ ΓΑΜΗΣΕ στην αξιολόγηση και γιατί? =  
 Who fucked me in the appraisal and why? =  
 131 =Όταν ό- όταν λέω σε κάποιον μες στην εταιρεία ότι  
 =When w- when I say to someone in the company that  
 132 >Ξεεις τι?< εγώ πήρα δύο φέτος, (.)  
 You know what? I got a two this year, (.)  
 133 ↑ΔΕ το πιστεύει ↑κανένας.  
 Nobody believes it.  
 134 ARI: Ναι  
 Yes  
 135 IOL: Και ↑δε πρ- δεν προμοτάρω τον εαυτό μου =  
 And I don't pr- promote myself =  
 136 =>Δεν έχω κανένα λόγο να [>σου πω είμαι γαμάτη<]  
 =I don't have a reason to [tell you I'm awesome]  
 137 ARI: [↑Όχι ρε παιδί μου] ναι

[No {re} / my lad] yes

138 IOL: Όχι δεν είμαι γαμάτη. (0.4)  
*No, I'm not awesome. (0.4)*

139 Αλλά και μ' αυτή τη συμπεριφορά δε θα γίνω και ποτέ.  
*But I'll never become so due to this behaviour.*

140 ARI: Όχι, όχι 'λαδή όταν σε- δηλαδή  
*No, no, that is, when they, that is,*

141 Να σου λέει ο άλλος  
*When the other tells you*

142 Δεν^ γκζέρεις ε δεν έχεις βάλει το σωστό χρόνο,  
*You don't know eh you haven't used the correct tense,*

143 Δεν έχεις [κά -]  
*You haven't [don-]*

144 IOL: [~~Δ η~~]λαδή πραγματικά:>  
*[That] is, really*

145 ARI: ((Γελάκι))  
*((Chuckles))*

146 IOL: Κοιτάς το δάχτυλο κι όχι το δάσος.=  
*You're looking at the finger and not at the forest.=*

147 =>Τ' οτι έκατσα μόνη μου,  
*That I sat alone,*

148 Έκανα όλη αυτή την ανάλυση,  
*I made all this analysis,*

149 Σας το παρουσιάζω: έχουμε Μάρτη  
*I am presenting it to you, it's March*

150 Και σας< [eng] **προάκτιβλι**  
*And ((I'm presenting it to)) you proactively*

151 Μέχρι το τέλος του χρόνου,  
*Until the end of the year,*

152 Να 'μαστε κοντά στο [eng] **έστιμειτ,**  
*So that we are close to the estimations,*

153 Να μη βρεθούμε ε- εγκ- (.)  
*So that we don't get ((surprised))*

154 ΔΗΛΑΔΗ ΚΑΘΕΣΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΜΕ ΓΑ- (.)  
*That is, you keep fu((cking)) me (.)*

155 Εάν σου δείξω το εξέλ μου, (.)  
*If I show you my excel, (.)*

156 Που ξέρεις τι? (.)  
*And you know what? (.)*

157 Όταν εσύ έχεις την^ υπερπληροφόρηση και την επεξεργάζεσαι  
*When you've got the over-information and you process it*

158 Καθημερινά (.) π- πρέπει< το πιο δύσκολο κομμάτι  
*Everyday (.) you must, the most difficult part*

159 <Είναι να βρεις ένα τρόπο να την^ παρουσιάσεις  
*Is to find a way to present it*

160 Με όσο το λιγότερο ε:: δυνατό  
*With the least possible*

161 Ε: [λεπτομέρειες γίνεται]  
*Eh [details you can]*

162 ARI: [Α π λ ά :: ν α ι.]  
*[S i m p l y y e s.]*

163 IOL: Και απλά στον άλλο να καταλάβει ε:  
*And simply to the other for him/her to understand eh*

164 Τι γίνεται μες στο κεφάλι σου. (0.4)  
*What's going on in your head. (0.4)*

165 Όταν μιλάς για [eng] **μπάτζετ** και για δεκαεφτά εκατομμύρια,

166 *When you speak of budget and of seventeen millions,*  
 Σημαίνει ότι μες στο κεφάλι σου >και με τα πρότζεκτ και το<  
 167 *It means that in your head, due to the projects and the*  
 Υπάρχουνε πάρα πολλά πράγματα που δε  
 168 *There are too many things that you don't*  
 [Χρει- που πρέπει να] παραλείψεις,  
 169 SIM: [Δεν είναι σχετικά]  
 [Are not relevant]  
 170 IOL: Και να τς και είναι πολύ δύσκολο (.)  
*And to ts and it's difficult (.)*  
 171 Και λες ωραία αυτή η ερώτηση θα γεννήσει αυτή την απάντηση  
*And you say, okay, this question will generate this answer*  
 172 >Κι αυτή η απάντηση κρύβεται σ' αυτούς τους αριθμούς  
*And this answer is hidden behind these numbers*  
 173 Κι αυτοί οι αριθμοί θα γεννήσουν αυτή την ερώτηση  
*And these numbers will yield this question*  
 174 Που θέλει αυτή την απάντηση τς (0.4) είναι δύσκολο.  
*Which needs this answer ts. (0.4) It's difficult.*  
 175 ARI: Μμμ ναι [φ υ σ ικά .]  
*Mm yes [definitely.]*  
 176 IOL: [Και κ ά θ ι]σα κι έβγαλα τα MATIA μου ↑κα-  
*[And I sat] and worked hard to*  
 177 Καταταβαίνει κάποιος >το ε- το [eng] **έφορτ** της ρ-  
*Somebody can understand the e- the effort of*  
 178 Της προσπάθειάς μου< και μου λες (.)  
*My effort, and you tell me (.)*  
 179 Για εφτακόσια ευρώ (.)  
*About seven hundred euros (.)*  
 180 Λίρες (.) και ε- ε- ένα χρόνο? (0.4)  
*Pounds (.) and o- o- one tense? (0.4)*  
 181 °Επρεπε να βάλω ε αόριστο αντί για ενεστώτα?°  
*I must have used eh past simple instead of present simple?*  
 182 VAS: Ναι  
*Yes*  
 183 IOL: <°Είμαστε στο σχολείο και δε το ξέρω?°>  
*Are we at school and I don't know it?*  
 184 (0.5)  
 185 Θεωρείς ότι δεν^ γκαταλαβαίνουμε τα [eng] **μπριφς** μου?>  
*Do you think that they don't understand my briefs?*  
 186 ARI: (.h)  
 187 IOL: ΘΑ ΤΡΕΛΑΘΩ?  
*Will I get mad?*  
 188 ARI: Αυτό είναι να στο πω για να στο πω και να σε:  
*This is like saying it to you to say it to you and to*  
 189 IOL: >↑Είναι για να στο πω για να σε μειώσω<=  
*It's like saying it to you so as to belittle you=*  
 190 SIM: =Ναι  
*=Yes*  
 191 IOL: >Είναι να στο πω γιατί είμαι κακός άνθρωπος.<=  
*It's saying it to you because I'm a bad person*  
 192 =Την ^ΓΚΑ- ε< μπορώ να μαναιζάρω ανθρώπους που δεν τς  
*I und- eh I can manage people who ts*  
 193 που έχουνε κακό τρόπο αλλά δεν είναι κακοί άνθρωποι,  
*Who have a bad manner but they're not bad people,*  
 194 ARI: Ναι

Yes

195 IOL: Η συγκεκριμένη είναι και κακός άνθρωπος (.)  
*This particular person is both a bad person (.)*

196 Και κακή μάνατζερ και (.) κακότροπη. (0.3)  
*And a bad manager and (.) bad-mannered. (0.3)*

197 ΕΙΣΤΕ< ΡΕ ΔΕ ΘΑ ΠΗΓΑΙΝΑ ΠΟΤΕ και μ- τς  
*You are, {re} I'd never go to ts*

198 Πίστεψέ με δε θα μου αρέσει αύριο  
*Believe me I'm not going to like it tomorrow*

199 >Που θα πάω να μιλήσω στη [eng] **μάντζέρ** μου<  
*That I'm going to talk to my manager*

200 ΑΛΛΑ ΔΕΝ ΑΝΤΕΧΩ ↑ΑΛΛΟ.  
*But I can't stand it anymore.*

201 ARI: Ε ναι.  
*Eh yes.*

202 IOL: Θα της το πω ρε δεν πάει άλλο  
*I will say it to her {re}, it's enough.*

203 ↑↑Δε μπορώ να έρχομαι εδώ μέσα μες στα νεύρα  
*I can't come in here into a stew*

204 Και να λέω ΠΩ ΠΩ ρε πούστη  
*And say, "Oh Fuck!"*

205 Κάθε Τετάρτη έχω το:: >one-to-one με την Έλεν,  
*Every Wednesday I have the one-to-one with Ellen,*

206 Πρέπει να συνεργαστώ με την Έλεν<  
*I must cooperate with Ellen*

207 Και μου <φεύγει η Παναγία κάθε φο↑ρά.>  
*And I get exhausted every time.*

208 SIM: Όχι, όχι δεν υπάρχει λόγος=[ζ ή τ α:]  
*No, no there's no point=[ask for]*

209 IOL: [Και ↑βλέ]πεις=βλέπεις  
*[And you s]ee=you see*

210 Πόσο μ' επηρεάζει εκτός δουλειάς.  
*How much it affects me outside the workplace.*

211 Δηλαδή εγώ θέλω να κλείνει η πόρτα του γραφείου  
*That is, I want to close the door of my office*

212 ↑Και να τελειώνει εκεί.  
*And leave it there.*

213 ARI: Ναι αυτό δε γίνεται αλλά:  
*Yes this is not possible but*

214 IOL: >Καταλαβαίνεις ρε παιδί μου τι θέλω να πω.=  
*You understand {re} / my lad what I want to say.=*

215 =Άλλο να 'χω ένα πρότζεκτ που τρέχει,  
*=It's different to have a project that is running,*

216 Άλλο να 'χω μια προτεραιότητα που πρέπει να τελειώσω:<=  
*It's different to have a priority that I must finish=*

217 SIM: =Ναι  
*=Yes*

218 IOL: Άλλο να πω >↑πω πω σήμερα στενοχωρήθηκα  
*It's different to say "Oh today I got sad*

219 Γιατί δεν^ νιο 'κανα καλά ή σήμερα χάρηκα=  
*=Because I didn't do it well or I got happy today"=*

220 =↑↑Κι άλλο όμως να γαμιέται ο- ε:: η ψυχολογία μου  
*And it's different to have my psychology eh fucked up*

221 Και να 'χω νεύρα και να 'μαι έτσι εξαιτίας ενός ανθρώπου  
*And to get mad and to be like that because of one person*

222 Στη δουλειά.<

- At work.
- 223 (0.4)
- 224 IOL: ΣΚΕΨΟΥ η [eng] **μάνατζέρ** σου να ήταν ↑↑ό,τι να 'ναι.  
*Imagine that your manager was quirky.*
- 225 ARI: Ναι [ρ ε ]  
*Yes [re]*
- 226 IOL: [θ α] 'τανε <μαρτυρικό:> το::  
*[It w]ould be torturous the*
- 227 ARI: Δεν υποφέρεται [μια κακή συνεργασία]  
*A bad cooperation [is u n b e arable]*
- 228 IOL: [<Η κάθε μ έ ρ α>]  
*[Every single day]*
- 229 ARI: Δε γίνεται.  
*It's not possible.*
- 230 IOL: Η φίλη μου η Έλσα >δούλευε στην ΑΣΟΕ<  
*My friend Elsa was working at the ASOE<sup>118</sup>*
- 231 Κι είχε τον ε:: πώς τον λένε?  
*And she was having eh what's his name?*
- 232 Τς >τέλος πάντων έναν επόπιτη<=  
*Ts anyway her supervisor=*
- 233 =Γύρναγε σπίτι της και <έκλαιγε>.  
*=And she was going home and was crying.*
- 234 SIM: Ναι δεν είν' αυτό ε: δεν^ μπαλεύεται.  
*Yes this is not eh, it's unbearable.*
- 235 IOL: ↑Έκλαιγε απ' τα νεύρα της.=  
*She was crying due to her anger.=*
- 236 =[Σου 'λεγε δε μπορώ να το πιστέψω]  
*=[She was telling you "I can't believe it"]*
- 237 SIM: [Έχουμε χίλους λόγους να κλαίμε] στη δουλειά, (0.3)  
*[We've got one thousand reasons to cry] at work, (0.3)*
- 238 Αν έχουμε και κακούς συνεργάτες,  
*If we have bad colleagues too,*
- 239 IOL: Σκέψου λοιπόν πως έχουμε ΈΝΑ ΕΚΑΤΟΜΜΥΡΙΟ λόγους  
*So, think that we've got one million reasons*
- 240 Γιατί< κάνουμε ↑ΈΝΑ ΕΚΑΤΟΜΜΥΡΙΟ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΑ καθημερινά (.)  
*Because we do one million things everyday (.)*
- 241 Μιλάμε με ↑ΈΝΑ ΕΚΑΤΟΜΜΥΡΙΟ ανθρώπους, (.)  
*We talk to one million people, (.)*
- 242 Έλειπα μιάμιση ώρα απ' τον υπολογιστή μου, (.)  
*I was away from my computer for one and a half hour, (.)*
- 243 Τον έκλεισα τρεισίμιση,  
*I switched it off at three thirty,*
- 244 ARI: Μ  
*Μ*
- 245 IOL: Κι έχω ΤΡΙΑΝΤΑΕΦΤΑ αδιάβαστα μέιλ  
*And I've got thirty-seven unread emails*
- 246 Που ↑όλα ζητάνε ↑κάτι (.)  
*With all requesting an action (.)*
- 247 Μέσα σε ↑↑μιάμιση ώρα.  
*Within one hour and a half.*
- 248 ARI: Ναι  
*Yes*
- 249 IOL: [eng] **Γουόρκιν άουαρ.** (.)  
*Working hour. (.)*

<sup>118</sup> Athens University of Economics and Business



250 Δηλαδή σε οχτώωρο σκέψου τι γίνεται!  
*That is, during the working day, imagine what happens!*

251 ARI: Ναι ναι και πες να 'τανε καλό το κλίμα  
*Yes, yes, and if the atmosphere was good*

252 Να το υποφέρεις >ρε παιδί μου αλλά<=  
*You shall take it {re} /my lad but=*

253 IOL: =↑↑ΔΕΝ ΑΝΤΕΎΧΩ=δεν αντέχω.  
*I can't stand=I can't stand.*

254 ARI: Να 'χεις έναν άνθρωπο να σου λέει (.)  
*Having a person to tell you (.)*

255 IOL: Να με ειρωνεύεται απ' το (.) επίπεδο της δουλειάς μου  
*To mock me from (.) the level of my work*

256 Μέχρι το επίπεδο που μιλάω?  
*To the level of my language competence?*

257 VAS: Το δεύτερο ρε είναι σο-κα-ρι-στι-κό (.)  
*The latter {re} is shocking (.)*

258 Γιατί εδώ πέρα [ε ί ναι η ν ό ρ μ α.]  
*Because here [it is the norm.]*

259 IOL: [Ρε δεν είναι μόνο αυτό].  
 [{Re} it's not just this].

260 Δεν είναι μόνο το επίπεδο τ- που μιλάω  
*It's not just the level t- of my language competence*

261 (.h) Είναι και το επίπεδο τηζ^ δουλειάς.=  
 (.h) *It's the level of my work as well.=*

262 =>Σκέψου ότι μπορεί να κάνεις πάρα πολύ καλή δουλειά< (.)  
 =*Think that you may be doing a very good job*

263 Δεν^ ντο καταλαβαίνεις γιατί:  
*You don't understand it because*

264 Η δική σου δουλειά είναι πολύ [eng] **βέρμπαλ**.  
*Your own work is very verbal*

265 Αλλά σκέψου να 'τανε [eng] **νουμέρικαλ** (.)  
*But imagine that it were numerical (.)*

266 Να 'χεις αναλύσει κάτι,  
*That you've analysed something*

267 ARI: Ναι [είναι διαφορετικό.]  
*Yes [it's different.]*

268 IOL: [>Να 'χεις προσπαθήσει] να κάνεις [eng] **κονσόλιντεϊτ**  
 [*That you've tried] to consolidate*

269 Ένα σκασμό νούμερα και [eng] **νιάτα<**  
*A huge amount of numbers and data*

270 ARI: Ναι  
*Yes*

271 IOL: Να το παρουσιάζεις και να σου λέω (.)  
*That you're presenting it and her saying to you (.)*

272 Τς [eng] **παστ πέρφεκτ σίμπλ** έπρεπε να βάλεις εδώ.  
*Ts you should have used past perfect simple here.*

273 ARI: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((*Laughter*))

274 IOL: Και να θες να τους πεις ↑ΓΑΜΩ ΤΟ ΚΕΡΑΤΟ ΜΟΥ! (0.4)  
 And you wanting to to tell them "Goddmmmit!" (0.4)

275 Με δουλεύεις?  
*Are you kidding me?*

276 ARI: Ναι δεν είναι και το δικό σας=  
*Yes, your own is not=*

277 IOL: =>Και να μου πεις< (.)  
 =*And that you say to me (.)*

278 <°Αυτό το συμπέρασμα το περίμενα  
 "I was expecting this conclusion  
 279 Σ' αυτό το επίπεδο που βρίσκεσαι.  
 On this level of yours.  
 280 Με απογοητεύει το γεγονός  
 It disappoints me that  
 281 Ότι δεν^ ντιο 'χεις βγάλει.°>  
 That you haven't made it."  
 282 ARI: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))  
 283 IOL: Σοβαρά τώρα?  
 Seriously now?  
 284 ARI: Ντάξει αυτό τώρα είναι κακία  
 Well, this thing now is meanness  
 285 Για την^ γκακία και για να  
 For the sake of being mean and for  
 286 IOL: Σοβαρά τώρα?  
 Seriously now?  
 287 ARI: Είναι μη διαχει[ρ ί σ ιμο ρε]  
 It's unmana[geable {re}]  
 288 IOL: [Είναι μη δια<] εγώ θα της πω πλέον  
 [It's unmana] I'll say it to her now  
 289 Για μένα είναι μη διαχειρίσιμο. (.)  
 For me, it's unmanageable. (.)  
 290 Κάνε κάτι. (0.3)  
 Do something. (0.3)  
 291 Δεν μπορώ το [eng] **τσάλεντζ** για το [eng] **τσάλεντζ**,  
 I can't take the challenge for the sake of challenge  
 292 ARI: Ε ναι γιατί σε πάει πίσω.  
 Eh yes because it takes you back.  
 293 IOL: Κι επίσης δε μπορώ την^ προσβολή=  
 And, also, I can't take the insult=  
 294 =Πώς είν' η προσβολή?  
 =How's the 'insult'?  
 295 VAS: Insult.  
 296 IOL: [eng] **Ινζάλι?**  
 Insult?  
 297 ARI: M:  
 Mm  
 298 (0.4)  
 299 IOL: Κι ο:: >τέλος πάντων< τα κακόβουλα σχόλια?  
 And the, anyway, the malevolent comments?  
 300 VAS: A:: malicious comments (.) mean comments (.)  
 Ah malicious comments (.) mean comments (.)  
 301 Malevolent comments,  
 302 IOL: °°[eng] **Μιν κόμεντζ** και καλό είναι.°°  
 Mean comments, that's fine.  
 303 ARI: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))  
 304 IOL: Άσε μην^ νια πούμε και λάθος  
 Leave it, just in case we say it wrong  
 305 Και μας την^ μπει κι η Μόνικα.  
 And we get told off by Monica too.  
 306 ARI: ΞΧριστέ μου!\$  
 Jesus!  
 307 IOL: Τι τραβάω!

*What I've got to deal with!*

((IOL goes to the kitchen to check the food in the oven; in the meantime, VAS and SIM have gone to the supermarket to buy some vegetables; two minutes later Ioli returns to the living room))

- 308 IOL: Νιάξει το κοτόπουλο ροδίζει!  
*Okay, the chicken becomes rosy!*
- 309 ARI: Ωραία γιατί πεινάω άπειρα!  
*Nice, because I'm too hungry!*
- 310 IOL: Εγώ πάλι τα 'πα και συγχύστηκα  
*I got irritated saying all this on the contrary*
- 311 Και μου κόπηκε η όρεξη ↑που να να=  
*And I am no longer hungry, may she=*
- 312 ARI: =Ναι ρε °καταλαβαίνω°. (.)  
*=Yes, {re} I see. (.)*
- 313 Δεν παλεύεται να 'χεις έναν τέτοιο άνθρωπο  
*It's unbearable, having such a person*
- 314 Για συνεργάτη και: μά- για μάνατζερ.  
*As a colleague and ma- as a manager.*
- 315
- 316 IOL: Ρε φωνάζει ↑↑όλη την ώρα=  
*{Re} she shouts all the time=*  
*=>Δε μπο↑ρείς να φανταστείς<.*  
*=You can't imagine.*
- 317 ARI: M: ε: (.)  
*M: eh (.)*
- 318 IOL: Προχθές πάω στο: [eng] **μίτινγκ**  
*The day before yesterday I go to the meeting*
- 319 και μου λέ- ε: (0.3)  
*And she sa- eh (0.3)*
- 320 [eng] **ΦΕΡΣΤ ΘΙΝΓΚ ιν δε μόνριν Αϊ γουόντ δις.**  
*First thing in the morning I want this.*
- 321 ARI: Έλα ρε!  
*Come on {re}!*
- 322 IOL: [eng] ↑**φερστ θινγκ ιν δε μόνριν** και **άι:=**  
*"First thing in the morning" and "I="*
- 323 Αι και γαμήσου >°ήθελα να της πω°.<  
*"Go fuck yourself", I wanted to tell her.*
- 324 ARI: Ε έπρεπε να [σ-]  
*Eh you should have to [t-]*
- 325 IOL: [Κα]ταλαβαίνεις τι ↑άγχος  
*[Do] you understand how much stress*
- 326 Μου δημιουργεί  
*It causes me*
- 327 [το να να είναι τόσο απότομη?]  
*[The fact that that she is so abrupt?]*
- 328 ARI: [Ε ναι αυτός ο τρόπος σε::]  
*[Eh yes this manner ((makes)) you]*
- 329 IOL: Ρε είναι πολύ σοβαρό α- (.)  
*Re it's very serious a- (.)*
- 330 Το τι ↑άγχη ξέρω 'γω: προκαλεί  
*What types of stress, say, provokes*
- 331 η αγένεια στο λόγο.  
*The rudeness in speech.*
- 332 ARI: Η αγένεια <στο λόγο?>
- 333 IOL: >Αν μου ζητήσεις κάτι με θράσος και [αγέν]εια<



362 Όταν λαμβάνεις λοιπόν Όλα τα ίμειλ  
So, when you receive all the emails  
363 Που έχεις απ' τις °απ' τους [eng] **μάναιζέρς** σου°  
You get from from your managers  
364 Αυτή τη συζήτηση είχα τώρα με την αγαπημένη μου Λούσι.  
This exact conversation I was having now with my dear Lucy.  
365 E:: με αυτό τον^ **νιρόπο** (.)  
Eh in this manner (.)  
366 Σκέψου πόσο **ΓΑΜΗΜΕΝΗ** είναι η ψυχολογία σου  
Think how fucked up is your psychology/ mood  
367 Στις εφτά η ώρα τ' απόγευμα.  
At seven o'clock in the afternoon.  
368 ARI: Ναι (.) μήπως αυτή το κάνει λόγω: (.)  
Yes (.) might she do it due to (.)  
369 [eng] **έρτζενσι?**=Ας πούμ' [οτί : :]  
Urgency?=for instance [t h a t]  
370 IOL: [Α ναι?]  
[Ah yes?]  
371 ARI: Ότι με καίει ο κώλος μου [και :]  
372 IOL: [Φω νά]ζει ό::λη  
[She s]houts all  
373 Την ώρα=Δεν υπάρχει λό- ακόμα και να  
The time=There's not a rea(son), even  
374 καίγει' ο κώλος σου (.)  
under urgent circumstances (.)  
375 IOL: Υπάρχει ΠΑ::ντα ο άλλος τρόπος.  
There's always the other way.  
376 ARI: M:: σωστά σωστά.  
M:: right right.  
377 IOL: Θα της το πω δεν είναι ιτρόπος αυτός.  
I'll say it to her, this not a ((nice)) manner of speaking.  
378 ARI: ΝΑΙ ρε πες το!  
Yes {re} say it!  
379 IOL: Εγώ και να- >εμένα μερικές φορές  
I even if-, I sometimes  
380 Καίγεται ο κώλος μου<=Χρειάζομαι ε πληροφορίες  
I'm on fire=I need e information  
381 ΤΩ↑ΡΑ χθες για χθες.  
Now, yesterday for yesterday.  
382 Αύριο έχω σκοπό να πρήξω τα (.) μην ^μπω τι  
Tomorrow I intend to pester  
383 Μιας κοπέλας που είναι απ' το [eng] **ντιζάιν έιτζενσι**  
Into a lady who works at the design agency  
384 Να να στείλει στο [eng] **πρίντερ** τα τα αρχεία.  
For sending to the printer the documents.  
385 Κι ας μην είναι=  
Even though they're not=  
386 =Κι ας μην ^ντα ^χουνε κάνει [eng] **απρούβ.** (.)  
=Even though they've not approved of them. (.)  
387 ΠΡΗΧ' ΤΟΥΣ να τα κάνουνε.  
Pester into the for them fetching them.  
388 Μπορώ να έχω αυτό το [eng] **άτιτιουντ**  
I can have this attitude  
389 Μπορώ να της πω όμως °ξέρεις κάτι?  
Βάσει [eng] **τάιμ-πλαν** αυτό πρέπει να παραδοθεί σήμερα°.  
390 Μπορείς να κάνεις ό,τι καλύτερο γίνεται

>Για να παραδοθεί σήμερα< να να μην έχω ε: καθυστερήσεις  
 391 Γιατί [θα 'χει] αυτό το [eng] **ίμπακτ**?  
*Since [it' ll] have this impact?*  
 392 ARI: [M χ μ]  
           [M uhm]  
 393 ↓N:αι.  
 394 IOL: [eng] **Λετς κατς απ ιν θρι άουερς**  
*Let's catch-up in three hours*  
 395 [eng] **Του σι γουέρ γουί αρ.**  
*To see where we are.*  
 396 ARI: Ναι συμφωνώ. (.)  
*Yes I agree. (.)*  
 397 Κι ούτε έχει δημιουργηθεί τέτοια οικειότητα  
*And nor has such intimacy been created*  
 398 Μεταξύ σας για να:: σου μιλάει:=  
*Between you for her to talk to you=*  
 399 IOL: =Δεν είναι θέμα οικειότητας. (.)  
*=It's not a matter of intimacy. (.)*  
 400 Είν' από μόνη της Αγγλίδα=Δε χρειάζεται' οικειότητα.  
*She is British.=She doesn't need intimacy.*  
 401 >Μπορεί να λειτουργήσει κι αλλιώς.<  
 402 Αλλά θέλω να σου πω ότι υπάρχει ΠΑντα  
*But I want to tell you that there's always*  
 403 Αυτό το [eng] **άτιτιουντ.**  
*This attitude.*  
 404 ARI: ARI: Ναι  
           Yes

#### Event 11, 'It was not ethical' (LON-34)

01 IOL: Με την άλλη? (.) Πριν πιάσουμε  
*With the other one? (.) Before we talk about*  
 02 τα επαγγελματικά,  
*Professional stuff/ our jobs,*  
 03 SIM: Με την άλλη (.) μιλήσαμε: χθες (.)  
*With the other one (.) we talked yesterday*  
 04 E::  
*Eh*  
 05 IOL: Ότι?  
*And?*  
 06 SIM: Ε κοίτα >δε μου 'χε στείλει τίποτα<  
*Eh, look, she hadn't texted me nothing*  
 07 IOL: [Πολύ σωστή μπράβο.]  
*[Very nice, bravo.]*  
 08 SIM: [Και της στέλνω μή]νυμα και τηζ ^λέω:  
*[And I send her a me]ssage and I tell her*  
 09 VAS: Τι σωστή?  
*Why 'nice'?*  
 10 IOL: Ειρωνικό είναι.  
*It was sarcastic.*  
 11 VAS: ↑A:  
*Ah*  
 12 SIM: Τηζ ^λέω ντάξει λέω:: (.)

- I say, okay, I say (.)
- 13 Επειδή έφαγα χυλόπιτα δε σημαίνει ότι  
The fact that I was blown out doesn't mean that
- 14 Θα σταματήσουμε να μιλάμε. (.)  
We will stop talking (.)
- 15 Όκειϊ δηλαδή:: ένα ενδιαφέρον  
Okay, that is, no form of interest/ consideration
- 16 VAS: Αν[θρώπινο]  
Hu[m a n ]
- 17 SIM: [Τηζ ^ΛΕ]ω πώς πώς πήγε?  
[ I say ] how did it go?
- 18 Γιατί μου 'χε πει ότι έχει κάποια πράγματα  
Because she'd told me that she has to do something
- 19 για την ^μπτυχιακή, (.)  
For her dissertation, (.)
- 20 Λέω πώς πήγε >ρε παιδί μου<?  
I say, 'how did it go {re}?'
- 21 Το τι γίνεται: είσαι [eng] κουλ? (.) Ντάξει?  
'How is it going? Are you cool? (.) All fine?
- 22 Προλαβαίνεις? (.) Πώς το βλέπεις?  
Will you make it? (.) What do you think?
- 23 Μου λέει ντάξει καλά Είμαι=  
She says, well, I am fine=
- 24 IOL: =Αυτό σου απάντησε ντά[ξει?]  
=Did she replied like this 'fi[ne]?'
- 25 SIM: [E::μ]  
[E h]
- 26 IOL: Καλά είμαι?  
I am fine?
- 27 SIM: Ο- γελούσε αλλά °δεν απάντησε σ' αυτό που είπα.°  
N- she was laughing but she didn't reply to what I said.
- 28 Γελάει χαχαχα και μου στέλνει [καλά εί]μαι  
She laughs hahaha and texts me [I'm fi]ne
- 29 IOL: [A καλά.]  
[D u h !]
- 30 SIM: Πολύ τρέξιμο (.) Έχω αγχωθεί πολύ (0.4)  
'Too much work' (.) I'm very stressed (0.4)
- 31 Πρέπει σε τρεις μήνες να βγάλω πτυχιακή  
I must write a dissertation in three months' time
- 32 Σε >δυσόμισι μήνες< και δεν ^γκζέρω  
In two months and a half and I don't know
- 33 αν είν' εφικτό (.)  
If this is feasible (.)
- 34 αλλά θα το παλέψω ((βήχει))=  
But I'll try hard ((coughs))=
- 35 VAS: =Εφικτό είναι πες της.  
=Tell her that it's feasible.
- 36 SIM: Της λέω πώς ήταν η συναυλία που είχες πάει?  
I tell her 'How was the concert where you'd been?'
- 37 Γιατί την^ Γκυριακή όταν είχαμε φτάσει  
Because on Sunday when we arrived
- 38 Φτάσαμε την^ Μπαρασκευή και την^ Γκυριακή  
We arrived on Friday and on Sunday
- 39 Θα πήγαινε:: στην συναυλία της Dido.  
She'd go to Dido's concert.
- 40 VAS: Ποια?

Who?

41 IOL: A Dido.  
Ah Dido.

42 SIM: E:: οπότε:: πήγε εκεί,  
Eh so she went there,

43 VAS: Αυτό που ακούγαμε [eng] **τινέιτζερς**?  
That one we were listening to when we were teenagers?

44 SIM: Ναι αυτό (.) κι επειδή την έκοψα  
Yes this one (.) and because I understood

45 ότι δεν ήθελε να πολυμιλήσει,  
That she didn't want to talk much,

46 VAS: M::  
Mmm

47 SIM: Τηζ ^λέ- μου λέει ↑πώς είσ' εσύ? (.)  
I say, she says 'How are you?' (.)

48 Λέω καλά είμαι ε:: (.)  
I say, 'I'm fine eh (.)

49 Μου πέρασε όλα ανάποδα λέω=  
I've had a lot of bad luck', I say=  
50 =Κάποιος μ' έχει ματιάσει μάλλον=  
=Someone has maybe cursed me=  
51 Όλα πάνε: ανάποδα \$από τότε που γυρίσαμε.\$  
All have gone wrong \$since we came back.\$

52 Αλλά: θα τη βρω την άκρη, (.)  
But I'll find a solution, (.)

53 Εμ πρέπει να ψάξω για δουλειά τώρα  
Uhm I must look for a new job now

54 >διότι έχουν γίνει κάποια πράγματα<  
Because something has happened

55 Είναι μεγάλ' ιστορία τηζ ^λέω τώρα (.)  
'It's a long story', I tell her, 'now

56 Θα τα πούμε κάποια άλλη στιγμή.  
We'll talk about it at some other point.

57 VAS: ΔΕ σου είπε [τι έγινε]  
Didn't she tell you [what happened]

58 SIM: [°Καλά μου λέει°]  
[Fine, she says]

59 VAS: Από ενδιαφέρον ανθρώπινο?  
Out of human interest?

60 Ματλάκα (.) αν είναι δυνατόν!  
Gosh (.) It's impossible!

61 Αυτό δε μου το πες.  
You didn't tell me so.

62 IOL: Γαϊδούρα.  
(What a) mule.

63 SIM: °Γαϊδούρα (.) [Ο,τι θέλει ας κάνει.°]  
Mule (.) [She may do what she wants]

64 IOL: [Ε γαϊδούρα ρε Συμεών]  
[Eh she's a mule {re} Simeon]

65 Της έκανες [και δώρο ταξίδι δηλαδή]  
You also paid [for the trip, that is]

66 SIM: [Δεν αγκρίνω γιατί: όκει]=  
[I don't criticise, as, okay]=

67 IOL: =Ναι >για να μην αγκριθείς.<  
=Yes, so that you won't be criticised.

68 VAS: E(.hh)



E(.hh)

69 Γαϊδούρα είναι. (0.4)  
A mule she is. (0.4)

70 Γιατί δηλαδή (.) είναι κακομαθημένο αυτό που έκανε=  
Because, that is, (.) it's spoiled what she did=

71 IOL: =Κακομαθημένη (.) μ' αυτό που κάνει.  
=She'd spoiled (.) based on what she does.

72 [Γ ι ατί]  
[Because]

73 SIM: [Κοί τ α]  
[L o o k]

74 VAS: °Αυτά δεν ^ νια βάλουμε.°  
We didn't add these in.

75 SIM: °Ναι δεν ^ νια βάλουμε.°  
Yes, we didn't.

76 IOL: °Ασ' τα για την επόμενη.°  
Leave them for next time.

77 SIM: Κοίτα ε: κι εγώ εκεί πέρα που είπα ό\*τι:  
Look, eh, at some point I too said that  
\*lays the glass on table

78 Δεν ήταν σωστή η συμπεριφορά=  
Her behaviour is not right

79 =Δεν ήταν ηθική, (.) >είναι σ' ένα σημείο.<  
=It was not ethical, (.) it's at one point.

80 IOL: °Σε ποιο?°  
Which one?

81 SIM: Τ' οτί τη ρώτησα (.) πόσες φορές (.)  
The fact that I asked her (.) many times (.)

82 Τηζ ^λέω αν με βλέπεις σαν φιλικά,  
I tell her 'If you see me as a friend,

83 δε με πειράζει.=  
It won't bother me.=

84 VAS: =M:  
=M

85 SIM: Απλά πεζ ^ μου το να το ξέρω. (.)  
Just say it so that I know. (.)

86 >Όχι μου λέει δεν είν' αυτό=  
'No', she says, 'it's not about that=

87 =Και μετά καμία επαφή.  
=And then no contact.

88 =Πεζ ^μου >δε μου δε μου βγαίνει<, (.)  
=Tell me 'I don't feel like doing it', (.)

89 IOL: Θα μπορούσε να σου πει ↑δε θέλω  
She could have say to you 'I don't want'

90 VAS: Και θα 'ταν και τίμιο.  
And it would be honest too.

91 IOL: Ε βέβαια!  
Eh sure!

92 IOL: Ε δε μπορεί να σου κάτσει και να σε βλέπει  
Eh she can't fuck you and see you

93 σα φίλο.  
As a friend.

94 VAS: Ε ↑ναι.  
Eh yes.

95 SIM: Ναι ρε συ αλλά: (.)  
Yes {re} but (.)

96 Όκειϊ άμα δεν ήθελε (.)  
*Okay, if she didn't want to (.)*

97 Ας μου το 'λεγε πιο καθαρά=  
*She should have said it to me more clearly=*

98 =Πεζ ^μου >δε μου βγαίνει<, (.)  
*=Tell me 'I don't feel like doing it', (.)*

99 Όκειϊ (.) [eng] **κουλ**.  
*Okay, cool.*

100 VAS: M::  
*Mmm*

101 Τίμιο θα 'τανε  
*It would be honest*

102 [Ότι ή >είχα άλλες προσδοκίες<]  
*[That, or, I had different expectations]*

103 SIM: [NAI να ξέρω 'γω: (.) NAI]  
*[Yes so that I know (.) Yes]*

104 VAS: Αλλά τελικά δεν.  
*But eventually, I don't ((feel like it)).*

105 SIM: Όκειϊ.  
*Okay*

106 IOL: Ναι,  
*Yes,*

107 SIM: Αλλά:: νιάξει (.) το να το κόβει έτσι:  
*But okay (.) Cutting off contact like that*

108 VAS: M::  
*Mmm*

109 SIM: Ιδιαίτερα (.) τέλος πάντων.  
*In a strange manner (.) anyway.*

110 (0.5)

111 IOL: Απλά τα θέλει όλα δικά της. (.)  
*It's just that she wants it all. (.)*

112 Δηλαδή ήθελ- να της πεις ↑ναι όκειϊ πάει  
*That is, she wanted you to say 'Yes, okay, I agree'*

113 και:: να μπορεί να ξέρει ότι τς  
*And to be able to know that ts*

114 >θα πάμε Λονδίνο θα πάμε στο ΛΙΝΤς θα πάμε  
*We'll go to London, we'll go to Leads, we'll go*

115 στο παρακεί=  
*There=*

116 SIM: =Ναι:  
*=Yes*

117 IOL: Θα πάμε στην: Ιταλία,  
*We'll go to Italy,*

118 SIM: ↓Ναι:  
*Yes*

119 IOL: Αλλά δεν είν' αυτό που ψάχνεις (.)  
*But it's not what you're looking for (.)*

120 Και καλά έκανες και ήσουνα [eng] **κλίαρ**  
*And you did well that you were clear*

121 °απ' την αρχή (.) για μένα.°  
*From the beginning (.) in my opinion.*

122 VAS: Δε σημαίνει ότι το 'να είναι κακό=  
*It doesn't mean that the one is bad=*

123 =τ' άλλο καλό=  
*=the other is good=*

124 IOL: Μ μ ((άρνηση))

No no

125 VAS: Αλλά δε συμβαδίζουνε οι επιθυμίες σας. (.)  
*But your wishes are not aligned. (.)*

126 [Κι αυτή μπορεί]  
*[And she may]*

127 SIM: [ΑΠΛΑ: είν' αυ]τό που είπα και στην α::  
*[It's simply wh]at I said to ah*

128 Βάσια. (0.4) Πιο πολύ νομίζω ότι μου λείπει  
*Vassia too. (0.4) I think I miss*

129 η κατάσταση (.) κι όχι η κοπέλα.  
*The situation (.) way more than the girl*

130 VAS: M:  
*Mm*

131 SIM: Στην όλη φάση.  
*In this situation.*

132 IOL: A:  
*Ah*

133 SIM: Όταν κάνω 'λαδή: ε:: ένα:: [eng] **ριγουάιντ**  
*That is, when, I go back to reflect*

134 προς τα πίσω να δω το πώς περάσαμε, (.)  
*On how our trip was, (.)*

135 περάσαμε γαμάτα (.) ε:μ έγινε η::  
*We had a great time (.) uhm I did the*

136 χαζομάρα τ' ότι ανοίχικα=  
*Silly thing to open up=*

137 VAS: =M

138 SIM: Γιατί περνούσαμε τέλεια.  
*Because we were having much fun.*

139 IOL: M:  
*Mm*

140 SIM: Οπότε γούστιρα=  
*So, I liked it=*

141 VAS: =M:  
*Mm*

142 SIM: Και κάπου εκεί πέρα >ήτανε που χάθηκε το παιχνίδι.<  
*And at that point the game got lost.*

143 Για μένα.=  
*For me.=*

144 VAS: =Τως για σχέση θα 'πρεπε να μιλήσειs  
*=Perhaps, you should have talked about a relationship*

145 προς το τέλοs.  
*Towards the end.*

146 SIM: Καλά (.) δεν ήτανε< Ούτωs ή Άλλωs εγώ  
*Well (.) it wasn't< anywise I*

147 αυτό που της είπα (.) είν' ότι  
*What I told her (.) is that*

148 [δεν ημπεριμέ]νω ούτε σχέση να κάνουμε,  
*[I don't expe]ct neither to get involved,*

149 IOL: [Pε Βάσια]  
*[{Re} Vassia]*

150 SIM: >Ούτε να 'μασιτε κάθε μέρα μαζί και<=  
*Nor to be everyday together=*

151 IOL: [Κάναν το γύρο της] παραλίας  
*[They went around the] beach*

152 SIM: [Δεν είμασιτε οκιόλας.]  
*[We aren't even.] ((together))*

153 IOL: Πώς το λένε? Τη- το- της παράλιας Ισπανίας  
*How do we say it? The round of Spain*

154 Και γιατί θα μιλήσουνε?=Για [eng] **ουάν νάιτ σταντ?**  
*And about what will they speak?=About one-night-stands?*

155 SIM: >Ντακ- δηλαδή< και δεν ήμουνα=δε θα ήμουνα  
*Okay, that is, I was not=I was not*

156 της φάσης (.) να πάω να πηδηχτούμε  
*In the mood of going there to fuck her*

157 τρεις τέσσερις μέρες °και μετά να φύγω.°  
*for three or four days and then leave.*

158 VAS: ↑↑Ο:χι θα μπορούσατε απλά (.) να το δουλέψετε (.)  
*No but you could simple (.) work on it (.)*

159 Να δείτε αν μπορείτε να κάνετε σχέση=°>ξέρω 'γω<  
*To see if you can have an affair=I don't know*

160 Να ξαναβρε↑θεί:τε (.) να είστε σ' επικοινωνί:α=  
*To meet again (.) to be in contact=*

161 IOL: =Μ' αυτό της [είπε °έμ]μεσα°  
*=But this is what he [told her] indirectly*

162 VAS: [H AN]  
*[Or if]*

163 Αυτή μπορεί να το ερμήνευσε διαφορετικά. (.)  
*She may have interpreted differently. (.)*

164 Και να τρόμαξε στην (.) ιδέα της σχέσης και  
*And have got daunted in the idea of a relationship and*

165 να σου πε ότι (.) εγώ τώρα έχω την^ μπιτυχιακή μου  
*Have told you that (.) I now have to do my dissertation*

166 Μπορεί και να μην ^γκζανακατέβω Λονδίνο  
*I may not come to London again*

167 Να δεσμεύσω έναν άνθρωπο=να δεσμευτώ κι εγώ (.)  
*I shall bind a person=I shall bind myself too (.)*

168 Θα βγει? (.) Πώς?  
*Will this succeed? (.)How?*

169 IOL: Κοίτα (.) θα υπήρχε μια πιθανότητα να το πει αυτό:  
*Look (.) she might have told this*

170 VAS: Εικασίες κάνουμε βέβαια=Δεν ^γκζέρουμε<  
*We're making assumptions now though=We don't know*

171 IOL: Εμένα μ' ενόχλησε αυτό που είπε (0.3)  
*I got annoyed by what she said. (.)*

172 Σε σχέση με τα ταξίδια.  
*In relation to the trips.*

173 SIM: ↓Ναι  
*Yes*

174 VAS: ↑M::  
*Mmm*

175 IOL: Θα ήτανε μια σκέψη αυτή=  
*She could have thought this=*

176 VAS: Ότι σ' είδε σαν [eng] **τράβελ μπάντι.**  
*That she saw you as a travel body.*

177 IOL: M

178 SIM: [Ναι]  
*[Yes]*

179 IOL: [Ναι]  
*[Yes]*

180 VAS: [eng] **Τράβελ και σεξ μπάντι.**  
*Travel and sex body.*

181 SIM: Και γι' αυ[τό:]



So as to wish you for John's name day, as well  
 89 VAS: M: μ:  
     *Mm mm*  
 90 IOL: Κι όλα αυτά.  
     *And all this.*  
 91 VAS: Ναι  
     *Yes*  
 92 IOL: Από ευγένεια να χτίσω λίγο< γιατί το δεκαεφτά  
     *Out of politeness, to build a bit< as in 2017*  
 93 που 'χαμε χωρίσει και είχε γίνει της καρακαριόλας  
     *When we broke up and it was a real mess*  
 94 Ντάξει (.) οι άνθρωποι είδαν το Γιάννη έτσι:  
     *Okay (.) the people saw John like that*  
 95 VAS: Ναι  
     *Yes*  
 96 IOL: Κι είχαν πει τα χειρότερα (.) λογικό.  
     *And they'd said the worst about me (.) right.*  
 97 Και λέω ας διορθώσω τώρα λίγο τη σχέση μου  
     *And I say, I shall correct a bit my relationship now*  
 98 που με παίρνει και πήγα πήρα γλυκά (.)  
     *That I can and I went to buy sweets (.)*  
 99 VAS: M  
 100 IOL: Πήγα σπίτι του (.) η μάνα του μπράβο  
     *I went at his house (.) his mother was like 'bravo*  
 101 κορίτσι μου=Τι καλή που είσαι!  
     *My girl=How good are you!'*  
 102 και >δεν^ γκζέρω κι εγώ τι.<  
     *And I don't know what/ things like that.*  
 103 IOL: Και με ρώτησε η γυναίκα τι κάνετε=Πώς περνάτε::  
     *And the lady asked me 'How are you=What are you doing'*  
 104 VAS: M  
 105 IOL: Και της είπα ότι θα πάμε στην Ιταλία (.)  
     *And I told her that we're going to Italy (.)*  
 106 Ένα σουκού γιατί είναι τα γενέθλιά μου.  
     *For a weekend because t's my birthday.*  
 107 VAS: M:  
     *Mm*  
 108 IOL: Ε (.) κι εχθές (.) μην^ νια ξανακάνεις αυτιά  
     *Eh (.) and yesterday (.) don't do these again*  
 109 και δε θα έχεις καμία σχέση με τη μάνα μου  
     *And you won't have any relationship with my mother*  
 110 και δε γουστάρω να της λες που θα πάμε γιατί  
     *And I don't like you to tell her where we're going as*  
 111 έχουμ' εκλογές και δε θέλω να κατá-  
     *We're having the elections and I don't want*  
 112 να νομίζουν ότι εγώ κάνω [ita] **ντόλτσα βίτα**.  
     *Them to think that I'm having fun.*  
 113 Του λέω Γιάννη μου (.) κατ' αρχάς το κατá-  
     *I say, 'John (.) at first, do you under-*  
 114 VAS: Οι εκλογές τι είναι μοναστήρι?  
     *The elections are something like a monastery?*  
 115 IOL: Ε ξέρω 'γω?  
     *Eh I don't know.*  
 116 Και του λέω έφυγες αυθημερόν να πας στην ομιλία  
     *And I say you left for a day to attend the speech*  
 117 του πατέρα σου από Λονδίνο (.) και θα σε

118 *Of your father from London (.) and they will*  
 κατηγορήσουν που θα πας μια εκδρομή  
*Accuse you of going on a trip*  
 119 με την^ γκοπέλα σου?  
*With your girlfriend?*  
 120 Και δε θέλω να πηγαίνεις με τη μάννα μου (.)  
*And I don't want you to visit my mother (.)*  
 121 Και μία σε αντιπαθεί=  
*And she dislikes you=*  
 122 =Του λέω εσύ φταις που μ' αντιπαθεί.  
*=I say, 'It's your fault that she dislikes me.'*  
 123 Εγώ εκείνο το καλοκαίρι δεν έκανα ΤΙΠΟΤΑ.  
*At that summer I did nothing ((bad)).*  
 124 Και ξεκινάμε έναν^ γκαβά:  
*And we start such a quarrel*  
 125 Δηλαδή τώρα καταλαβαίνεις?  
*That is, do you understand now?*  
 126 VAS: Ναι ναι  
*Yes yes*  
 127 IOL: Και μετά του λέω ε: πώς πήγε με τη γιαγιά?=  
*And then I say, 'Eh how did it go with your grandma?'*  
 128 =Πήγες πουθενά ξέρω 'γώ?  
*=Did you go anywhere, say?*  
 129 Ναι μου λέει >πήγα στο Mimi's μετά την Ανάσταση.<  
*'Yes', he says', I went to Mimi's after the Resurrection.*  
 130 Κι εγώ του λέω ρε Γιάννη γιατί δεν^ ντο ξέρω αυτό?  
*And I say, '{Re} John why don't I know it?*  
 131 Τι είμαστε μπάτε σκύλοι αλέστε?  
*What are we? ((Is our relationship)) wide open?*  
 132 VAS: Ήθελες εσύ να στο πει.  
*You wanted him to have told you about it.*  
 133 IOL: Ε >ίδε μου άρεσε που δε μου το είπε<=  
*Eh I didn't like it that he didn't tell me about it=*  
 134 =Με ήπείραξε=Δηλαδή εγώ νόμιζα ότι κοιμάται  
*=I got upset=That is, I thought he's sleeping*  
 135 >και δε μου απάντησε στο μήνυμα κι ο Γιάννης  
*And he didn't respond to my message and John*  
 136 ήταν έξω κι ήπινε ποτά.  
*Was out and was having drinks.*  
 137 VAS: Όκει:  
*Okay*  
 138 IOL: Κι όπως καταλαβαίνεις έγινε ο χάμος. (0.4)  
*And as you understand, we had a big fight. (.)*  
 139 Που και πάλι χέστηκα γιατί έγινε και κάτι άλλο.  
*But I don't care because something else happened too.*  
 140 Κι αυτά θέλω να τα πω και στο Συμεών (.)  
*And I want to tell this to Simeon as well (.)*  
 141 Αλλά κουβένια.  
*But don't say anything about it.*  
 142 VAS: M  
 143 IOL: Είδα τον Άλκη.  
*I saw Alkis.*  
 144 Και μου: ξύπνησε ένα αίσημα επιστροφής.  
*And I felt like going back to him.*  
 145 VAS: A:  
*Ah*

146 IOL: Τον είδα μέσα σ' ένα μπαρ και  
*I saw him in a bar and*

147 χασκογελάγαμε ο ένας στον άλλο (.)  
*We were smiling to each other (.)*

148 Του κάνω ένα έτσι κι έρχεται και  
*I make a gesture and he comes and he's like*

149 >τι κάνεις και πού είσαι και τι δουλειά και το άλ-<=  
*How are you and where are you and what's your job and=*

150 ΔΕ μιλάμε για τα γκομενικά μας και: τέλος πάντων  
*We don't speak about our relationships and anyways*

151 μετά χαζομηνυματιζόμασταν και  
*After this, we were sending silly messages to each other*

152 Τς σε κάποια φάση του λέω (.) εγώ θα φύγω Άλκη μου τώρα.  
*Ts at some point I say (.) I'm leaving now, dear Alkis.*

153 Και μου λέει κι εγώ θα φύγω. (.)  
*And he says, I'm leaving too. (.)*

154 Και του λέω  
*And I say*

155 VAS: \$Δε φεύγουμε παρέα?\$  
*\$Shall we leave together?\$*

156 IOL: Θα σου πω. (.) Δεν είχα σκοπό να κάνω κάτι  
*I'll tell you (.) I was not intending to do something*

157 VAS: M

158 IOL: Αλλά ήθελα να του μιλήσω γιατί μες στο μαγαζί  
*But I wanted to talk to him because in the bar*

159 επειδή είν' κι οι φίλοι του Γιάννη:·  
*Because there were John's friends too*

160 VAS: Ε ναι μες στα νιάπα ντούπα τι να πεις?  
*Eh yes in the noisy atmosphere, what can you say?*

161 IOL: Ναι (.) και του λέω αν κάποια στιγμή  
*Yes (.) and I say if at some point*

162 είσαι [eng] **φρι** (.) είτε και τώρα εγώ δε νυστάζω  
*You are free (.) even now, I'm not sleepy*

163 θέλω να σε ιδω=Πάμε μια βόλτα με τ' αμάξι=  
*I want to see you=We shall go for a ride=*

164 VAS: =M

165 IOL: Πάμε κάπου αλλού:  
*We shall go somewhere else*

166 VAS: M

167 IOL: Κι ήρθε όντως να πάμε βόλτα με τ' αμάξι  
*And he did come to go for a ride*

168 Μου λέει μην ανέβεις (0.4)  
*He says don't go home (0.4)*

169 Κι ενώ ξέρω (.) πώς λιώνει, (.)  
*And although I know (.) that he's sick for me, (.)*

170 Δηλαδή το βλέπεις στον άλλο  
*That is, you can see it by looking at the other person*

171 VAS: M παρόλο που είναι με άλλη?  
*M although he's with another woman?*

172 IOL: Δεν έκανε <τίποτα> †TI:ποτα ούτε να μου πιάσει το χέρι  
*He did nothing, nothing, not even did he grab my hand*

173 Και την άλλη μέρα που τον παρακάλαγα  
*And the other day, that I was begging him*

174 να πάμε για ένα καφέ (.)  
*Too go for coffee (.)*

175 Μου λέει (.) Ιόλη δε θα βρεθούμε. (.)



He says (.) Ioli, we won't meet. (.)  
 176 Και του λέω γιατί?  
 And I say, why?  
 177 Μου λέει >είμαι πολύ καλά εδώ που είμαι<  
 He says, I'm very well here ((in this relationship))  
 178 Μετά από πάρα πολύ καιρό  
 After a very long time  
 179 VAS: Ναι  
 Yes  
 180 IOL: Και δε θέλω να την^ προδώσω.  
 And I don't want to betray her.  
 181 VAS: Πολύ ωραίο!  
 Very nice!  
 182 IOL: Κι έμεινε σε- έμεινα: μαλάκας.  
 And I was struck stupid.  
 183 VAS: Τι άνθρωπος!  
 What a human!  
 184 IOL: Τι άνθρωπος θε μου!  
 What a human, my God!  
 185 VAS: \$Που τον άφησες εσύ\$  
 \$And you abandoned him!\$  
 186 IOL: Ναι!  
 ((Makes a (rude) gesture with the hands towards her face))  
 187 Και κάθομαι και σκοιτώνομαι που πήγα στη μάνα  
 And I'm here fighting because I went to the mother  
 188 του Γιάννη δυο γλυκά.  
 Of John some sweets.  
 189 VAS: Το απόλυτα φυσιολογικό ξέρω 'γώ.  
 The absolutely normal thing, I don't know.

((Simeon arrives; they talk about Simeon's surprise to Marianna,  
 Vassia's Easter holidays, Ioli's trip to Birmingham with John, and  
 about John's grandmother's trip in London))

610 IOL: Να σας πω κάτι? (.)  
 I'll tell you something (.)  
 611 °Δε μου έλειψε.  
 I didn't miss him.  
 612 Ήταν η πρώτη φορά που δε μου έλειψε.  
 It was the first time that I didn't miss him.  
 613 VAS: M: :  
 Mmm  
 614 IOL: Και μάλιστα μου το πέταξε κιόλας.  
 And he even told me about it.  
 615 SIM: Πάνω σ' [αυτό όμως]  
 On this [issue though]  
 616 IOL: [Θα σου πω] όμως γιατί.  
 [I'll tell you] why though.  
 617 SIM: Πάνω σ' αυτό όμως (.) εσύ περνούσες καλά? Πολύ καλά? (.)  
 On this, however, (.) were you having fun? Much fun (.)  
 618 Πώς ήταν η ζωή σου?  
 How was your life?  
 619 IOL: Θα έρθουμε και σ' αυτό.  
 We'll talk about this.

620 VAS: ((γέλιο))  
 ((laughter))

621 SIM: Ναι όχι εννοώ ρε παιδί μου (.)  
*Yes, no, what I mean, {re} (.)*

622 Δε σου έλειψε γιατί περνούσες φανταστικά και::  
*You didn't miss him because you were having fun and*

623 IOL: Όχι  
*No*

624 SIM: Ε όκει ντάξει=  
*Eh okay okay=*

625 IOL: =Όχι όχι  
 =No no

626 SIM: Τον^ γκζέχασα? (.)  
*Did I forget him? (.)*

627 Ή περνούσα καλά τς αλλά και πάλι δε μου έλειψε?  
*Or I was having fun ts but still I didn't miss him?*

628 IOL: Τις πρώτες μέρες είχα μια περίεργη αίσθηση (.)  
*During the first days, I was having a weird feeling (.)*

629 Γιατί δεν είν' ο Γιάννης εδώ?  
*Why isn't John here?*

630 SIM: Όκει  
*Okay*

631 IOL: Αλλά νομίζω δεν ήτανε μου λείπει (.)  
*But I think it wasn't 'I miss him' (.)*

632 Ήτανε (.)  
*It was (.)*

633 VAS: Ναι: μια προσθήκη στους υπόλοιπους.  
*Yes, an addition to the rest.*

634 IOL: Ναι  
*Yes*

635 (0.7)

636 IOL: Λοιπό:ν::  
*So*

637 SIM: Και στο κοπάνησε;  
*And he harped on at you about it;*

638 IOL: Όχι καθόλου.  
*No, not at ell.*

639 SIM: Σου είπε ότι::  
*He said that*

640 IOL: °Μπα μπα°  
*No no*

641 IOL: >Τέλος πάντων< εγώ κάτω (.) τις πρώτες<  
*Anyways, I, down there (.) the first days*

642 πριν γίνει αυτό που θα σου περιγράψω σε λίγο  
*before what I'll describe to you in a while happens*

643 Ήμουνα >ρε παιδί μου< πολύ {eng] όπεν=  
*I was {re} very open=*

644 =Δηλαδή λέω ντάξει τς είδα τους γονείς του  
 =That is, I say, okay ts I saw his parents

645 πέρασα απ' το εκλογικό του παιερα του  
*I passed by his father's polling station*

646 >να πω ένα ↑γεια: να δω τι κάνετε< (.)  
*To say hi, to see how you're doing (.)*

647 Από ευγένεια να χτίσω μία ↑σχέση  
*Out of politeness, to build a relationship*

648 με τους δικούς του δηλαδή τς

with his family, that is, ts

649 SIM: Ντάξει είναι και μία σχέση νι- ευγένεια γιατί (.)  
*Okay, it's a relationship ok- politeness because (.)*

650 Και έχετε [και (δεν είναι ότι δε γνωρίζετε)]  
*And you have [and it's not that you don't know each other)]*

651 VAS: [Και τραβάει πέντε χρόνια ρε παιδί] μου  
*[And ((the relationship)) takes five years {re}]*

652 IOL: Ναι  
*Yes*

653 VAS: Κι είναι κι απ' το ίδιο μέρος δηλαδή  
*And they're from the same place, that is*

654 IOL: Βλέπω τη μαμά του=μου λέει ↑μα μου=πότε ήρθες?  
*I see his mother=she says 'This and that=when did you come?'*

655 Α έχεις πόσες μέρες (.)  
*Ah you have been here for so many days' (.)*

656 Ήτανε σα να μου λέει πώς και δεν ήρθες να πεις ένα γεια?  
*It was like saying 'How come you didn't come to say hi?'*

657 Όκει (.) της λέω (.) θα έρθω την^ Γκυριακή  
*Okay (.) I say (.) I'll come on Sunday*

658 να σας πω κι ένα χρόνια πολλά (.)  
*to wish you (.)*

659 >Α θα έχει κι ο Γιάννης τα γενέθλιά του κι όλ' αυτά.<  
*Ah it'll be John's birthday and so on.*

660 Ε::μ (0.6) θα γυρίσω σ' αυτό.  
*Uhm (0.6) I'll return to this.*

661 >Θα κάνω μια παρένθεση< (.)  
*I'll make a parenthesis (.)*

662 Εγώ 'κείνο το βράδυ βγήκα.  
*On that evening, I went out.*

663 SIM: Το ίδιο βράδυ που είδε:ς τους δικούς του;\_  
*On the same evening that you saw his parents;\_*

664 IOL: Τους είδα στους επιταφίους  
*I saw them at the epitaph procession*

665 SIM: Ναι:: ντάξει (.)  
*Yes okay (.)*

666 Μεγάλη Παρασκευή?  
*On Good Friday?*

667 IOL: Ναι πότε είν' οι επιτάφιοι?  
*Yes, when is the epitaph procession?*

668 SIM: Μεγάλη Παρασκευή βγήκες?=\$Ντροπή σου!\$\_  
*You went out on Good Friday?=\$Shame on you!\$\_*

669 IOL: [Λοιπόν άκου!]  
*[So, listen!]*

670 VAS: [(γ έ λ ι ο)]  
*[((laughter))]*

671 IOL: Και βλέπω τον Άλκη. (0.4)  
*And I see Alkis. (0.4)*

672 Τον Άλκη έχω να τον δω: [eng] **φέις του φέις**  
*I haven't seen Alkis face-to-face*

673 περίπου ένα χρόνο.  
*For almost a year.*

674 SIM: Από Ολυμπία ο Άλκης?  
*Is Alkis from Olympia?*

675 IOL: Ναι  
*Yes*

676 SIM: Σώ::πα ρε συ!

NO way {re}!

677 VAS: \$Δεν^ γκζεφεύγεις παιδί μου=Όλοι κοντοχωρινοί!\$  
*You don't get away, my dear=All are from the same village!\$*

678 IOL: Πας και φεύγεις έγγυος!  
*You go there and leave pregnant!*

679 VAS: ((γέλιο))  
 ((laughter))

680 IOL: Λοιπόν (0.4) ενώ πίστευα ότι τον είχα ξεπεράσει,  
*So, (0.4) although I thought I'd got over him,*

681 (0.5)

682 Και δε μ' ενοχλεί και τη σχέση του την^ γκζέρω  
*And it doesn't bother me and I know about his relationship*

683 >δεν^ γκζέρω ποια είναι [eng] **φίζικαλι**< αλλά ξέρω  
*I don't know who she is in appearance, but I know*

684 Ότι είναι με μια κοπέλα ένα χρόνο.  
*That he's been with a lady for a year.*

685 Και ένα χρόνο (0.3) όσες φορές και να του 'χω ζητήσει  
*And a year now (0.3) as many times as I've asked him*

686 Να βρεθούμε κάπως κάτι γίνεται (.) και ΔΕ μπορεί.  
*To meet up, somehow something happens (.) and he can't.*

687 Δε μου λέει ΔΕ θέλω (.)  
*He doesn't say 'I don't want to.' (.)*

688 Αλλά θα τ' αποφύγει. (.)  
*But he avoids it. (.)*

689 [Τέλος πά]ντων  
 [A n y w]ays

690 SIM: [T ί μ ι ο]  
 [H o nest]

691 IOL: Ναι (.) Τον βλέπω έξω (.) του κάνω ένα \* (.)  
*Yes (.) I see him out (.) I make a ((gesture)) to him (.)*  
 \*inviting gesture

692 Εγώ θεά ε::  
*I ((was like)) a goddess eh*

693 VAS: \$Είχε ντυθεί [για τις επιτάφιοι\$]  
 \$She'd been dressed [for the epitaph procession\$]

694 SIM: [\$Γι' αυτό μ' αρέσουν]  
 [\$That's why I like]

695 οι:: ιστορίες σου!\$  
*Your stories!\$*

696 IOL: \$Εγώ θεά!\$ (.) >Πώς ήμουν όταν είχαμε πάει<  
*\$I was like a goddess\$ (.) How was I when we'd been*

697 στο: τέτοιο της Μάρας?=  
*To that ((party)) of Mara?=  
 =Eh you were a sexpot!*

698 SIM: =E μουνάρα ήσουν!  
 =Eh you were a sexpot!

699 IOL: Ε έτσι! =>Είχανε πέσει κάτι σαγόνια<=Τα μέτραγα 'γω.  
*Eh like that! =Some jaws had fallen=I was counting them.*

700 VAS: Αλλά εσύ: είχες το στόχο σου.  
*But you had your goal.*

701 IOL: Ρε α- γενικότερα >όπως έχετε καταλάβει<  
 {Re} a- generally, as you've understood

702 Δεν είμ' άνθρωπος που κερατώνει=δεν είμ' άνθρωπος  
*I'm not a person who cheats=I'm not a person*

703 Που ξενοκοιτάει.  
*Who knocks around.*

704 VAS: M

705 IOL: Αλλά φεύγω (.) από κάποιον <ουσιαστικά>  
*But I go away (.) from someone seriously*

706 Για να κοιτάξω κάποιον άλλον.  
*In order to look at someone else.*

707 >Τέλος πάντων.< (0.4)  
*Anyways. (0.4)*

708 Οπότε τον βλέπω=Αρχίζουμε και μιλάμε ↑Άλκη μου!  
*So, I see him=We start to talk, 'My Alkis!'*

709 Εμένα μ' έπιασε και μία μ- ↓όταν βλέπω τον Άλκη  
*I was in the mood of- when I see Alkis,*

710 Νιώθω ότι μπαίνω στο σπίτι μου. (.)  
*I feel like I'm coming into my house.*

711 Μου βγάζει μια τέτοια [α σ φάλεια]  
*He makes me feel a form of [s e curity]*

712 VAS: [Οικειότητα]  
*[Intimacy]*

713 Μια οικειότητα=κάτι πολύ δικό.  
*A form of intimacy=something that's mine.*

714 Δεν^ γκζέρω [πώς να] στο περιγράψω.  
*I don't know [how to] describe it to you.*

715 SIM: [Η ρ εμία]  
*[Calmness]*

716 IOL: Είναι πολύ <γαλήνιο> και ταυτόχρονα:  
*It's a very peaceful and at the same time*

717 <έντονο> συναίσθημα >αυτό που μου προκαλεί.  
*Intense feeling, what he evokes to me.*

718 (0.4)

719 Όποτε τον^ γκοιτάω και μου γελάει,  
*Every time I look at him, and he smiles at me,*

720 Γιατί όποτε τον^ γκοιτάω πάντα μου γελάει.  
*Because whenever I look at him, he always smiles.*

721 >Δηλαδή< ποτέ δεν είναι ξινός ποτέ δεν είναι σοβαρός  
*That is, he's never sour, he's never serious*

722 Όποτε τον^ γκοιτάω ↑πάντα μου γελάει δηλαδή τς  
*Whenever I look at him, he always smiles that is ts*

723 Χρόνια τώρα. (.) Είν' απίστευτο! (.)  
*Years now. (.) It's incredible! (.)*

724 Κι είναι και τόσο ώριμος και συγκροτημένος  
*And he's also so mature and poised*

725 ↓Σαν άνθρωπος >τέλος πάντων< (0.4)  
*As a person anyways (0.4)*

726 >Μιλούσαμε μιλούσαμε μιλούσαμε χαχαχα< (.)  
*We're talking and talking and talking, ha ha ha (.)*

727 Μέσα σ' αυτό το μαγαζί ντάξει >ήταν όλοι φίλοι  
*Inside this bar, okay, there were all the friends*

728 Του Γιά:ννη και φίλοι του Ά:λκη< και τς  
*Of John and Alkis' friends and ts*

729 Χαζομιλούσαμε με μηνύματα=>χαζομιλούσαμε  
*We were silly-talking via messages=we were silly-talking*

730 Χαζοκοιτιόμασταν< ε το καταλαβαίνεις ότι (.)  
*We were looking at each other eh you understand that (.)*

731 Δεν είμαστε φίλοι (0.5) αλλά: (.)  
*We are not friends (0.5) but (.)*

732 Και του λέω σε κάποια φάση (.)  
*And I tell him at some point (.)*

733 Άλκη μου εγώ θα φύγω τώρα (.)  
*My dear Alkis, I'm leaving now (.)*

734 Και μου λέει κι εγώ.  
*And he says, me too.*

735 Του λέω δεν^ γκζέρω αν θα σε δω εύκολα=  
*I say, 'I don't know if I'll see you easily=*

736 Θέλω όμως να σε ΔΩ.=  
*I wasn't to see you though.=*

737 >Δε μπορώ να σε δω εδώ μέσα< (.)  
*I can't see you over here (.)*

738 †Θέλω όμως να σε δω.  
*But I want to see you.*

739 SIM: Ντάξει  
*Okay*

740 VAS: Ναι τώρα τι να πεις?=  
*Yes, what can you say now ((inside a bar))?=-*

741 IOL: =Λοιπόν  
*=So*

742 SIM: ((sly smile))

743 IOL: Περίμενε (.) μη βιάζεσαι. (0.3)  
*Wait (.) don't rush. (0.3)*

744 Εγώ είχα μπει στ' αμάξι ό- όταν του 'στειλα  
*I was in the car when I texted him*

745 Και μου λέει μην ανέβεις=ΦΤΑνω.  
*And he says, 'Don't go up=I'm about to arrive.'*

746 SIM: M

747 IOL: Περί::μενε  
*Wait*

748 Κι έρχεται=>του λέω πάμε μια βόλτα< και μου λέει  
*And he comes=I say let's go for a ride and he says*

749 Πάμε κάπου εδώ: τριγύρω. (.)  
*Let's go somewhere around here. (.)*

750 Και με πήγε εκεί που: με πήγε όταν: πάλι  
*And he drove me there where he drove me again*

751 είχε έρθει να με μαζέψει από ένα μεθύσι  
*When he'd come to pick me up after a drunk*

752 κι έτσι με φίλησε πρώτη φορά.  
*And that's how he kissed me for the first time.*

753 ↓E::  
*Eh*

754 SIM: ↓°Τώρα πώς ήταν?=Ήταν το ίδιο?°  
*Now, how was it?=Was it the same?*

755 IOL: Δεν έγινε τίποτα=  
*Nothing happened=*

756 SIM: =Α  
*=Ah*

757 VAS: M

758 SIM: Πήγα να ψαρέψω = \$Είδες εί[δες?\$]  
*I went to tease it out of her=\$You saw, [you] saw?\$*

759 IOL: [Π ή-] πήγαμε εκεί  
*[We w-] went there*

760 Με πήρε μια αγκαλιά=μείναμε έτσι λίγο κάπως (.)  
*He hugged me=we stayed like that somehow for a while*

761 °Και δεν έκανε (0.3) την^ μπαραμικρή κίνηση°  
*And he didn't make even the slightest move*

762 Να κάνει κάτι=>ΤΟΝ Έβλεπα εγώ βέβαια< ότι:

763 *To do something=I was seeing him though that*  
*Καίγεται=Δηλαδή το κατα- πώς να στο πω?*  
*He's broiling=That is, I under- how shall I say it?*  
 764 *Με ακουμπούσε μ' ένα τρόπο (.) ερωτικό*  
*He was touching me in a way (.) in an erotic way*  
 765 *Αλλά (.) και συγκρατημένο=σε φάση (.)*  
*But (.) in a restrained way too=like*  
 766 *Θέλω (0.3)*  
*I want (0.3)*  
 767 SIM: *Αλλά δεν^ μπρέπει.*  
*But I must not.*  
 768 IOL: *Αλλά δεν^ μπρέπει.*  
*But I must not.*  
 769 *Και >το κατάλαβα και το σεβάστηκα<=του λέω*  
*And I understood it and respected it=I say*  
 770 *Είναι αργά νυστάζεις (.) πάμε να φύγουμε.*  
*It's late, you're sleepy (.) let's go.*  
 771 *Πάμε να φύγουμε.*  
*Let's go.*  
 772 *Κι ενώ κι οι δύο κάτι θέλαμε (.)*  
*And although both of us wanted something (.)*  
 773 *Δεν έγινε τί:ποτα Συμεών. (.)*  
*Nothing happened, Simeon. (.)*  
 774 *Και την άλλη μέρα που του είπα >εμείς οι δύο*  
*And the other day when I told me, 'The two of us*  
 775 *Πρέπει να μιλήσουμε.<*  
*Should talk.'*  
 776 *Μου λέει όχι Ιόλη ↑δε θα μιλήσουμε (.)*  
*He says, 'No, Ioli, we want talk (.)*  
 777 *Είμαι πολύ καλά εδώ που είμαι (.)*  
*I'm very well where I am now (.)*  
 778 *Αυτό το παιδί αξίζει κι εγώ*  
*This lad ((woman)) is worthy and I*  
 779 *~Δε μπορώ να την^ προδώσω.~*  
*Can't betray her.*  
 780 *Οπότε δε θα τα πούμε. (.)*  
*So, we won't talk. (.)*  
 781 *↓Εγώ έχω μείνει παγωτό (0.3)*  
*I'm gob smacked (0.3)*  
 782 *(.hh) και λέω τώρα σοβαρά?*  
*(.hh) and I say, really?*  
 783 SIM: *Ντάξει γιατί έχει καταλάβει: ότι::*  
*Well, because he's understood that*  
 784 *Είναι ευάλωτος κοντά σου και σου λέει (.)*  
*He's vulnerable next to you and he says (.)*  
 785 *Και δε θέλω να προκαλέσω την^ ντύχη μου*  
*I don't want to challenge my luck*  
 786 *Και είναι πολύ σεβαστό=Το παιδί:: πολύ σωστό.*  
*And it's very respectable=The guy is very fine.*  
 787 IOL: *Δεν υ[π ά ρ χ ε ι ε]*  
*He's [out of this world eh]*  
 788 SIM: *[N α τ ο γ ν ω]ρίσω πάντως.*  
*[I shall get to know] him though.*  
 789 VAS: *Να γίνεις φίλος=*  
*To befriend him=*  
 790 SIM: *=0- ναι είν' εξαιρετικό.*

=N= *yes it's great.*

791 IOL: *Και όταν έγιναν όλ' αυτά (.)*  
*And when all this happened (.)*

792 *Λέω τώρα θα 'ρθει ο Γιάννης (.)*  
*I say, John will come now (.)*

793 *Θα σκοτωθώ (.)*  
*I'll quarrel ((with him)) (.)*

794 VAS: M(h)

795 IOL: *Γιατί: ↓έτσι (.) γιατί η γη γυρίζει δεξιόστροφα*  
*For some reason (.) as the earth turns clockwise*

796 *κι όχι αριστερό[σ τ ροφα]*  
*And not anti-cl[ow i se]*

797 SIM *[<Μια απα]νωτή συνεχόμενα ίδια*  
*[A rapid-fire, continuously the same*

798 *κίνηση> που γίνεται ξανά και ξανά*  
*Movement that occurs \$again and again\$*

799 *>Τέλος πάντων< και έρχομαι 'δώ χθες=*  
*Anyways, and I come here yesterday=*

800 IOL: *=Και έρχεται εδώ χθες ((ο Γιάννης))=*  
*=And he comes here yesterday ((John))=*

801 VAS: *=Και σκοτώνεται.*  
*=And she fights ((with him)).*

802 IOL: *Και σκοτώνομαι.*  
*And I fight ((with him)).*

803 VAS: *((γέλιο))*  
*((laughter))*

804 IOL: *Και ξέρεις γιατί σκοτώθηκα? (0.3)*  
*And you know why I argued? (0.3)*

805 *Και έβαλα τα κλάματα σήμερα το πρωί,*  
*And I burst into tears today in the morning,*

806 *Όχι γιατί τσακώθηκα. (.)*  
*Not because I argued with him (.)*

807 *Και πραγματικά χθες μου φαινότανε τόσο μάταιο*  
*And really yesterday it seemed to me so vain*

808 *Του λέω σε κάποια φάση Α- ειλικρινά*  
*I tell him, at some point, honestly*

809 *Μου φαίνεται ΜΑΤΑΙΟ. (.) ΑΣΚΟπο να κάτσουν-*  
*It seems vain to me. (.) Pointless to sit*

810 *Να κάτσω τώρα να τσακωθώ μαζί σου.*  
*To sit now and argue with you.*

811 *Θες να μα- μαλώσουμε? =↑Δεν ^μπρόκειται*  
*Do you want to argue? =There's no way*

812 *του λέω να βγάλουμ' άκρη. (.)*  
*We'll connect the dots. (.)*

813 *Μου λέει περνάω χάλια=Εάν περνάς*  
*He says, 'I'm having an awful time'=If you're having*

814 *χάλια καλύτερα να τ' αφήσουμε.*  
*An awful time, it's better we leave it.'*

815 *Μου λέει >Ντάξ πάλι θα τρέχεις από πίσω μου< ((μιμητικός*  
*τόνος Ιόλης))*

*He says, 'Well you'll keep chasing me again'*

816 *Λέω: (.) ΜΠΑ.*  
*I say (.) No.*

817 VAS: M::  
*Mmm*

818 IOL: *ΜΠΑ. (.) [Καλά και τς]*



No. (.) [Well and ts]

819 SIM: [Γι' αυτό:] φαίνεται μάταιο.  
[That's why] it seems vain.

820 IOL: Και είχα βουρκώσει εκείνη την ώρα (.)  
And I'd teared up at that time (.)

821 Ειλικρινά <όχι γιατί< (.) στην^ μπιθανότητα  
Honestly, not because (.) in the likelihood

822 να φύγει. (.) Στο< <τι λάθος έχω κάνει θε μου!  
Of his leaving. (.) For the- what a mistake I've done, God!

823 SIM: Ναι γιατί [έχεις δώσει ΠΑρα πο]λλή φαιά ουσία,  
Yes since [you've used too mu]ch grey matter,

824 IOL: [Γιατί βλέπω βλέπω]  
[Because I see I see]

825 SIM: Για κά[τι που] τώρα (.)  
For some[thing that] now (.)

826 IOL: [Ο χ : ι]  
[N o]

827 SIM: Τώρα έτυχε και το σύγκρινες με το υπέρτατο (.)  
You now happened to compare it with the supreme (.)

828 Για το μυαλό σου >γι' αυτό που είσαι συ γι' αυτό  
According to your mind, to what you are, to

829 που είχες ζήσεις< (0.3)  
What you've experienced (0.3)

830 Κι έχεις από την απέναντη όχθη (.)  
And you have on the other hand (.)

831 αυτή τη στιγμή πάλι (.) >κάτι το οποίο είναι<  
This moment now again (.) something that is

832 ΠΑΕΙ [ό λ ο] και χειρότερα.  
Is getting [wo rse] and worse

833 IOL: [Ε ε ς]  
[Y'know]

834 Εέ[ρεις γιατί τσακώθηκα?]  
Yo[u know why I argued?]

835 SIM: [Όλο και: μ στο ίδιο] μοτίβο.  
[Constantly the same] pattern.

836 IOL: Εέρεις γιατί τσακώθηκα? (.)  
You know why I argued? (.)

837 Εεκίνησε ένας ιφάυλος κύκλος καμίας συζήτησης.  
We started a vicious circle of discussions.

838 Ήρθε εδώ (.) τον^ μπήρα αγκαλιά: φιληθήκαμε χαζο:  
He came here (.) I hugged him, we kissed

839 αγκαλιαστήκαμε (.) ΚΑτσαμε εκεί να χουζουρέψουμε (.)  
We hugged each other (.) we sat there to lie (.)

840 Και γυρνάει και μου λέει (.) <γιατί πήγες σπίτι μου?  
And he turns to me and says (.) Why did you go at my house?

841 Και είπες στη μάνα μου ότι πάμε στη Νίκαια=  
And you told my mother that we're going to Nice=  
842 =Δε μ' αρέσουν αυτά=μην ^ντα ξανακάνεις.  
=I don't like things like that=don't do it again.

843 VAS: (.hh) Ντάξει εγώ δεν^ ντα θεωρώ ωραία αυτά.  
(.hh) Well I don't consider these things nice.

844 IOL: Και με ισοπέδωσε. (.)  
And he squashed/ humiliated me. (.)

845 Δηλαδή του λέω γιατί; (.) Του λέω<  
That is, I say, why? (.) I say<

846 SIM: >Σου πω 'γώ σκηνικά τώρα που γίνανε!<

I'll tell you about things that happened!  
 847 Σου πω 'γώ τα δικά μου τώρα=Για λέγε.  
 I'll now tell you my own ((story))=Go on.  
 848 IOL: Του λέω μου λέει (.) ΔΕ γουσιάρω να πηγαίνεις  
 I say, he says (.) I don't like yours going  
 849 απ' το σπίτι μου γόταν εγώ δεν είμαι 'κεί. (.)  
 At my house when I'm not there. (.)  
 850 Δεν έχεις λόγο. (.)  
 You don't have a reason. (.)  
 851 Του λέω Γιάννη το καταλαβαίνεις ότι είμαστε  
 I say, 'John, do you understand that we've been  
 852 πέντε χρόνια μαζί? (.) Δεν^ μπήγα< μου λέει  
 Together for five years? (.) I didn't go< he says  
 853 Ναι >δε σου 'πε κανείς να μην έρχεσαι<  
 Yes, I didn't tell you not to come  
 854 στο σπί-τι μου όταν είμαι 'γώ=Να ↑μην^ μπηγαίνεις  
 At my house when I'm too=You shall not go  
 855 όταν ↑δεν είμαι. (.)  
 When I'm not these. (.)  
 856 Ναι γιατί με τουζ ^γονείς μου δεν έχεις  
 Yes because with my parents you don't  
 857 την^ γκαλύτερη σχέση=  
 Get along very well'=  
 858 =Που πήγα από ευγένεια μέρες που ήταν ((Πάσχα))  
 =That I went out of politeness those ((Easter)) days  
 859 Να: ευχηθώ=Πήγα πήρα γλυκά: και: με ρώτησε η μάνα του  
 To wish=I went to buy sweets and his mother asked me  
 860 Πώς περνάμε και λέω: (.)  
 How we are doing, and I say (.)  
 861 Καλά θα πάμ' Γαλλία δυο μέρες.  
 Fine, we're going to France for a couple of days.  
 862 VAS: Ντάξει ↑τι 'σαι μωρό παιδί?=Χτίζοντ' αυτά=  
 Okay, are you a kid?=You build up these things=  
 863 IOL: =Μα του λέω αυτό=Προσπαθώ να χτίσω<  
 =But I say this=I'm trying to build it up  
 864 Και μου λέει (.) προσπαθείς να έχεις εγγυησεις  
 And he says (.) you're trying to have warrants  
 865 Και να θες να τα πας καλά με του:ς  
 And you want to get along with the  
 866 δικούς μου, (.)  
 my parents, (.)  
 867 για να:: εξασφαλίσεις ότι θα σε παντρευτώ. (.)  
 To ensure that I'll marry you. (.)  
 868 IOL: Και (.) ξέρεις πόσο με °στεναχώρησε αυτό?°  
 And (.) you know how sad this thing made me?  
 869 SIM: Ε< μα αυτό ακριβώς. (.)  
 Eh but it's exactly this. (.)  
 870 Είναι κάτι που είναι [<ΠΟΛΥ πολύ προ]σβλητικό>,  
 It's something that's [very very insulting,  
 871 IOL: [Ναι με στεναχω-]  
 [Yes it sadden-]  
 872 SIM: Χωρίζ^ να χρειάζετ' ο άλλος να< δηλαδή (.)  
 Without the other one's needing to< that is (.)  
 873 σε πληγώνει με το:: με το πούπουλο=  
 He hurts you softly=  
 874 =Πώς το λένε.

=As they say it.

875 VAS: [Ναι PE 'Ο,ΤΙ] να 'ναι!  
Yes {re} whatever]! ((That's erratic))

876 SIM: [Ο,τι να 'ναι!  
[W h a t e v e r !]

877 Ντάξει ό,τι πιο γελοίο έχω ακούσει ποτέ.  
Okay ((this is)) the most ridiculous thing I've ever heard.

878 Σόρι αλλά: [΄λ α δ ή]  
Sorry but [that is]

879 VAS: [Τς ν]:αι  
[Ts ye]s

880 SIM: Δεν^ προσβάλλεις έτσι τον άλλον.  
You don't insult the other one like that.

881 IOL: Και παιδιά [ξε κι νά]ει >ένας φαύλος κύκλος<  
And guys [there sta]rts a vicious circle

882 VAS: [Κ α μ ί α]  
[N o]

883 IOL: [Και ε:]  
[And eh]

884 SIM: \$Καμία [σωτηρί]α\$  
\$No [salvat]ion\$

885 VAS: [Επ α φή] (h)  
[Contact]

886 SIM: \$Καμία σωτηρία\$  
\$No salvation\$

887 IOL: [Και μετά]  
[And then]

888 VAS: [Αυτό είν]αι <παραλογισμός> ρε.  
[This is] irrational {re}.

889 IOL: [Κι εγώ τσαντίστηκα και του λέω]  
[And I got upset and I tell him]

890 VAS: [Δεν ^ντο χωράει η λογική του ανθρώπου.]  
[It's beyond human rationality.]

891 IOL: Τ' ΕΙΝ' αυτιά που μου ΛΕ:Σ! =>ξέρω 'γώ<  
What are you talking about! =I don't know

892 Και άρ- άρχισα να φωνάζω δηλαδή<  
And I started shouting, that is,

893 Μ' έπιανε 'κείνη την ώρα η σύγκριση  
I was comparing that that time

894 >αυτών των δύο ανθρώπων< και  
Between the two people and

895 ΤΙ μου λέει ο ένας [και τι] μου λέει ο άλλος  
What the one says, [and what] the other one says

896 VAS: [Ναι ::]  
[Y e s]

897 IOL: Και<  
And

898 SIM: Τ' ότi κάτι τέτοιο πρώτ' απ' όλα δε μοιά-  
That first of all such a thing doesn't se-

899 φαίνεται βλακεία [δε θα το: (δεν έχει να κάνει μόνο)]  
Seems stupid [I won't(it doesn't relate only to)]

900 VAS: [Δε θα της το 'λεγε ποτέ ο Ηρακλής]  
[Hercules would never tell her this]

901 SIM: Με το::ν Ηρακλή. (.)  
With Hercules. (.)

902 VAS: M:

Mm

903 SIM: [Και με το]ν^ γκάθε Ηρακλή  
*[And with ev]ery Hercules*

904 IOL: [Καλά ποιέ!]  
*[Well never!]*

905 SIM: Γιατί όκεϊ τς υπάρχουνε κι άλλα αξιόλογα άτομα  
*Since well ts there are other upright people too*

906 Πέρα από τον Ηρακλή έτσι? (.)  
*Except for Hercules, right? (.)*

907 ΑΛΛά στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση τον τον συγκρίνεις  
*But in this case you compare him*

908 [μ' ε κ ε ίνον]  
*[With that one]*

909 VAS: [Τς α χ : :]  
*[Ts a h !]*

910 SIM: Που λες ρε πούστη μου (.) εγώ γιατί είμαι 'δώ?=  
*That you say, fuck, (.) Why am I here?=  
 =Γιατί κάθομαι εδώ?  
 =Why am I staying here?*

912 VAS: M::  
*Mmm*

913 SIM: Εέρεις ξεκινάει αυτό το γιατί. (.)  
*You know, you start asking why. (.)*

914 IOL: ↓Λοιπόν (.) και:: (0.3)  
*So (.) and (0.3)*

915 Μετά πήγα μέσα=άρχισε να ωδύρεται (.)  
*After that went in=he started yelling (.)*

916 Να μην^ μπερνάω καλά μαζί σου=δεν αντέχω άλ:λο  
*I don't have a good time with you=I can't stand it anymore*

917 E:: είσαι γεννημένη γκρι- για τη γκρίνια (.)  
*Eh you are born to be grumpy (.)*

918 E είς' αχάριστη (.) εγώ φταίω που κανονίζω ταξίδια  
*You are ungrateful (.) It's my fault that I organize trips*

919 ο μαλάκας (.) >για τα γενέθλιά σου< (.) ((μιμητικός τόνος))  
*Me, the asshole (.) for your birthday (.)*

920 Και του λέω (.) πρώτ' απ' όλα του λέω  
*And I say (.) first of all, I say*

921 VAS: Τς

922 IOL: Δεν είπε κανένας ότι δε μου δίνεις πράγματα. (.)  
*Nobody said that you don't give me things. (.)*

923 Του λέω αυτό που προσπαθώ να σου εξηγήσω και  
*I say 'What I'm trying to explain to you and*

924 ΔΕν^ γκαταλαβαίνεις είν' ότι< (.)  
*You don't understand is that (.)*

925 Δε χρειάζεται να τσιρίξεις για να με προσβάλλεις. (.)  
*You don't need to scream to insult me. (.)*

926 Ελεος και είσαι εύθικτη και κάνεις σα μωρό (.)  
*Geez! You are irritable and you behave like a baby (.)*

927 και ψάχνεις αφορμές για να τσακωθείς,  
*You you're looking for reasons to quarrel,*

928 SIM: Αφού την είπες τη μαλακία σου πες του.  
*Since you said your non-sense, say to him.*

929 IOL: Του λέω< δε την^ γκαταλαβαίνει και το κάνει συνέχεια.  
*I say< he doesn't understand does it all the time.*

930 Μου λέ- >είναι κάτι που δε γουσιάρω.<  
*He sa- it's something I don't fancy.*

931 Του λέω <ΕΧΩ βαρεθεί> (.) να μου λες (.)  
*I say, 'I'm bored (.) to be said*

932 ΤΙ να κάνω.=Μου ΛΕΣ (.)  
*What to do.=You tell me (.)*

933 να μη βγαίνω με τους φίλους σου. (.)  
*Not to go out with your friends. (.)*

934 Μου ΛΕ:Σ να μην ε: σου  
*You tell me not to eh*

935 να μην έρχομαι όταν θα είστε με τα παιδιά. (.)  
*Not to come with you when you're with the guys. (.)*

936 Μου ΛΕΣ [να μην^ μπηγαίνω σπí-]  
*You tell me [not to go hom-]*

937 SIM: [Όλη ακριβώς η σχέση] που είχα  
*[Exactly the kind of relationship] I'd had*

938 με τη Θεσσαλονικιά.  
*With the woman from Thessaloniki.*

939 Ε ό,τι [και να έ]κανα:  
*Eh whatever [I d]id*

940 VAS: [M : : : ]  
*[M m m m]*

941 SIM: Ε μη αυτό μη εκείνο μη το άλλο:  
*Eh don't do this, don't do that, don't do the other thing.*

942 Ε δε μπορώ εγώ να βγαίνουμ' έξω  
*Eh I can't go out with you*

943 Και να πιανόμαστε χέρι χέρι=  
*And hold hands with you=*

944 =>να μη μαζ^ δει κανείς<  
*So that nobody sees us*

945 και [μ η ] και μη και μη  
*And [don't] and don't and don't*

946 VAS: [N:αι]  
*[Ye s]*

947 SIM: Όταν έχεις μία σχέση=  
*When you are in a relationship*

948 VAS: =Τς όχι δε γίνοντ' αυτιά=  
*=Ts no these things are not possible=*

949 SIM: =Πρέπει [να είσ' ο εαυτός σου]  
*=You must [be y o u r s e lf]*

950 VAS: [Να σ' ελεύθερος] ναι ρε παιδί μου.  
*[Be f r e e] yes {re}.*

951 IOL: Μα αυτό του [λέω δηλαδή]  
*But this is what [I tell, that is]*

952 SIM: [Α κ ό μ α κι] αν αυτό δεν αρέσει  
*[E v e n if]this doesn't please*

953 [στ]ον άλλο.  
*[Th]e other person.*

954 VAS: [E ]=  
*[Eh]=*

955 IOL: =Αυτό ακριβώς=  
*=Exactly this=*

956 VAS: =[Ντάξ ε ι]  
*=[O k a y]*

957 IOL: [Δηλα[δ ή]  
*That [i s]*

958 SIM: [Άμα] δε σ' αρέσει σηκώνεσαι και φεύγεις.  
*[If] you don't like it, you go leave.*

959 IOL: Ακριβώς=  
*Exactly=*

960 VAS: =Ναι ναι  
*=Yes yes*

961 IOL: Δε δ- μου πε τις προάλλες που 'χαν έρθει  
*Didn't he tell me the other day when*

962 κάτι φίλοι του που 'χαμε βγει=  
*Some friends of his had come and we'd gone out=*

963 =°θυμάσαι που 'χαν έρθει?°=  
*=Do you remember that they'd come?*

964 VAS: =M:  
*=M:*

965 IOL: Μου 'χε ↑πει οτί: (.) Ιόλη είσαι πολύ ομιλητική  
*He'd said that (.) 'Ioli, you are very talkative*

966 μπροστά στα παιδιά και λες και μαλακίες  
*In front of the guys and you talk nonsense*

967 °>μερικές φορές<° και πρέπει να τ' αλλάξεις αυτό=  
*Sometimes and you must change it=*

968 =Καλό θα 'ταν να μη μιλάς τόσο πολύ.  
*=You'd better not talk that much.*

969 VAS: \$Άμα μου [↑το 'λεγε αυτό] ↑ά(h)θρωπο(h)ς  
*If somebody [told me this] thing*

970 SIM: [Δηλαδή άμα<]  
*[That is if]*

971 VAS: [Θα(h) 'χε πεταχτεί(h) απ' το πα↑ράθυρο\$]  
*[\$You'd have been thrown out of the window\$]*

972 SIM: [Ω: ω: καλά πρώτα απ' όλα είχε φύγει] μπάτσο  
*[Oh oh, well, first of all I'd given] a slap*

973 Άμα μου το 'λεγε εμένα γυναίκα=  
*If a woman told me this=*

974 =>Δεν υπάρχει περίπτωση.<  
*=There's no way.*

975 IOL: [Γιατί εμένα] που μου το πε,  
*[Why to me] that he told me this,*

976 SIM: [Θα 'χε ναι]  
*[I'd have, yes]*

977 IOL: [Του λέω τι εννοείς?]  
*[I say, 'what do you mean?']*

978 SIM: [Έτσι. (.) Α μπράβο]  
*[Indeed. (.) Bravo]*

979 VAS: Αυτά τώρα:=  
*These things now=*

980 IOL: =Και μου λέει (.) λες πράγματα που ο άλλος  
*=And he says (.) you say things that the other person*

981 τα εκλαμβάνει λίγο: περίεργα. (.) Λω<  
*Perceives in a bit strange manner. (.) I say*

982 VAS: Και τι είπες κι εσύ?=  
*And what did you say?=  
 =He said*

983 IOL: =↑Είπε<  
*=He said*

984 VAS: Ο(h)τι θα τραγουδήσεις στη: [(γ έ λ ι ο)]  
*That you are going to sing to [(l a u g h t e r)]*

985 SIM: [Ο,τι ό,τι]=  
*[Whatever whatever]=*

986 SIM: =και να πει (.) [ό,τι] [και να είναι]  
*=He may say (.) [whatever [he may say]*

987 IOL: [↑P E]

[Re]

988 VAS: [↑Ναι (h)]  
[Yes (h)]

989 IOL: [Προσπαθώ να] σκεφτώ  
[I'm trying to] think

990 τι είπα (.) >και δε μπορώ [να βρ ω άκρη.<]  
*What I said (.) and I can't [connect the dots.]*

991 VAS: [Όχι δεν^ ντον]  
[No, you don't]

992 [φιμώνεις τον άλλον.]  
[gag the other one.]

993 SIM: [Είναι (.) η κοπελα] του. (.)  
[She is (.) his girl]friend (.)

994 Πρώτ' [απ' ό]λα.  
*First [of all].*

995 VAS: [N α ι]  
[Y e s]

996 SIM: Αυτό ΔΕ μπορεί να το συνειδητοποιήσει. (.)  
*He can't realise this. (.)*

997 Αν δε θέλει να είναι [με τη συγκεκριμένη κο]πέλα,  
*If he doesn't want to be [with the specific gi]rl,*

998 IOL: [A: θ υ μ ή θ η κ α]  
[Ah I remembered]

999 Θυμήθηκα. (.) Να σου πω για να καταλάβεις. (.)  
*I remembered. (.) I shall tell you to understand. (.)*

1000 ΚΑΤΙ:: >είχαν έρθει αυτό το φιλικό ζευγάρι  
*Something, this friendly couple had come*

1001 τέλος πάντων< και κάτι λέγανε χαζο- χαζο-  
*Anyway< and they were saying something*

1002 χαζοπειραζόντουσαν κι αυτοί δηλαδή τς  
*They were teasing each other, that is, is*

1003 VAS: [Δε συζητούσατε πυρηνική φυσική]  
[You were not discussing about nuclear physics]

1004 IOL: [Αφήνανε κάτι υπονοούμενα ότι:]=  
[They were implying things like]=

1005 VAS: =Ναι  
=Yes

1006 IOL: Καλά θα τα πούμε στο σπίτι. (.)  
*Fine, we'll talk at home. (.)*

1007 Αλλά μεταξύ σου-  
*But between ser-*

1008 VAS: N:[:αι]  
Y[e s]

1009 IOL: [Πλά]κας ρε παιδί μου=  
[F u]n {re}

1010 IOL: Δηλαδή (.) καλά καλά θα στα πω μετά.  
*That is (.) okay, okay, I'll tell you later.*

1011 VAS: M

1012 IOL: Δηλαδή χαζοπειράζανε ο ένας τον άλλον  
*That is, they were teasing each other*

1013 Και κάτι:: (.) μετά ε< κάπως  
*And something (.) after this eh somehow*

1014 πάει τη συζήτηση κάπου:  
*the discussion goes somewhere*

1016 Έρθε μια φίλη της κοπέλας ε:: του φίλου του Γιάννη  
*A friend of the lade eh of John's friend came*

1016 Και λέει A: μένω εκεί=Εκεί μένανε κάτι φίλες  
*And says 'Ah I stay there=There stayed some friends of*

1017 Κύπριες >λέει ο Γιάννης< (.) και πάω κι εγώ να  
*From Cyprus, says John (.) and I am about to*

1018 τον^ μπειράξω (.) και του λέω μμποιες Κύπριες?  
*Tease him (.) and say 'Which girls from Cyprus?'*

1019 Δηλαδή σε φάση ότι χghαζο:[πεί]ραγμα  
*That is, in the mood of silly [tea]sing*

1020 SIM: [Ναι]  
*[Yes]*

1021 VAS: [Π εί ραγμα.]  
*[T e a s i n g.]*

1022 IOL: [Ζήλια και]  
*[Jealousy and]*

1023 SIM: Γιατί εγώ τουλάχιστον απ' αυτό που είδα (.)  
*Because at least from what I saw (.)*

1024 Το Γιάννη που είδα όσο μαζεμένος και να ήτανε (.)  
*John, whom I saw, as much as restrained as he was (.)*

1045 Έχω έχω αυτή την αίσθηση=του ότι ο Γιάννης  
*I've got this feeling=that John*

1026 ↑δεν μπορεί να μπει σ' αυτή τη διαδικασία.  
*Can't go in this process.*

1027 ΔΗΛΑΔΗ ν' αφήσει κάτι να πέσει κάτω.  
*That is, of leaving something get past him.*

1028 VAS: M: M: ναι ναι ναι  
*Mm mm yes yes yes*

1029 SIM: Και να το πάρει ως πλάκα=  
*And take it as a joke=*

1030 VAS: M:  
*Mm*

1031 SIM: [Θεωρώ τ' ότι τς]  
*[I think that ts]*

1032 IOL: [Όχι όχι το πήρε] ως πλάκα (.)  
*[No no he took] as a joke (.)*

1033 SIM: [Ναι αλλά]  
*[Yes but]*

1034 IOL: [Αλλά γύρι]σε και μου λέει δίνεις δικαιώματα (.)  
*[But he tu]rned to me and said 'you give the right (.)*

1035 στους άλλους να καταλαβαίνουν ότι ζηλεύεις  
*To others to understand that you are jealous*

1036 και τσακωνόμαστε.  
*And we argue.*

1037 SIM: [Άντε τώρα]  
*[Oh well]*

1038 VAS: [((γελάκι))] ε ε η φαντασία του ανθρώ-  
*[((laughs))] eh eh the imagination of this per*

1039 SIM: [Άντε τώρα]  
*[D u h!]*

1040 VAS: [Ναι ναι] ντάξει τς ε↑κείνος είναι εύθικτος.  
*[Yes yes] well ts he is irritable.*

1041 SIM: [>Ναι ναι δεν ( )<]  
*[Yes yes he doesn't]*

1042 VAS: [Π ο λ ύ ε ύ ]θικτος. (.)  
*[V e r y i r ]rritable (.)*

1043 Δηλαδή εντάξει.  
*That is, okay.*



1044 SIM: °Εύθικτος είναι°  
*He is irritable*

1045 IOL: Και τώρα χιτες ↓κάτι που πήγαμε να ξαπλώσουμε↓  
*And now yesterday when we went to bed, something*

1046 Και του λέω ↑βγήκες καθόλου μόνος σου:?=  
*And I say 'Did you go out alone at all?='*

1047 =Είδες κανέναν?=H:: ήσουν όλη μέρα κολλημένη μ' έναν  
*=Did you see anyone?=Or you were all day stuck to one*

1048 άνθρωπο τς (.)  
*person ts (.)*

1049 Και μου λέει ↑βγήκα μία ώρα μετά την Ανάσταση (.)  
*And he says 'I went out for an hour after the*

1050 E:: και πήγα στο Mimi's °που ήταν τα παιδιά.°  
*Eh and I went to Mimi's where the guys were.*

1051 Του λέω εγώ γιατί δε το ξέρω?=Και το μαθαίνω::  
*I say, 'Why don't I know it?=And I learn about it*

1052 Τετάρτη? (.) °Κι αυτό έγινε: το Σάββατο?°  
*On Wednesday? (.) And this happened on Saturday?*

1053 (0.5)

1054 Και μου λέει (.) Ιόλη είσαι τέρμα αχάριστη, (.)  
*And he says (.) 'Ioli, you are too ungrateful, (.)*

1055 Δε μου 'φτανε που 'τρωγα την^ νιαλαιπωρία  
*It wasn't enough, the inconvenience I was going through*

1056 όλη μέρα με τη γιαγιά (.)  
*All day with the grandmother (.)*

1057 >να την^ μπάω απο 'δώ να την^ μπάω από 'κεί,<  
*To take her here, to take her there,*

1058 Να κουτσαίνει (.) να ΤΡΕχω μες στη βροχή (.)  
*To have her hobbling (.) going around in the rain (.)*

1059 >να ΠΗΓΑΙνω από 'δώ από 'κεί< (.)  
*To go here, to go there (.)*

1060 να τη γυρίσω στο σπίτι (.) να ΠΑΡΩ ταξί να πάω  
*To take her home (.) to take a cub*

1061 να πιω 'ΕΝΑ ρηματοποτό για μία ώρα, (.)  
*To drink a damn drink for an hour, (.)*

1062 κι έχω και τη γκρίνια σου μου λέει  
*And I have to face your grumpiness too, he says,*

1063 μετά από πέντε μέρες?  
*Five days later?*

1064 Του λέω σου πε κανένας να μην πας? (0.3)  
*I say, 'Did anyone tell you to not go? (0.3)*

1065 Σου πε κανένας να μείνεις στο σπίτι? (.) Σε-  
*Did anyone tell you to stay home? (.)*

1066 Εκείνο το βράδυ εγώ σου 'χα στείλει μήνυμα και  
*On that evening, I'd sent you a message and*

1067 δε μου απάντησες. (0.3)  
*You didn't reply to me. (0.3)*

1068 °°Αρχησιες πάλι και δε μπορώ::  
*You started again and I can't*

1069 VAS: Ντάξει [είν' απλό] ρε παιδί μου  
*Okay [it's simple] {re}*

1070 IOL: [A: α: ε:]  
*[Aa aa ee]*

1071 Του λέω α- κοιμήσου του λέω (.)  
*I say, 'Go sleep', I say (.)*

1072 Βαριέμαι και να τσακωθώ. (.) Βαριέμαι.

- I'm bored even to quarrel. (.) I'm bored.
- 1073 (0.4)
- 1074 VAS: Ντάξει είναι κυλιόμενο πρόβλημα όμως  
*Okay, it's a recurrent problem though*
- 1075 [Δηλαδή φαίνεται ότι δε λύνεται.]  
*[That is, it seems it doesn't solve.]*
- 1076 SIM: [Είναι κάτι το οποίο:: θα το λύσεις εσύ.=Δηλαδή  
*[It's something that you'll solve.=That is*
- 1077 VAS: Ναι  
*Yes*
- 1078 SIM: Δε μπορώ να σου πω κάτι [άλλο]  
*I can't tell you anything [else]*
- 1079 IOL: [Και] ξέρεις τώρα  
*[And] you know now*
- 1080 Τι σκέφτομαι?  
*what I'm thinking?*
- 1081 Ότι όντως με το Γιάννη:: τα συναισθήματα αρχίζουν και:  
*That, indeed, my feelings about John start to*
- 1082 φθείρονται έντονα=>Δηλαδή δεν ^γκζέρω τι μπορεί να γίνει.<  
*Strain intensely=That is, I don't know what can happen.*
- 1083 Γιατί έφαγα ένα χαστούκι απ' τη ζωή και δε μου κάνει  
*Because I was slapped by life, and I don't*
- 1084 αίσθηση τίποτα. (.)  
*Feel for nothing. (.)*
- 1085 Δηλαδή δε με τρελαίνει (.) πλέον.  
*That is, I don't go crazy about him (.) anymore.*
- 1086 VAS: Καιρό τώρα δεν^ ντρελαίνεσαι απλά είδες  
*It's a long time you don't fancy him a lot, but you saw*
- 1087 και τον Ηρακλή και είδες πώς είναι=  
*Hercules too and you saw how it's like=*
- 1088 IOL: =Να σαι νορμάλ.  
*=Being normal.*
- 1089 VAS: Να νιώθεις πληρότητα.=  
*Feeling full.=*
- 1090 IOL: =Όχι (.) πώς είναι να 'σαι νορμάλ.  
*=No (.) how it's like to be normal.*
- 1091 VAS: Μ
- 1092 IOL: Γιατί και με τον Ηρακλή διαφωνούσα ρε συ: Βάσια  
*Because I was disagreeing with Hercules too {re} Vassia*
- 1093 Δεν είμαστε ίδιοι άνθρωποι.  
*We are not alike.*

## Appendix 9 – Vignettes from field notes

### Vignette 1 Ioli got angry (Field notes)

Ioli, Simeon and I met George and Petros at Oxford Street station on a rainy evening. We started walking towards Cahoots bar, and while Petros and I were looking for the bar on Google maps, Ioli and George were walking slowly before us. Ioli could not go fast given that she was wearing high pumps and was complaining about the distance that we had to cover on foot. At some point, she shouts to all three of us 'Wait for us {re}!'. We thus slowed down and waited for them to approach.

When she came closer, she glared both at Simeon and at me with her eyebrows frowned and did not say a word. Simeon started teasing her for the choice of shoes that she made, while I reassured her that we were approaching the bar.

### *Vignette 2 Paris forgot about Ectoras's trip (Field notes)*

Ectoras, Kimonas and Paris are sitting in the living room of Kimonas's and Paris's house drinking coffee. Kimonas is preparing sandwiches for all, while Ectoras and Paris are discussing about the damage to Ectoras's bicycle, which the latter says he will not be able to fix before leaving. Then, Paris asks him where he was going and when he was leaving. Ectoras replies that he will leave for Prague and Malaga on a business trip, where he will accompany a cohort of students on an exchange program. "I mentioned it to you yesterday, Paris, did you forget it?", he says afterwards to Paris in a serious manner and loud tone. "I remembered about Malaga but not Prague, to tell you the truth." Paris replied. "Well, well!", Ectoras says as Kimonas arrives with the sandwiches and in a slight sneer.

### *Vignette 3 Ioli talks to her colleague Ram about her bad appraisal (Field notes)*

Ioli talks on the phone with Ram, a colleague and friend of her, about her bad appraisal she had at work a day before and her recent communication with a recruiter. "I told you yesterday I had a meeting with her a:nd I told you that she told me that Peter decided the money raise and I asked her 'So why I had one-to-ones with you? ONLY. Why- why nobody eh told me that Peter is my manager?' And she said me 'ye::ah we hear you on that.' You hear me now after twelve months? Fu-Fuck off! (0.7) He told me that the lady, my manager, I don't know if it's a lie or not I will re- I will figure it out when e::h when I go there, I can understand, I didn't like Helen since the beginning (.) then she was so polite with me and said oh me- may I made a mistake? But in the end I realised how how hy- ts ( ) hypocri- hypocritical? Is that correct? Is that correct. Okay, so a:nd he told me it's a very good manager she is a very good manager, she's senior brand manager so I- I will report to a senior brand manager not to the category leader which is fine for me a:nd yes erm and I have several other options. Danon they told me, Lego, ( )

## *Appendix 10 – Additional ongoing interactions data extracts*

- a) 'We won't be seeing you anymore' (LON-15)

*In this extract, Ioli, Iliada, Simeon and Vassia have gathered at Ioli's house for coffee. They mainly talk about Ariadne's upcoming return to Greece. Iliada, who has been Ariadne's flatmate for a year shares her thoughts and feelings about it. At some point, Ioli jumps in to implicitly complain about Iliada's not seeing her friends very often.*

00:24:32

- 319 IOL: \*Εσύ τώρα θα κάνουμε να σε δούμε φανιιάζομαι:.\$  
*You, now, it'll be ages before we see you \$I suppose\$*  
 \*Moves head up and down rhythmically
- 320 ILI: ((χαμογελάει))  
 ((smiles))
- 321 \*\$Όχι θα [π ρ ο σ π α θήσ-\$]  
 \$No I will [t r -\$]  
 \*Looks at VAS, plays with her hair & presses her lips  
 in a smile
- 322 IOL: \*[\$Που φεύγει η Αρι]άδνη.\$=  
 [\$That Ariadne is] leaving.\$=  
 \*Looks at ILI
- 323 VAS: =(Γέλιο))  
 =(Laughs))
- 324 ILI: \*\$Θα προ[σ π α θ ή (σ ω )\$]  
 \$I [w i l l t r y\$]  
 \*Looks at VAS
- 325 IOL: \*[\$Α θα προσπαθή-] κα\*\*στάλαβες ε βγ<  
 [Ah you'll tr- you]see e ta<  
 \*Looks at SIM  
 \*\*nods down
- 326 \*Βγάλ' τη μια [φ ω τ ο γ ρ α φ ί α . \$]  
 Take a [picture of her.]  
 \*Looks at SIM
- 327 VAS: [((Γ έ λ ι ο))]  
 [((L a u g h t e r))]
- 328 SIM: ((Κουνάει το κεφάλι προς τα κάτω))  
 ((Nods down))
- 329 ILI: ((Γυρνάει και κοιτάει χαμογελώντας την IOL και  
 κατόπιν το SIM πειράζοντας τα μαλλιά της))  
 ((Turns to look at IOL in a smile and then at SIM  
 while playing with her hair))
- 330 VAS: ((Γέλιο)) \*\$Να τη θυμόμαστε.\$  
 ((Laughs)) \$So that we can remember her.\$  
 \*Putts SIM on the shoulder
- 331 SIM: \*Πά[ει τελεξίωσε.]  
 Tha[t was it.]  
 \*Looks at the opposite wall
- 332 IOL: \*[\$Bγάλ' τη παιδ]άκι μου [μ ι α φ ω τ ο γ ρ α φ ί α . ]  
 [Take my lad] [a picture of her.]  
 \*Looks toward SIM
- 333 SIM: \*[\$>Σε μια κορ\*\*νίζα< εκεί.\$]  
 [\$>In a photo frame< over.\$]  
 \*Points to the fireplace  
 \*\*ILI looks at SIM &  
 presses her lips
- 
- 334 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))

335 SIM: \*⟨ΜΙΑ φίλη⟩ (.)  
*One friend (.)*  
 \*Looks at IOL

336 ΕΙχαμε.=[°Αυτό ήτανε.°]  
*We had.=[That was it.]*

337 VAS: [(Γυρνάει και κοιτάει χαμογελαστά το τζάκι)]  
*((Turns & looks at the fireplace in a smile))*

→ 338 ILI: [(Κοιτάει κάτω και πειράζει τα μαλλιά της)]  
*[(Looks down & plays with her hair)]*

339 IOL: \*⟨θα τη βάλουμε σε αυτές \*\*αυτές τιζ ΜΩ:β.⟩  
*[We will pu]t her in these, these purple frames*  
 \*Looks at SIM

\*\*ILI looks at IOL with frowned eyebrows

→ 340 ILI: Τς (.) ↑Ε ξέρεις=^Να να σου πω \*κάτι?  
*Ts (.) eh you know=you know what?*  
 \*Looks at IOL

341 SIM: ((Κοιτάει την ILI)) ( )  
*((Looks at ILI)) ( )*

342 ILI: \*Εγώ θέλω πάρα πολύ να βγαίνω και \*\*να:.,  
*I really like going out and to,*  
 \*looks down

\*\*looks at IOL

343 IOL: ((Γυρίζει και κοιτάζει την ILI με σηκωμένα φρύδια))  
*((Turns and looks at ILI with raised eyebrows))*  
*[Come on!]*

344 VAS: \$Ναι βρε.\$  
*\$Yes {vre}\$.*

345 ILI: (.hhh) \*E::μ[:::]  
 (.hhh) U::hm[:::]  
 \*Puts her hands on the plate

346 SIM: \*⟨Οχι⟩ πουλάκι μου δεν είπαμε τίποτα.  
*[N o] my lad we didn't say anything.*  
 \*Knocks on the wooden table

00:25:54

b) ‘{Re}, you put too much oil!’ (LON-2)

*In this extract, which comes from an audio-recording, Ioli, Iliada, and Ariadne are cooking for a dinner party at Ariadne's house.*

00:10:00

01 IOL: PE:: έβαλες πάρα πολύ λάδι=  
*{Re} you put too much oil=*

02 =Πρόσεχε πόσο πέφτει.  
*=Be careful how much it drops.*

→ 03 ARI: Μα [η σ υ-]  
*But [the re-]*

04 IOL: [Ε έ]ρεις ↑πόσες θερμίδες >έχει μάνα μου το λάδι?<  
*[Do you ] know how many calories the oil has dude?*

→ 05 ARI: Μα ρε [eng] **σόρι** (.)  
*But {re} sorry (.)*

06 Λέει εδώ εκατόν ε:: εκατόν είκοσι [eng] **εμ ελ,**  
*It says one hundred eh one hundred and twenty ml,*  
07 Εγώ πόσο να βάλω?  
*How much should I put?*  
08 IOL: Δυο κουταλιές φτάνουν ρε συ.  
*Two spoons are enough {re}.*  
→ 09 ARI: ΜΟνο δυο κουταλιές [°ρε Ιόλη για: για εβδομήντα κεφτέδες?°]  
*Only two spoons [{re} Ioli for seventy meat balls?]*  
10 IOL: [Η κάνουμε διατροφή ή δεν^ γκάνουμε.]  
*[We either are or are not on a diet.]*  
11 ARI: Είχα βάλει ε: εί- έβαλα το μισό (.)  
*I had added eh tw- I added half of it (.)*  
12 Και ↑δεν ήταν εντάξει η ζύμη.  
*And the pastry was not okay.*  
13 ILI: Ναι ρε το είδα κι εγώ.=>Ηθελε ↑σίγουρα κι άλλο.<  
*Yes {re} I saw it too.=It certainly needed more.*  
14 ARI: Καλά=αλλά ↑μην^ ντα κολυμπήσεις στο λάδι (.)  
*Fine=but don't put too much oil (.)*  
15 IOL: Κακο↑μοίρα μου στο τηγάνι.  
*You poor thing in the pan.*  
16 ILI: \$Έχουμε και το θερμιδομετρητή μέσα σ'όλα.\$  
*\$Besides all, we have the calory counter too.\$*  
17 IOL: ↑Ε::μ πώς θα χτίσουμε \$το [eng] **σάμερ μπάντι**?\$  
*Uhm how will build our summer body?*  
00:10:34

c) 'We won't be seeing you anymore' (LON-15)

00:40:35  
630 IOL: ΘΑ Η↑θελε κάποιος (.) ε: ε γαλλικό?  
*Would anyone] like(.) e:h eh filter coffee?*  
631 \*Καφέ με άρωμα φουντιούκι?  
*Coffee hazelnut flavoour?*  
\*looks at SIM  
632 SIM: Ε ΑΜΑ ΚΑνεις [θα τον^ μπιω εγώ]=\$Πίνω τώρα  
*Eh if you make it [I will drink it]=I'm now drinking*  
633 Το εσπρεσάκι\$ που: [χρησιμοποιήσαμε ] και τις κάψουλες σου.  
*The espresso that [w e u s e d ] your coffee pods.*  
637 VAS: [((Γ έ λ ι ο))]  
[((L a u g hter))]  
638 ILI: Κι εγώ: (.) κι εγώ νομίζω ότ' είμαι κομπλέ.  
*Me too (.) I'm fine, too, I think.*  
639 ((γυρνάει και κοιτάει την IOL))  
((turns head and looks at IOL))  
640 SIM: Αλ[λ' άμα κάνεις θα πιω.]  
*Bu[t if you make I'll have some.]*  
641 ILI: [( ) σ ή μ ε ρ α .]  
[( ) t o d a y.]  
642 VAS: \*E:=  
*Eh=*  
\*looks at IOL  
643 IOL: =Την^ γκά↑ψουλά↑ μου [↑μπ ρ ά β ο.]  
*=My coffee pod [b r a v o.]*  
644 VAS: [((Γ έ λ ι ο))]

[ ((Laughter)) ]

645 SIM: \$Ναι:::\$  
\$Yes\$

646 VAS: ↑ΔΕ ΦΕΡ↑νεις και κάνα δυο πιρούνια?  
*Aren't you bringing two forks too?*

647 IOL: \$Βεβαί:ως καλή μου συγκάτοικε.\$  
\$Of course, my dear flatmate.

648 SIM: \*[( (γ έ λ ι ο ) ) ]  
[ ((laughter)) ]  
\*scrolls down on his mobile phone

649 VAS: [( (γ έ λ ι ο ) ) ]  
[ ((laughter)) ]

650 SIM: [ΠήΡΑ:: την^ γκάψουΛΑ:] που είχες από:::  
[I used the coffee pod] you've had since

651 VAS: [[ ( (γ έ λ ι ο ) ) ]  
[ ((l a u g h t e r ) ) ]

652 IOL: \$Προχθές.\$=  
\$The day before yesterday.\$=

653 SIM: =[eng] **κένγκο**:? όχι,  
=Kenco? no,

654 IOL: [eng] **κένγκο**.  
Kenco.

655 SIM: Κε- από [eng] **κένγκο**,  
ke- from kenco,

656 VAS: \*Α:χ  
Ah  
\*looks at SIM

657 SIM: \*ΤΡΟΜΕΡΟ [eng] **brand**, (.) [\$πλούσιο ↑άρωμα\$]  
Amazing brand (.) [rich flavour\$]  
\*looks at IOL

658 VAS: [( (Γ έ λ ι ο ) ) ]  
[ ((l a u g h s ) ) ]

659 SIM: \$Κάνω [κ α ι] διαφήμιση.\$  
\$I'm [a l s o] doing an advertisement.

660 VAS: [Μπράβο.]  
[Brav o.]

661 (0.4)

662 VAS: [Μπράβο Συμεών.]  
[Bravo Simeon.]

663 IOL: [Σ' ευχαριστώ] ↑πολυαγαπη[μένε.]  
[Thank you] dear[est .]

664 VAS: [Τ α] κάνεις ↑όλα  
[y o u] do everything

665 [Και σ υ μ φ έ ρ ε ι ς.]  
[And you're of good value.]

666 SIM: [\$Κάνω και διαφήμιση]  
[I'm advertising too]

667 \*Στιζ ΚΑμερες.\$  
*In front of the cameras.\$*  
\*looks at ILI and points to the camcorders.))

668 IOL: Α:: Ιλιάδα κοίτα την^ γκάμερα!  
*Ah Iliada look at the camcorder!*

669 VAS: \*\$Κοίτα σε βλέπει η κάμερα τώρα.  
\$Look, the camera is looking at you.  
\*points to the camcorder

670 IOL: \*\$Θα σε θα [σ' έ]χουμε να σε βλέπουμε.\$  
*\$We'll, we [ 'll ] have the video to look at you.\$*  
*\*looks at SIM and then turns head toward ILI & VAS*

671 VAS: [NAI]  
 [YES]

672 IOL: Α ε:: ε \*κάτσε λίγο °\$χαιρέτα λίγο  
*Ah e- e- just a moment \$wave to the camera*  
*\*looks at the camcorder*

673 Να σε θυμόμαστε πουλάκι μου.\$  
*So that we can remember you my dear.\$*

674 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))

→ 675 ILI: \*Παιδιά σταματήστε!  
*Guys stop it.*  
*\*plays with her hair*

676 VAS: \$Ναι βρε.\$  
*\$yes {vre}.\$*

677 ILI: (.hhh) Ε::μ[:::]  
 (.hhh) U::hm[:::]

678 IOL: \$Ελα βρε σε πειρά:ζουμε.\$  
*Come on {re} we' re kidding you.\$*

679 SIM: ΝΑΙ ρε \$αν και είναι ευκαιρί(h)α(h).\$  
*\$Yes {re} even though it's a good occasion.\$*

680 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))

00:41:50

#### d) 'You're always making comments' (COP-34)

*In this extract, Ectoras has visited Kimonas and Paris to have coffee together and discuss their daily news. They talk about Ectoras's heavy workload at school, which occasions Kimonas's complaints about the hours he spends at the library in preparation for the submission of his MSc dissertation. At some point, Ectoras notices that the puzzle Kimonas and Ectoras had started to do two months ago is still on the dining room table.*

00:52:30

01 ECT: Αυτά τι είναι?  
*What are these?*

02 KIM: Α ε: δυο κομματάκια από το παζλ.  
*Ah eh two little pieces of the puzzle.*

03 (1.2)

04 ECT: Καλά ρε πότε θα το τελειώσετε επιτέλους? (.)  
*Well {re} when are you finishing it after all? (.)*

05 Να μπορούμε ν' ακουμπήσουμε σαν ↑Α::νθρωποι.  
*So that we can put something down on it like humans.*

06 PAR: Ε είναι <ΤΕ- ΤΕσσερις χιλιάδες κομμάτια>.  
*Eh it's fo- four thousand pieces.*

→ 07 KIM: Ω:: όλο σχόλια δε μου είσαι ρε μωρό?=  
*Och, aren't you constantly making comments {re}/ babe?=  
 =↑Τι σε πειράζει εσένα?  
 =Why do you bother?*

09 ECT: \$Ο σκύλος μου >πιο γρήγορα θα το 'κανε.\$<



\$My dog would do it more quickly.\$  
 10 PAR: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughs))  
 11 KIM: \$E δεν^ ντον φέρνεις >μπας και δούμε ↑φως?<\$  
*Eh don't you bring him so that we may happen to see some light?*  
 12 PAR: Να φάει ό,τι έχει μείνει να τελειώνουμε.  
*So that he can eat what is remaining for us to finish.*  
 13 (0.5)  
 14 PAR: \$Κορδώθηκε.\$  
*\$He stood preening.\$*  
 15 ECT: Τι μου κά:νεις τώρα εκεί?  
*What are you doing to me now over there?*  
 16 KIM: Έλα να σου κάνω λίγο μασαζάκι.  
*Come on to massage you a bit.*  
 17 PAR: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughs))  
 00:53:00

e) 'That was offensive' (COP-13)

*In this extract, Kimonas, Paris, and Vassia are chatting over a glass of wine at Kimonas's and Paris's house. Their French neighbour, Claire, is present, for they mainly speak English. Kimonas has just learned the English word for μανταλάκι (peg). Having done the laundry, he is about to lay out the clothes, for which he is going to need some pegs. He thus repeats the word he's just learned.*

00:34:40  
 01 KIM: \$Τα μανταλάκια\$  
*\$The pegs\$*  
 02 PAR: ((γέλιο))  
 ((laughs))  
 03 You're learning new words.  
 04 KIM: [eng] **πεγκ.**  
*Peg.*  
 05 PAR: Peg=  
 → 06 KIM: =Aw that was \$offensive.\$  
 07 PAR: Me? (.) Doing th[at?]  
 08 KIM: [Yeah]=yeah i(t) was °>fuck (.)  
 09 What a fuck(ing)<°  
 10 PAR: WAS IT OFFENSIVE? ((to VAS))  
 11 VAS: >To Kimonas I guess< (.)  
 12 \$It was Terrify(h)-\$  
 13 KIM: I'm not gonna talk to you anymore.  
 14 VAS: ((γέλιο))  
 ((laughs))  
 15 KIM: ((γέλιο))  
 ((laughs))  
 00:34:51

f) '{Re} you don't have a jot of respect!' (LON-5)

*This extract features Ariadne, Iliada, Ioli, Simeon and Vassia having brunch together and discussing their future plans. Ariadne is, particularly, sharing her thoughts on moving back to Greece. Ioli has just remembered that her best friend in Greece is having her birthday any time soon and decides to look for a present on her phone, while participating in the ongoing conversation.*

00:46:50

- 01 ARI: Α::χ α ρε Συμεών μαζί θα φύγουμε.  
*Aw aw {re} Simeon we will leave together.*
- 02 IOL: Φάε σκατά κι εσύ.  
*Eat shit you too.*
- 03 VAS: (.h) Γιατί ρε φίλε κι εσύ?  
*(.h) Why are you ((leaving)) too {re} / dude?*
- 04 (1.6)
- 05 ILI: Να πάτε και μετά να [κ λ α ί τ ε.]  
*You shall go and then [c r y.]*
- 06 IOL: [N α πάτε] ρε και μετά (.)  
*[You shall go] {re} and then (.)*
- 07 να μη μαζ^ γράφετε ούτε κάρτες=  
*You shall not even send us (post)cards=*
- 08 =Δε θα σας απαντάμε, (.) Ιλιάδα πες.  
*=We won't be responding to you, (.) say it Iliada.*
- 09 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
*((Laughter))*
- 10 SIM: ( )
- 11 ARI: Συγγνώμη δηλαδή άμα πάμε στην Ελλάδα (.)  
*Excuse me, that is, if we go to Greece (.)*
- 12 δεν [θα: βρισκόμαστε?]  
*We [won't see each other?]*
- 13 IOL: [Δε θα σας ξαναμιλή]σουμε ποτέ.  
*[We won't talk to you] again never.*
- 14 ARI: Δε θα ξανάρθουμε ποτέ εδώ θεωρείς?  
*We won't ever return, you reckon?*
- 15 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
*((Laughter))*
- 16 SIM: Η άλλη κάνει το [eng] \$σ(h) όπινγκ της  
*The other is \$shopping*
- 17 [εδώ πέρα.\$]  
*[over here.\$]*
- 18 ILI: [Δεν [είναι] το ί:διο::]  
*[It's not] the same]*
- 19 IOL: [Ναι πρέπει να:]  
*[Yes I have to]*
- 20 πάρω δώρο στην^ γκολητή μου ρε=το ↑ξέχασα.  
*Buy a gift to my bestie {re}=I forgot about it.*
- 21 ARI: \$Ρε δεν έχεις ίχνος σεβασμού.\$  
*{Re} you don't have a jot of respect.\$*
- 22 IOL: Ρε [eng] **σόρι** ρε το ξέχασα.=Ακούω όμως.  
*{Re} sorry {re} I forgot about it.=I'm listening though.*
- 23 SIM: \$Ακού(η)ει ρε ντάξει.\$  
*\$She is listening {re} okay.\$*
- 24 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
*((Laughter))*
- 25 ILI: \$Ό,τι να `ναι.\$ (0.4)  
*\$Whatever.\$ (0.4)*

26 Πάντως (.) δεν είναι το ίδιο τώρα. (.)  
*However, (.) it's not the same now. (.)*

27 >Εδώ που τα λέμε ↑δεν είναι:: (.)  
*As a matter of fact it's not (.)*

28 Το ίδιο πράγ[μα:..]  
*The same thi[n g.]*

29 IOL: [ 'Ε ]τσι:.. (.)  
 [ R ]ight. (.)

30 Πες στα [να μην^ νια λέω μόνο 'γώ.]  
*You say it [so that I'm not the only to say it.]*

31 ILI: [Έχω δει με πόσους έχω χαθεί]  
 [I've seen with how many I've lost contact]

32 που ήμασταν κολλητοί [και:]  
*With whom we were best friends [and ]*

33 ARI: [Εσύ ] έχεις χαθεί επειδή εσύ  
 [You ] have been lost as you

δεν^ γκρατάς επικοινωνία.  
*don't keep in touch.*

00:47:00

## Appendix 11 – Additional data extracts on retellings of shared events

### a) 'It was very unthoughtful!' (COP-25)

*In this extract, Kimonas and Ectoras talk about previous night's party that Ectoras gave for his birthday. Being a vegan, Ectoras did not accept any meat at the dinner party. Kimonas, however, decided to bring some salami to share with non-vegans, which attracted Ectoras's angry looks and verbal criticism. At that time, Kimonas evaluated Ectoras's behaviour only through a serious eye gaze. One day later, he returns to explicitly evaluate that incident.*

00:32:55

01 PAR: Πλάκα είχε χθες. (.)  
*It was fun yesterday.*

02 Και το φαγητό δεν ήταν τόσο ξκακόξ.  
*And the food was not that bad.*

03 ECT: Σ- σου άρεσε ξμαναράκι? ξ  
*Did you like it hot stuff?*

04 PAR: Αμέ=αμέ θα κάνω κι εγώ ξσουβλάκι χωρίς σουβλάκι.ξ  
*Yes, yes I'll too make souvlaki without souvlaki.*

05 KIM: Εγώ να μη σχολιάσω κάτι για το φαγητό.  
*I shall not comment anything on the food.*

06 PAR: M:

→ 07 KIM: Μα μου 'κανες κριτική: (.)  
*But you criticised me (.)*

08 Μπροστά σε ↑όλους για το σαλάμι μου?=Είναι δυνατόν?  
*In front of everybody for my salami?=How come?*

09 Εγώ δε θα το 'κανα αυτό ποτέ.  
*I'd never do this.*

10 ECT: Μα- δεν έκανα κριτική.= Είπ α] απλώς ε?  
*But I didn't criticise you= [ I ] just said eh?*

11 KIM: [T ι ?]

[What?]

12 ECT: Είπα απλά (.) †όχι κρέας σπίτι μου απόψε†.  
*I simply said (.) no meat in my house tonight.*

13 KIM: Και μ' αγριοκοίταξες καλά καλά.  
*And you glared at me emphatically.*

14 PAR: Ναι ντάξει °έχει: λίγο δίκιο σ' αυτό°.  
*Yes okay he is partly right on this.*

15 KIM: Αυτό που έκανες ήταν °πολύ [eng] ανθόουτφουλ.°  
*What you did was very unthoughtful.*

16 ECT: Ε οκέι [eng] σόρι.=Μα είχα γενέθλια.  
*Eh okay sorry.=But it was my birthday.*

17 PAR: Ωραίο τραγουδάκι θα γινόταν (.)  
*It would make a nice song(.)*

18 †Όχι κρέας σπίτι μου απόψε!†  
*No meat in my house tonight!*

19 §θα χαρώ την όμορφη σόγια§ ((γέλιο))  
*I'll delight in the nice soya ((laughter))*

20 ECT: ((Δυνατό γέλιο))  
*((Raucous laughter))*

21 KIM: ((Δυνατό γέλιο))  
*((Raucous laughter))*

22 VAS: ((τραγουδιστά)) ††όχι κρέας σπίτι μου απόψε:::††  
*((singing)) No meat in my house tonight*

00:33:18

#### b) 'You were all too grumpy!' (LON-13)

*In this extract, Ioli, Iliada, Ariadne, and Vassia talk about the previous night's outing at a London bar. Ioli and Ariadne were insisting that they should go for a drink, since they hadn't seen each other for a long time, while Iliada preferred to stay at home. However, she accompanied her friends. During their stay at the bar, Iliada explicitly complained about having been pressured to go out late at night, and was in a bad mood, which attracted Ioli's and Iliada's angry facial expressions.*

00:10:14

01 VAS: Ωραίο το [eng] Σκετς (.)  
*Sketch was nice (.)*

02 Αλλά πανά:κριβο ρε φίλε.  
*But too expensive {re} guys.*

03 ARI: §Γουλιά και λίρα(h).=>Γουλιά και λίρα(h)<.\$  
*One pound per sip.=One pound per sip.*

04 ILI: Και περιμ<sub>ε</sub>νάμε και τόση ώρα.  
*Plus, we were waiting for such a long time.*

05 ARI: Δεν σου άρεσε ε? ((προς την ILI))  
*You didn't like it, eh? ((to ILI))*

→ 06 IOL: >Όλο γκρίνιαζες ρε φίλε<.  
*You were whining all the time {re}/ man.*

07 Κι εγώ έκλαιγα τα λεφτά μου, (.)  
*My wallet was bleeding too, (.)*

08 Αλλά δεν έκανα έτσι.  
*But I didn't react like that.*

09 ILI: Μα ρε παιδιά δεν είχα όρεξη.  
*But {re} guys I wasn't in a good mood.*

10 VAS: M: ναι.  
*M yes.*

11 IOL: Είχαμε να βγούμε έναν αιώνα ρε συ Ιλιάδα,  
*We had not gone out for a century {re} Iliada,*

12 >Πότε θα βλεπόμαστε δηλαδή?< (.)  
*When shall we see each other? (.)*

13 Αφού τις καθημερινές πεθαίνουμε στη δουλειά:.  
*Given that in weekdays we work to death.*

14 ARI: Θέλαμε και καιρό να πάμε εκεί, (.)  
*Also, we've wanted to go there for a long time, (.)*

15 IOL: Μας περιποιήθηκαν κιόλας.  
*They treated us very well too.*

16 (0.6)

→ 17 IOL: Κι εσύ ή- ήσουν °τόσο ξινισμένη° ρε φίλε,  
*And you were all too grumpy {re}*

18 για την ώ::ρα: (.)  
*About the time (.)*

19 για το ποτό:: (.)  
*About the drink (.)*

20 και μας χάλασε κι εμάς τη διάθεση.  
*And it spoiled our mood too.*

21 ILI: Ρε [eng] **σόρι** το ξέρω αλλά δεν είχα διάθεση.  
*{Re} sorry, I know, but I was moody.*

22 VAS: Είναι σπιτόγατα η Ιλιάδα σαν εμένα ((γέλιο))  
*Iliada is a home-girl, like me ((laughter))*

23 ILI: ((Γέλιο))  
*((Laughter))*

24 IOL: Από ένα καναπέ θα σας πάρουμε=  
*We'll buy you each a sofa=*

25 ARI: Κι από ένα [eng] **μπάτλερ** να της χαϊδεύει ((γέλιο))  
*And a butler, too, to caress them ((laughter))*

26 IOL: ((Γέλιο))  
*((Laughter))*

00:10:34

### c) 'Forgetting me over there!' (LON-28)

*In this extract, Ioli, Simeon and Vassia are having dinner together and are talking about yesterday's coffee meeting with friends. Ioli mentions that she had arranged to meet Simeon at Hyde Park, while he forgot their meeting and she had to wait for 1.5 hours with Vassia in the cold. As I noted in my diary, Simeon indeed arrived late and apologised for his misconduct. Ioli, however, glared at him with frowned eyebrows and said in a somewhat non-serious manner: 'Μα μιάμιση ώ(h)ρα ρε φίλε?' (But one and a half hours, man?). In the following extract, though, that was recorded a day after that incident had occurred, Ioli explicitly commented upon Simeon's behaviour.*

01:32:45

01 IOL: Καλά τέτοιο χουνέρι χθες ↑τι να πω.  
*Well, such a trick yesterday, what can I say.*

02 VAS: A::  
*Ah*

03 SIM: ((Καθαρίζει το λαιμό του))  
*((Clears his throat))*

→ 04 IOL: Ρε συ νιάξ τόσο απaráδεκτο=να με ξεχάσεις εκεί πέ[ρ α]

05 SIM: {Re} okay so unacceptable=forgetting me over the[r e]  
 [P ε-]  
 [{Re}]

06 IOL: Μα περίμενα με την άλλη=  
 But I was waiting with the other person=  
 07 =>Είχε γίνει παγωτό.< (.)  
 =She'd become like an ice-cream. (.)

08 SIM: [eng] Σόρι ρε αλλά °άνθρωποι είμαστε°,  
 Sorry {re} but we are humans,  
 09 Ένα λάθος έκανα κι εγώ.  
 I did just one mistake.  
 10 Δεν το 'κανα επίτηδες.  
 I didn't do it deliberately.

11 VAS: \$Λάθη είμαστε (. ) ανθρώπους κάνουμε.\$  
 We are mistakes (. ) we make humans.

12 SIM: \$Που λέει και το ρητό.\$  
 As the anecdote says.

13 VAS: Ας μη^ ντιονε σταυρώσουμε σήμερα ((γέλιο))  
 We shall not crucify him today ((laughter))

14 IOL: Άσε αργεί και το ↑Πάσχα.  
 Leave it, Easter is not coming yet.

15 SIM: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))

01:33:00

#### d) 'You told me to stop talking!' (COP-21)

*In this extract, Ectoras, Kimonas and Paris are having coffee and are talking about a dispute they were involved in two days ago. In that dispute, Ectoras had criticised Kimonas for having piled up six rubbish bags in the house and for not having recycled the beer bottles yet. To this, Kimonas had responded verbally yet in a playful way '\$Γιατί με κρίνεις πάλι (. ) πεθερά, μες στο σπίτι μου? (. ) Πάψε πια με αυτά τα σχόλια!\$' (Why are you criticising me again, as mothers-in-law do, in my house? Stop making such comments!), which was responded to only though an angry facial expression by Ectoras at that point). However, two days later, while the participants were having coffee together, Ectoras brought up this matter again.*

00:00:00

01 KIM: Σου αρέσει το σαλόνι? ((προς τον ECT))  
 Do you like the living room? ((to ECT))

02 PAR: (.hh)

03 ECT: Να πω τη γνώμη μου ελεύθερα?  
 May I say my opinion freely?

04 PAR: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))

05 KIM: Ναι=γιατί ↑πότε δεν τη λες?  
 Yes=why when don't you say it?

06 ECT: Όχι: προχθές που: πότε ήταν (. )  
 No, the day before yesterday that, when was it (. )

07 Μου πες να πάψω.  
 You told me to stop talking.

08 KIM: Μα: αφού άρχισες πάλι με τις σα[κ ού]λες,

09 ECT: *But since you started again the* [bags],  
 [M α:]  
 [B ut]

→ 10 KIM: ↑Την κριτική: (.)  
*The criticism (.)*

11 Ενώ εγώ δεν έρχομαι σπίτι σου (.)  
*While I don't come to your house (.)*

12 Να σου πω  
*To tell you*

13 >↑Κάνε αυτό και κάνε 'κείνο<.  
*Do this and do that.*

→ 14 ECT: Ρε ήταν πολύ άσχημο το πάψε και-  
 {Re} it was very bad telling ((me)) to shut up and-

15 ECT: Ε: ένα σχόλιο έκανα (.)  
*Eh I just made a comment (.)*

16 Που θα σας πνίξουν  
*That you'll be swamped*

17 τα σκουπίδια.  
*by the rubbish.*

18 KIM: Ντάξει [eng] **όκει**.  
*Okay, okay.*

19 VAS: Καλά ισχύει λίγο.=  
*Well, that's partly true.=*

20 ECT: =Κοίτα 'κει σακούλες ρε φίλε.  
 =Look how many bags there are over there {re}.

21 VAS: Μα ο Πάρις είναι η  
*But Paris is the*

22 νοικοκυρά τούτου του  
*housekeeper of this*

23 οίκου!  
*house!*

24 PAR: \$Ποιος?\$  
*Who?*

25 ECT: \$Τώ::ρα σωθήκαμε!\$ ((γέλιο))  
*Oh great! ((laughter))*

26 KIM: Κυρά κι αρχό(h)ντισσα(h) ((γέλιο))  
*Lady and mistress ((laughter))*

27 Θέλει κανείς καφέ?  
*Does anyone want any coffee?*

00:53:36

#### e) 'You got a bit on our nerves' (LON-8)

*In this extract, Iliada, Ioli, Simeon and Vassia are having dinner together at Ioli's house and, amongst others, they are also talking about their last night outing. During that outing, Iliada and Ioli were complaining about the place and wished they had gone to Mimi's Greek club, which attracted Simeon's and Vassia's frequent angry looks (field notes). At some point during the dinner time, Ioli mentions the beers that they had drunk the evening before, which triggers Simeon's evaluation about Iliada's and Ioli's nagging/whining.*

01:03:48

01 SIM: Έχετε μήπως καμιά μπύρα?  
*Do you happen to have any beers?*

02 °Δε νομίζω ότι θέλω κρασί τώρα.°  
*I don't think I want wine now.*

03 IOL: <Δύο ολόκληρες> πρόλαβες να πιεις χθες,  
*You had the time to drink two entire beers yesterday.*

04 †Δε σου φτιάσανε?  
*Weren't they enough for you?*

05 VAS: ((Γελάκι))  
 ((Chuckles))

06 SIM: Φαγώθηκες ρε φίλε (.)  
*You were crazy {re} dude (.)*

07 Τι ωραία δεν ήτανε?  
*Wasn't it so nice?*

08 VAS: [Εμένα μου άρεσε Σ-]  
 [I liked s-]

09 IOL: [†>Τι να μ'αρέσει< ] δηλαδή που έντεκα η ώρα  
 [What should I like], that is, that at eleven o'clock

10 Λέει ότι ήπιατε ήπιατε?  
*They said, 'you can't drink more'?*

11 ILI: Έπρεπε ρε φίλε να: (.)  
*We should {re} dude have (.)*

12 να είχαμε κλείσει στο [eng] **Μίμις**  
 ((we should)) have booked at Mimi's bar

13 Κι ας πηγαίναμε αργά.  
*Even if we went late.*

14 SIM: Μα πώς να περάσεις καλά άμα: αν μουρμουράς=  
*But how can you have fun when if you are whining=*

15 ILI: =Μα-  
 =But

15 SIM: Αν λες ό::λη την ώρα (.) †δε μ' αρέσει αυτό,  
*If you say all the time (.) 'I don't like this,*

16 Δε μ' αρέσει το άλλο.  
*I don't like that'.*

→ 17 Μαζ σπάσατε λίγο τα νεύ(h)ρα(h)  
*You got on our nerves a bit*

18 \$Με τη συμπεριφορά σας.\$  
*With your behaviour.*

19 IOL: Ρε ντάξει::  
 {Re} okay

20 \$Τι να ††συ-γκρι-θεί(h) με το [eng] **Μί::μις**\$ ((τραγουσιστά))  
*What can be compared to Mimi's? ((singing voice))*

21 (((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))

22 VAS: \$Ούτε δικ†ό σας να 'τανε!\$  
 ((You wouldn't react like that)) even if it was yours

23 ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughter))

24 IOL: Ποιο?=Εμείς το 'χουμε χτίσει.  
*What?=We have built this<sup>119</sup>.*

25 \$Μη σου πω θα παντρευτώ το γιο του κύριου Μίμη\$.  
*You don't want to know that I'll marry to mister Mimi's son.*

26 ILI: \$Εσύ δεν έχεις γοητεύσει τον κυρ' Αργύρη?

<sup>119</sup> Formulaic expressions meaning that we have spent so much money at this place that it is like we have built this with our money.



Haven't you charmed mister Argyris?  
 27 SIM: ((Δυνατό γέλιο))  
 ((Raucous laughter))  
 28 IOL: ((Δυνατό γέλιο))  
 ((Raucous laughter))  
 01:04:04

f) 'You drove me mad' (LON-9)

*In this extract, Ioli, Simeon, and Vassia are chatting about Ioli's professional proposal to Simeon (see App8: event 3), since their discussion was interrupted by a phone call to Simeon. During this coffee meeting, Ioli brings in the same topic of discussion to unfold her idea.*

00:20:32  
 01 IOL: Ναι που λες για να σου τελειώσω,  
*Yes, to finish what I was saying*  
 02 Ο πατέρας μου έχει πολλούς ε::  
*My father has many eh*  
 03 SIM: [eng] **λόκαλ** παραγωγούς.  
*Local producers.*  
 04 IOL: Ε ναι [eng] **λόκαλ** παραγωγούς,  
*Eh yes local producers.*  
 05 Που έχουν ρε παιδί μου (.)  
*Who have got {re}/ my friend (.)*  
 06 ↑Ο καθένας έχει κάτι ξεχωριστό να προσφέρει.  
*Everyone has got something special to offer.*  
 07 SIM: Και θα σε φέρει σ' επαφή μ' αυτούς?  
*And he will bring you in touch with them?*  
 08 IOL: Περίμενε τώρα.  
*Wait now.*  
 09 Άσε με να ολοκληρώσω=>Μην αρχίσεις πάλι<,  
*Let me finish=Don't start over again,*  
 → 10 Για- γιατί μ' έ(h)βγαλες απ' τα ρού(h)χα μου χθες  
*Be- because you drove me mad yesterday*  
 11 \$Κι ήταν και [eng] **νίντο**.  
*And I was dressed up in Nidodileda.*  
 12 SIM: \$Εγώ?=Τι έκανα ο λάγιος?.\$  
*Who me?=What did I do the poor guy?*  
 13 IOL: \$Τι ↑έκανες?.\$  
*You are asking what you did?*  
 14 VAS: Ε αφού ήταν [eng] **νίντο** ((γέλιο))  
*Eh since you were wearing Nidodileda ((laughter))*  
 15 SIM: Θα σέβομαι.=Συγγνώμη.  
*I will respect you.=Sorry.*  
 16 IOL: Έτσι μπράβο (.) θα με σέβεσαι ((γέλιο))  
*Bravo (.) you will respect me ((laughter))*  
 00:20:46

Appendix 12 – Additional data extracts on narratives about third parties

1) 'She doesn't let me speak' (LON-4)

*Ioli (IOL) and Vassia (VAS) are preparing dinner and are talking about Ioli's manager (Helen), who gave it a bad score in her recent appraisal.*

- 01 VAS: Ο:: ο συνεργάτης σου αυτός ε  
*That colleague of yours eh*
- 02 IOL: Ο συνεργάτης μου?  
*My colleague?*
- 03 VAS: ((Γέλιο)) ο Ινδούλης.  
*((laughter)) the Indian.*
- 04 IOL: Ο Ραμ?  
*Ram?*
- 05 VAS: Ναι τι γνώμη έχει για την Έλ=  
*Yes, what's his opinion about Helen=*
- 06 IOL: =Τη σιχαίνεται.  
*He hates her.*
- 07 VAS: [eng] **Σουπερβάζορ** σου.  
*((About)) your supervisor.*
- 08 IOL: Τη σιχαίνεται=Τη σιχαίνεται.  
*He hates her=He hates her.*
- 09 VAS: Μ::  
*Mmm*
- 10 IOL: Βασικά όλ' η εταιρεία τη σιχαίνεται.  
*Basically, the entire company hates her.*
- 11 Μόνο εγώ ήμουν το κωλόζωο που νόμιζα ότι' είναι  
*It was jut me the dump who thought that she's*  
κο- κομπλέ και καθόμουν και την υποστήριζα.  
*Okay and I was supporting her.*
- 12 VAS: Μ ναι.  
*M yes.*
- 13 IOL: Και στο τέλος της ημέρας για μένα δεν έκανε τίποτα.  
*And at the end of day, she did nothing for me.*
- 14 Εάν θέλει άνθρωπος να κάνει έρευνα στην αγένεια  
*If someone wants to do research on rudeness*
- 15 στα Αγγλικά (.)  
*In English (.)*
- 16 Μπορεί να την^ γκαλέσει.  
*They can invite her.*
- 17 VAS: ((γέλιο))  
*((laughter))*
- 18 IOL: >Δε γκάνω πλάκα αυτή τη στιγμή.<  
*I'm not kidding now.*
- 19 Δε μπορείς να φανταστείς πόσο αγενής είναι  
*You can't imagine how rude she is*
- 20 με ό:λους στα [eng] **μειλς**.  
*To everyone in email communication.*
- 21 VAS: Έλα ρε!  
*Come on!/ Really?*
- 22 Στα [eng] **μειλς**?  
*In email communication?*
- 23 IOL: Και στο: [eng] **φέις του φέις**.  
*In face-to-face too.*

- 24 Φωνά:ζει μιλάει δυνατά: είναι νευρική (.)  
*She shouts, she speaks loudly, she's nervous (.)*
- 25 VAS: Ναι: (.) Και στους ανώτερούς της?  
*Yes (.) To her superiors too?*
- 26 IOL: Όχι ιβέβαια=>Στους ανώτερούς της είναι φραγκόκοτα.<  
*Of course, not=To her superiors she's a guinea fowl  
 ((chicken-hearted))*
- 27 VAS: A: αυτό θέλω να πω δηλαδή:  
*Ah this is what I meant, that is,*
- 28 οι ανώτεροί της ιτι γνώμη έχουνε γι' αυτήν?  
*Her superiors, what do they think of her?*
- 29 IOL: Τη σιχαίνονται. (0.5)  
*They hate her. (0.5)*
- 30 Οι ανώτεροι ιδεν είναι τίποτα ηλίθιοι=  
*Her superiors are not stupid=*
- 31 =Να μη βλέπουνε τι γίνεται σ' έναν άνθρωπο  
*To not be able to see what's going on with a person,*
- 32 που έχει ιέτιοιο [eng] **εξπόζουρ** στην εταιρεία.  
*Who has such an exposure in the company.*
- 33 VAS: Ναι  
*Yes*
- 34 IOL: Αλλά δεν^ ντη μπάνε. (0.4)  
*But they don't like her. (0.4)*
- 35 Δηλαδή ο [eng] **μάναιζερ** όλων μας ε:  
*That is, the top manager eh*
- ο [eng] **μάρκετινγκ νταϊρέκτορ** όταν είμαστε  
*the marketing manager, when we are*
- 36 σε [eng] **κόλς**, (.)  
*In calls, (.)*
- 37 VAS: M:  
*Mm*
- 38 IOL: Κι είναι μπροστά=πατάει πάνω στη φωνή της.  
*And she is there=He speaks over her voice.*
- 39 VAS: Αχά!  
*Aha!*
- 40 IOL: Και δεν^ ντην αφήνει να ολοκληρώσει  
*And he doesn't let her finish her turn*  
 >κι αυτή είναι κότα και το ξέρει.<  
*And she's chicken-hearted and knows in.*
- 41 VAS: M: εκεί όμως δεν^ γκάνει κάτι ε? (.)  
*Mm in this case she doesn't do anything, eh? (.)*
- 42 Αν εϊσύ δεν την άφηνες να ολο- να ολοκληρώσει?  
*If you don't let her finish her turn?*
- 43 IOL: Αυιτή δε μ' αφήνει να ολοκληρώσω.  
*She doesn't let me finish my turn.*
- 44 Σήμερα δεν^ μπρόλαβα να πω ιτίποτα  
*Today, I was not given the time to say anything*
- 45 στο [eng] **μίτιν** και μετά θα μου πει  
*During the meeting and then she'll say*
- 46 °Γιατί δε μιλάς.°=Τι να πω?=  
*Why you're not speaking.=What shall I say?*
- 47 Αφού δε δεν^ μπρολαβαίνω να κάνω μια ερώτηση.  
*Since I cannot make it to address a question.*
- 48 VAS: Όντως?  
*Really?*
- 49 IOL: Ναι.

- Yes.
- 50 VAS: Ναι εσύ >ρε παιδί μου< ό:ταν σου μιλάει  
Yes you {re} when she speaks to you
- 51 κάπως και:: το αντιλαμβάνεσαι, (.)  
in a strange manner and you understand it, (.)
- 52 IOL: Δεν έχω::  
I don't have
- 53 VAS: Πώς αντιδράς?  
How do you react?
- 54 IOL: [fre] **Νορμάλ.** (.) >Σα να μη μου είπε κάτι κακό.<  
In a normal way. (.)As if she didn't tell me something bad.
- 55 VAS: Ναι.  
Yes.
- 56 IOL: Και συνήθως έχω:: ψιλοαπολογητική στάση  
And I usually take a half-apologetic stance
- 57 γιατί βαριέμαι να διαπληκτιστώ.  
Because I'm tired/weary of arguing.
- 58 VAS: Μήπως αυτή το θεωρεί ότι εντάξει ότι: (.)  
May she consider that, okay, that (.)
- 59 [eng] **Όκει** ο τρόπος που μιλάω είναι [eng] **όκει**  
Okay, the way I'm speaking is okay
- 60 ρε παιδί μου για την Ιόλη, (.)  
{re} for Ioli
- 61 Απ' τη στιγμή που: δεν έχει δε μου 'χει δείξει  
Since she's not shown to me
- 62 ποτέ να:: δυσαρεστείται.  
To ever be displeased.
- 63 IOL: Ε την^ γκαταλαβαίνει  
Eh she understands it
- 64 τη δυσαρέσκειά μου.  
my discontent
- 65 Αλλά η δυσαρέσκειά μου εκφράζεται  
But my discontent is expressed
- 66 μ' ευγένεια.  
politely.
- 67 VAS: Τς ναι.  
Ts yes
- 68 IOL: Σε αντίθεση με το δικό της  
In contrast to her own
- 69 κακghό τρόπο.  
bad manner.

## 2) 'I talk to her and my heart is trembling' (LON-18)

*Ioli (IOL) and Ariadne (ARI) are having coffee and are talking about their days at work. Ioli launches a habitual story about hers being afraid whenever she talks to her ex-manager (i.e., Helen).*

- 122 IOL: =Με παίρνει η άλλη η Έλεν που την^ ΓΚΑΤΑρα να 'χει  
=Ellen calls me that I put a curse on her
- 123 Που ο Θεός ξέρει γιατί δεν^ ντηζ ^δίνει παιδί  
That God knows why he doesn't give her a child

124 (0.4)  
 125 Δεν ^μπορούνε όλοι οι άνθρωποι να γίνουνε γονείς=  
*Not all people can become parents=*  
 126 =Η γυναίκα είναι τρελή. (.)  
*=The woman is crazy. (.)*  
 127 Είναι τρελή. (.)  
*She is crazy. (.)*  
 128 Βγάζει έναν άνθρωπο απ' τα όριά του.  
*She drives a person mad.*  
 → 129 Πλέον (.) τηζ ^μιλάω και τρέμει το φιλοκάρδι μου  
*Now (.) I speak to her, and my heart is trembling*  
 130 Τι θα με ρωτήσει.  
*What she will ask me.*

### 3) 'I'm not challenging you!' (LON-22)

*Ioli (IOL), Ariadne (ARI), Simeon (SIM), and Vassia (VAS) are having an afternoon coffee and Ioli is talking about a recent challenge that she was confronted with at work by her colleague, Lesley.*

33 IOL: Δεν μπο-ρώ άλ-λο. (.)  
*I can't anymore. (.)*  
 34 Δεν ιθέλω να είμαι σ' αυτή την εταιρεία.  
*I don't want to be in this company.*  
 35 >Ρε δε μπορείς να φανταστείς<=  
*You can't imagine.=*  
 36 Θελ- να σου πω=  
*Do you wa- to tell you=*  
 37 Να σου δώσω >να καταλάβς<  
*To give you, to understand a*  
 38 ένα <απλό παράδειγμα.>  
*a simple example.*  
 39 Ε βε- ΕΛΛΑδα: και Φώφη [eng] °μέμπι° (.)  
*Eh Greece and Fofi, maybe (.)*  
 40 [eng] **Βέρσου**ς ΤΗΖ ^μαλάκωζ της Λέσλι.=  
*Versus the stupid Lesley.=*  
 41 =Η Λέσλι είναι νέο κορίτσι μικρότερό μου.  
*=Lesley is a young girl, younger than me.*  
 42 Έχει ισούπερ κόμπλεξ (.) με τ' ότι είναι μικρότερη  
*She's got a huge complex (.) due to her being younger*  
 43 Αλλά είναι σε πιο [eng] **σίνιορ** θέση=  
*But she's in a senior position=*  
 44 =ΠΟΤΕ όιμως δεν την έχω αντιμετωπίσει σα μικρότερη.  
*=I've never treated her as younger.*  
 45 (0.3)  
 46 Γιατί όντως είναι πιο [eng] **σίνιορ**=γιατί (.)  
*Because she's more senior indeed=as (.)*  
 47 τελείωσε το πτυχίο της στα δυο χρόνια γιατί::  
*She got her degree in two years because*  
 48 στη Νέα Ζηλανδία οι σπουδές είναι δυο χρόνια (.)  
*In New Zealand, the studies last two years (.)*  
 49 έκαν' ένα μάστερ ένα χρόνο και μετά ξεκίνησε  
*She did a master in a year and then started*

50 να δουλεύει.  
*To work.*

51 M

52 Οπότε προφανώς έχει αρκετή εμπειρία.  
*So, she obviously has much experience.*

53 ARI: Ντάξει βέβαια αλλά είναι και σχετικό το η εμπειρία=  
*Well, the experience is relative though=*

54 =η ποιότητα της εμπειρίας δεν είν' απαραίτητα:  
*=the quality of experience is not necessarily*

55 IOL: Έχει έχει. (.) φαίνεται. (.)  
*She has, she has. (.) It's apparent. (.)*

56 Όχι γνώση=έχει εμπειρία.  
*Not knowledge=she has experience.*

57 VAS: M:

58 IOL: Λοιπόν >τέλος πάντω< μου ζη- μου ζητάνε τώρα (.)  
*So, anyways, they as- they ask me now (.)*

59 Αυτό εδώ πέρα για να βγει στην αγορά (.)  
*This thing here must be launched into the market (.)*

60 °Έχει [eng] **νουτρίσιον**?  
*Does it contain nutritional information?*

61 (0.4)

62 Όχι  
*No*

63 VAS: Από πίσω  
*At the rear*

64 IOL: Δεν έχει=>Τέλος πάντων< αυτό εδώ πέρα (.)  
*It doesn't have=anyways, this thing over here (.)*

65 Για να βγει στην αγορά σου λέ-  
*To be launched into the market, it sa-*

66 ↑έχει=σου λέει εδώ πέρα. (.)  
*It has=it says over here. (.)*

67 ΠΕΡΙΤΕΧΕΙ ΞΕΡΩ 'ΓΩ ΔΕΚΑΞΕΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΚΑΤΟ: [eng] **ένερτζι**  
*It contains, I don't know, sixteen percent energy*

68 Δεκαέξι κόμμα ένα [eng] **φατ** και:: μ οτιδήποτε.  
*Sixteen point one fat and m whatever.*

69 Και βγαίνει έτσι. (0.4)  
*And it's launched this way. (0.4)*

70 Εμείς αποφασίσαμε >αυτό που 'λεγα στην Αριάδνη<  
*We decided, what I was saying to Ariadne*

71 Να το ξαναβγάλουμε στην αγορά.  
*To relaunch it into the market.*

72 Κι αποφασίσανε λοιπόν να αλλάξουνε ε::  
*And they decided then to change eh*

73 [eng] **Νουτρίσιον ινφορμέισον**. (.)  
*The nutritional information*

74 Γιατί λέει ότι τώρα με το καινούριο [eng] **μπαρκούντ**<  
*Because they say that now with the new barcode*

75 ↑Ρε παιδιά: (.) ήταν απλά να ξανατρέξει.  
*{Re} guys (.) it was simple meant to run again.*

76 Ένα προϊόν που μέσα σε έξι μήνες πωλήσεων έγινε  
*A product that within six months of sales it became*

77 ένα το [eng] **τοπ** ήταν στο [eng] **τοπ θρι**  
*A- the top, it was in the top three*

78 των πωλήσεων άλλων κωδικών  
*of sales ((compared to)) other labels*

79 Που είναι στην αγορά ↑↑τρία χρόνια ξέρω 'γώ.

Which are in the market for three years, say.

80 SIM: Άρα ήταν πετυ[χημένο το:]  
So, it was su[ccessful the]

81 IOL: [Που δε γύ]ρισε κανένας καταναλωτής  
[And no consu]mer came

82 να μου πει ΠΩ: πω η κάψουλα του: γάλακτος βγάζει λιγό-  
To tell me 'Oh the milk capsule pours less

83 μηδέν κόμμα ένα γ λιγότερη:: λιγότερο αφρόι.  
Zero point one g less less foam

84 Και τ' ακούω<=λέει το RND είναι: ε:: [eng] **κοντίνιουσλι**  
And I hear it=the RND says 'it's e continuously

85 **Ιμπρούβ άουρ πρόντακτς.** (.) Ναι παιδιά αλλά λέγεται το  
Improving our products. (.) Yes guys but it's called

86 Πρότζεκτ που τρέχουμε >λέγται< [eng] **ΑΝΤΕΠΤΕΙΣΟΝ**  
The project we're running is called adaptation

87 **φορ έξελενς νοτ ΙΝΟΒέισον φορ έξελενς.**  
For excellence, not innovation for excellence.

88 VAS: Ναι και=

89 IOL: =Αν θες να το ξανατρέξεις απ' την αρχή πρέπει να τρέξουμε  
=If you want to run if from the beginning we must run

90 [eng] **Ινοβέισον** και με βάση το πλάνο  
Innovation and based on the time-plan

91 ΔΕΝ^ ΜΠΡΟΚΑμουμε καλή μου κοπέλα.  
We don't have the time, my dear lady.

92 Δηλαδή πραγματικά οι άνθρωποι είναι τόσο [eng] **μπάιαζντ**  
That is, really, the people are so biased

93 Από τη δουλειά τους.  
Due to their job.

94 ARI: Ντάξει είν' ότι  
Okay, it's that

95 [πολλές φορές διυλίζουμε τον^ γκώνωπα χωρίς λόγο]  
[oftentimes we split hairs without a reason]

96 IOL: [>Δλαδή> είναι σαν είναι σαν να βάζεις] εσύ  
[That is, it's like you're publishing]

97 Ένα άρθρο και να 'ρθεις να μου πεις (.) **Ιόλη** (.)  
A paper and you come and say to me (.) Ioli (.)

98 Εκεί πρέπει να βάλεις παρά ΤΑΥ:τα αντι:::  
At this point, you must write 'despite this' instead of

99 >δεν^ γκζέρω κι εγώ τι< κι εκεί πρέπει να:: η παράγραφος  
I don't know what, and at that point the paragraph

100 Πρέπει να λέει ΝΑ ΛΟΛΑ ένα μήλο κι όχι ΝΑ ΛΟΛΑ:  
Must write 'Here's Lola an apple' and not 'Here's Lola

101 ένα μήλο: στο τετράγωνο.  
An apple squared.

102 ARI: Ναι και ξανατυπώνουμε όλο τ[ο βι]βλίο  
Yes and we print again the [entire b]ook

103 IOL: [Και ξα]  
[And you re]

104 Και λέω (.) >τέλος πάντω< αφού κάνουμε το [eng] **κολ**  
And I say (.) anyways, after we had the call

105 Κι αφού οι: [eng] **λίντερς** των ομάδων το θέλουνε (.)  
And since the team leaders want it (.)

106 Εγώ πρέπει να κάνω αλ- να κάν- να κάνω  
I must do, I must do

107 το σ:κατό μου παξιμάδι μέσα σε βδομάδες που 'ναι  
Chew my own cud during weeks that are

108           ↑τίγκα στα [eng] **μίτινγκς** να τρέχω αυτό το πρότζεκτ  
*Full of meetings, to run thus project*

109           να τρέχω και το άλλο που τρέχει να τρέχω και τις  
*To run the other one that's running, to run the*

110           παρουσιάσεις και είμαι ↑↑μέχρι εδώ! (.)  
*Presentations too and I'm sick of it! (.)*

111           Και κανένας δεν εκτιμάει ΤΙΠΟΤΑ! (.)  
*And nobody appreciates anything! (.)*

112           [eng] **Βεκογκνίσιον** μηδέν (.) [eng] **ΣΑΛΑΡΙ** ινκρίζ μηδέν (.)  
*Zero recognition (.) zero salary increase (.)*

113           Για↑↑τί να είμαι [eng] **μότιβεΐνιτ**?  
*Why should I be motivated?*

114 ARI:       Ναι εγώ στη θέση σου θα έκανα μία συζήτηση  
*Yes if I were you, I'd discuss it*

115           με την^ γκαινούρια [eng] **μάνατζερ**  
*with the new manager*

116           αν είναι [πιο συζητήσιμη]  
*If she is [s o f t e r ]*

117 IOL:       [Πόσες φορές] να την^ γκάνω?  
*[How many times] shall I discuss it?*

118           Κι αυτή τι να κάνει?=  
*And what shall she do?=  
 119           =Ν' αλλάξει το [eng] **άτιτιουντ** αυτηνής?  
 =Shall she change the attitude of that one?*

120           AN εί- >ήμασταν σήμερα στο [eng] **κολ**< μαζί μ' αυτή  
*If we we-, today we were in a call with her*

121           (.hh) κάναμε τις ερωτήσεις=Φτιάξαμε το [eng] **τάιμ πλαν**  
*We made questions=We made the time plan*

122           >και τα λοιπά<=Εγώ κάποιες διαδικασίες δεν^ ντις ξέρω  
*And so on=I don't know some procedures*

123           Γιατί τις τρέχω ↑πρώτη φορά  
*Because it's the first time I run them*

124 VAS:       °Φυ[σ ι ο λ ο γ ι κ ό °]  
*No[r m a l ]*

125 IOL:       [>Και με κοί]ταγε σαν εξωγήινη σε φάση<  
*[And she was loo]king at me as if I were an alien*

126           Ε τις καλά δεν ^ντιο ξέρεις?=↑↑Όχι ρε πού να το ξέρω?  
*'Eh, ts, don't you know it?=No {re} how could I know it?*

127           Γεννήθη- γεννήθηκες εσύ και ήξερες IFG ας πούμε?  
*Were you born and already knew IFG, for example?*

128 SIM:       Όχι ντάξει και δεν είναι κουλτούρα αυτή::  
*No, okay, and this is not a culture of*

129 IOL:       =ΝΑΙ  
*=Yes*

130 SIM:       Συνεργατικότητα [το να:]  
*Cooperation [t h e]*

131 IOL:       [Η ξέ]ρεις το άλλο?  
*[Or you] know what else?*

132           Ε >δηλαδή πώς να στο πω ρε παιδί μου< (.)  
*Eh, that is, how to say it {re}? (.)*

133           [eng] **Οφλαΐν** ↑ξέχνα ότι είσαι [eng] **μπραντ μάνατζερ**  
*Offline, forget that you are a brand manager*

134           ξέχνα τα όλα.  
*Forget it all.*

135 IOL:       Αν ήταν η Φώφη η φίλη μου  
*If there was Fofi, my friend,*



136 θα μπορούσα να της πω (.)  
*I could say to her (.)*  
137 >Πωπω ρε μαλάκα τώρα  
*Oh {re malaka} now*  
138 μας τα πρήζουνε< γι' αυτή  
*Are they pestering us for this*  
139 την αλλαγή?  
*change?*  
140 Που θα την^ ↑ΓΚΑνουμε=Δεν είν' ότι (.)  
*Which we'll make=It's not that (.)*  
141 Και θα μου 'λεγε ΝΑΙ ρε (.)  
*And she would tell me 'Yes re' (.)*  
142 >Και θα της έλεγα< (.)  
*And I'd say to her (.)*  
143 Ντάξει είναι [eng] **νάις του χαβ** αλλ<  
*Okay, it's nice to have it but*  
144 Και μας τρέχουνε τώρα για ένα πράγμα  
*And they have us running now for something*  
145 που θα τελείωνε μέσα σ' ένα μή:να.  
*which would finish in a month.*  
146 ARI: Ναι κατάλαβα ενώ [σ' αυτήν ( )]  
*Yes I understood but [to her ( )]*  
147 IOL: [Και της το ΛΕΩ]  
*[And I say it to her]*  
148 Ντάξει είναι [eng] **νάις του χαβ** αλλά >και με κοιτάει< (.)  
*Okay it's nice to have but, and she looks at me (.)*  
149 ↓E: [eng] **μπατ ιζ φίζιμπολ.** (0.4)  
*'Eh/uh but it's feasible.' (0.4)*  
150 ↑Ναι καλή μου κοπέλα↑ δε σου πε κανείς ότι δε θα γίνει↑  
*Yes my good girl, nobody told you that it won't be done*  
→ 151 ↑Δε σε κάνω [eng] **ΤΣΑΛΕΝΤΖ**=Σου λέω ότι απλά  
*I'm not challenging you=I'm simply telling you*  
152 Θα μου βγει η ΠΑΝΑΓΙΑ χωρίς λό:γο.↑  
*I'll be hard at work without a reason.*  
153 SIM: Ναι και είν' ωραίο ρε παιδί μου σ' ένα πλαίσιο ομάδας  
*Yes, and it's nice {re} within a team*  
154 Να μπορείς να μιλήσεις ελεύθερα  
*To be able to speak freely*  
155 με δυο τρεις συναδέλφους σου.  
*With a couple of colleagues.*  
156 IOL: >Ναι δηλαδή τώρα να είμαστε στην ίδια ομάδα  
*Yes that is ((imagine)) now we're in the same team*  
157 Και να δουλεύουμε μια εργασία ομαδικά (.)  
*And work on a team project (.)*  
158 Και να 'ρθει: η [eng] **σουπερβάζορ** και να σου πει  
*And the supervisor comes and tells you*  
159 Εέρεις τι? (.) ↑άλλαξε όλο το κεφάλαιο τέσσερα  
*You know what? (.) Change chapter four entirely*  
160 Για- που εσύ μπορεί μπορεί να χει- για↑τί:::  
*Which you may, because*  
161 Τς το [eng] **κονκλούζιον** απ' το τέσσερα: δεν^ γκαταλήγει  
*Ts the conclusion of chapter four doesn't lead*  
162 Ακριβώς εκεί=Καταλή↑γει::: ε μηδέν κόμμα ένα τοις εκατό  
*Exactly there=It leads eh zero point one per cent*  
163 Παραδίπλα. (.)  
*Nearby. (.)*

164 Και να είσαι τώρα εσύ κι εγώ και να κοιτά- και να  
*And ((imagine)) now you and I look and to*

165 Κοιτιόμαστε και να λέμε μα για κάτι που ΑΠΛΑ (.)  
*Look at each other and say 'But for something that simply (.)*

166 Μπορεί και να το προσπεράσει κάποιος διαβάζοντας  
*Someone may even overlook while reading*

167 ένα βιβλίο, (.)  
*A book, (.)*

168 SIM: Ναι (.) και αντί ρε παιδί μου να υπάρχει μεταξύ μας  
*Yes (.) and {re} instead of there being between us*

169 [eng] **σολιντάριτι** να: [γυρίσεις και να μου πει:ς]  
*Solidity, ((imagine)) [your turning to tell me ]*

170 IOL: [Ναι δε< (.) υποτίθεται] ότι  
*[Yes no< (.) supposedly] that*

171 το [eng] **σολιντάριτι**< κι εγώ αύριο πάω να παρουσιάσω  
*Solidarity< and I'm going to present tomorrow*

172 ένα [eng] **γκάλοπ σερβέι** που κάναμε που ουσιαστικά (.)  
*A gallop survey that we did, which basically (.)*

173 είν' ένα [eng] **σερβέι** που κάνει το HR στα τιμήματα και  
*Is a survey that HR does in the departments and*

174 στις ομάδες των αντιμημάτων:των (.) που σου λένε:: (.)  
*The teams of the departments (.) where they say (.)*

175 >τι πήγε καλά τι δεν^ μπήγε< (.)  
*What went well, what didn't go well (.)*

176 τι ↑λείπει και τι μπορούμε ν' αλλάξουμε.  
*What's missing and what we can change.*

177 ARI: M

178 IOL: Κι εγώ το [eng] **ΡΕΚΟΓΚΝΙΣΙΟΝ** το 'χω βάλει στο γου- **γουάτς**  
*And I've noted 'recognition' under wh- what's*

179 **γουόρκινγκ** γιατί η ομάδα έδωσε φίντμπαλ [eng] **φίντμπακ**  
*Working, because the team gave feedback*

180 ότι είναι ρεκο- είναι ε γίνεται [eng] **ρεκογκνίσιον** και  
*That there's recognition and*

181 **πόζιτιβ φίντμπακ** και [eng] **σαπό:ρτ** και:: λο- ε::  
*Positive feedback and support and eh*

182 [eng] **γκρού εν ντιβέλοπ ουρσέλβς μορ** (.)  
*That we grow and develop ourselves more (.)*

183 [eng] **γουϊδίν δε τιμ.**  
*Within the team.*

184 ↑↑FUCK OFF!

185 Ποια τι μου τι δεν^ γκάνω κανένα< πραγματικά  
*What? What do you tell me? I'm doing no, really*

186 >δε μπορείς να φανταστείς πόσο υποκριτές< είναι!  
*You can't imagine how pretentious they are!*

187 >Εμένα αυτό είναι που με διαλύει καθημερινά< κι  
*This is what blights me every day and*

188 έρχομ' εδώ πέρα με τα νεύρα μου: έτσι.  
*I come in here so angry.*

189 ΔΕ ΜΠΟΡΕΙΣ να είσ' αυθεντικός πουθενά, (.)  
*You can't be authentic anywhere, (.)*

190 <Πουθενά.>  
*Anywhere.*

191 >Και για να σου δώσω να καταλάβεις<  
*And to help you understand*

192 πόσο [eng] **αλάιντ δεν** είναι.  
*How misaligned they are.*



222 =>Μου λέει< Ε oh course. (.)  
 =She says, 'Eh of course.' (.)

223 [eng] **Μπικόζ έβριθινγκ γιου α έβριθινγκ** you do (.)  
 Because everything you ah everything you do (.)

224 >needs approval.< (0.3)

225 Λέω (.) όχι δε [eng] **νιντ έβριθιν**  
 I say (.) No, not everything needs ((approval))

226 **μπικό-** και και και της=  
 because and and and=

227 SIM: =Αν ήτανε κάθε τι που κάνεις να το:: ενέκρινε  
 =If everything you did, needed to be approved of

228 κάποιος άλλος, (.) ο άλλος δε θα ↑έκανε κάτι άλλο.  
 By someone else, (.) the other one wouldn't do anything else.

229 IOL: Ντάξει αυτιά που κάνω θέλουνε ένα απλού-  
 Okay, what I do needs some appro-

230 απλ- [eng] **απρούβαλ** αλλά:  
 Approval but

231 VAS: Ρε: αυτιά είναι [τ ώ ρ α]  
 {Re} these things [now are]

232 IOL: [PE: γί-] αυτιά που σου λέω είναι: τς  
 [{Re} ] what I'm saying to you is ts

233 ένα παράδειγμα στα [εκα]τό.  
 One example out of one [hun]dred.

234 VAS: [Ναι]  
 [Yes]

235 IOL: Που συμβαίνουνε κάθε μέρα. (.)  
 Which happen every day. (.)

236 Μας φεύγει ο κώλος ολονών=  
 We are all hard at work=

237 =>Εγώ δε λέω ότι κανένας κάθεται< και ποτέ  
 =I don't say that anyone is relaxed and I'll never

238 δε θα κατηγορήσω κανέναν.=Εγώ δεν αντέχω το κλί:μα.  
 Accuse anyone.=I can't stand the atmosphere.

239 Η Μίριαμ μπορεί να καταλάβει. (0.3)  
 Miriam can understand. (0.3)

240 Αλλά ↑είναι είν' η [eng] **μάναιζέρ** μου=δε μπορώ να πηγαίνω↑  
 But she is my manager=I can't go

241 >λες κι εί-< 'μαμά: η Έλεν και η Λέσλι δε μου  
 As if I we- 'Mommy, Helen and Lesley don't

242 Δε με κάνουνε καλή παρέα.' ((μίμηση φωνής παιδιού))  
 Play well with me.' ((childish voice))

243 VAS: Ναι ρε ντάξει δε θα το πεις έτσι αλλά=  
 Yes {re} okay you won't say it like that but=

244 IOL: =Ναι δε μπορείς να πεις στην ομά-  
 =Yes you can't say to the tea-

245 [eng] στη **λίντερ** μιας ομάδας ότι η ομά-  
 To the leader of a team that the tea-

246 η ομάδα σου δε δουλεύει.=Επίσης έχω ένα άλλο μειονέκτημα.  
 Your team isn't working.=I also have another disadvantage.

247 Είν' η ομά- η ομάδα του Tassimo είναι η μόνη ομάδα  
 The team of Tassimo is the only team

248 που 'ναι μόνο [eng] **Μπρίτις**. (.)  
 Where everyone is British. (.)

249 VAS: [N α ι]  
 [Y e s]

250 IOL: [Πλέον] γιατί:: η: έφυγε: >βασικά ήτανε μόνο [eng] **Μπρίτις**<

251 *[N o w] since she left. Basically, it was only British*  
 μονίμως. (0.3)  
 Always. (0.3)

252 ARI: °Επιτυχία.°  
 Success.

253 IOL: >Δηλαδή< η ομάδα της η ομάδα του: στιγμιαίου καφέ είναι (.)  
*That is the team of instant coffee is (.)*

254 η μία είναι Αγγλοτουρκάλα που 'ναι α: που 'ναι σούπερ (.)  
*One if Anglo-Turkish who is a- who is great (.)*

255 Θεά (.) ο ένας είναι Σκωτσέζος (.) η άλλη είναι Πακιστανή  
*Goddess (.) one is Scottish (.) the other is Pakistani*

256 και ο άλλος είναι:: και η άλλη είν' Ιταλίδα. (.)  
*And the other one is, the other I Italian. (.)*

257 Είναι [eng] **μουλτινάσιοναλ** και έ- υπάρχει σεβασμός [στο]  
*It's multinational and e- there's respect*

258 VAS: [M::]  
 [Mmm]

259 IOL: Στον^ ντρόπο που δουλεύει ο καθένας=Εγώ έχω μπλέξει  
*For the way each one works=I'm in trouble*

260 που 'ναι όλοι [eng] **ΜΠΡΙΤΙΣ** κι εγώ [eng] **ΓΚΡΙΚ** (.)  
*As all are British and I'm Greek (.)*

261 SIM: Ναι ναι  
 Yes yes

262 IOL: Και τους φαίνεται περίεργο (.) με κοιτάνε ε α  
*And it seems weird to them (.) they look at me like*

263 SIM: Ναι μη- ταν άλλαζες ομάδα?  
*Yes, what if you changed teams?*

264 IOL: Θέλω (.) αλλά δε μπορώ=Δεν υπάρχει θέση.  
*I want (.) but I can't=There's no vacancy.*

265 ARI: Δε φεύγει κανείς απ' το στιγμιαίο,  
*No one is leaving from the instant coffee team,*

266 IOL: Ναι για να πάω >μπας και<=η:: Λιντς δουλεύει κι αυτή  
*Yes, so as to go, perhaps=Lynch too is working*

267 μόνο με: με:: έχει δύο: κα- δύο στην ομάδα της  
*Only with with she has two, two in her team*

268 >το [eng] **μάναιζέρ** της και μία [eng] **ασίσταντ**< (.)  
*Her manager and an assistant (.)*

269 που είναι:: ε:: (.) κι οι δύο [eng] **Μπρίτις**. (.)  
*Who are eh (.) both are British. (.)*

270 Της λέω (.) Θεε να πούμε να πάρει (.)  
*I tell her (.) Do you want to suggest taking (.)*

271 να πάρουμ' όπως είναι την:: πώς τη λένε=την Ρέιτσελ  
*Taking, what's her name=Rachel*

272 >για να τη βάλουμε στο Tassimo για να 'ρθω 'γω.<  
*To transfer her to the Tassimo team so that I can come.*

273 IOL: Τηζ^ λέω τλήθεια σου λέω:=  
*I tell her, I'm speaking honestly=*

274 VAS: =M:=  
 =Mm=

275 IOL: =Δε θα δουλεύω λιγότερο=θα δουλεύω περισσότ-  
*I won't be working less=I'll be working more*

276 >Και ξέρεις κάτι?< (.)  
*And you know what? (.)*

277 Όταν εκτιμάς και το [eng] **μάναιζέρ** σου=  
*When you appreciate your manager=*

278 VAS: =M

- 279 IOL: Όταν εκτιμάς και τη: δουλειά σου,  
*When you appreciate your work too,*
- 280 VAS: Όταν το κλίμα είναι καλό (.)  
*When the atmosphere is nice (.)*
- 281 [έ χ ε ι ς      ά λ λ η : :] διάθεση  
*[You' re in a different] mood*
- 282 IOL: [Ναι δεν είναι τα λεφτά]  
*[Yes it's not about money]*
- 283 VAS: [Στη δουλειά]  
*[At work]*
- 284 IOL: [>Και ρε μα]λάκα να σου πω και κάτι?<  
*[And {re ma}llaka}, I'll tell you something.*
- 285 Εγώ όταν εκτιμώ έναν άνθρωπο (.)  
*I, when I appreciate a person (.)*
- 286 Όχι για το τι μπ- (.)  
*Not for what s/he ma- (.)*
- 287 δε με ↑↑νοιάζει το επίπεδο μόρφωσής του. (.)  
*I don't care about her/his level of education. (.)*
- 288 Δε με ↑↑νοιάζει πώς είναι εμφανησιακά. (.)  
*I don't care about how s/he is in appearance. (.)*
- 289 Δε με νοιάζει τίποτα=Με νοιάζει να καταλαβαίνω ότι  
*I don't care about anything=I care to understand that*
- 290 αυτός ο άνθρωπος καταλαβαίνει.  
*This person understands.*
- 291 VAS: Ναι  
*Yes*
- 292 IOL: Ότι αυτός ο άνθρωπος ↑↑νοιάζεται (.) κι ότι  
*That this person cares about ((me)) (.) and that*
- 293 αυτός ο άνθρωπος ↑δεν^ γκολλάει σε μαλακίες.  
*This person is not preoccupied with nonsense.*
- 294 Αυτά είναι τα βασικά μου κριτήρια για να εκτιμήσω  
*These are the basic criteria for appreciating*
- 295 έναν άνθρωπο.  
*Someone.*
- 296 ARI: Ναι  
*Yes*
- 297 IOL: Κι ότι δεν είναι ↑I I I↑ (.)  
*And that s/he is not like 'I, I , I' (.)*
- 298 ΑΙ και γαμήσου θα του πω στο τέλος.  
*Go fuck yourself, I'll say at the end.*
- 299 Και το ↑είπα στην Έλεν τις [προά]λλες=  
*And I said it to Helen the [othe]r day=*
- 300 ARI: [↑A :]  
*[A h]*
- 301 IOL: =Όχι έτσι αλλά της είπα ρε παιδί μου  
*=Not like that but I told her {re}*
- 302 Κάνουμε μαζί μια δουλειά και χρειάζομαι  
*'We work on something together and I need*
- 303 ν' ακούγεται κι η δική μου φωνή.  
*My own voice to be heard too.'*
- 304 SIM: Ε ναι!  
*Eh yes!*
- 305 Δε μπορώ ν' ακούω πόσο εγ:ώ το κάνω καλά (.)  
*I can't hear, 'How well I'm doing it (.)*
- 306 Εγ:ώ είμ' αυτό=Η δική μου δουλειά είναι προτεραιότητα

I'm this=My job is a priority  
 307 VAS: Ντάξει ναι  
 Okay, yes  
 308 IOL: Γάμησέ μας ρε μαλάκα (.) ζωή άλλη δεν έχεις έξω?  
 Fuck you {re malaka} (.) don't you have a life?  
 309 VAS: Καμία αλλά είναι θέμα ανθρώπου (.) δηλαδή δεν είν'  
 None, but it's matter of human (.) that is not  
 310 όλοι οι Άγγλοι έτσι. (.)  
 All English people are like that. (.)  
 311 Είν' αυτή [τώρα::]  
 She's [n o w ]  
 312 IOL: [Ο- πί]στεψέ με είν' αρκετοί έτσι.  
 [N- believe me, there are many like that.  
 313 Έχω δουλέψει με ε:: μ: στην εταιρεία με αρκετούς  
 I've worked with eh mm in the company with many  
 314 από πολλά τμήματα. (.)  
 From different departments. (.)  
 315 IOL: [Ό σ ο ι ]  
 [Whoever ]  
 316 VAS: [Άγγλους?]  
 [English?]  
 317 IOL: Ναι (.) όσοι είναι:: εμ [eng] **εξτέρναλς** (.)  
 Yes (.) whoever is uhm, the externals (.)  
 318 θα σε σεβαστούν πολλοί περισσότερο.  
 Will respect you much more.  
 319 VAS: M:  
 Mm

#### 4) 'They did very unethical things' (LON-33)

*Simeon (SIM) is cooking dinner with Vassia (VAS), while waiting for Ioli to return from the gym. At some point, he announces to her that he is resigning tomorrow because his employers of Hebrew origin exhibited an unethical behaviour both to him and to the head-chef.*

01 SIM: Ρε συ θέλω μια χάρη μόνο. (.)  
 {Re} I want just a favour. (.)  
 02 Έχεις μήπως ε: εκτυπωτή?  
 Do you happen to have a printer?  
 03 VAS: Έχω εκτυπωτή [αλλά δεν έχω μελάνι.]  
 I have a printer [but I don't have any ink.]  
 04 SIM: [Παίξει να τυπώσουμε δύο φύλλα?]  
 [Can we print two sheets?]  
 05 Όχι ε?  
 No, eh?  
 06 VAS: Τς αχ ρε Συμεών σόρι γλυκιέ μου (.)  
 Ts ach {re} Simeon sorry, my sweetie (.)  
 07 Αλλά τελείωσε το μελάνι [και δεν έχω<]  
 But the ink got wasted [and I don't have]  
 08 SIM: [Ήθελα να γράψω::]  
 [I wanted to write]  
 09 το [eng] **λέτερ οφ ρεσιγκνέισον**=  
 The letter of resignation=

10 =Το 'χω γράψει αλλά πρέπει να βρω κάπου να  
 =I' ve written it but I must find somewhere to  
 11 [το τυπώσω.]  
 [print it.]  
 12 VAS: [Για ξεκίνα] εσύ τα(h) τα [eng] **λέτερζ**.  
 [You start] ((talking)) about the letters!  
 13 SIM: E:: τα [eng] **λέτερς** ναι ε: (.)  
 Eh, the letters, yes, eh (.)  
 14 >Παραιτούμαι απ' τη δουλειά< (.)  
 I'm quitting my job (.)  
 15 VAS: <Παραιτείσαι>=  
 You're quitting=  
 16 SIM: =Βασικά τους έχω πει ήδη ότι φεύγω=  
 Basically, I've already told them I'm leaving=  
 17 VAS: =Ναι  
 =Yes  
 18 SIM: Απλά:: >αύριο θα τους το δώσω< και επίσημα,  
 I'll just hand it to them officially too tomorrow,  
 19 VAS: Αχά: πας φεύγεις μόνος σου ή:: με το Στέλιο?  
 Right, you're leaving alone or with Stelios?  
 20 SIM: Το Στέλιο τον διώξανε.  
 Stelios got fired.  
 21 VAS: Το διώξανε?  
 Did they fire him?  
 22 SIM: ↓Ναι.  
 Yes.  
 23 VAS: Γιατί παρακαλώ?  
 Why is that?  
 24 SIM: Γιατί τον ωθήσανε ουσιαστικά να φύγει, (.)  
 Because they literally urged him to leave, (.)  
 25 Του κάνανε παρ- τη ζωή πατίνι, (.)  
 They made him suffer, (.)  
 26 Ουσιαστικά ο κύριος λόγος ήτανε: (.)  
 Basically, the main reason was (.)  
 27 VAS: M  
 28 SIM: Ότι: παίρνει πολλά λεφτά. (.)  
 That he earns a lot of money. (.)  
 29 Και ουσιαστικά τον ωθήσανε για να φύγει.  
 And they basically urged him to leave.  
 30 VAS: Ναι:  
 Yes  
 31 SIM: Όταν σου λέω >τη ζωή πατίνι τη ζωή πατίνι.<  
 When I'm saying that he suffered, he suffered.  
 32 Πήρανε μέχρι και τον α:: ε:: τον υπολογιστή  
 They even took his ah eh computer  
 33 τον^ προσωπικό του υπολογιστή (. ) και:  
 His personal computer (. ) and  
 34 του διαγράψανε αρχεία από μέσα τα οποία  
 They deleted his files which  
 35 ήτανε για το: εστιατόριο.=  
 Were about the restaurant.=  
 36 VAS: =Συνταγές:  
 =Recipes?  
 37 SIM: Συνταγές: °τα πάντα°=Οτιδήποτε υπήρχε.  
 Recipes, everything=Whatever there was ((in the computer)).  
 38 VAS: Τι [λες τώρα?]



How [come now!]

39 SIM: [Του κλεί]σανε το [eng] **ιμέιλ**=>Πολύ πόλεμο.<  
*[They dea]ctivated his email account=Total war.*

40 Πριν τον πριν τον διώξουνε.=  
*Before firing him.=*

41 =Πριν φύγει βασικά από μόνος του=  
*Before he left on his own, basically=*

42 =Δεν^ ντον διώξανε.=Έφυγε μόνος του.  
*They didn't fire him.=He left on his own.*

43 Αγανάχτησ' ο άνθρωπος [κι έφυγε.]  
*He got exasperated [and left.]*

44 VAS: [Αυτό πώς] προέκυψε?  
*[How did t]his occur?*

45 SIM: Αυτό προέκυψε τ' ότι ήρθ' ένας καινούριος μάνατζερ,  
*This occurred because a new manager came,*

46 VAS: Ναι:

47 SIM: Ο οποίος (.) κατάλαβε (.) είναι πολύ έξυπνος  
*Who (.) understood (.) he's very clever*

48 Και το πήγε πολύ:: ύπουλα=  
*And acted in a very cunning/devious way=*

49 VAS: Ναι μ:  
*Yes mm*

50 SIM: >Κατάλαβε ότι έπρεπε να κόψει<  
*He understood that he had to cut*

51 από το [eng] **μπάτζετ**.  
*the budget.*

52 VAS: M::  
*MMM*

53 SIM: Οπότε άμα ερχότανε στην^ γκουζίνα και έλεγε  
*So, if he came in the kitchen and told*

54 ότι θα κόψω δύο άτομα,  
*That I'll cut/fire two people,*

55 VAS: Ναι  
*Yes*

56 SIM: Κοινώς γύρω στα εξήντα χιλιάρικά (.)  
*That ism around sixty thousands (.)*

57 Θα γινότανε: ο κακός χαμός.  
*It'd get pretty hot.*

58 VAS: ↑M::  
*Mmm*

59 SIM: Οπότε σου λέει θα διώξω το [eng] **χεντ σεφ**  
*So, he thinks, I'll fire the head-chef*

60 VAS: Ναι  
*Yes*

61 SIM: Που παίρνει πενήντα, (.)  
*Who receives fifty, (.)*

62 VAS: Ναι:  
*Yes*

63 SIM: [E ]  
*[Eh]*

64 VAS: [M ]αζί του >θα πάρει και το [fre] **σου-σεφ**<  
*[T ]ogether with him, he will take the sous-chef*

65 SIM: Όχι!  
*No!*

66 VAS: Α!  
*Ah!*

67 SIM: E- ντ- α- εμένα (.) μου πρότειναν να μείνω  
T- ah to me (.) they suggested that I stay

68 ως [eng] **χεντ σεφ**.  
As a head-chef.

69 VAS: ↑A::  
Ahh

70 SIM: Να πάρω σαράντα χιλιάδικα (.) και σπίτι.  
To receive forty thousands (.) and a house.

71 ((Ήχος πιάτων))  
((Kitchen sound))

72 Για να μπορέσω να:[::] μείνω.  
So as to be able [to] stay

73 VAS: [A:]  
[Aa]

74 ((Ήχος τηγανιού))  
((Kitchen sound))

75 SIM: E[: :μ]  
U[hh m]

76 VAS: [Και?] (.) Εσύ ↑δεν ήθελες;=  
[And] (.) You didn't want;=

77 SIM: Ο- εγώ δε θέλω με τίποτα δε:  
N- no I don't want at all, I don't

78 VAS: Μετά απ' αυτό που έκαναν στο φίλο σου=  
After what they've done to your friend=

79 SIM: =Μετά απ' αυτό στο:: Στέλιο (.)  
=After all this with Stelios (.)

80 >Πρώτα απ' όλα μπορεί να το κάνουνε  
First of all, they can do it

81 και σε μένα<=  
To me as well=

82 VAS: =Και σε σένα (.) ναι.  
To you as well (.) yes.

83 SIM: Που ξαφνικά θα χάσω και σπίτι και δουλειά.  
In which case, I'll suddenly lose both house and job.

84 VAS: N:αι  
Yes

85 SIM: Οπ[ότε °δεν είμαι για τέτοια.°]  
S [o I'm not up to such things.]

86 VAS: [Κι είναι κι ανήθικο]=  
[And it's unethical too]=

87 SIM: =Είναι πολύ=Κάνανε πολλά πράγματα <ανήθικα>.  
=It's a lot=They did many unethical things.

88 Σ' ό- σ' όλη αυτή τη φάση, (.)  
During all this phase, (.)

89 E:: βάζανε λόγια στο Στέλιο, (.)  
Eh they were making up words for Stelios, (.)

90 T' ότι εγώ θέλω να του φάω τη θέση,  
That I want to replace him,

91 ΚΙ ερχόντουσαν μετά σε μένα=  
And they were coming to me afterwards=

92 =Εγώ με το Στέλιο >εν τω μεταξύ< μιλάμε:  
=I talk to Stelios, in the meantime,

93 E: είμαστε φίλοι  
Eh we are friends.

94 VAS: M: ναι  
Mm yes

95 SIM: Δηλαδή τα τα λέγαμε (.) >του λέω ρε μαλάκα  
*That is, we were talking about it (.) I say {re malaka}*

96 κοίτα να δεις τι κάνουνε.<  
*Look what they are up to.*

97 VAS: Τι λες τώρα!  
*Oh my!*

98 SIM: (.hh) Ερχότανε σε ↑μένα και να μου  
*(.hh) They are coming to me and*

99 να μου λένε: (.) ε σκέψου το:  
*Tell me (.) eh think about the*

100 η πρότασή μας είν' εδῶ: ν' αναλάβεις  
*Our proposal is here for you to take over*

101 εσύ την^ γκουζίνα: >και διάφορα τέτοια.<  
*The kitchen and so on.*

102 VAS: Αυ[τοί:]  
*Th[e y]*

103 SIM: [Φ έ-] φεύγει ο Στέλιος (.)  
*[Lea-] Stelios leaves (.)*

104 Μου κάνουνε την επίσημη πρόταση,  
*They make the official proposal to me,*

105 VAS: Ναι  
*Yes*

106 SIM: Γιατί ουσιαστικά: ήταν απεγνωσμένοι.=  
*Because they were basically desperate.=*

107 =Ξέρουν ότι [αν] φύγω 'γώ από το μαγαζί,  
*=They know that [if] I leave from the restaurant,*

108 VAS: [M:]  
*[M ]*

109 SIM: Θα με ακολουθήσουν όλα τα παιδιά.  
*All the guys will follow me.*

110 VAS: ↑M::  
*Mmm*

111 SIM: Όπως και θα κάνουν άλλωστε.  
*As they will, indeed.*

112 VAS: Ουά::  
*Woo(w)*

113 SIM: Γιατί τώρα θα 'ρθει όλ' η κουζίνα μαζί μου.  
*Because the entire kitchen will come with me.*

114 VAS: Αχ ↑τι είσαι βρε Συμεών μου (.) ντι-βα.  
*Ah what a person you are {vre} Simeon (.) diva.*

115 SIM: Ντίβα ντίβα ντίβα.  
*Dive diva diva.*

116 VAS: ((γέλιο))  
*((Laughter))*

117 SIM: Ε: οπότε εγώ ουσιαστικά τους έδωσα  
*Eh, so, I basically handed*

118 την^ μαραίτησή μου,  
*My resignation,*

119 VAS: Ναι  
*Yes*

((further down))

146 Ε: οπότε εμένα ουσιαστικά μου προσέφεραν σαράντα,  
*Eh so, to me, they basically offered me forty,*

147 VAS: Ν:αι  
*Yes*

148 SIM: Όσο τους έλεγα εγώ όχι (.) μου λέει σαράντα ένα

- As I was saying no (.) they say 'forty-one'
- 149 σα[ρά νια] δύο σαράντα τρία  
Fo[r t y]-two, forty-three
- 150 VAS: [↑Τι λε]  
[What a]re you say(ing)!
- 151 SIM: Σαράντα τέσσερα (.) σαράντα πέντε.  
Forty-four, forty-five.
- 152 VAS: Τς αχ Συμεών είσαι πολύ [σημαντικό(η)ς!]  
Ts ah Simeon, you are very [important(h) !]
- 153 SIM: [Μου(η) δίνουνε]=  
[They're(h) giving me]=
- 154 Μου δώσανε ↑άπειρα λεφτιά [γ ι α] να μείνω  
They gave me too much money [so that] I stay
- 155 VAS: [Τι λς]  
[W h at!]
- 156 SIM: Αλλά τους είπα ότι είναι θέμα αρχής για μένα.  
But I told them that for me it's a matter of principle.
- 157 VAS: M::  
Mmm
- 158 SIM: Δεν είναι θέμα:: χρημάτων,  
It's not a matter of money,
- 159 VAS: N:αι  
Yes
- 160 SIM: Εέρω ότι αυτά τα χρήματα (.)  
I know that this sum of money (.)
- 161 άμεσα δε θα τα βρω,  
I won't find it any time soon,
- 162 VAS: N:αι  
Yes
- 163 SIM: Αλλά:: ε: στο μέλλον μπορεί.  
But in the future, maybe.
- 164 VAS: Ναι και παίζει και ρόλο η ψυχολογία σου  
Yes and your psychology/mood is important
- 165 [Και όλο το]  
[And all the]
- 166 SIM: [E:: βαρέθη]κα να προσπαθώ να μαζέψω  
[Eh I'm bor]ed to try to save
- 167 τ' ασυμάζευτα=  
What can't be saved=
- 168 VAS: =[Ναι]  
=[Yes]
- 169 SIM: [Δ η]λαδή οι Εβραίοι είναι τόσο τόσο άναρχοι  
[Tha]t is the Hebrews are so disorganised
- 170 Δεν έχουνε τίποτα τίποτα συμμαζεμένο  
They've got nothing nothing organised
- 171 °ρε παιδί μου°=Δηλαδή: να παλεύω να συνεννοηθώ  
{re}=That is I'm trying hard to communicate
- 172 με τους προμηθευτές (.) άλλα να στέλνουνε  
With the suppliers (.) but they send
- 173 ε:: μπφ:  
Eh pf
- 174 VAS: N:αι  
Yes
- 175 SIM: >Χίλια δυο τριάντα δύο βλακείες<=  
One thousand and two, thirty-two baloneys=
- 176 =Δε μπορούσα να τα: να τα μαζέψω με τίποτα.

=I couldn't organise these in any way.

177 VAS: Κι άμαν έχεις κι ένα φίλο τουλάχιστον(.)  
*And if you've got at least a friend (.)*

178 SIM: Τους έπαιξα την^ μπουσιτιά τ' ότι τους παρουσιάσαμε  
*I screwed them over by saying that we presented*

179 το καινούριο μενού, (.)  
*The new menu to them, (.)*

180 VAS: M::  
*Mmm*

181 SIM: Κι αυτοί πήραν τον υπολογιστή του Στέλιου, (.)  
*And they took the computer of Stelios, (.)*

182 Και διέγραψαν όλο το καινούριο μενού. (.)  
*And deleted the entire new menu. (.)*

183 Το οποίο κάναμε. (0.4)  
*Which we did. (0.4)*

184 Το θέμα είναι ότι εγώ: το καινούριο μενού  
*The thing is that the new menu*

185 το 'χω γραμμένο χειρόγραφα γιατί εγώ το έφτιαξα.  
*I've hand-written it because I made it.*

186 VAS: Είδες Συμεών μου?  
*You see, my Simeon?*

187 SIM: Οπότε (.)  
*So (.)*

188 VAS: **Scripta manent** ((γελάκι))  
*Written words remain ((laughter))*

189 SIM: Ο- οπότε εγώ το έχω το μενού=  
*S- So I have the new menu=*

190 VAS: =Ναι:  
*Yes*

191 SIM: >Ούτως ή άλλως είναι συνταγές τις οποίες  
*Anyways, the recipes that*

192 εγώ τις έβγαλα< και τις ξέρω=  
*I devised and I know them=*

193 =°Τις έχω στο μυαλό μου.°  
*I've got them in my mind.*

194 VAS: Οπότε το πας σε πρόταση [α λ λ ο ύ.]  
*So, you make it as a proposal [elsewhere.]*

195 SIM: [A λ λ ά] τους είπα (.)  
 [B u t] I told them (.)

196 VAS: M

197 SIM: Ότι εγώ δεν^ ντις έχω. (.)  
*That I don't have them. (.)*

198 Ότι τις συνταγές τις έβγαλ' ο Στέλιος.  
*That Stelios has devised them.*

199 VAS: M::  
*Mmm*

200 SIM: \$**Εγκώ ντε γκζέρει**\$ ((mimicking the way Chinese people speak Greek))  
*\$I don't know\$*

201 VAS: ((γέλιο))  
*((laughter))*

202 SIM: \$**Ιγκώ ντεν είμ'** [από 'δ]ώ\$  
*\$I'm not [from her]e\$*

203 VAS: [\$**N τ εν**\$]  
 [\$N o t\$]

204 VAS: ((γέλιο))

((laughter))

205 SIM: \$Ντεν είμ' από 'δώ εγκώ\$ (.)  
*\$I'm not from here\$ (.)*

206 **Εγκώ:: το** [fre] σουσέφ μαγειρέψει εγώ.=  
*I, the sous-chef, I'll cook.=*

207 VAS: Πω πω:  
*Oh my!*

208 SIM: Ναι το παίζω Κινέζος=  
*Yes I'm acting like a damn fool=*

209 VAS: \$Καλά κάνεις\$  
*\$You're doing well\$*

210 SIM: Γιατί: με τσά- πολύ απλά μ' εκνεύρισαν.  
*Because they got me very angry.*

211 VAS: Ε ε  
*Eh eh*

212 SIM: Ε::  
*Eh*

213 VAS: Αυτό είναι η: ανηθικότητα σ' όλο [της το μεγαλεί:ο]  
*This is immorality at [its finest]*

214 SIM: [ >Πάρα πολύ πάρα πολύ ]  
*[Too much too much]*

215 πάρα πολύ<. (.) Ε απλά για να κάνω [eng] **σεκιούρ** τα  
*Too much. (.)Eh I'll just, to secure my money,*

216 χρήματά μου δε θα φύγω σε δύο βδομάδες αλλά θα φύγω  
*I'll leave in two weeks' time, but I'll leave*

217 ουσιαστικά έντεκα Ιουλίου. (.)  
*Basically, on the eleventh of July. (.)*

→ 218 <Μακριά> από Εβραίους πλέον!  
*I'll stay away from Hebrews from now on!*

219 VAS: ((γελάκι))  
*((chuckles))*

##### 5) 'Despicable Danish' (COP-15)

*Paris (PAR), Kimonas (KIM) and Vassia (VAS) are playing board games at the guys' house and are sharing their weekly news. At some point, Paris launches a BN story about a bad experience he had had while working as a bartender at a college party (i.e., DTU's party) the evening before.*

332 PAR: Παιδιά παραλίγο να φάω ξύλο:: χθες που δούλεψα  
*Guys, I was almost beaten yesterday that I worked*

333 στο πάρτι: του DTU στο Ofsted.  
*At DTU's party at Ofsted.*

334 Της τρελής στη μπάρα=της τρελής από μεθυσμένους  
*It was crazy at the bar=it was crazy with the drunks*

335 που παρήγγελναν κοκτέιλ (.)  
*Who were ordering cocktails (.)*

336 Και: φτιάχνω σε έναν (.)  
*And I make to one person (.)*

337 και μου λέει ένας άλλος (.)  
*And another one says/ goes like (.)*

338 μου λέει αυτό θέλω (.)  
*He says 'I want this' (.)*

339 >και του κάνω σόρι φίλε=μισό λεπτό: (.)  
*And I was like 'Sorry, man=just a sec (.)*  
 340 σου 'ρχομαι. (0.4)  
*I'm coming to you.'* (0.4)  
 341 Φτιάχνω εκεί πέρα=γυρίζω (.)  
*I fetch something over there=I turn (.)*  
 342 Κι εκείνη τη στιγμή βλέπω έναν που ήταν έτσι=  
*And at that point I see one who was like that=*  
 343 =Και του λέω τι θες=A: και του κάνω  
*=And I say 'what do you want?=Ah and I'm like*  
 344 >σόρι=σόρι=σόρι< είχα πει στον άλλον από πριν.  
*'Sorry, sorry, sorry, I'd already said to the other one.*  
 344 Και <τρε<sup>↑</sup>λάθηκε> (.)  
*And he got mad (.)*  
 345 Και με κοίταζε έτσι >αλλά νευριασμένα<  
*And he was looking at me like that but angrily*  
 346 Και του λέω (.) είχα πει στον άλλον από πριν.  
*And I say (.) I'd already said to the other one.*  
 347 Πες μου κι εσύ και θα στο φτιάξω δεύτερο. (.)  
*You tell me too and I'll make yours second in the row (.)*  
 348 Τι πίστευες δηλαδή? (.)  
*That is, what did you think? (.)*  
 349 Δε φαντάζεσαι τσαντίλα όμως=>Δηλαδή< η μούρη του  
*You can't imagine his frustration though=That is, his face*  
 350 ήτανε σα σ:κατά μετά.  
*Was like shit then.*  
 351 KIM: Πω σε μένα έπρεπε να το κάνει=θα του 'λεγα  
*Gosh, he should have done that to me=I'd give him*  
 352 δυο φωνήντια (.) <sup>↑</sup>πού πας καλέ?  
*An earful (.) Where are you going {kale}?*  
 353 VAS: ((γέλιο))  
*((laughter))*  
 354 KIM: Ε όχι:: όλοι περιμένουν στη σειρά τους=αυτός γιατί?  
*Eh, no, all wait in a row=why (did he) not?*  
 355 Τι είναι δηλαδή?  
*What is he, that is to say?*  
 356 PAR: Ναι και άρχισε να φωνά:ζει ρε.  
*Yes and he started shouting {re}.*  
 357 (0.5)  
 → 358 Αχρείοι (.) °Δανοί μαλάκα°  
*Despicable (.) Danish {malaka}*  
 359 KIM: M:: (0.6)  
*Mmm (0.6)*  
 360 Θες να πάρουμε άλλα τρία απ' την εθνική πινακοθήκη?  
*Do you want us to buy three more from the national gallery?*  
 362 Να τα φτιάξουμε ίδιο μέγεθος και να κάνουμε τετράδα?  
*To make them, of equal size, and to have four of them?*  
 363 PAR: Θα μπορούσαμε.  
*We could.*

6) 'You don't need to scream to insult me' (LON-29)

*Ioli (IOL), Simeon (SIM) and Vassia (VAS) are having coffee and are talking about their Easter holidays. Ioli is here narrating a story about a recent fight she had with her boyfriend, John, due to the visit she paid to his parents while in Greece and in the absence of John.*

- 914 IOL: ↓Λοιπόν (.) και:: (0.3)  
So (.) and (0.3)
- 915 Μετά πήγα μέσα=άρχισε να ωδύρεται (.)  
After that went in=he started yelling (.)
- 916 Να μην^ μπερνάω καλά μαζί σου=δεν αντέχω άλ:λο  
I don't have a good time with you=I can't stand it anymore
- 917 E:: είσαι γεννημένη γκρι- για τη γκρίνια (.)  
Eh you are born to be grumpy (.)
- 918 E είς' αχάριστη (.) εγώ φταίω που κανονίζω ταξίδια  
You are ungrateful (.) It's my fault that I organize trips
- 919 ο μαλάκας (.) >για τα γενέθλιά σου< (.) ((μιμητικός τόνος))  
Me, the asshole (.) for your birthday (.)
- 920 Και του λέω (.) πρώτ' απ' όλα του λέω  
And I say (.) first of all, I say
- 922 IOL: Δεν είπε κανένας ότι δε μου δίνεις πράγματα. (.)  
Nobody said that you don't give me things. (.)
- 923 Του λέω αυτό που προσπαθώ να σου εξηγήσω και  
I say 'What I'm trying to explain to you and
- 924 ΔΕΝ^ γκαταλαβαίνεις είν' ότι< (.)  
You don't understand is that (.)
- 925 Δε χρειάζεται να τσιρίξεις για να με προσβάλλεις. (.)  
You don't need to scream to insult me. (.)
- 926 Έλεος και είσαι εύθικτη και κάνεις σα μωρό (.)  
Geez! You are irritable and you behave like a baby (.)
- 927 και ψάχνεις αφορμές για να τσακωθείς,  
You you're looking for reasons to quarrel,
- 928 SIM: Αφού την είπες τη μαλακία σου πες του.  
Since you said your non-sense, say to him.
- 929 IOL: Του λέω< δε την^ γκαταλαβαίνει και το κάνει συνέχεια.  
I say< he doesn't understand does it all the time.
- 930 Μου λέ- >είναι κάτι που δε γουσιάρω.<  
He sa- it's something I don't fancy.
- 931 Του λέω <ΕΧΩ βαρεθεί> (.) να μου λες (.)  
I say, 'I'm bored (.) to be said
- 932 ΤΙ να κάνω.=Μου ΛΕΣ (.)  
What to do.=You tell me (.)
- 933 να μη βγαίνω με τους φίλους σου. (.)  
Not to go out with your friends. (.)
- 934 Μου ΛΕ:Σ να μην ε: σου  
You tell me not to eh
- 935 να μην έρχομαι όταν θα είστε με τα παιδιά. (.)  
Not to come with you when you're with the guys. (.)
- 936 Μου ΛΕΣ [να μην^ μπηγαίνω σπί-]  
You tell me [not to go hom-]
- 937 SIM: [Όλη ακριβώς η σχέση] που είχα  
[Exactly the kind of relationship] I'd had
- 938 με τη Θεσσαλονικιά.  
With the woman from Thessaloniki.



7) 'You'd better veer towards rudeness' (LON-11)

*Ioli (IOL) is here sharing a breaking news story about her recent meeting with her current manager, Monice, which she had projected in Extract 5.3 (LON-08). Interestingly, the content of the projection does not match that of the breaking news.*

- 62 >Και πήγα σήμερα και μίλησα στη [eng] **μάννατζέρ** μου,<  
*And I went today to talk to my manager,*
- 63 (0.8)
- 64 Και της είπα ότι: "εάν >δεν είσ- ικανοποιημένη<, (.)  
*And I told her "if you are not satisfied, (.)*
- 65 Με κάτι >1μην ^μπεριμένεις °δώδεκα μήνες μετά  
*With something, don't wait for twelve months*
- 66 Να μου το πεις.<ι°"  
*To let me know about it."*
- 67 ((ήχος από μαχαιροπίρουνο))  
*((sound of cutlery))*
- 68 VAS: ((πνιχτό γέλιο))  
*((laughs))*
- 69 IOL: Τηζ^ λέ- >[και της το] 'πα Έτσι,<  
*I tell her [and I said] it to her like that,*
- 70 (SIM:) [(γ έ λ ι ο)]  
*[(l a u g h s)]*
- 71 IOL: Δε [μ' αρ]έσουν οι εκπλήξεις.  
*I'm [not f]ond of surprises.*
- 72 VAS: [ μ : ]  
*[ m m ]*
- 73 (0.6)
- 74 IOL: Προτιμώ: να:(φ) να αγγίξεις τα όρια της αγένειας  
*I'd rather you border on rudeness*
- 75 >Και να μου πεις ότι ΔΕρ< λειτουργεί,  
*And tell me that it doesn't work,*
- 76 (0.4)
- 77 IOL: ΑΛΛΑξέ το μ' αυτόν τον ^ντρό:πο,  
*Change it this way,*
- 78 (0.5)
- 79 IOL: Ή πρότεινέ μου ένα [τρόπο που θα σε β- που]  
*Or suggest to me [a way that would ((help))] you*  
 Θα: μπορούσ(ε) να το αλλάξεις, (.)  
*That could help change it, (.)*
- 80 VAS: [(καθαρίζει το λαιμό της)]  
*[(clears her throat)]*
- 81 IOL: >ΠΑΡΑ να περ(ι)μ-< να φτάσω δώδεκα μήνες  
*Instead of waiting for me to have worked twelve months*  
 >Και να πάρω δύο.<  
*And get a two ((in my performance appraisal.))*
- 82 Και να μη γκζέρω και το λόγο.=  
*Besides this, I don't know the reason behind this.=*  
 =Να μην [↑^γκατΑ]ΛΑΒΑΪνω↑ το λόγο. (.)  
 =I don't [u n der]stand the reason.
- 83 VAS: [ M : ]  
*[M m]*

8) 'You don't insult the other like that' (LON-29)

*Ioli (IOL), Simeon (SIM) and Vassia (VAS) are having coffee and are talking about their Easter holidays. Ioli is here narrating a story about a recent fight she had with her boyfriend, John, due to the visit she paid to his parents while in Greece and in the absence of John.*

- 848 IOL: Του λέω μου λέει (.) ΔΕ γουστάρω να πηγαίνεις  
*I say, he says (.) I don't like yours going*  
 849 απ' το σπίτι μου ↑όταν εγώ δεν είμαι 'κεί. (.)  
*At my house when I'm not there. (.)*  
 850 Δεν έχεις λόγο. (.)  
*You don't have a reason. (.)*  
 851 Του λέω Γιάννη το καταλαβαίνεις ότι είμαστε  
*I say, 'John, do you understand that we've been*  
 852 πέντε χρόνια μαζί (.) Δεν^ μπήγα< μου λέει  
*Together for five years (.) I didn't< he says*  
 853 Ναι >δε σου 'πε κανείς να μην έρχεσαι<  
*Yes, I didn't tell you not to come*  
 854 στο σπί-τι μου όταν είμαι 'γώ=Να ↑μην^ μπηγαίνεις  
*At my house when I'm too=You shall not go*  
 855 όταν δεν ↑είμαι. (.)  
*When I'm not these. (.)*  
 856 Ναι γιατί με τουζ ^γονείς μου δεν έχεις  
*Yes because with my parents you don't*  
 857 την^ γκαλύτερη σχέση.  
*Get along very well.'*  
 858 Που πήγα από ευγένεια μέρες που ήταν ((Πάσχα))  
*That I went out of politeness those ((Easter)) days*  
 859 Να: ευχηθώ=Πήγα πήρα γλυκά: και: με ρώτησε η μάνα του  
*To wish=I went to buy sweets and his mother asked me*  
 860 Πώς περνάμε και λέω: (.)  
*How we are doing, and I say (.)*  
 861 Καλά θα πάμ' Γαλλία δυο μέρες.  
*Fine, we're going to France for a couple of days.*  
 862 VAS: Ντάξει ↑τι 'σαι μωρό παιδί?=Χτίζοντ' αυτά.  
*Okay, are you a kid?=You build up these things.*  
 863 Δη[λαδή :]  
*Th[at is]*  
 864 IOL: [Μα του] λέω αυτό=Προσπαθώ να χτίσω<  
*[But I] say this=I'm trying to build it up*  
 865 Και μου λέει (.) προσπαθείς να έχεις εγγυήσεις  
*And he says (.) you're trying to have warrants*  
 866 Και να θες να τα πας καλά με τους δικούς μου, (.)  
*And you want to get along with my parents, (.)*  
 867 για να:: εξασφαλίσεις ότι θα σε παντρευτώ.  
*To ensure that I'll marry you.*  
 868 VAS: [((δυνατό γέλιο))]  
*[((raucous laughter))]*  
 869 SIM: [\$A ΚΑΛΑ έτσι::?] (.) 'Ο,ΤΙ να 'ναι PE!\$  
*[\$Ah D u h !] (.) Whatever {re}\$ ((That's erratic))*  
 870 ['Ο,τι να ναι!]  
*[W h a tever!]*  
 871 IOL: [Και παιδιά] [ξε κι νά]ει >ένας φαύλος κύκλος<

[And guys] [there starts a vicious circle  
 872 VAS: [N τ ά ξει]  
 [W e l l ]  
 873 [Κα μία]  
 [N o]  
 874 IOL: [Και ε:]  
 [And eh]  
 875 SIM: \$Καμία [σωτηρία]α\$  
 \$No [salvat]ion\$  
 876 VAS: [Επ α φή] (h)  
 [Contact]  
 877 SIM: \$Καμία σωτηρία\$  
 \$No salvation\$  
 878 Αυτό νιάξει ό,τι πιο γελοίο έχω ακούσει ποτέ.  
 This, okay, the most ridiculous thing I've ever heard.  
 879 Σόρι αλλά: [ 'λ α δή] δεν^ μπροσβάλλεις έτσι τον άλλον.  
 Sorry but [that is] you don't insult the other like that.  
 880 VAS: [Τς ν]:αι  
 [Ts ye]s

#### 9) 'This is not a nice manner' (LON-8)

*Ioli (IOL), Simeon (SIM), Ariadne (ARI), and Vassia (VAS) are having coffee and are sharing their news. At some point Ioli, initiates a breaking news story about a project she is leading, which is sequentially contiguous with a habitual story about the brand manager who run the same project in the past.*

509 IOL: Ε σήμερα (.) κάνω [eng] **λιντ** ένα πρότζεκτ (.)  
 Eh today (.) I am leading a project (.)  
 510 και:: τς επειδή το πήρα από τη [eng] **μπραντ μάνατζερ**,  
 And ts because I took it over from the brand manager,  
 511 η οποία (.) ά- <άλλο::> δηλαδή ε  
 Who (.) o- other, that is, eh  
 512 η αγαπημένη της λέξη είναι το [eng] **ΑΙ**  
 Her favourite word is 'I'  
 513 ή το [eng] **μι**,  
 Or 'me',  
 514 ARI: (.hh) \$μόνο παραλλαγές του εγώ.\$  
 (.hh) \$only variants of 'I'\$.  
 515 IOL: >Μόνο παραλλαγές του εγώ,< (.)  
 Only variants of I, (.)  
 516 ε κάνω [eng] **λιντ** το πρότζεκτ (.)  
 Eh I am leading the project (.)  
 517 και όταν=  
 And when=  
 518 SIM: =\$ [eng] **μι εντ μαϊσέλφ** [γου:ντ λάικ δι: ( )]  
 =Me and myself [would like the ( )]  
 519 VAS: [((γέλιο)) [eng] **εντ μάι**]  
 [((laughter)) and my]  
 520 \$soul and my mind and<\$  
 521 IOL: Και όταν μπαίνουμε σε συναντήσεις που που ε- ο-  
 And when we enter into a call that that e- o-

522 Πάμε να ενημερώσουμε το [eng] **λίντερσιπ τιμ**  
*We go to inform the leadership team*

523 >για το τι γίνεται και πώς πάει το πρότζεκτ<,  
*About what's going on and how the project is going,*

524 λέει ε [eng] **ΑΙ γουίλ ντου μάι μπεστ** (.)  
*She says "I will do my best" (.)*

525 [eng] **ΑΙ χαβ δις ινφορμέισον** (.)  
*"I have this information" (.)*

526 [eng] **ΑΙ καν γκιβ γιου εν απντέιτ** (.)  
*"I can give you the update" (.)*

527 κι από μέσα μου< και μου λέει (.)  
*And I'm thinking, and she says (.)*

528 [eng] **καν γιου πλιζ τσεκ δατ?** (.)  
*"Can you please check that?" (.)*

529 και έχω εγώ όλη τη [eng] **μπακ-απ** επικοινωνία  
*And I am the one who's got the entire back-up communication*

530 με ό:ποιοδδήποτε [eng] **ντιπάρτμεντ**  
*With whichever department*

531 τρέχω ό:λη τη δουλειά και τη- και τα:  
*I do the entire job and the- and the*

532 [eng] **πρεζεντέισονς** και μπαίνει μες στα [eng] **κολς**  
*Presentations and she enters the calls*

533 και λέει [eng] **ΑΙ και ΑΙ.** (.)  
*And says, "I and I". (.)*

534 [eng] **ΑΙ και γαμήσου**=ήθελα να της πω σήμερα.  
*Fuck off!=I wanted to tell her today.*

535 ARI: \$Μα γιατί δεν^ ντης το περς?=Μπας θα το [κα τα λά βαι νε ?]  
*But why didn't you say it to her?=Would [she understand?]*

536 SIM: [Ναι δε 'α το]  
*[Yes she wouldn't]*

537 καταλάβαινε.  
*Understand.*

→ 538 Δεν είναι τρόπος αυτός πρώτ' απ' όλα.  
*This is not a nice manner, first of all.*

539 Μεταξύ συναδέλφων (.hh) αυτό το εγωϊστικό:  
*Among colleagues (.hh) this selfish thing*

540 IOL: Ε το< ξέρεις πόσες φορές τους έχω βρίσει?  
*Eh, do you know how many times I've swore at them?*

541 Εάν κάποιος με κατα[λ ά β ε ι ,]  
*If someone under[stands me,]*

542 VAS: [((γ έ λ ιο))]  
*[((laughter))]*

543 (0.5)

544 IOL: Θα μ' απολύσουνε=>δεν υπάρχει περίπτωση.<  
*They will fire me=for sure.*

#### 10) 'He behaved in a childish manner' (COP-16)

*Paris (PAR), Kimonas (KIM) and Ectoras (ECT) are playing board games and are listening to music. At some point, Kimonas launches a story about a friend with whom he had a dispute the other day and who did not answer Kimonas's phone earlier today.*

01 VAS: Τι έγινε καλέ?  
*What happened {kale}?*

02 KIM: °Άσε φιλενάδα° δεν είμαι: (.)  
*Oh, my friend, I'm not (.)*

03 Πάλι καλά που ήρθες=θέλω να πω σε κάποιον το πρόβλημά μου.  
*Glad that you came=I want to tell my problem to someone.*

04 VAS: Με τον άλλον ε?  
*With the other one eh?*

05 KIM: Ε ναι.  
*Eh yes.*

06 Μ' έχει πιάσει το παράπονο ρε:  
*I've got a complaint {re}*

07 VAS: Ε με το δίκιο σου.  
*Eh you're right.*

08 PAR: Έγινε και κάτι άλλο σήμερα?  
*Did anything else happen today?*

09 KIM: Τον παίρνω σήμερα >στο δρόμο για το σπίτι< να::  
*And I call him today, on the way home, to*

10 να κάνω μια προσπάθεια να μιλήσουμε και στο σε ό,τι  
*To try to talk to each other and as far as*

11 μου αναλογεί να του ζητήσω ρε παιδί μου μια συγνώμη  
*I am concerned, to say sorry {re}*

12 που και πάλι δεν συμφωνώ με τα νεύρα και την έκρηξη.  
*Although I don't agree with the anger and the outburst.*

13 VAS: Ναι μα από πού κι ως [πού του] πέφτει λόγος  
*Yes but how come [is it ] his business*

14 KIM: [Ε μα:]  
*[Eh but]*

15 VAS: Να σου πει εσένα με ποιον θα πας και με ποιον όχι!  
*To tell you with whom you should sleep and with whom not!*

16 KIM: Και να φωνάζει να μας ακούνε όλοι=Παναγία μου!  
*And to shout to the extent everyone can hear us=God!*

17 PAR: Δε δικαιολογείται ρε με τίποτα.  
*There's no way he can be excused.*

18 VAS: Έπρεπε να του πεις ίάι σιχτίρ αγάπη μου!  
*You should have told him 'Fuck you, darling!'*

19 KIM: Έπρεπε αλλά: ρε συ δεν ήθελα να χαλάσει  
*I should have but {re} I didn't want to mess up our*

20 η σχέση μας γι' αυτό το πράγμα.  
*Relationship because of this.*

21 PAR: Αν ήτανε να χαλάσει γι' αυτό: φίλε  
*If it were due to get ruined because of this man,*

22 τότε έπρεπε να χαλάσει.  
*Then it had to get messed up.*

23 KIM: Ντάξει ναι δεν έ- ήτανε ρε παιδιά αυτό τώρα λογικό?  
*Okay, ye, it wasn't, was it rational {re} now?*

24 VAS: Είναι ανώριμος παιδί μου τι: λογικό?  
*He's immature my lad. It's not rational.*

25 PAR: Εντελώς παράλογη ήτανε η αντίδρασή του για μένα.  
*His reaction was utterly absurd, in my opinion.*

26 Τίποτα=Είστε φίλοι και έπρεπε να είναι [eng] **κουλ**.  
*Nothing=You're friends he should have been cool.*

27 KIM: Λοιπόν (.) και που λέτε του στέλνω σήμερα στι:ς ε  
*So (.) and by the way I text him today at eh*

28 κατά τις πέντε ένα μήνυμα ΝΑ με το συμπάθειο=  
*Around five, a huge message=*

29 VAS: =( (γέλιο) )  
 =( (laughter) )

30 KIM: Που του λέ- συγνώμη που δεν σου ρώτησα  
*To whom I sa- sorry that I didn't ask you*

31 αν μπορώ να πάω με το Νίκο στο δωμάτιό σου  
*If I can sleep with Nick in your room*

32 και έχεις δίκιο που σπάστηκες γιατί είναι ο χώρος σου  
*And you're right that you got upset as it's your space*

33 και θα 'πρεπε να μας κόψει να σε ρωτήσουμε πρώτα,  
*And we should have thought to ask you first,*

34 PAR: Ντάξει για μένα δεν^ μπαίξει αυτό=δηλαδή θα 'μαστε  
*Okay, for me it's impossible=that is, say we are friends*

35 φίλοι να πούμε κολλητοί (.) και: θα σε πείραζε τώρα εσένα  
*Friends, say, best-friends (.) and you'd get upset now*

36 >αν εγώ πήγαινα με την Ειρήνη στο δωμάτιό σου?<  
*If I was going with Eirini to your room?*

37 VAS: Καλά εγώ έδινα το σπίτι μου καλέ σε φίλο ανέστιο  
*I was giving my house to a house-less friend {kale}*

38 τα καλοκαίρια στην Αθήνα και μου λες τώρα:  
*Every summer in Athens and you're now saying to me*

39 Είναι φαιδρό=τουλάχιστον φαιδρό.  
*It's ridiculous=at least ridiculous.*

40 KIM: Ναι και του στέλνω που λέτε ένα ωραιότατο μήνυμα  
*Yes and I text him a very nice message*

41 Προσπάθησα να είμαι συγκαταβατικός: (.)  
*I tried to be condescending/ forgiving (.)*

42 Να δείξω μεταμέλεια: >να πάω με τα νερά του<  
*To show regret, to go with his flow*

43 Και μου και μου λέει >μα μου έχω ξενερώσει=  
*And he tells me, this and that and I'm turned off=*

44 =πάρε με μετά να τα πούμε< (.) και παίρνω ΜΙΑ  
*=call me later to talk (.) and I call him once*

45 παίρνω δύο (.) ↑↑τίποτα=καμία απάντηση ρε.  
*Twice (.) nothing=no response {re}.*

→ 46 PAR: Ντάξει είναι άσχημο να έχεις τον άλλο στο περίμενε  
*Okay, it's bad to have the other waiting*

47 να μιλήσετε.  
*For you to talk.*

48 VAS: Ναι ρε έλα σαν ώριμος άνθρωπος να τα πούμε (.)  
*Yes {re} come, as a mature person, to talk (.)*

49 να λύσουμε την ό:ποια παρεξήγηση=όχι: να το παίζεις  
*To solve any misunderstanding=not to be like*

50 θιγμένος=  
*Insulted=*

51 KIM: =Κι εγώ δε μπορώ με τίποτα< να νιώθω άσχημα για ό::τι  
*=And no way can I< I was feeling bad due to whatever*

52 έχει γίνει=το σούσουρο την^ παρεξήγηση και να μη μου  
*Had happened=the gossip, the misunderstanding and he didn't*

53 να μη με αφήνει να δικαιολογηθώ? (.)  
*Let me justify myself. (.)*

54 Στεναχωρήθηκα πολύ που δεν ήρθε μόνος του να μου μιλήσει.  
*I got very sad that he didn't come himself to talk to me.*

55 Έτσι κάνουν οι φίλοι υποτίθεται=αλλά (.)  
*That's what friends allegedly do=but (.)*

56 PAR: Εγώ για μένα πες του το.  
*For me, you say it to him.*

- 57 VAS: Ναι πες ρε παιδί μου τι συμπεριφορά είν' αυτή?  
*Yes, say {re}, what a behaviour is this?*
- 58 KIM: Αυτό θα του πω σταμάτα να: φέρεσαι σα μικρό παιδί (.)  
*This is what I'll say 'stop behaving like a kid (.)*
- 59 και έλα να μιλήσουμε σαν ώριμοι άνθρωποι.  
*And come to talk as mature people.*
- 60 PAR: Κι ότι δεν ήταν φουλ ανώριμη η στάση του ξέρω 'γώ.  
*And that his stance was very immature, I don't know.*
- 61 KIM: Ναι πολύ [eng] **εξτρίμ** ας πούμε για το συμβάν αυτό.  
*Yes, very extreme, say, for this event.*

## 11) 'It is unfair' (LON-02)

*Ioli (IOL) has just returned home where Ariadne (ARI) and Vassia (VAS) are preparing dinner. She has just had her appraisal at work, where she got a 2/5. She thus tells the story of the appraisal meeting to her friends, and they collaboratively draft meeting scenarios with her manager.*

- 744 IOL: Να σου δώσω άλλο παράδειγμα το πόσο αγενής είναι? (.)  
*Shall I give you another example of how rude she is? (.)*
- 745 Μου στέλνει ένα μέιλ σήμερα (.)  
*She send me an email today (.)*
- 746 >Γεια σου Ιόλη μπορείς να αποθηκεύσεις αυτά<  
*Hi Ioli, can you store these*
- 747 Σ' έναν external driver (0.5)  
*In an external driver (0.5)*
- 748 Γιατί θέλω να τα κάνω share με την: τάδε?  
*Because I want to share them with that one?*
- 749 Και πάω στο γραφείο της και της λέω Έλεν  
*And I go to her office, and I tell her Helen*
- 750 Δεν γίνεται να τα:: αποθηκεύσω σε external driver  
*It's not possible to store them in an external driver*
- 751 Γιατί υπάρχει data protection που απαγορεύει  
*Due to data protection forbidding*
- 752 να μεταφέρεις από υπολογιστή προς driver.  
*((data)) transfer from computer to driver.*
- 753 VAS: Ναι.  
*Yes.*
- 754 IOL: Μπορώ. (.)  
*I can. (.)*
- 755 Με κοιτάει με ύφος ε:: τς (.)  
*She looks me with an air of eh tut (.)*
- 756 «Μπορείς να μην έρχεσαι στο γραφείο μου  
*"Can you not come to my office*
- 757 Χωρίς να έχεις διπλοτσεκάρει?»  
*Without having double-checked?"*
- 758 (0.5)
- 759 VAS: Πω ρε φί:λε!  
*Oh {re}/ my friend!*
- 760 IOL: Θες άλλο?  
*Do you want another one?*
- 761 Έχω αναλάβει ένα:: [eng] **ινοβέισον πρότζεκτ** τώρα  
*I've taken over an innovation project now*

762 Και τηζ ^λέω χθες που πήγα στο γραφείο της (.)  
*And I tell her yesterday that I went to her office (.)*

763 E:: έχω τελειώσει αυτό το [eng] **στέιτζ** ,  
*Eh I've finished this stage*

764 Έχει γί- όλα έχουνε γίνει [eng] **σαμπμίτ**  
*All has been submitted*

765 από τα [eng] **ντιπάρτμεντς** (.)  
*From the departments (.)*

766 γιατί εγώ είμ' ο [eng] **πρότζεκτ λίντερ**.  
*Because I'm the project leader.*

767 ARI: M

768 IOL: Πρέπει να μαζέψω όλες αυτές τις πληροφορίες.  
*I must gather all the information.*

769 Για το τάδε [eng] **γκέιτ**, για το τάδε [eng] **στέιτζ**  
*For this gate, for this stage*

770 που έχουμε να: παρουσιάσουμε την επόμενη βδομάδα,  
*That we have to present next week,*

771 Έχω όμως όλ' αυτά να τα μεταφράσω από το ήδη υπάρχον  
*However, I also have to translate it all from the existing*

772 [eng] **πρεζεντέισον** που είχα χτίσει στο καινούριο [eng]  
*Presentation that I'd built to the new*

773 **τέμπλεϊτ** που μου έστειλε το [eng] **γκλόμπαλ τιμ**  
*Template that the global team sent me*

774 δυο μέρες πριν. (.)  
*Two days ago. (.)*

775 Που είναι εικοσπέντε [eng] **σλάιντς**.  
*Which is twenty-five slides.*

776 ARI: M ναι.  
*M yes.*

777 IOL: Κι ενώ τηζ ^λέω εγώ 'χω ήδη χτίσει την^ παρουσίαση  
*And although I tell her I've already built the presentation*

778 ναι [πρέ-]  
*Yes [I mu]*

779 VAS: [Για]τί να την^ γκζανακάνεις?  
*[Why] shall you redo it?*

780 IOL: Όταν στέλνει κάτι το [eng] **γκλόμπαλ τιμ**  
*When the global team sends something*

781 ε δεν υπάρχει [eng] **τσάλεντζ**.  
*Eh there's no challenge.*

782 VAS: M για το [eng] **τέμπλεϊτ** τώρα.  
*M for the template now.*

783 IOL: Για το [eng] **τέμπλεϊτ**=Ίδια πληροφορία (.)  
*For the template=Same information (.)*

784 ARI: Ναι  
*Yes*

785 IOL: Διαφορετικό στήσιμο και ό- ό- τα [eng] **τέμπλεϊτ** τους  
*Different formatting and their templates*

786 είναι χαοτικά. (.)  
*Are chaotic. (.)*

787 Αν σου στείλ- αν άμα απλά δεις αυτό το [eng] **τέμπλεϊτ**,  
*If I sen- if you just see this template,*

788 θα χαθείς στο νούμερο.  
*You'll get lost in numbers.*

789 VAS: M ναι.  
*M yes.*

790 IOL: Και δεν υπερβάλλω.



And I'm not exaggerating.  
 791 VAS: Μάλιστα.  
 Okay.  
 792 IOL: Και μου λέει=με κοιτάει με ύφος και μου λέει (.)  
 And she says=she looks me with an attitude and says (.)  
 792 Αν σε δυσκολεύει αυτό τότε Ιόλη μήπως πρέπει να:  
 'If you find this difficult, Ioli, shouldn't you maybe  
 793 επαναπροσδιορίσεις το τι κάνεις στη ζωή σου?  
 Redefine what you're doing in your life?'  
 794 Την επαγγελματική εννοεί.  
 The professional, she means.  
 795 Τηζ ^λέω ρε Έλεν δε με δυσκολεύει=Απλά  
 I say, '{Re} Helen I'm not finding it difficult=Just  
 796 Μου δημιουργεί: [eng] **νταμπλ=**  
 It creates to me double=  
 797 VAS: =Θα μπορούσες ν' αφιερώσεις το χρόνο αυτό κάπου αλλού.  
 =You could devote this time somewhere else.  
 798 IOL: Ναι τηζ ^λέω έχω κι άλλα πράγματα που τρέχουνε  
 Yes, I say, I've got other things going on  
 799 αυτή τη στιγμή ε::  
 This moment now eh  
 800 I express my frustration because I have to do  
 801 the double work I've done.  
 802 VAS: Ναι που είναι και α: άστοχο ναι okay.  
 Yes which is ah pointless too, yes, okay.  
 803 IOL: Ναι δηλαδή α ε και τηζ ^λέω θα το κάνω και  
 Yes that is ah eh and I say 'I'll do it and  
 804 δεν^ μπαραπονιέμαι και δεν^ προσπαθώ να τ' αποφύγω (.)  
 I'm not complaining and I'm not trying to avoid it (.)  
 805 ARI: M:  
 Mm  
 806 IOL: Απλώς σου λέω ότι εντάξει  
 I'm simply saying that okay  
 807 VAS: Ναι ρε αυτό το πράγμα ρε μπορείς να το πεις σε κάποιον.  
 Yes {re} this thing you can't say it to anybody.  
 808 IOL: Ε μα ναι δε μπορείς.  
 Eh yes you can't indeed.  
 809 Δηλαδή θα πω σε σένα Βάσια μου (.)  
 That is, I'll say to you, my dear Vassia (.)  
 810 Αμα σε κουράζει που διαβάζεις που::  
 If you are tired of reading, that  
 811 διάβασες σήμερα δέκα άρθρα τότε πρέπει να κά-  
 Today you've read ten papers, then, you should  
 812 να κάτσεις να ξανα- να επανεξετάσεις με το  
 Sit down and re-examine the  
 813 το αντικείμενο που ασχολείσαι.  
 Your field of study.  
 814 VAS: Ναι. (.)  
 Yes. (.)  
 815 Πω πω αυτή είν- είναι τρελοκομείο.  
 Oh my, she's crazy.  
 816 Και τι να της πεις τώρα!  
 And what can you say now!  
 817 IOL: Ό- καλά ότι δεν είμ' ικανοποιημένη θα της το πω.  
 N- well that I'm not satisfied, I'll say it to her.  
 818 Δεν υπάρχει περίπτωση.

There is no way ((I won't do it)).  
 819 VAS: Ναι.  
     Yes  
 820 IOL: Δε θα πω<  
     I won't say  
 821 ARI: Α καλά ναι αυτό ναι=Αλλά αυτό=  
     Ah okay, this, yes=But this=  
 822 IOL: =Όχι θα της πω μπορείζ ^να μου πεις γιατί δύο?  
     =No I will tell her 'Can you tell me why a 2?'  
 823 Έχουμε τόσα [eng] **ουάν-του-ουάν**.  
     We have so many one-to-one meetings.  
 824 Γιατί δε μου έδωσες να καταλάβω ότι  
     Why didn't you make me understand that  
 825 όντως κάτι δε μπάει τόσο καλά?  
     Something is really going wrong?  
 826 Ενώ σου 'πα ότι μπορείς να 'σαι πολύ [eng] **νταϊρέκτ του μιζ**  
     Although I told you that you can be very direct to me,  
 827 Ότι προτιμώ να μου πεις κάτι::: (.)  
     That I prefer that you say something (.)  
 828 ↑Ιόλη τα 'κανες σκατιά (.) γιατί θα θα μου 'ναι  
     'Ioli, you messed this up', as it will be  
 829 πιο εύκολο να καταλάβω ότι όντως=  
     Easier for me to understand that indeed=  
 830 ARI: =M:  
     =Mm  
 831 IOL: Δεν^ μπήγε καλά παρά να μου πεις  
     Something didn't go well instead of telling me  
 832 ↑Α τα 'κανες τέλεια, (.)  
     'Ah you did it great', (.)  
 833 και να μου 'ρθει: ο ντουβρουιζάς στο τέλος.  
     And be very surprised at the end.  
 834 VAS: Ναι ρε κι είναι και έντιμο. (.)  
     Yes {re} and it's honest too.  
 835 Λες στον άλλον ότι ξες κάτι?=  
     You say to the other one, you know what?=  
 836 =Εγώ από σένα θέλω να κάνεις λίγο παραπάνω αυτό.  
     =I want you to do a bit more of this.  
 837 Να είσαι λίγο πιο: εκείνο. (.)  
     To be a bit more of that. (.)  
 838 Να είσαι λίγο πιο το άλλο.  
     To be more of the other thing.  
 839 ARI: Τς δεν είναι σωστό τώρα αυτό=Αυτό είναι το  
     Ts it's not right this thing now= This is the  
 840 χειρότερο ότι ↑δε σε προετοιμάζουν.  
     The worst that they don't prepare you.  
 841 Τς ότι σου δίνουν την εντύπωση για να είναι αυτοί  
     Ts that they give you the impression so that they are  
 842 ρε παιδί μου [eng] **πολίτικλι κορέκτ**  
     {re} politically correct  
 843 κι ότι όλα πάνε καλά (.)  
     And that everything goes alright (.)  
 844 και δε θέλουνε να 'χουνε και προσωπικές κόντρες,  
     And besides, they don't want to have personal fights,  
 845 γιατί ποιος θα τους κάνει τη δουλειά?  
     Because who's going to work for them?

846 και μετά έρχεσαι συ και μένεις μαλάκας επειδή::  
*And then you get dumbfounded because*  
 847 έχουν τους προσωπικούς τους λόγους.  
*They have their personal reasons.*  
 848 Άστο διάολο.  
*God damn it!*  
 849 IOL: Ρε σου λέω είν-  
*{Re} what I'm telling you is*  
 → 850 Ρε είναι άδικο. (.) Είναι πραγματικά άδικο.  
*{Re} it's unfair. (.) It's really unfair.*

## 12) 'These things are unethical' (LON-41)

*Ioli (IOL), Simeon (SIM) and Ariadne (ARI) arrive at Ioli's house to have coffee and catch-up. They notice that Ioli is not in a good mood and thus ask her what has happened to her. She thus launches a breaking news story about her boyfriend's trip to Vienna.*

01 SIM: Τι έχεις ρε?  
*What' happened to you {re}?*  
 02 ARI: Ναι κι εγώ: δε σε βλέπω καλά.  
*Yes I am too not seeing you well.*  
 03 IOL: Πή- ε είναι ο Γιάννης στη Βιέννη=  
*Eh John is in Vienna with his friends=*  
 04 =Θυμάστε που πήγε με τους φίλους?  
*Do you remember that he went there with his friends?*  
 05 SIM: Μ ναι.  
*M yes.*  
 06 IOL: ~Με τους κολλητούς του και: τον αδερφό του.~  
*With his besties and his brother.*  
 07 Και με παίρνει σήμερα η Αλίκη (.)  
*And Alice calls me today (.)*  
 08 και μου λέει: (.) ρε το ξέρεις  
*And tells me (.) {re} do you know*  
 09 ότι °οι άλλοι πήραν ναρκωτικά?°=  
*That the others did drugs?°=*  
 10 =Μου το 'πε χθες ο Μινάς.  
*=Minas told me about it yesterday.*  
 11 Λε- εγώ πάλι ↑γιατί τα μαθαίνω τελευταία  
*I sa- 'Why am I again the last to know*  
 12 ρε πούστη μου?  
*Bloody hell?*  
 13 Υποτίθεται ότι ε< είμαστε πέντε χρόνια μαζί  
*We're allegedly eh< we've been together for five years*  
 14 και θα 'πρεπε να πρεσβέυει η ειλικρίνεια.  
*And honesty should prevail.*  
 15 SIM: Μ: ε ναι.  
*M: eh yes.*  
 15 IOL: Και πέρα απ' αυτό εγώ ρε φίλε δεν^ ντιο θ-  
*And, besides this, {re} I don't w-*  
 16 δεν^ ντιο θέλω=Δεν^ ντιο εγκρίνω αυτό το πράμα.  
*I don't want it=I don't approve of this thing.*  
 17 Κι ο Γιάννης το ξέρει.

- And John knows about it.
- 18 ARI: Ε όταν λες 'ναρκωτικά'?
- Eh when you say 'drugs'?*
- 19 IOL: Δεν^ γκζέρω αλλά τι σημασία έχει?
- I don't know but why does it matter?*
- 20 SIM: Ε άλλ[λο να πά-]
- Eh it[s different to d-]*
- 21 IOL: [Και να σας] πω και το καλύτερο? (.)
- [And shall I] tell you the best part? (.)*
- 22 Ο Πάρις >αδερφός του Γιάννη< έφερε κοπέλα στο σπίτι.
- Paris, John's brother, brought a girl in the house.*
- 23 SIM: Α: Σπεράσανε καλά(h) τα παιδιά\$
- Ah \$the guys had fun!\$*
- 24 IOL: Δεν είν' αστείο ρε γιατί εγώ (.)
- It's not funny {re} because I (.)*
- 25 με την^ γκοπέλα του Πάρι είμαι φίλη.
- I'm friends with Paris' girlfriend.*
- 26 Τι θα πω εγώ σ' αυτήν^ ντη κοπέλα?
- What I am going to tell this girl?*
- 27 Θα κάνω πάλι το μαλάκα πίσ' απ' την^ μπλάτη της?
- Will I pretend again behind her back?*
- 28 Σου λέω 'γω ότι πάμε για φαγητό όλοι μαζί (.)
- Say that we go for dinner altogether (.)*
- 29 οι τέσσερις μας και λέμε για: τη Βιέννη
- The four of us and talk about Vienna*
- 30 Ε: Θα κάνω πως δεν^ γκζέρω πάλι?
- Eh will I pretend I don't know again?*
- 31 ARI: Πω:: ναι
- Oh girl yes*
- 32 Θα κάνεις τη χαζή [ανα- αναγκαστικά.]
- You'll act ignorant [nec- necessarily.]*
- 33 IOL: [Αυτά τα πράγματα] δε μ' αρέσουνε.
- [These things] I don't like them.*
- 34 ARI: Έχεις δίκιο ρε δεν είν' ωραίο.
- You are right {re}, it's not nice.*
- 35 IOL: Αν εγώ πήγαινα εκδρομή με την αδερφή μου (.)
- If I went on a trip with my sister (.)*
- 36 Και ήθελε να πάει να ηδηχτεί με όποιον (.)
- And she'd like to fuck with anyone (.)*
- 37 Θα της έδινα λεφτά να πάει να το κάνει
- I'd give her money to go and do it*
- 38 αλλού >σ' ένα ξενοδοχείο<=OXI σ' ένα σπίτι
- Somewhere else, in a hotel=Not in a house*
- 39 με κοπέλες που 'χουν αγόρια.
- With girls having boyfriends.*
- 40 ARI: M::
- M::*
- 41 IOL: Αλλά αυτός τον^ γκάλυψε.
- But he covered up for him*
- 42 SIM: Ναι ίσως έπρεπε να του πει:
- Yes perhaps he should have told him*
- 43 Πάνε αλλού=
- Go to another place=*
- 44 IOL: =Αυτά τα πράγματα είναι ΑΝΗΘΙΚΑ ρε:
- =These things are unethical {re}.*
- 45 IOL: Αλλά τον^ γκάλυψε ποιος ξέρει=Μπορεί

46 But he covered up for him, who knows=He may  
 να 'χει κι αυτός λερω[μένη τη φωλιά του]=  
 Too have acted [inappropriate]=  
 47 SIM: [Ρε συ ντάξει δεν<]  
 [{Re} okay it's not]  
 48 ARI: =Ντάξει αυτό τώρα: μην^ γκάνεις ακραίες υποθέσεις.  
 =Well this now, don't make extreme assumptions.  
 49 IOL: Ακραίες?=Που ν' το ακραίο?  
 Extreme?=Where's the extreme?  
 50 Για το Γιάννη μιλάμε και τους φίλους του.  
 We are talking about John and his friends.  
 51 Τους σιχαίνομαι!  
 I hate them!  
 52 Που πάντα σε ό:λες τις διακοπές  
 That always in all their holidays  
 53 που πάνε πάντα κάποιος γαμάει.  
 That they go on, someone fucks.  
 54 ARI: Αυτό πάλι ρε συ (.)  
 This thing {re} (.)  
 55 Εμείς πάμε να βγούμε να κάνουμε τα μπάνια μας=  
 We go to get out, to go for swimming=  
 56 IOL: =Ακριβώς αυτό.  
 =Exactly this.  
 57 ARI: Να δούμε τ' αξιοθέατα (0.4)  
 To go for sightseeing (0.4)  
 58 IOL: Κι αυτή ρε συ ↑π:όσο καριόλα! (.)  
 And that one {re} what a slut! (.)  
 59 Που που για να πάει σε σπίτι με οχτώ άντρες.  
 To to to go in a house with eight men.  
 60 ARI: Δεν είν' αυτή το θέ:μα=  
 She's not the point=  
 61 SIM: =Ναι ντάξ ελεύθερη κοπέλα μπορεί να 'ταν.  
 =Yes okay she might have been free.  
 62 IOL: Εγώ δε ↑θέλω να τον^ γκζαναδώ τον^ Μπάρι.  
 I don't want to see Paris again.  
 63 Είναι ανήθικος=Δε σέβεται τ' αδέρφια του  
 He's unethical=He doesn't respect his siblings  
 64 δε σέβεται τους φίλους του (.)  
 He doesn't respect his friends (.)  
 65 την^ γκοπέλα του (.) εμένα.  
 His girlfriend (.) me.  
 66 Θα το πω στο Γιάννη με το που έ-  
 I'll say it to John right when he c-  
 67 Τσακωθήκαμε και στο τηλέφωνο.  
 We argued on the phone.  
 68 ARI: Πω ρε συ!  
 Oh girl!  
 69 IOL: ~Ρε δε θέλω τέτοια οικογένεια στη ζωή μου~  
 {Re} I don't want such a family in my life  
 70 ~Τους σιχαίνομαι~  
 I hate them!  
 71 ΔΕΝ^ μπορώ να αγαπώ το Γιάννη  
 I can't love John  
 72 σ' ένα κοινωνικό πλαίσιο που: ε:  
 In a social framework that eh  
 73 που δε μπορώ να υπάρχω.

*In which I cannot exist.*

74 ARI: *Ναι δεν μπορείς ούτε να το καταπί:νεις (.)*  
*Yes you can neither bear it (.)*

75 *αλλά ούτε και να κάνεις ότι δε συμβαίνει.*  
*But nor pretend as it doesn't happen.*

76 IOL: *Τι να κά< ρε αυτός ο άνθρωπος δε σέβεται*  
*What shall I d-< {re} this person doesn't respect (anything)*

77 *ούτε ιερό ρούτε όσιο. (0.6)*  
*There's nothing sacred with him. (0.6)*

78 *Αν ήμουνα εγώ στη θέση του Γιάννη*  
*If I were in John's shoes*

79 *θα ένιωθα ένοχη αν είχα αυτό αυτόν*  
*I'd feel guilty if I had this*

80 *τον^ γκοινωνικό περίγυρο.*  
*Social environment.*

81 SIM: *Ναι μα δεν ευθύνεται αυτός για τον αδερφό του.*  
*Yes but he's not responsible for his brother.*

82 *Μεγάλο παιδί είναι.*  
*He's a grown-up guy.*

83 IOL: *Μεγάλο παιδί είναι (.)* *αλλά έχει πάρει το λάθος δρόμο.*  
*He's a grown-up guy (.) but he's taken the wrong path.*

84 SIM: *Και [ποιος μπορεί]*  
*And [who can]*

85 IOL: *[Εγώ θα του πω] ↑έχεις πρόβλημα ηθικό αγόρι μου.*  
*[I'll tell him] 'You've got a moral issue, boy.'*

86 IOL: *Κι εμένα με χαλάει η ανηθικότητα και το ψέμα.*  
*And I get sick of immorality and lies.*

87 ARI: *Μ ναι σίγουρα.*  
*M yes certainly.*

### 13) 'She could have said this' (LON-13)

*Ioli (IOL), Simeon (SIM), Ariadne (ARI), and Vassia (VAS) are talking about their tomorrow home-gathering. Simeon has texted to Iliada to invite her, but she did not respond. Ioli, thus guesses, that she may reject their invitation.*

01 SIM: *Έστειλα και στην Ιλιιάδα για αύριο*  
*I texted to Iliada too for tomorrow*

02 *Αλλά πολύ φοβάμαι ότι θα μας πιστολιάσει.*  
*But I'm afraid she'll crap us out.*

03 IOL: *Δε σου απάντησε, [έ τ σι?]*  
*She didn't respond, [did she?]*

04 SIM: *[Ναι δ]εν απάντησε*  
*[Yes she] hasn't responded*

05 *απ' το πρωί (.)*  
*since morning (.)*

06 *Ενώ ρε παιδί μου θα μπορούσε*  
*And {re} I'd want her*

07 *να μου πει: (.)*  
*to tell me*

08 *Ναι: σίγουρα μπορώ (.)* *τς για να ξέρω κιόλας=*  
*Yes I definitely can (.) ts so that I know as well=*

09 =Δηλαδή θα σηκωθώ το πρωί  
 =*That is, I'll get up in the morning*

10 να κάνω μια διαδικασσία,  
*to run a procedure*

11 Να φτιά(η)ξω ένα κέικ (.)  
*To make a cake (.)*

12 Και τς ↑θέλω να ξέρω, (.)  
*And ts I want to know, (.)*

13 Μ' ενοιχλεί που δεν απαντάει ρε γαμώτο.  
*It annoys me that she doesn't respond. Damn {re}!*

14 (0.8)

15 IOL: Ρε εμένα δε μ' ενοχλεί το< (0.6)  
*I get upset/annoyed with the (0.6)*

16 Μ' ενοχλεί το ΔΕ θα 'ρθω γιατί γιατί:  
*I get upset/annoyed with ((her saying)) I won't come as as*

17 γίνεται πάρα πολύ συχνά=  
*It happens very frequently=*

18 VAS: =Ναι  
 =Yes

19 IOL: Και η μία και η άλλη κι η Μάρα.  
*Both the one and the other, Mara.*  
 ((further down))

44 ARI: Γενικά πρέπει να συνεννοείσαι.  
*Generally, you should understand one another.*

45 Αυτό είναι που- που μας δυσκολεύει.  
*This is what gives us a hard time.*

→ 46 SIM: Ρε φίλε πες \*ΔΕ θα έρθω.  
*{Re} say 'I want come'.*  
 \*claps his hands

47 IOL: Ναι αυτό ή πες ↑θα λείπω αύριο,  
*Yes this or say , 'I will be away tomorrow,*

48 Καλά να περάσετε= αυτό.  
*May you have a nice time=this.'*

49 Δε θα 'πρεπε να πει δε μπορώ=  
*Shouldn't she have said 'I can't,*

50 =Τα λέμε την άλλη βδομάδα?  
*see you next week'?*

51 SIM: Θα μπορούσε να πει αυτό ναι.  
*She could have said this, yes.*

#### 14) 'She should have given you the key!' (COP-03)

*Ectoras (ECT), Kimonas (KIM) and Paris (PAR) are having tea and are talking about their working day.*

55 ECT: Εγώ που λέτε πάω σήμερα στο σχολειό (.)  
*I go to school today (.)*

56 μπαίνω στο γραφείο να ετοιμαστώ ρε παιδί μου  
*I enter the office to get prepared {re}*

57 να:: ξέρεις πριν απ' την^ μπρώτη ώρα και:  
*To, you know, before the first hours of classes and*

- 58 έρχεται η Νίνα=Να μου λέει έχω βάλει ένα διαγώνισμα,  
*Nina comes in=She says, 'I've given an exam*
- 59 KIM: Δασκάλα κι αυτή?  
*Is she a teacher too?*
- 60 ECT: Ναι στο [eng] **γκρέιντ** πέντε  
*Yes at grade five*
- 61 PAR: M
- 62 ECT: Αλλά ναι μου λέει ↑πρέπει να λείψω εκιτάκιως γιατί:  
*But she says, 'I have to leave urgently because*
- 63 >κάτι έτυχε ξέρω `γω και φεύγω εκιτάκιως<  
*Something happened, I don't know, and I'm leaving*
- 64 KIM: Θέμα υγείας?  
*A health issue?*
- 65 ECT: Δε μου `πε η μαλάκω  
*She didn't tell me, the asshole*
- 66 PAR: A!  
*Ah!*
- 67 ECT: A:ν μπορείς ε: °να διορθώσεις εσύ το διαγώνισμα°  
*'If you can eh correct the exam'*
- 68 των μαθηματικών=δεν είναι:: τίποτα δύσκολο (0.4)  
*On mathematics=It's not anything difficult (0.4)*
- 69 Ντάξει λέω θα μου δώσει τις λύσεις και όλα κομπλέ.  
*Okay, I say, she'll give me the answer key and all good.*
- 70 (0.4)
- 71 Και φεύγει η μαλάκω χωρίς να μου δώσει το [eng] **κι**  
*And the asshole leaves without giving me the key*
- 72 Και τώρα έχω να διορθώσω ΑΥΤΑ που βλέπετε και:  
*And now I have to correct these, as you see, and*
- 73 Είμαι:: να σκάσω είμαι!  
*I'm broiling!*
- 74 PAR: Εμ της κάνεις εξυπηρέτηση [εμ δε::]  
*Both you help her and she [doesn't]*
- 75 KIM: [Δε μπο]ρείς να της τα ζητήσεις?  
*[Can't y]ou ask for them?*
- 76 ECT: Μα είναι ↑άφαντη=Της έστειλε μείλ  
*But she's disappeared=I sent her an email*
- 77 με το που τέλειωσα, (.)  
*as soon as I finished, (.)*
- 78 Της άφησα και:: μήνυμα στο τηλέφωνο αλλά το θέμα είναι  
*I left a message too on the phone, but the thing is*
- 79 ότι είπα ναι ωραία θα βοηθήσω αλλά τώρα  
*That I said yes, okay I'll help out, but now*
- 80 θα φάω το όλο μου το σουκού να ΔΙΟΡΘΩΝΩ.  
*I'll spent the entire weekend correcting.*
- 81 Μ' αυτή τη μαλάκω την απαράδεκτη!=  
*Due to that asshole, that unacceptable person!=*
- 83 =Γαμώ το Ιράν μου γαμώ!  
*=Damn my Iran, damn!*
- 84 PAR: Ιρανή?  
*Iranian?*
- 85 ECT: Ναι  
*Yes*
- 86 KIM: Ε έπρεπε να σου `χε δώσει το [eng] **κι** την ώρα  
*Eh she should have given you the key the moment*
- 87 που στο ζήτησε=όχι να:: (.)  
*When she asked for this=not to (.)*



88 Δεν είναι σωστό να φορτώνεσαι έτσι στον άλλο  
*It's not right to burden the other like that*  
 89 Και να μη σε νοιάζει κιόλας. (.)  
*Without even caring about it. (.)*  
 90 Ντάξει απαράδεκτη!  
*Okay, she's unacceptable!*  
 91 ECT: Γι' αυτό σας λέω παιδιά βοηθήστε με τον άμοιρο!  
*That's why I'm telling you guys help me the poor!*  
 92 Να τα λύσουμε μαζί τα μπουρδέλα.  
*To solve these goddamn things together.*  
 93 KIM: ((γέλιο))  
 ((laughter))

### 15) 'You don't say it. It's rudeness' (LON-24)

*Simeon (SIM), Ioli (IOL), Ariadne (ARI), Iliada (ILI) and Vassia (VAS) are having dinner at Ioli's house and are catching-up. At some point, Simeon is asked to tell his story about a recent telephone conversation that he had with a girl he is seeing.*

397 ARI: Συγγνώμη τι άλλο σου 'λεγε στο τηλέφωνο?  
*Sorry, what else was she telling you on the phone?*  
 398 SIM: Ε τίποτα με παίρνει τηλέ- >βασικά μου στέλνει  
*Eh nothing, she calls me, she basically texts*  
 399 πρώτα μήνυμα=Μου λέει [ε: έχεις λίγο:] χρόνο?  
*Me first=She says '[E do you have some] time?*  
 400 IOL: [°°( )°°]  
 401 SIM: Να μιλήσουμε?=[θέλω λίγο] απ' το χρόνο σου.  
*To talk?=[I want some] of your time.*  
 402 VAS: [Δ ιακριτική]  
*[D i s creet]*  
 403 SIM: Δεν^ μπήγε εμένα το μυαλό μου °να σου πω.°=  
*I didn't quite understand to tell you the truth.=*  
 404 ARI: =ΝΑΙ ΝΑΙ [δεν^ μπήγε δύσκολα.]  
*=Yes yes [you didn't, it was hard.]*  
 405 SIM: [Ότι θα μ' έπαιρνε] τηλέφωνο.  
*[That she'd call me] on the phone.*  
 406 ARI: Λες μάλλον [θα θέλει κάτι] σημαντικό.  
*You think, [she may want something] significant*  
 407 SIM: [ΠΑΩ σπίτι=λέω ναι για] πεζ ^μου:  
*[I go home=I say, 'Yes,] tell me about it'*  
 408 Είμαι σπίτι λέω=Μόλις έκανα καφέ.  
*'I'm home', I say='I just made coffee.'*  
 409 IOL: Βάλτε καφέ να τα πούμε.  
*Make some coffee to talk.*  
 410 ARI: °>θα το πω του μπαμπά [μου εγώ<°]  
*I will say it to my [f a t her]*  
 411 SIM: [Και κρα:] κατευθείαν  
*[And ( )] immediately*  
 412 με παίρνει τηλέφωνο. (.) M: βιντεοκλήση.  
*She calls me. (.) Mm she makes a videocall.*  
 413 ARI: Να δω είσαι σπίτι [γιατί σε παίρνω και μι]λάει.  
*To see, are you home [as I call you and the] phone is busy*

424 SIM: [To σηκώνω εγώ λοιπόν]  
[So, I answer the phone]

425 E μου λέει να σε ρωτήσω >βασικά °μου λέει  
'Eh'', she says, 'may I ask you', basically she says

426 κάτι° άλλο<=Μου λέει να σε ρωτήσω κάτι? (.)  
Something else=She says, may I ask you something? (.)

427 Λέω (.)  
I say (.)

428 IOL: °Για πες°  
Go on/ tell me about it

429 SIM: Μου λέει:: τς ↑τι έγινε μ' εμάς  
She says, 'Ts what happened with us,

430 και χάλασε?  
and ((our relationship)) broke/ didn't work?'

431 IOL: \$Γιατί πότε έφτιαξε?\$=  
Why, when did it work?

432 SIM: =Λέω: 'γώ τώρα ↑τι να πω?=  
=I say, what can I say now?=  
433 ILI: =Παιδιά θέλετε να μου [κάνετε μια] εισαγωγή?  
=Guys, would you like [to make an] introduction?

434 ARI: [Τι είπες?]  
[What did you say?]

435 IOL: A:: ↑καλά εσύ \$με τόσα πιστόλια  
Ahh, well, you, \$having crapped us out so many times

436 έχεις μείνει τέσσερις σεζόν ↑πίσω!\$  
You're lagging four seasons behind!\$

437 SIM: [\$Στην ^ντρίτη= Τρί]τη\$  
[\$She's on the third=the thi]rd ((season))\$

438 ARI: [E ( ) μια Κύπρια]  
[Eh ( ) some woman from Cyprus]

439 IOL: \$Τρίτη σεζόν\$=  
\$Season three\$=

440 ILI: =Ζούμε στη [eng] **ντίτζιταλ** εποχή=Να τα γράφετε.  
=We are on the digital era=You shall write them.

441 SIM: Ναι ε  
Yes eh

442 IOL: \$Τα γράφουμε=Τα διαβάζεις?\$  
\$We write them=Do you read them\$?

443 SIM: Ε λοιπόν ε::  
Eh, so, eh

444 ILI: \*Τα διαβά-  
I rea-  
\*Slight smile

445 ARI: \$Τα διαβά:ζει= [Δεν ^ντα διαβάζει.\$]  
\$She reads them=[She doesn't read them.\$]

446 IOL: [\*\$ E: π ρ ο δόθηκες]=  
[\$Eh you exposed yourself=  
\*looks at ILI & points at her

447 =Προδόθηκες!\$  
=You exposed yourself\$

448 \$[CYP] **Εν κουλί!**\$  
\$This is a coulis!\$

449 ARI: Λοιπόν τέλος πάντων. (.)  
So, anyways. (.)

450 Γνώρισε ο Συμεών μια Κύπρια  
Simeon met a woman from Cyprus

451 SIM: Ναι βγήκαμε δυο τρεις φορές (.)  
*Yes, we met a couple of time (.)*

452 Αυτή ψήθηκε αλλά εγώ γνώρισα τη ↑Μίνα  
*She got interested but I met Mina*

453 Και της είπα ρε παιδί μου ότι (.)  
*And I told her {re} that (.)*

454 Δεν είμαι σε φάση  
*I'm not in the mood ((for a relationship))*

455 και καλύτερα να το αφήσουμε.  
*And we'd better leave it/ break up.*

456 IOL: Και τώρα αυτή του στέλνει  
*And now she texts him*

457 ARI: Ξέχει μιλήσει στον^ μπατέρα της\$  
*\$She's talked to her father\$*

458 SIM: Ναι και μου στέ(h)λνει, (.)  
*Yes and she texts me, (.)*

459 Εγώ απαντώ από ευγένεια,  
*I respond out of politeness,*

460 ILI: Συγγνώμη γιατί δεν^ ντης λες ότι δε γουστάρεις?  
*Sorry, why don't you tell her that you don't fancy?*

→ 461 SIM: Ε δεν^ ντο λες ρε συ αυτό=Είν' αγένεια.  
*Eh you don't say this {re}=It's rudeness.*

462 ILI: Δεν είν' αγένεια=Είναι ειλικρίνεια.  
*It's not rudeness=It's honesty.*

#### 16) 'I literally got sad' (LON-08)

*Ioli (IOL), Simeon (SIM) and Vassia (VAS) are talking about last night's home gathering, which was attended by their common friends and by Ioli's partner, John, who had not joined Ioli's friends before. Based on field notes, two friends of the participants, teased John about his abdominals when he entered the house, which he dealt with sarcasm. It is to this event that Ioli refers in this extract, by explicitly orienting to her related sad emotions.*

850 IOL: Ε:: ενοχλήθηκε με τον Κωνσταντίνο.  
*Eh he got upset with Konstantinos.*

851 VAS: Ναι:?  
*Yes?*

852 IOL: ↓Ναι. (.) Γιατί:: το κι επειδή τον^ γκζέρω το Γιάννη=  
*Yes. (.) Because, since I know John*

853 VAS: =M:  
*Mm*

854 IOL: Ντάξει ήτανε (.) λίγο παρατραβηγμένο  
*Well, it was (.) a bit extreme*

855 το πόσο πο[λύ ( )]  
*The, how mu[ch ( )]*

856 VAS: [Το γυμνα]στήριο.=  
*[The gy]m.=*

857 SIM: =[Ναι.]  
*=[Yes.]*

858 VAS: =[>Ναι] ναι ναι<=  
*=[Yes] yes yes=*

859 SIM: =E[: :]  
*=E[: :]*

=E[h h]

860 IOL: [Δη λα]δή [π ρ οσπάθησα]  
[Th at] is [I was trying]

861 VAS: [Που το έλε]γε όμως καλοπροαίρετα.  
[Which he was] saying with good intentions though.

862 IOL: Προσπάθησα πάρα πολλές φορές να του πω=  
I tried many times to tell him=

863 VAS: =Ναι.  
=Yes.

864 IOL: Βούλωσέ του με: [πολ ύ] ευγενικό τρόπο]  
'Shut up', in a [ve ry] polite manner]

865 VAS: [Ναι .]  
[Yes .]

866 SIM: [Κοί τα] και εμένα] με::  
[Lo ok,] to me too] to me

867 IOL: Αλλά τώρα<  
But now

868 SIM: [M: η:: τς]  
[Mm the ts]

869 VAS: [Ναι έχεις δίκιο.]  
[Yes you are right.]

870 SIM: Τον ^γκαιαλά- τον^ γκατάλαβα 'λαδή το Γιάννη (.)  
That is, I under- I understood John (.)

871 IOL: [↑Ναι]  
[Ye s]

872 SIM: [T' ο]τί [ε εί-]  
[That] [eh sai-]

873 IOL: [>Γύ ρι]σε μετά και μου λέει ↑ρε Ιολάκι  
[He turn]ed afterwards and told me '{Re} Ioli

874 γιατί λες στον^ γκόσμο ότι πηγαίνω στο γυμναστήριο?=  
Why do you tell the people that I go to the gym?'

875 =E του λέω (.) ειλικρινά πιάστηκε από μια κουβέντα.=  
=Eh I tell him (.) honestly he picked up on a word.=

876 VAS: =[Οτί πήγε γυμναστή[ριο.]  
=[That he went to the [gym.]

877 SIM: =[Άσχετα άσχετο άσχ[ε τα] με το τι:  
=[Regardless, irrelevant, regard[less] of what

878 IOL: [↑Ναι]  
[Y es]

879 SIM: Εί[σαι] εσύ με το Γιάννη=  
Yo[u a]re with John=

878 VAS: =M

879 SIM: Και το πώς έχει εξελιχθεί η σχέση ε::  
And of how your relationship has developed ehh

880 Μπορεί να 'σαστε δηλαδή και μες στα μέλια και::  
You could have been in the honeymoon stage, that is, and

881 VAS: [Ναι]  
[Yes]

882 SIM: [H: :] το να μπαίνεις σ' ένα χώρο και να σου λέει ο άλλος  
[The-] entering a place and being told by another person

883 Ε: πράγματα για τη ζωή σου να στο πω έτσι:=  
Eh things about your life, to say it this way=

884 IOL: =Μα [εγώ δεν είπα τίποτα για το Γιά]ννη [δηλα]δή,  
=But[I didn't say a thing about Jo]hn [that] is,

885 SIM: =Ε: [μ' έναν τρόπο κάπως (.) Ε: ↑άσχημο.]  
=Eh [in a weird manner (.) eh it's bad.]

886 VAS: [Ναι.]  
[Yes.]

886 VAS: [Ναι.]  
[Yes.]

887 IOL: Γύρισα και είπα ότι έχει πάει ο αχαϊρευτος γυμναστήριο  
*I turned and said that the idle man has gone to the gym*

888 Και θα 'ρθει μετά. (.)  
*And that he'll come afterwards.*

889 Δηλαδή >δεν είναι ότι κάθισα και πιάστηκα και του 'πα  
*That is, I didn't pick up on that and told him*

890 πόσους κοιλιακούς κάνει τη [μ\_έ]ρα και με [το που]  
*How many abs he does per [d a ]y and right [wh e n]*

891 VAS: [M :]  
[M m ]

892 SIM: [↓Ναι :]  
[Y e s]

893 IOL: Ήρθε 'δω πέρα=  
*He came here=*

894 SIM: =Τον^ μπιάσανε κατευθείαν κι ήτανε λί:γο άσχημο.  
*=They caught him straightaway, and it was a bit bad.*

895 IOL: Ναι:  
*Yes*

895 VAS: Έκοβ' ο ένας έραβ' ο άλλος ρε φίλε (.)  
*The one was cutting; the other was sewing {re} (.)*

896 Δεν^ ντους ξαναβάζω [μαζί .]  
*I won't let them sit [together] again.*

897 IOL: [Ναι δε]ν^ ντους] βά- πραγματικά:  
[Yes we] won't le-] really

898 SIM: [<Σ ε ό λ α >]  
[T o everything]

899 IOL: [Δεν^ γκα]τάλαβα γιατί. (.)  
[I didn't u]nderstand why. (.)

900 SIM: [Σ' όλο α-]  
[To this all a-]

901 IOL: Δηλαδή δεν είχε γίνει και καμιά συζήτηση πριν.  
*That is, no conversation had occurred before.*

902 SIM: ↓Ναι.  
*Yes.*

903 VAS: Ωστόσο' ο Κωνσταντίνος είν' πολύ καλοπροαίρετος άνθρωπος.  
*However, Konstantinos is a very well-intentioned human.*

904 Δηλαδή [δε θα το έ]λεγε ποτέ για να τον φέ- 'λαδή (.)  
*That is, [he wouldn't] ever say it to ma- him, that is (.)*

905 IOL: [Ρε παιδί μου]  
[{{Re} / my lad]

906 VAS: Παίζει να μην^ [γκα τάλαβε.]  
*He might have not [understand.]*

907 SIM: [Δε:: δεν] το 'κανε έτσι.  
[He did not] do it this way.

908 VAS: M

909 SIM: Γιατί δεν ήξερε κι όλο τ' από πίσω.  
*Because he didn't know the background information.*

910 VAS: Ναι ναι ναι.  
*Yes yes yes.*

911 SIM: Άμα ήξερε κι όλο το από πίσω σίγουρα δε θα τα ['λε γε.]  
*If he knew the background, he'd certainly not [say it.]*

912 VAS: [A υ τ ό]

[Indeed]

- 913 [Α υ τό.]  
[Indeed.]
- 914 IOL: [Ό χ ι] δεν είναι τ' από πίσω (.)  
[N o] it's not about the background. (.)
- 915 Γιατί και να μην^ γκζέρεις και να πιστεύεις ότι είναι στα:  
Since even if you don't know and believe that they are at
- 916 καλύτερα ή χει[ρότερα τους,]  
Their best or [w o r s e,]
- 917 SIM: [Ναι: όταν::]  
[Yes when]
- 918 [Γνωρίζεις κάποιον κατευθείαν ίναι.]  
[You get to know someone straightway, yes.]
- 919 IOL: [Δεν^ μπας σ' έναν ά:γνωστο] άνθρωπο,  
[You don't go to a stranger] person
- 920 VAS: M:  
Mm
- 921 IOL: E: να πεις ε[:]  
Eh to say eh[h]
- 922 SIM: [I]σως να αισθάνθηκε εδώ πριν το::ν Γιάννη  
[M]aybe he felt like, before John came here
- 923 ότι το κλίμα ήτανε καλό (.)  
That the atmosphere was good (.)
- 924 IOL: Μα [>και με το Γιάννη δε<]  
But [even with John it wasn't]
- 925 SIM: [E: ότι ήτανε::]  
[Eh like it was]
- 926 IOL: Δηλαδή αν- αν η Βάσια του 'λεγε οτί:: >(αυτό) ( )<  
That is, if Vassia told him that (this) ( )
- 927 Αν η Βάσια του 'λεγε οτί:: η Ιόλη:: τς ε:: 'ξερω 'γω:  
If Vassia told him that Ioli, ts eh, I don't know,
- 928 Κάνει γιόγκες μόγκες >ή κάνει  
I doing yoga and stuff like that, or is doing
- 929 δεν^ γκζέρω κι εγώ τι  
I don't know what
- 930 Θα 'ρχότανε να μου' λεγε εμένα< σε ποιον- ποιο σημείο  
Would he come to tell me which point
- 931 Έχω φτάσει του περισυλλογισμού?  
Of meditation I've reached?
- 932 SIM: Ναι μπορεί να 'ρχότανε να σου το 'λεγε.  
Yes he may come to say it to you.
- 933 IOL: E (.) δε νομίζω ότι θα 'ρχότανε.=  
Eh (.) I don't think so.=
- 934 VAS: =Εί [ναι πολύ πειραχτήρι.]  
=He [is such a mocker.]
- 935 IOL: [Κι επίσης έβλεπε E]ΒΛΕπε: (.)  
[And he also saw] he saw (.)
- 936 Επειδή τον^ γκζέρω το Γιάννη=  
Because I know John=
- 937 IOL: Εβλεπ' ότι ο Γιάννης δε- δεν^ ντο σηκώνει.  
He saw that John is not- is not going along with it.
- 938 SIM: °Ναι.°  
Yes.
- 939 VAS: Ναι ναι. (.)  
Yes yes. (.)
- 940 SIM: Κι εγώ αυτό είδα [τ' ότι ο]

I saw the same thing [t h a t]  
 941 VAS: [Κι εγώ] που δεν^ γκζέρω το Γιάννη  
 [Even me ] who doesn't know John  
 942 Π- το κατάλαβα.=  
 I understood it.=  
 943 SIM: =°Ναι.°  
 =Yes.  
 944 IOL: Δηλαδή (.) ρε παιδί μου βλέπεις άμα<  
 That is, (.) {re} you see if  
 945 άμα εγώ του 'κανα πλάκα και του 'λεγα (.) ΝΑΙ:  
 If I teased him and said to him (.) Yes  
 946 Έχω φιάσει στο σημείο:: να: τρώω μαρούλια  
 I've reached the point of eating lettuce  
 947 Και να μην^ γκαταλαβαίνω >θεό< (.hh) ε::  
 And not understanding nothing (.hh) eh  
 948 >Και να με βλέπει να μου λέει<  
 And he was looking at me and was saying ' (.)  
 949 Άμα του απαντούσα ότι (.)  
 If I responded to him that (.)  
 950 Ειρω- ειρωνικά: (.)  
 Sarca- sarcastically (.)  
 951 Ο Γιώργος τον ειρωνεύτηκε=  
 John mocked him=  
 952 SIM: =M:  
 =Mm  
 953 IOL: Και τον ειρωνεύτηκε δικαίως. (0.5)  
 And he mocked him rightfully. (0.5)  
 954 Γιατί μ:  
 Because mm  
 955 VAS: Ο άλλος δεν^ ντο κατάλαβε ωστόσο. (.)  
 The other one did not understand it though. (.)  
 956 Επειδή την^ παρακολούθησα τη στιγμή [κ αι]  
 Because I was watching that moment [a nd]  
 957 IOL: [ >Δεν] ήταν μόνο μία.<  
 [It w]as not just one.  
 958 VAS: Και είδα την αμηχανία, (0.5)  
 And I noticed the awkwardness, (0.5)  
 959 Στο σε ένα σημείο.  
 At some point.  
 960 IOL: Ο Πάνος το διαχειρίστηκε λίγο πιο (0.6)  
 Panos dealt with it in a bit more (0.6)  
 961 SIM: Ήπια όταν κατάλαβε οτί:[:]  
 More mildly when he understood that[t]  
 962 IOL: [X]ιουμοριστικά=  
 [H]umorously=  
 963 SIM: =[Ναι]  
 =[Yes]  
 964 VAS: =[ M ]  
 =[ M ]  
 965 IOL: Αλλά δεν μπαίνεις< δηλαδή ειδικά κι όταν ο άλλος είναι  
 But you don't enter< that is, especially when the other is  
 965 κι ο γκόμενος της μιανής=  
 The boyfriend of one of the two ((hosts))  
 966 VAS: =M  
 967 IOL: Μέσα σ' ένα σπίτι που δεν^ γκζέρεις κανέναν απ' όλους (.)  
 In a house where you know no one (.)

968 Να πας να πεις στον άλλο πόσους κοιλιακούς κάνεις  
*To say to the other one how many abs you do*

969 την ημέρα. (0.5)  
*Per day. (0.5)*

970 (.h) Όσους θέλω ρε φίλε=εσένα ποιο είν' το [πρόβλημά σου?]  
 (.h) *As many as I want {re}=what's [your problem?]*

971 SIM: [Μα ρε συ εγώ]  
 [But {re} I]

972 έφερα το Γεράσιμο που δεν ήξερε κανένα (.)  
*Brought Gerasimos who knew no one (.)*

973 Και το καημέ(h)νο το παιδί καθότανε στη γωνί(h)α=  
*And the poor guy was sitting at a corner=*

974 =Δε μιλού(h)σε. (.)  
 =*He didn't speak. (.)*

975 Ρε μαλά(h)κα(h) του λέω (.) Μίλα λίγο.=  
 {*Re malaka*}, *I tell him, (.)* 'Speak a bit'.=

976 VAS: =Ναι μα >τον^ γκάναμε χρυσό κι αυτόνα [να μιλήσει λί]γο.<=  
 =*Yes but we begged him [to speak a bi]t.=*

977 SIM: [Ν α ι : δηλαδή]  
 [*Yes that is*]

978 IOL: Ναι >δεν είναι το πρόβλημά μου [ό τ ι ]  
*Yes my problem is not [th at]*

979 SIM: [ΚΑ ΤΑ]λαβες δηλαδή  
 [*You u]nderstand, that is,*

980 Μπαίνεις σ' ένα χώρο όπου δεν^ γκζέρεις πολλά από τα άτομα=  
*You enter a place where you don't know many people=*

981 VAS: =[M]

982 IOL: =[E]γώ δεν είπα να το βουλώσεις και να κάτσεις στην α- ε  
 =[*I*] *didn't say you should shut up and sit at a- eh*

983 [στην ά κ ρ η]  
 [*at the corner*]

984 SIM: [Όχι μα εί-] πιο φυσιολογική η συμπεριφορά πιχί του Γιάννη  
 [*No but i-*] *John's behaviour is more normal, for example*

985 Τ' ότι μπαίνεις σ' ένα καινούριο χώρο τς κι είσαι λίγο πιο  
*Entering a new place ts and being a bit more*

986 μαζεμένος (.)  
*Reserved (.)*

987 Παρά το να γνωρίσεις καινούρια άτομα και να: τς  
*Rather than meeting new people and ts*

988 IOL: Ναι ναι ναι  
*Yes yes yes*

989 SIM: Όκευ το [eng] **μπλεντ ιν** είναι λίγο ιδιαίτερο.  
*Well, blending in is a bit peculiar.*

990 VAS: [Ναι είναι.]  
 [*Yes it is.*]

991 IOL: [Όχι εγώ σου] λέω (.)  
 [*No I tell ] you (.)*

992 Κάνε όση< που κατά τ' άλλα είμαι χαλαρή.  
*Do as much< since generally speaking I'm relaxed.*

((further down))

1050 IOL: Ήταν ένα βήμα προόδου τ' ότι γύρισε και ήρθε::  
*It was a bit of a progress that he came*

1051 με τόσο κόσμο=  
*With so many people=*

1052 VAS: =M



1053 IOL: Και πραγματικά στενοχωρήθηκα γιατί<  
*And I literally got sad because*

1054 SIM: Ναι  
*Yes*

1055 IOL: Επειδή το έκανε [όχι] και τόσο εύκολα=  
*Because he did it [not] so easily=*

1056 VAS: [Ναι]  
*[Yes]*

1057 IOL: Είχε τους άλλους που του λέγανε για τους κοιλιακούς του.  
*And he had the others telling him about his abs.*

1058 SIM: Εν τω μεταξύ [μά λ ι σ τ α]  
*By the way [besides that]*

1059 IOL: [Και τ ο π ε ς] \*μία το πες \*\*δύο  
*[And you said it] once you said it twice*

1060 IOL: [Το πες \*τρεις]  
*[You said it thrice]*

1061 SIM: [Το σκεφτόμουνα] πριν έρθει.=  
*[I was thinking] about it before he came.=*

1062 IOL: =Φτάνει.  
*=That's enough.*

1063 SIM: Και το σκεφτόμουνα πριν έρθει γιατί  
*And I was thinking about it before he came as*

1064 Όταν η κουβένια πήγε προς τα εκεί τς  
*When we started chatting about that ts*

1065 Και ξεκίνησε το όλο αστεϊάκι (0.3)  
*And the entire joke started (0.3)*

1066 Λέω 'πω πω θα 'ρθει το παιδί και'  
*I say 'Man, the lad will come'*

1067 IOL: Εγώ [δεν^ ντο]  
*I [had not]*

1068 VAS: [Ναι και] θα πούνε καφρίλα.=  
*[Yes and ] they will get rowdy.=*

1069 SIM: =Ναι.  
*=Yes.*

1070 IOL: Εγώ δεν^ ντην είχα χαμπαριάσει=  
*I hadn't realised that=*

1071 Αν την είχα χαμπαριάσει θα τους τραμπούκιζα.  
*If I had realised that I'd bullied them.*

1072 VAS: Ναι.  
*Yes.*

1073 IOL: Μα την^ Μπαναγία.  
*I swear.*

1074 (0.6)

1075 SIM: Ε:: εγώ επειδή την^ μπζυλλιάστηκα τη δουλειά,  
*Eh I, because I suspected it,*

1076 Όταν ξεκίνησε το αστεϊάκι αυτό (.) λέω:: (.)  
*When this joke started (.) I say (.)*

1077 Θα γίνει τώρα καμιά χαζομάρα, (.)  
*Something silly will happen now, (.)*

1078 VAS: [Έ ρ εις ]  
*[Y' k n ow]*

1079 SIM: [Και θα] τα πάρει ο άνθρωπος στο κρανίο,=  
*[And he'll] get mad,=*

1080 VAS: Ναι.  
*Yes.*

1081 SIM: E:: χωρίς [να το δείξει.]  
*Eh without [showing it.]*

1082 IOL: [Εγώ τα 'χω πά]ρει και με τον^ Μπάνο και με τον  
*[I'd got mad] both with Panos and with*

1083 άλλον. (.) Δηλαδή< και ντάξει ο Πάνος ο Πάνος απλά  
*The other. (.) That is, well Panos, Panos simply*

1084 σιγόνταρε. (0.3)  
*Secoded ((the other one)). (0.3)*

1085 Ο Κωνσταντίνος ↑δεν σταμάταγε.  
*Konstantinos did not stop.*

1086 VAS: Ναι ναι ναι κι εγώ το παρατήρησα. (0.4)  
*Yes yes yes I too noticed it. (0.4)*

1087 Και τον κοί- τον αγριοκοίταξα λίγο σε κάποια φάση=  
*And I lo- I glared at him a bit at some point=*

1088 IOL: =Ε ΜΑ κι εγώ [τον α- τον αγριοκοίταξα]  
*=Eh but I too [g- glared at him]*

1089 VAS: [<Αλλά ήτανε σε φάση>]  
*[But he was like]*

1090 IOL: Και ↑↑δεν^ γκαταλάβαινε.=  
*And he did not understand.=*

1091 VAS: =Που δεν^ ντο καταλάβαινε γιατί θα το έκανε για-  
*=Who did not understand it as he'd do it for*

1092 Όπως κάνει πολλή πλάκα=δηλαδή [όπως θα το 'κανε]  
*As he makes much fun=that is [as he would do it]*

1093 IOL: [Δ ε ν ή τ α ν ε] (.)  
*[It was not] (.)*

1094 Ήτανε<  
*It was*

1095 VAS: Ναι.  
*Yes.*

1096 IOL: Κοίταξε να δεις ε [κι εγώ κι εγώ πειράζω τον^ γκόσμο]  
*Look eh [I too tease other people]*

1097 VAS: [Αλλά δεν είχε την ικανότητα]  
*[But he didn't have the competence]*

1098 Να δει >ότι εκείνη τη στιγμή ο άλλος δεν^ ντο παίρνει  
*To see that at that point the other does not take it*

1099 σαν^ μπλάκα.  
*As a joke.*

1100 IOL: Κι εγώ πειράζω τον^ γκόσμο και::: τον εμ::  
*I too tease other people and the uhm*

1101 Είδες πώς τραμπουκίζω και τον^ Μπάνο σε εισαγωγικά,  
*You saw how I bully Panos, let's say,*

1102 Και τον^ Γκωνσταντίνο >και μπίρι μπίρι<=  
*And Konstantinos and blah blah blah=*

1103 =Αλλά ΕΑΝ έβλεπα=  
*But if I saw=*

1104 VAS: =Ναι [ότι ο άλλος κουμπώνει]  
*=Yes [that the other cringes]*

1105 IOL: [Ότι [φίλε ο άλλος] μαγκώθηκε,]  
*[That [man the other ] drew back,]*

1106 SIM: [<Βλέπεις κάπου τα όρια και>]  
*[You see somewhere the limits and]*

1107 IOL: >Όταν ο άλλος σου λέει< (.) ντάξει ρε μην αγχώνεσαι  
*When the other tells you (.) okay {re} don't stress*

1108 Ρε φίλε το 'χουμε το 'χουμε.=  
*{Re}/ my friend we've got it, we've got it.=*

- 1109 VAS: ↑M:  
Mm
- 1110 IOL: Δηλαδή βλέπεις ότι δε ΔΕ σε παίρνει να συζητήσεις.  
*That is, you see that you don't get to discuss it.*
- 1111 VAS: Και βλέπεις ότι υπάρχει γύ- μια παύση πριν και:: μια: τς  
*And you see that there is ar- a pause before and a ts*
- 1112 Μια αμηχανία λίγο που (.) δε σε προδιαθέτει.  
*Some embarrassment a bit that (.) doesn't predispose you.*
- 1113 SIM: Ναι.  
Yes.

### 17) 'He broke my nerves' (COP-05)

*Kimonas (KIM), Paris (PAR) and Vassia (VAS) are having coffee and listening to music. At some point, Vassia asks them about their last night out with Ectoras and his flat mates.*

- 01 VAS: Όλα καλά χθες? =Περάσατε ωραία?  
*All good yesterday? =Did you enjoy it?*
- 02 KIM: E: (.) άσε μη μου =μη μου το θυμίζεις γιατί::  
*Eh (.) let it go =don't remind me of this because*
- 03 PAR: Είχαμε: γίνανε σκηνικά=  
*We had, some things happened=*
- 04 VAS: =Δηλαδή?  
*=That is?*
- 05 PAR: E πάμε Κριστιάνια μετά το: Ρέφεν=  
*Eh we went to Christiania after Refen=*
- 06 KIM: =Εκεί που 'χαμε πάει και μαζί [κι είχε] λυσσάξει  
*=Where we'd been together too [and he'was] starving*
- 07 VAS: [Ναι ναι]  
[Yes yes]
- 08 KIM: \$Που 'θελε σουβλάκι ο Πά(h)ρις\$  
*\$Where Paris wanted a souvlaki\$*
- 09 VAS: ↑M:: ναι  
Mm yes
- 10 KIM: Και μπαίνουμε ξέρω 'γώ (.)  
*And we go inside, say (.)*
- 11 KIM: Και στείλανε εμένα τη δουίλαρα να βρω τραπέζι=  
*And they sent me the slave to get a table=*
- 12 VAS: =((γέλιο))  
*=((laughter))*
- 13 KIM: Δεν είν' αστείο ρε όμως=  
*It's not funny {re} though=*
- 14 =Κάνανε αυτοί τα τσιγάρα τους έ[ξ ω]  
*=They were smoking out[side]*
- 15 VAS: [Ποι ]οι?  
[Who?]
- 16 PAR: Ο Έκτορας μωρέ με τον^ Γκρις.  
*Ectoras {more} with Chris.*
- 17 VAS: A::!  
Ah!
- 18 KIM: Ναι ο Πάρις δεν είχε έρθει ακόμα. (0.4)  
*Yes Paris had not arrived yet. (0.4)*

19 Και:: μου λέει (.) Άντε να δεις αν ↑έχει  
*And he tells me (.) Go see if they have ((a table))*  
 20 κι έλα να μας πεις. (.)  
*And come to let us know. (.)*  
 21 Όχι του λέω γιατί να πάω εγώ πάλι?  
*No, I say, why shall I go again?*  
 → 22 Τα πήρα άσχημα ρε και με τους δύο.  
*I got very irritated with both of them.*  
 23 VAS: M::  
*Mmm*  
 24 KIM: Γιατί αυτό γίνεται ↑πάρα πολύ συχνά.  
*Because this thing happens very often.*  
 25 VAS: Ναι ναι  
*Yes yes*  
 26 KIM: Άντε Κίμωνα να κάνεις αυτό (.)  
*Go Kimonas to do this (.)*  
 27 άντε Κίμωνα να πεις το άλλο ε (.)  
*Go Kimonas to say the other thing eh (.)*  
 28 άντε φέρε το: αυτό ξέρω 'γώ.  
*Go bring the- this, I don't know.*  
 29 VAS: Άσχημο.  
*Bad.*  
 30 PAR: Ε: το 'χω παρατηρήσει κι εγώ.  
*Eh I've too noticed it.*

### 18) 'I felt uneasy' (COP-09)

*Kimonas (KIM), Paris (PAR) and Vassia (VAS) are having coffee and are sharing their weekly news. At some point, Kimonas launches a tale of yesterday, when he was out with his friend Antonis and bumped into Ectoras.*

180 PAR: Ο Έκτορας δεν έχει γυρίσει ακόμα?  
*Hasn't Ectoras come back yet?*  
 181 VAS: Εγώ του έστειλα και μου λέει::  
*I texted him and he says*  
 182 Ε άντε στα παιδιά και< γιατί μάλλον θ' αργήσω.  
*Eh go to the guys and< because I may be late.*  
 183 KIM: ↓Καλύτερα.  
*Better this.*  
 184 VAS: Τι πάθατε καλέ?  
*What's wrong with you {kale}?*  
 185 KIM: Άσε με μωρέ με τον ε- (.)  
*Leave me alone {more} with the e- (.)*  
 186 PE ↑δεν^ γκζέρω τι έχει πάθει  
*{Re} I don't know what's wrong with him*  
 187 Αλλά μας βλέπει χθες με τον Αντώνη: στο:: La Fontaine  
*But he sees us yesterday with Antonis at La Fontaine*  
 188 VAS: Αχ εκεί που είχαμε πάει ε?=  
*Ah at the place we'd been eh?=  
 189 PAR: =Ναι ναι.  
 =Yes yes.*  
 190 KIM: Κι αρχίζει ↑τι μανaráκι είσαι συ: και:

And he starts 'what a sex kitten you are and  
 191 να την^ προσέχεις=  
 be careful with her=  
 192 =Είναι γυναίκα σουπιά ο Κιμωνάκος και::  
 =He is a sly old fox little Kimonas and  
 193 'Ολ' αυτά τώρα στον Αντώνη μπροστά.  
 All this in front of Antonis now.  
 194 Πας καλά? =Ηθελα του πω αλλά:  
 What's wrong with you? =I wanted to say but  
 195 VAS: Παίζει κάτι με τον Αντώνη?  
 Is anything (romantic) going on with Antonis?  
 196 KIM: Όχι >αλλά δεν είν' αυτό το θέμα.<  
 No but this is not the issue.  
 197 Αυτά τα λέμε μεταξύ μας υποτίθεται=  
 These things we say allegedly when we are alone=  
 198 PAR: Ναι κι εγώ δεν^ ντον φωνάζω έτσι  
 Yes neither do I call him like that  
 199 μπροστά σε: σε τρίτους ξέρω 'γώ.  
 In front of third parties, say.  
 200 VAS: M::  
 M::  
 → 201 KIM: Τι γυναίκα σουπιά ρε φίλε? (0.4)  
 What sly old fox {re}? (0.4)  
 202 Δηλαδή ένιωσα άβολα=αμήχανα.  
 That is, I felt uneasy=awkwardly.  
 203 PAR: Λογικό ρε τ' ότι δεν^ μπας με γυναίκες,  
 That's logical {re}, that you don't have sex with women,  
 204 KIM: ΝΑΙ δε σημαίνει ότι μπορείς να με::  
 Yes it doesn't mean that you can  
 205 VAS: Να σου κάνει [eng] **μισιζέντερινγκ**.  
 To misgender you.  
 206 KIM: ΑΥΤΟ ακριβώς! (.)  
 Exactly this! (.)  
 207 °Ψαχνα τη λέξη.°  
 I was searching for the word.  
 208 PAR: Πολύ λάθος ρε ναι.  
 Very wrong {re} yes.

### 19) 'He shouts all the time!' (COP-10)

*Kimonas (KIM) and Vassia (VAS) are on their way to a music festival and are chatting about Kimonas's life at the college. He particularly talks about a peer with whom he does not get along very well.*

736 KIM: Ρε και λέγαμε ότι μπορεί να 'ναι διπολικός ε:  
 {Re} and we were saying that he may be bipolar eh  
 737 VAS: M?  
 738 KIM: Ρε παιδί μου ήτανε χθες στο [eng] **μίτινγκ** (.)  
 {Re} he was yesterday in the meeting (.)  
 739 Και μιλάς εσύ=μου μιλάς (.)  
 And you're talking=you're talking to me (.)  
 740 >Εγώ είμ' ο Peter< κι ο Peter είναι έ- (.)

- ((Say)) *I'm Peter and Peter is l- (.)*
- 741 Ντα- ακούει τα πάντα αλλά τς  
*Ok- he listens everything but ts*
- 742 ((Μένει ανέκφραστος, κοιτώντας ευθεία, με ανοιχτά μάτια))  
*((He looks straight ahead with his eyes wide open and without making any other facing expression))*
- 743 VAS: Δε δείχνει να μην να μη συμμετέ- να μην ( ).  
*He doesn't appear not to not to partici- not to ( ).*
- 744 KIM: Ναι είναι< ΜΑ σκέψου τώρα να μιλάμε  
*Yes he's< but think/ say now that we're talking*
- 745 κι εσύ να 'σαι έτσι.  
*and you're like that.*
- 746 VAS: Μ ναι. (0.4)  
*M yes. (0.4)*
- 747 Μήπως ε- έτυχε κάτι γείχε χθες και:  
*Could it be that something happened to him yesterday and*
- 748 KIM: Μα ρε συμβαίνει γόλη την ώρα.  
*But {re} it happens all the time.*
- 749 Εγώ πάω να διαχειριστώ αυτή τη μούρη  
*I go to deal with this face*
- 750 ΚΑΘε φοΡΑ μου μιλάει.  
*Every time he talks to me.*
- 751 VAS: ↑Α:: ναι κακό.  
*Ah yes, it's bad.*
- 752 KIM: Και ξες δεν είν' ωραίο τώρα αυτό.  
*And you know this is not nice.*

## 20) 'How rude was he!' (LON-16)

*Ioli (IOL), Iliada (ILI), and Vassia (VAS) are having coffee at Hyde Park. Iliada has bought mushroom pies from the Cypriot Greek mini-market to offer to her friends. Ioli has just eaten though at an Italian restaurant and rejects the offer.*

- 75 ILI: Θέλεις ένα?  
*Do you want one?*
- 76 IOL: Ο- γείν' αλμυρό τώρα έφαγα. (.)  
*No, it is salty. I just ate. (.)*
- 77 Πήγαμε σ' ένα ιτα[λ ι κ ό] (.)  
*We went to an Ita[l i a n] ((restaurant)) (.)*
- 78 ILI: [E ναι. ]  
[E h y e s.]
- 79 IOL: Πολύ ωραίο.=\*[Όχι αυτό] που μου πες.=  
*Very nice.= [Not the one] you told me about.=*  
\*looks at VAS
- 80 VAS: [Σ Α Σ Α-?]  
[Did you l-?]
- 81 VAS: =Α.  
=Ah.
- 82 IOL: Μας- ε τι \*↑ΤΙ ΑΓΕ\*\*ΝΕστοτατος!  
*Eh how how rude was he to us!*  
\*raises eyebrows  
\*\*ILI & SIM look at IOL
- 83 VAS: \*Μ:?  
*Mm?*

- \*looks at IOL
- 84 IOL: \*Του- μου λέει >ΜΙΑ ΩΡΑ ANAMONH.< (.)  
*He says one hour waiting time. (.)*  
 \*looks at VAS
- 85 Ωραία του λέω (.)  
*Fine, I tell him (.)*
- 86 Ν' αφήσουμε ένα ν- >ΔΕΝ ^ΓΚΑΝΟΥΜΕ κρατήσεις.<  
*Let us give you a nu- we don't make reservations.*
- 87 Ε του λέω τι μπορώ να κάνω? (.)  
*Eh I say what can I do? (.)*
- 88 >ΕΛΑ σε μισή ώρα<  
*Come in half an hour*
- 89 >Κι άμα βρεις βρήκες.<  
*And if you find one, you got it.*
- 90 VAS: \*Όντως?  
*Really?*  
 \*looks at IOL with frowned eyebrows
- 91 IOL: Ναι και πήγαμε στο απέναντι. (.)  
*Yes and we went to the opposite one (.)*
- 92 Που ήτανε εξαιρετικό και μέ[σ α ε ί χ ε-]  
*That was amazing and in the insi[de there were-]*
- 93 VAS: \* [↑Κ α λ ά] κάνατε.  
*[Y o u d i d] well.*  
 \*looks at IOL
- 94 IOL: Μα μου έσπασε τα νεύρα!  
*But he made me angry!*
- 95 Με το υφάκι του.  
*With his attitude.*

## Appendix 13 – Interview data extracts

### Extract 1 ‘I don’t like public criticism’ (INT-1)

00:21:30

- 01 VAS: Πώς νιώθεις που σχολιάζει το φαγητό  
*How do you feel when he comments on the food*
- 02 Που του προσφέρεις?  
*That you offer him?*
- 03 KIM: Ε:: μ’ ενοχλεί. (.)  
*Eh it bothers me. (.)*
- 04 Μπορεί να μη μ’ ενοχλεί συνειδητά  
*It may not bother me consciously (.)*
- 05 Αλλά μ’ ενοχλεί σίγουρα ασυνείδητα.  
*But it certainly bothers me unconsciously.*
- 06 Όσ- όσο πέρναγε κι ο καιρός  
*As time was going on*
- 07 Μ’ ενοχλούσε και συνειδητά.  
*It was bothering me consciously too.*
- 08 Δε μ’ αρέσει η κριτική.  
*I don't like this kind of criticism.*
- 09 Και δε μ’ αρέσει αυτή:: η  
*And I don't like this*

10 απόλυτη=  
Absolute.NOM.F  
*absolute*

11 Η:: μ- η [eng] **πάμπλικ** κριτική.  
*The m- the public criticism.*

12 Ε: >τη θεωρώ επιθετική<.  
*Eh I consider it aggressive.*

13 VAS: Μ αλλά: (.) δε- δεν το είπες ευθέως  
*M but (.) you didn't say it openly.*

14 KIM: Ε: ↓ναι. (0.4) Δεν το είπα ευθέως.  
*Eh yes. (0.4) I didn't say it openly.*

15 Γιατί >να σου πω< δεν ε:  
*Because, to tell you, I didn't eh*

16 Ήθελα να μαλώσουμε.  
*Want us to argue.*

17 Έδειξα τη: δυσαρέσκειά μου  
*I showed my discontent*

18 Με τον^ ντρόπο μου και:  
*In my way and*

19 VAS: ↑Μ::  
*Mmm*

20 [Αυτό °που λες°>]  
*[that you are talking about]*

21 KIM: [Πλάγιως >ρε παιδί μου.<]  
*[Indirectly {re} / dude]*

22 VAS: Τι εξυπηρετεί θεωρείς?  
*What purpose does it serve, do you reckon?*

23 (0.5)

24 KIM: Ε::μ τι εξυπηρετείζ= ↑Δεν λες  
*Uhm what does it serve?=You don't say at the*

25 Μεσ στα μούτρα του (.)  
*In front of one's face (.)*

26 ↑Είσαι μαλάκας=έκανες μαλακία,  
*You are an asshole=you made a guff,*

27 Αλλά< πώς το λέει ο Τσίπρας?  
*But how is Tsipras saying it?*

28 Έχει- έχει μια δημιουργική ασΑφεια  
*It has, it leads to some creative ambiguity*

29 KIM: Ο πιο πλάγιος τρόπος  
*The more indirect way*

30 Που ρε παιδί μου:  
*That re.PRTCL kid.SNG.VOC.N I.POSS.GEN*  
*That {re}/ dude*

31 Κρατάει τις ισορροπίες.  
*Maintains the balance/ equilibrium.*

32 Σε κρίσιμες στιγμές με:: ένταση.  
*In critical moments of tension.*

00:23:05

## Extract 2 'It was very bad on her part' (INT-2)

00:14:10

01 ILI: Ντάξει τώρα τι να σχολιάσω?



Okay what am I to comment on now?  
 02 VAS: E::μ ε:=  
           Uhm eh=  
 03 ILI: =Το θυμώμαι αυτό το σκηνικό.=  
           =I remember this scene.=  
 04 VAS: =↑M::  
           =Mmm  
 05 ILI: Είχα γίνει ιού:ρμπο  
           I was infuriated  
 06       >Γιατί έπρεπε ν' ακούω  
           Because I had to listen to  
 07       Τι μου 'λεγε ο άλλος< (.)  
           What the other person was saying to me (.)  
 08       <Κι ↑είχα και την Ιόλη> (.)  
           And I also had Ioli (.)  
 09       E:: να μου υποδεικνύει  
           Eh indicating me  
 10       Τι έπρεπε να πω.  
           What I must say.  
 11       (0.6)  
 12 VAS: Δε σου άρεσε, ε?  
           You didn't like it, eh/ did you?  
 13 ILI: Τι να μ' αρέσει ρε φίλε?=  
           What should I like ((about it)) {re}/ dude?=  
 14       =Όχι ήταν άσχημο. (.)  
           =No, it was bad. (.)  
 15       Πολύ άσχημο εκ μέρους της.  
           Very bad on her part.  
 16 VAS: Όμως ε: της το είπες?  
           But eh did you say it to her?  
 17 ILI: E:: της το 'δειξα (. ) δεν- ε=  
           Eh I showed it to her (. ) I didn't eh=  
 18 VAS: =↑M:: ε:μ της το       [ ' δειξες ]  
           =Mmm uhm you showed [it to her]  
 19 ILI:                                       [Δηλαδή:: ] της φώναξα ε:  
   [That is ] I shouted at her eh  
 20       Κάποια στιγμή που:: ↓ε (. )  
           At some point that eh (. )  
 21       ↑Και την^ μπείραξα μετά με τις φωνές,  
           And I teased her afterwards with 'the shouts'  
 22       Αλλά δεν^ την έβρισα για- γιατί::  
           But I didn't swear at her because  
 23       Θα παρεξηγιότανε σί:γουρα (. )  
           She would get offended for sure (. )  
 24       Και δε θα τελείωνε καλά αυτό.  
           And this ((story)) would not have a happy ending.  
 25 VAS: O:kay.  
 00:14:50

### Extract 3 'You did not say a nice word' (INT-3)

00:15:40

((Kimonas is positively surprised when I play the particular extract back to him, and asks whether he can listen to it twice. Directly

after this, he comments on what he has heard without waiting for a prompt.))

- 01 KIM: ((Γέλιο))  
((Laughter))
- 02 \$Άσε που μωρή σιχγηαμένη\$  
\$Besides, you shitty friend\$
- 03 ((δυνατό Γέλιο))  
((raucous laughter))
- 04 \$Καλά >αυτό να ξέρεις δείχνει συμπάθεια.<\$  
Okay, this shows liking, to let you know.
- 05 VAS: \$Αχά νιάξει.\$ ((γέλιο))  
Uh-huh okay. ((laughter))
- 06 VAS: Άρα το περσ αστεία: περιπαικτικά.  
So, you said this in a joking, playful way.
- 07 KIM: Περιπαικτικό (.) ναι.  
It was playful (.) yes.
- 08 VAS: Δε σε πείραξε δηλαδή που: ε: που:  
Then it did not bother you that eh that
- 09 =↑Δεν^ μπερίμενες να σε προσέξουμε?=  
Didn't you expect us to notice you?
- 10 KIM: =Περίμενα. (.)  
I was expecting it. (.)
- 11 Και μ' ενόχλησε που:  
And I felt upset that
- 12 Δε μου είπατε ένα καλό λόγο.  
You did not say a nice word.
- 13 Το θεώρησα άσχημο.  
I considered it bad.
- 14 >Γι' αυτό και το είπα.<  
And that's why I said it.
- 15 VAS: M::  
Mmm
- 16 KIM: Θα 'θελα >να με πρ-<  
I'd like to not-
- 17 Ειδικά κάποιος αν είναι κοντινός μου  
Especially if it's a close person to me,
- 18 Περιμένω να με προσέξει.=Ναι.  
I anticipate that they notice me, yes.
- 19 Νομί- νομίζω όλοι το θέλουμε.  
I thi- think that all of us want it.
- 20 VAS: M: α- αλλά έκανες πλάκα όπως λες.  
Mm b- but you joked, as you say.
- 21 KIM: M: ναι:: γιατί ↑ήθελα να δείξω  
Mm yes because I wanted to show
- 22 Ότι μου την έσπασε χω- ε:  
That it nagged me with- eh
- 23 Χωρίς να μ: γίνεi θέμα.  
Without mm make it an issue.
- 24 VAS: Ναι ναι κατάλαβα.  
Yes, yes, I see.
- 25 KIM: Είναι ε: δεν είναι και περίεργο να: (.)  
It is eh isn't it a bit strange to (.)
- 26 Ζητάς σοβαρά τον^ γκαλό το λόγο?  
Ask seriously for a good word?
- 27 Θέλω να πω αυτό το περιμένεις,

28 *I mean to say that you expect it,*  
 Αλλά αν δεν έρθει (.)  
*But if it doesn't come/ happen (.)*  
 29 Το ζητάς?=Εέρω γω.  
*Do you ask for it?=I don't know.*  
 30 VAS: E::  
*Ehhh*  
 31 KIM: Είναι λίγο [eng] \$κριντζ\$.  
*It's a bit \$cringe\$.*  
 32 VAS: ((Γέλιο)) γιατί?  
*((Laughter)) why?*  
 33 KIM: E: εγώ θα νιτρεπόμουν >ρε παιδί μου  
*Ehh I would feel same {re}*  
 34 Πώς να στο πω<?  
*How can I say it?*  
 35 VAS: A: [eng] **όκει.**  
*Ahh okay.*  
 00:16:10

#### Extract 4 'It bothers me when one speaks on my voice' (INT-4)

00:14:00  
 01 VAS: Σ' ενοχλούσε που: που μιλούσε  
*Did it bother you that he was talking*  
 02 πάνω στη: στη φωνή σου?  
*over your voice?*  
 03 (0.5)  
 04 IOL: Τς καλά μ'ενοχλεί όταν μιλάει  
*Ts well it bothers me when ((somebody)) speaks*  
 05 ο άλλος πάνω στη  
*the other speaks over*  
 06 φωνή μου γενικότερα. (.)  
*my voice in general. (.)*  
 07 Αλλά ό- όχι σε σημείο (. ) ε:  
*But not to the point (. ) eh*  
 08 που να πω στο Συμεών  
*of telling to Simeon*  
 09 >Σταμάτα σκάσε<.  
*Stop, shut up.*  
 10 Ε α τς έχω φτάσει  
*Eh ah ts I have come/ arrived ((to the point of))*  
 11 να πω σκάσε=>Δεν είναι θέμα<.=  
*to say shut up, it's not something/ an issue.=*  
 12 VAS: =Ναι.  
*=Yes.*  
 13 IOL: Αλλά: στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση όχι=  
*But in this particular case, no.=*  
 14 =Υπήρχε μια τς  
*=There was a ts*  
 15 Εέρεις αυτό που< †>Ελα ρε μαλάκα=  
*You know like come on {re}=*  
 16 =Σταμάτα λίγο να σου πω.<  
*=Stop a moment to tell you.*

- 17 Δεν είν' ωραίο αυτό που κάνεις.  
*What you're doing is not nice.*
- 18 VAS: M:  
*Mm*
- 19 IOL: Αυτό το συναίσθημα που  
*This emotion that*
- 20 >δεν ^γκζέρω πώς να στο  
*I don't know how to*
- 21 περιγράψω< αλλά όχι να πεις ότι (.)  
*describe it to you but not to say that (.)*
- 22 Τς δεν ^ντιου- μι- δε:  
*Ts I don't sp(eak) to him, I won't*
- 23 >θα θα εκνευριστώ τόσο πολύ<  
*get annoyed to that extent*
- 24 Που θα του πω >έλα βούλωσέ το.<  
*To the point of telling him come on shut up.*
- 25 Ένα πιο [eng] **λάιτ** συναίσθημα  
*A milder emotion*
- 26 αυτού του τύπου.  
*of that sort.*
- 27 VAS: M.  
*Mm*
- 28 (0.6)
- 29 Μ γιατί του λες σταμάτα (.) δυο τρεις φορές στο::  
*M why do you tell him 'stop'. (.) twice or thrice in the*
- 30 συγκεκριμένο επεισοδιάκι?  
*Particular episode?*
- 31 [Τς αλλά λες ότι]  
*[Ts but you say that]*
- 32 IOL: [Ναι ρε παιδί μου<] ναι. (.). Πώς να στο πω? (.)  
*[Yes {re} / dude] yes. (.) How can I say it to you? (.)*
- 33 Επειδή το είχε< ↑όπως λέει ο πατέρας μου όταν το παίρνεις  
*Because he had< as my father says, when you make*
- 34 κάτι στην αρβάλα<sup>120</sup> και δεν αφήνεις τον άλλο να ολοκληρώσει,  
*Fun out of something and you don't let the other finish,*
- 35 VAS: M:.,  
*Mm,*
- 36 IOL: Υπάρχει ένας όχι εκνευρισμός, (.)  
*There's not irritation, (.)*
- 37 Έτσι ένα ↑>άσε με να το πω ρε παιδάκι μου.<  
*Something like 'let me say it {re}.'*
- 38 VAS: M:  
*Mm*
- 39 IOL: Και μετά έλα να το:: να το:: τς πάρουμε στο πιο:  
*And then come to- to ts take it more*
- 40 στην^ μπλάκα αν θέλεις. (.)  
*Lightly/ to make some fun, If you wish. (.)*
- 41 Αλλά άσε με να το πω.  
*But let me say it.*
- 42 Αυτό >αυτό ήτανε που μ' ενοχλούσε.<  
*This this was what was irritating me.*
- 43 Άσε με να το πω δηλαδή.  
*Let me say it, that is.*
- 44 Σταμάτα την^ μπλάκα για να μ' αφήσεις να στο πω. (.)

<sup>120</sup> Slang term for *noise, fun* in Greek.

Stop making humour to let me say it to you. (.)  
 45 Στιαμάτα να μιλάς από πάνω.  
 Stop overlapping my voice.  
 46 VAS: Όκει [ά ρ α] υπάρχει προσδοκία ότι τς (.)  
 Okay [s o] there's an expectation that ts (.)  
 47 IOL: [Γ ε ν ι κά]  
 [In general]  
 48 VAS: Μιλάει ένας τη φορά για να:: τς  
 One speaks at a time so that ts  
 49 IOL: Μπας και συνεννοηθούμε.  
 ((So that)) we happen to understand each other.  
 50 VAS: Για ν' ακού- για ν' ακούσεις αυτό που έχω να σου πω, (.)  
 To lis- to listen to what I've got to tell you, (.)  
 51 Και να να συνεισφέρεις μετά.  
 And to contribute afterwards.  
 52 IOL: Ναι ρε παιδί μου αυτό που σου 'πα πριν ότι  
 Yes {re} what I told you before, that  
 53 Το:: ήξερα ότι θ' ακούσει ( ).  
 I knew he would hear ( ).  
 54 Μπορεί ν' άκουγε σε δεύτερο χρόνο,  
 He may hear after some time,  
 55 VAS: M:  
 Mm  
 56 IOL: Άλ- άλ- είν' αναγκαστικό να επαναλάβω.  
 Bu= bu- it's necessary that I repeat.  
 57 Ήξερα ότι έχει την προδιάθεση ν' ακούσει.=  
 I knew that he had the predisposition to listen.=  
 58 VAS: =Mχ  
 =M huh  
 59 IOL: Άλλά εκείνη την ώρα τς με το να με διακόπτεις  
 But at that time ts by interrupting me  
 60 Έχανα κι εγώ τον ειρμό μου οπότε γάσε με να το πω στ-  
 I was losing track of my thoughts so, let me say it st-  
 61 στιαμάτα για να: το συζητήσουμε. (.) Μάκη? (εντάξει) σόρρυ  
 Stop so that we discuss it. (.) Mike? (okay) sorry.  
 ((speaking to a friend who's in the kitchen))  
 62 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
 ((Laughs))  
 63 Στη σιην^ μπαρέα γενικά υπάρχει αυτή η τάση  
 In the group of friends generally does this tendency exist  
 64 [ν α] μιλάω πάνω στο λόγο σου?  
 [t o] speak over your speech?  
 65 IOL: [Ο υ : :]  
 [Does it ever!]  
 66 Ω καλά!=Μα δε μας ξέρεις?  
 Ah well!=But don't you know us?  
 67 \$Εννοώ όλη την ώρα αυτό γίνεται.\$  
 \$I mean this happens all the time.\$  
 68 VAS: M:  
 Mm  
 69 IOL: Γι' αυτό σπανίως βγάζουμ' άκρη.  
 That's why rarely to we make any sense.  
 70 VAS: Εί- είναι κάτι το οποίο τς ε είναι συνηθισμένο και άρα:  
 I- Is it something that ts eh is habitual/common and thus  
 71 IOL: Ρε παιδί μου [ναι ν ο μ ί]ζω  
 {re} / dude [yes I t h I n]k

- 72 VAS: [Δεν ε ν ο χλεί?]  
[It's not annoying?]
- 73 IOL: Σ' αυτή την^ μπάρεα είναι συνηθισμένο.  
*In this group it's habitual/ common.*
- 74 Στο: στη δικιά μας τέλος πάντων.  
*In our ((group)), anyways.*
- 75 VAS: Mχ  
*M huh*
- 76 IOL: Ε και:: δηλαδή έτσι έχει δομηθεί.  
*Eh and I mean that's how it's been structured.*
- 77 VAS: Mχ  
*M huh*
- 78 IOL: Εέρεις ότι θα μιλήσουμ' ό:λοι, (.)  
*You know that we'll all speak, (.)*
- 79 Μετά θα τα ξαναπούμε ένας ένας κάποια στιγμή  
*Then each of us we'll repeat at some point what they've said*
- 80 ή δυο δυο και θα βγάλουμ' άκρη [(μπο)]  
*Or in twos and we'll make sense [maybe]*
- 81 VAS: [Σ υ μ]βάλλει σε::=  
*[D oes] it contribute to=*
- 82 IOL: =Σε:?  
*=To?*
- 83 VAS: Συμβάλλει σε κάτι αυτό το:: μιλάμε όλοι μαζί?  
*Does it contribute to anything this ((habit of us)) speaking altogether?*
- 84 IOL: Όχι σε τίποτα=Ναι στο να επα- στη μητέρα της επανα:-  
*No to nothing=Yes to repea- to the mother of repet-*
- 85 της εκμάθησης.=Στην επανάληψη.  
*Of knowledge.=To repetition.*
- 86 VAS: [(Όκει)]  
*[(Okay)]*
- 87 IOL: [M ό νο] σ' αυτό συμβάλλει. (0.5)  
*[O n ly] to this it contributes. (0.5)*
- 88 Γιατί κατά τα άλλα είναι άσχημο πράμα.  
*Because, as other things are concerned, it's a bad thing.*
- 89 VAS: M:: ό- όταν ωστόσο ο άλλος πάει να συμπληρώσει το:  
*Mmm but wh- when the other goes to complete the*
- 90 Τη φράση σου (.) όπως σ' ένα σημείο που του λες  
*Your phrase (.) like at some point that you tell him*
- 91 ↑θέλεις να: και λέει ν' ανοίξουμε μαγαζί.  
*'Do you want', and he says 'to open a brunch store.'*
- 92 T- τ' ότι εκείνη τη στιγμή συμπληρώνει τη φράση σου  
*T- the that at that point he completes your phrase*
- 93 Σού δείχνει κάτι ας πούμε?  
*Shows to you something, let's say/ for instance?*
- 94 IOL: Αν δε μίλαγε πριν δε θα χρειαζόταν να τη συμπληρώσει  
*If he wasn't speaking before, he needn't complete it*
- 95 Γιατί εγώ δε θα 'χα χάσει τον ειρμό μου.  
*Because I wouldn't have lost my track of thought.*
- 96 VAS: Όκει δε σου λέει κάτι το=  
*Okay does tell you anything the=*
- 97 IOL: =Μου λέει ότι με παρακολουθεί.  
*It tells me that he's following me.*
- 98 Αλλ- αλλά κ- είν' αυτό που σου πα πριν, (.)  
*Bu- but an- it's what I told you before, (.)*
- 99 Το ξέρω ότι με παρακολουθεί. (0.4)

I know that he's following me. (0.4)  
 100 E- δε μ' εκνευρίζει γιατί πιστεύω ότι δε μ' ακούει.  
*Eh he doesn't annoy me because I think he doesn't listen.*  
 101 M' εκνευρίζει γιατί δεν ολοκληρώνω αυτό που θέλω να πω.  
*He annoys me because I don't finish what I want to say.*  
 102 Και κάπου χάνω εγώ τς τη δομή της σκέψης μου.  
*And at some point I lose ts the structure of my thinking.*  
 00:15:20

### Extract 5 'This was not an interaction' (INT-5)

00:08:05  
 01 VAS: Πώς εννοούσες το: (.) ξινός?  
*How did you mean the (.) 'sour'?*  
 02 ECT: E:: ή- ήταν >ρε παιδί μου:< (.)  
*Eh he w- was {re} / dude (.)*  
 03 Πικρόχολος= επιθετικός (.)  
*Bitter=aggressive (.)*  
 04 Πώς το λένε?  
*How to say it?*  
 05 VAS: ↑M:  
*Mm*  
 06 ECT: E: >ΦΑ' το και σκάσε=  
*Eat it and shut up=*  
 07 =ΦΑ' το και σκάσε< (.)  
*=Eat it and shut up=*  
 08 Ω ΜΩΡΕ Ω!  
*Och {more} och!*  
 09 Τη ↑ΜΑνα μου φάτε  
*My mother eat*  
 10 και ↑↑σκάστε! (0.4)  
*And shut up! (0.4)*  
 11 VAS: ((Γέλιο))  
*((Laughter))*  
 12 ECT: ↑Δεν ήταν διάδραση αυτό.  
*This was not interaction.*  
 13 Ενιωθα: πολλή πίεση °χωρίς:ς°  
*I was feeling much pressure without*  
 14 VAS: M:: καταλαβαίνω (.) ε:μ επέλεξες να χαμογελάσεις (.)  
*Mmm I see (.) uhm you chose to smile (.)*  
 15 ECT: E:μ ναι (.) Ίσως γιατί δεν ήθελα να::  
*Uhm yes (.) Maybe because I didn't want to*  
 16 αρπαχτούμε (.hh) αλλά είπα αυτό που ήθελα  
*Argue (.hh) but I said what I wanted*  
 17 με το γάντι.  
*Tactfully.*  
 18 VAS: [eng] Όκει ναι.  
*Okay, yes.*  
 00:08:13

### Extract 6 'It's typical rudeness' (INT-6)

00:15:12

- 01 VAS: Ήταν προσβλητικός ↓θεωρείς?  
*Was he offensive, you reckon?*
- 02 ECT: E: κοίτα να δεις (.)  
*Eh, look, (.)*
- 03 ↑Δεν ^μπας σε κάποιον που ξέρεις  
*You don't go to somebody you've known*
- 04 τρεις ε:: τέ- τέσσερις μέρες?  
*For three eh fo- four days?*
- 05 E να του πεις (.)  
*Eh to tell him (.)*
- 06 ↑Πώς έχεις ντυθεί έτσι?  
*How have you dressed like that?*
- 07 VAS: M:: α- ακόμα κι αν η ίδια ε::  
*Mmm e- even if she herself eh*
- 08 αυτοσα[ρ κ ά ζ ε τ α ι ?]  
*Self- [d e p r e c a t e s?]*
- 09 ECT: >E ναί ρε<] είναι τυπική  
*[Eh yes {re}] ((this)) is typical*
- 10 αγένεια αυτό.  
*rudeness.*
- 11 VAS: ↑↑M:: άρα προς εμένα θεωρείς ότι:=  
*Mmm so towards me you reckon that*
- 12 ECT: =>E και προς εμένα ρε αφού< ήσουν (.)  
*Eh towards me too {re} as you were (.)*
- 13 καλεσμένη μου.  
*My guest.*
- 14 VAS: Αχά:: (.) αλλά ή- ήταν περιπαικτικό:ζ  
*Aha! (.) But it w- was playfulζ*
- 15 ECT: Ναι ναι περιπαικτικό κυρίως=↑α- αλλά:  
*Yes, yes, it was mainly playful=b= but*
- 16 έδειξε και τη δυσaréσκειά μου  
*It also showed my discontent*
- 17 ↓πιστεύω. (.) Δηλαδή:  
*I believe. (.) That is to say,*
- 18 VAS: Το εννοούσες όμωςζ  
*You meant it thoughζ*
- 19 ECT: Ναι ναι απλώς το: καμού(h)φλαρα λίγο=  
*Yes, yes, I simply camouflaged it a bit=*
- 20 VAS: =A::  
*=Ohhh*
- 21 ECT: Για- για να μη θιχτεί.  
*So that he would not take offence.*
- 22 VAS: Ναι ναι.  
*Yes, yes.*

00:15:22

### Extract 7 'I wanted to avoid the tension' (INT-7)

00:13:10

- 01 IOL: E: ντάξει (.)



Eh okay (.)  
 02 .h νομίζω (.)  
 I think (.)  
 03 Ότι ήταν όντως σοβαρή αγένεια (.)  
 That it really was rudeness (.)  
 04 Αυτό που έκαν' ο Συμεών.  
 What Simeon did.  
 05 VAS: M: ναι.  
 Mm yes.  
 06 IOL: Με α- άφησε με το φίλο  
 He left me with his friend  
 07 του πίσω (.)  
 behind (.)  
 08 Θυμάσαι [>τον ^γκαψερό<]  
 You remember [the poor ((guy))]  
 09 VAS: [Ναι ναι ναι.]  
 [Yes yes yes.]  
 10 IOL: Τον^ \$ντιμωρημένο\$  
 The punished ((guy))  
 11 VAS: \$Ναι.\$  
 12 IOL: Προχωρούσες (.) κι εσύ με: με- (.)  
 You were too walking with- with (.)  
 13 τον άλλο μπροστά ε: (.)  
 The other ((person)) in front ((of us)) eh (.)  
 14 Κι ο Συμεών με είχε ξεχάσει.  
 And Simeon had forgotten me.  
 15 VAS: Ναι ναι.  
 Yes yes.  
 16 IOL: Δεν παρατάς (.) τον άλλο  
 You don't abandon the other person alone  
 17 έτσι και φ- τρέχεις.  
 Like that and run.  
 18 VAS: Μετά γέλασες όμως=  
 But then you laughed=  
 19 IOL: =Ναι γέλασα: γιατί: (.)  
 =Yes I laughed because (.)  
 20 Για να ελαφρύνω το κλίμα  
 In order to lighten up the atmosphere  
 21 Λίγο μωρέ.  
 A bit {more}.  
 22 IOL: Καφέ πίναμε έτσι κι αλλιώς και:  
 We were drinking coffee anyway and  
 23 VAS: Ναι.  
 Yes.  
 24 Γενικά (.) ε:: πολλά πράγματα τς που:  
 Generally, (.) eh many things ts that  
 25 Συμβαίνουν τα θεωρώ ά- άσχημα αλλά:  
 Happen, I deem them b- bad but  
 26 ΔΕ θα κάτσω να μαλώσω με:  
 I am not going to quarrel now with (.)  
 27 Τον άλλο.  
 The other person.  
 28 VAS: Ναι [eng] **όκει**.  
 Yes okay.  
 29 IOL: Ή να γκρινιάζω  
 Or to ts be whining

30 VAS: ↑M: αυ[το<]  
 Mm th[i s]  
 31 IOL: [Για]τί ήθελα να αποφύγω (.)  
 [Bec]ause I wanted to avoid (.)  
 32 την ένταση μεταξύ μας  
 The *tension* between us.  
 33 VAS: Ναι βέβαια.  
 Yes sure.  
 00:13:50

### Extract 8 'I take it non-seriously' (INT-8)

00:24:12  
 01 VAS: Τι σκέφτεσαι π- που το βλέπεις? (.)  
 What are you thinking while you are watching it?  
 02 >Εννοώ ότι εννοώ θα:< (.)  
 I mean that I mean ((you)) will (.)  
 03 θα το: θυμάσαι (.)  
 You may remember it (.)  
 04 .h το σκηνικό.  
 The scene.  
 05 ECT: Θυμάμαι την τά- την ε: (.)  
 I remember the ( ) the eh (.)  
 06 τα <σκάσε και φά' το>.  
 the 'shut up and eat it'  
 07 Τον α: (.) ε:  
 The ah (.) eh  
 08 επ- επιθετικό τόνο του Κίμωνα.  
 Aggressive tone of Kimonas.  
 09 VAS: ↑M ναι ναι.  
 M yes yes.  
 10 ECT: Που μ' έβριζε (.) για- τς  
 Who was swearing at me (.) bec- ts  
 11 γιατί δεν ήθελα να ↑φάω.  
 Because I didn't want to eat.  
 12 (0.8)  
 13 VAS: M °ναι° αλλά χαμογέλασες=  
 M yes but you smiled=  
 14 ECT: =Ναι ντάξει (.)  
 =Yes okay (.)  
 15 >Έτσι είναι σαν: ↑άνθρωπος<  
 He is like that as a person.  
 16 μωρέ οξύθυμος.  
 {more} irritable.  
 17 VAS: M:  
 Mm  
 18 ECT: Κι εγώ το παίρνω (.)  
 And I take it (.)  
 19 Από ένα σημείο και μετά  
 From one point.ACC.N and then  
 After some time  
 20 στην^ μπλάκκα >για να μην< ε::  
 Non-seriously in order not to eh  
 21 τραγόμαστε συνέχεια.

*Quarrel all the time.*

00:24:30

Extract 9 'I comment in a calm manner' (INT-9)

00:26:50

- 01 VAS: Κάποια στιγμή ε: πριν αν- αν είδες (.)  
*At some point, eh before if- if you saw (.)*
- 02 Λες στον^ Γκίμωνα (.)  
*You say to Kimonas (.)*
- 03 †Ένα είπα= δεκαπέντα είπες.  
*I said one thing=you said fifteen.*
- 04 (0.6)
- 05 ECT: Ε:μ ναι γιατί άρχισε να †βρίζει  
*Uhm yes because he started swearing*
- 06 Και >σκάσε και φά' το< και:  
*And 'shut up and eat it and*
- 07 >Ω μωρέ αυτό: και αχού πια εκείνο,<  
*oh {more} this and phew that,'*
- 08 Και πριν που έ- σου 'λεγα, (.)  
*And before that I was telling you, (.)*
- 09 Μου 'βγαζε μια εριστικότηα  
*He was being aggressive*
- 10 Ενώ εγώ είχα πει το εξής  
*While I'd said the following*
- 11 Απλό και <ήρεμα μάλιστα>  
*Simple ((thing) and indeed in a calm manner*
- 12 †Ρε παιδιά (.) το χρώμα  
*{Re} guys (.) the colour of the marmalade*
- 13 Είναι λίγο κακό.  
*Is a bit bad.*
- 14 VAS: M: ναι ναι.  
*Mm yes yes.*
- 15 Αυτό πώς σε έ- τι σκέψεις [ε :]  
*This how did it- what thoughts [e h]*
- 16 ECT: [To<]  
[The]
- 17 Σου 'πα και πριν >(δη)λαδή< ότι::  
*I told you before, that is, that*
- 18 Αρπάζεται με το παραμικρό.  
*He gets irritated at the drop of a hat.*
- 19 Ενώ εγώ σχολιάζω ήρεμα.  
*While I comment in a calm manner*
- 20 (0.8)
- 21 VAS: Και λες είναι γενικό=  
*And, you say, it's general=*
- 22 ECT: =Ναι είναι συχνότατο. (.)  
*=Yes it's too frequent.*
- 23 Κι εγώ †δεν έχω ΔΙΑθεση να:  
*And I am not in the mood to*
- 24 >μαλώνω ρε παιδί μου<.  
*Quarrel/ argue {re}/ dude*
- 25 Ούτε να το παρατραβάω.  
*Nor to be taking it too far.*

26 Και ξέρεις έκανα< κάνω [eng] †**χιούμορ**  
*And you know I was, I joke*  
 27 παρόλο που ο άλλος=  
*Although the other one*  
 28 =Η μουσίτσα=  
 =*The sly*=  
 29 VAS: =(Γέλιο)  
 =(Laughter)  
 30 ECT: Επιμένει.  
*Persists.*  
 00:27:13

### Extract 10 'I always let it go' (INT-10)

00:12:10  
 01 KIM: E: το θυμάμαι πολύ καλά.  
*Eh I remember very well this scene.*  
 02 Ήτανε (.) πολύ εκνευριστικό, (.)  
*It was (.) very upsetting, (.)*  
 03 VAS: †M::  
*Mmm*  
 04 Μα †ήρθε μες στο σπίτι μου  
*But he came into my house*  
 05 Να μου κάνει κριτική (.)  
*To criticise me*  
 06 εμένα κιάλας= °όχι στον^ Μπάρι°  
*((to criticise)) me indeed/ now=not Paris*  
 07 για τις σακούλες.  
*about the bags.*  
 08 VAS: †M::  
*Mmm*  
 09 KIM: Τη μία για τις σακούλες,  
*On one occasion about the bags,*  
 10 την άλλη για το ποδήλατο,  
*On another about the bicycle,*  
 11 μέχρι και για τους φίλους μου.  
*Even about my friends.*  
 12 VAS: †Ναι.  
*Yes.*  
 13 KIM: Και πάντα ε: (.)  
*And I always*  
 14 δίνω τό-τόπο στην οργή  
*((I)) let it go*  
 15 Και προσπαθώ να μη: (.)  
*And try not to (.)*  
 16 δίνω τό::ση σημασία  
*take it so seriously / pay so much attention*  
 17 Γιατί >νταξ φίλοι είμαστε< και: (.)  
*Because, well, we are friends and (.)*  
 18 [eng] **όκει** ε:: (.) καταλαβαίνεις.  
*Okay, eh, (.) you see.*  
 19 VAS: Ναι ναι.  
*Yes yes.*  
 20 KIM: Οπότε (.) θα πω

21 So (.) I will say it  
 >ρε παιδί μου< (.)  
 {re} / man (.)  
 22 μη μου κάνεις κριτική: [fre] \$μανδάμ\$  
 Don't criticise me, madame.  
 23 Αλλά μέχρι εκεί.  
 But until there/ / But I won't go beyond this.  
 24 VAS: \$M: [eng] όκει\$.  
 M okay.  
 00:12:26

### Extract 11 Despair and humour (INT-11)

00:10:12  
 01 VAS: Μας ΤΑ' \$πρηξες!\$  
 You pissed us off/ you nagged us!  
 02 PAR: Ε: ένιωθα <και περίεργα> (.)  
 Eh I was feeling strangely/ uncomfortably too (.)  
 03 Το 'πα και περίεργα τς ναι.  
 And I said it in an ((equally)) strange way ts yes.  
 04 VAS: Δηλαδή?  
 That is?  
 05 PAR: Αυτό που είπα ε:μ  
 What I said uhm  
 06 Εί- είχε λίγη απόγνωση. (.)  
 ((It)) ha- had a bit of despair in it. (.)  
 07 Είχε λίγη απόγνωση.  
 It had some despair.  
 08 VAS: Απόγνωση [για :]  
 Despair [about]  
 09 PAR: [Γι α ]τι: έκανε κριτική (.)  
 [Because (.) he was making criticism (.)  
 10 για τη: (.) μα- μαρμελάδα.  
 About the marmalade.  
 11 (0.7)  
 12 Ναι: απόγνωση ντυμένη (.)  
 Yes despair embellished  
 13 με λίγο ιχιούμορ.  
 with a little bit of humour.  
 14 Νομίζω αυτό σήμαινε  
 I think this is what meant  
 15 αυτό που είπα.  
 what I said.  
 16 VAS: M: και για- για ποιο λόγο δεν είπες (.)  
 Mm and for- for what reason eh (.) you didn't say (.)  
 17 <Νιώθω απόγνωση> μ' αυτό που γίνεται (.)  
 I feel desperate with what's going on (.)  
 18 Και έκανες πλάκα?  
 And you joked?  
 19 PAR: Ε: γιατί υπάρχουν ισορροπίες. (.)  
 Eh because there are balances. (.)  
 20 Εέρω 'γώ ε: δεν^ ντιο λες αυτό.  
 I don't now eh you don't say it.  
 21 VAS: Δε λες πώς νιώθεις;

You don't say how you feel;  
 22 PAR: E: θα το αφήσω ε-  
*Eh I will leave it*  
 23 Εκείνη τη στιγμή,  
*At that point,*  
 24 Και θα το πω μετά και' ιδίαν.  
*And I will say it afterwards in private.*  
 25 Δε θα το πω  
*I won't say it*  
 26 μπροστά σε όλους.  
*in front of everybody.*  
 27 VAS: M: [eng] **όκει**.  
*Mm okay.*  
 00:10:30

### Extract 12 'To lighten up the atmosphere' (INT-12)

00:13:21  
 01 VAS: Είχες τα νεύρα σου ε?  
*You were upset, right?*  
 02 ECT: ↑Ε μα ρε φίλε (.)  
*Eh but {re} (.)*  
 03 Το θυμάμαι τώρα και ε: (.) ξέρεις (.)  
*I remember it now and eh (.) you know (.)*  
 04 Εκνευρίζομαι λίγο γιατί (.)  
*I am getting a little bit upset/ angry because*  
 05 Γιατί ΘΥΜΑμαι να λέω  
*Because I remember say- me saying*  
 06 στον^ Μπάρι ότι θα πάω: ε:  
*to Paris that I'll go eh*  
 07 Πράγα να πούμε με το σχολείο,  
*to Prague with the- the school,*  
 08 VAS: ↑M::  
*Mmm*  
 09 ECT: Το ξέχασε (.)  
*He forgot about it (.)*  
 10 Και ούτε που ενδιαφέρθηκε.  
*And did not even care about ((it)).*  
 11 Και μετά δήθεν σα- >σαν να μη συμβαίνει τίποτα< (.)  
*And then allegedly, as if nothing had happened (.)*  
 12 ↑↑Πώς ήτανε στην^ ↑↑Μπράγα?  
*How was Prague?*  
 13 VAS: E:μ χαμο- χαμογέλασες όμως τότε.  
*You smiled at that point though.*  
 14 ECT: Ε καλά χαμογέλασα όπως χαμογελάω πάντα  
*Eh well I smiled as I always smile*  
 15 για να μην εκτροχιαστεί (.)  
*So that ((it)) won't be derailed (.)*  
 16 το πράγμα,  
*the thing,*  
 17 και να: ελαφρύνω το κλίμα.  
*And so as to lighten up the atmosphere.*  
 18 VAS: M:: ναι ναι.  
*Mmm yes yes.*

19 ECT: ↑Άσε που άμα το πεις πιο: γλυκά,  
*Besides, if you say it in a sweeter manner,*  
20 ο άλλος παίζει ν' ακούσει. (.)  
*The other ((person)) may hear ((you)). (.)*  
21 Ενώ άμα το πεις [eng] **φουλ** σοβαρά  
*While if you say it too seriously*  
22 Αμύνεται και είναι πιθανό να: τσακωθείς.  
*S/he defends and it's likely that you'll fight.*  
23 VAS: [eng] **Όκει όκει.**  
*Okay okay.*  
00:13:41