



LUND
UNIVERSITY

Impoliteness in language and gesture:

A cross-cultural study of impolite behaviour in
Russian and Swedish

Vladislav Zlov

Supervisors:

Prof. Jordan Zlatev

Prof. Marianne Gullberg

Associate Prof. Joost van de Weijer

Centre for Language and Literature, Lund University

MA in Language and Linguistics, Cognitive Semiotics

SPVR01 Language and Linguistics: Degree Project – Master's (Two Years) Thesis, 30 credits

October 15, 2019

Abstract

Impoliteness has been considered as a marginal phenomenon for scientific research for some time, although as a type of behaviour it has always been around us. The field of impoliteness studies is currently growing, but there are clear gaps in the research that concerns the conventionality of expressions, different semiotic systems through which impoliteness is expressed and cross-cultural comparisons. With a help of a cognitive-semiotic framework, this thesis focuses on how Russian and Swedish native speakers perceive impoliteness of highly conventional and less conventional offensive behaviour expressed through the systems of language and gesture. Through a reaction-time experiment and in-depth interviews with sixty participants the thesis investigates: (1) what impact conventionality has on the degree of perceived impoliteness, (2) whether conventionality influences how fast people judge impolite expressions, (3) whether impoliteness expressed through different semiotic systems differs and (4) what differences exist in how Russian and Swedish participants evaluate impolite behaviour.

The results showed that conventionality does have a strong impact on perceived impoliteness when the degree of impoliteness is high. Secondly, there were faster reactions for highly conventional and for highly impolite expressions. Thirdly, differences were found between language and gesture with respect to their conventionality (and perceived “aggressiveness”), but not in terms of impoliteness. Finally, Swedish participants evaluated impolite language and gestures as very impolite more often than Russian participants. Conceptually, the thesis explored the notion of *conventionality* as consisting of three aspects: clarity, familiarity and evaluation. The study could show that conventionality was understood differently depending on which aspect participants focused on and on which semiotic system, language, or gesture, it was concerned.

Keywords: impoliteness, politeness, cognitive semiotics, language, gesture, conventionality, culture, mimesis, face, directness, frequency, evaluation, semantics, pragmatics, context, sign.

Acknowledgements

Foremost, I would like to thank Jordan Zlatev, my main supervisor, for his enormous and invaluable help with this thesis project. He has been supportive all the time from January 2018 when this project started until its defence. I am grateful to Jordan for his passion and involvement, and for encouraging me to go beyond my limits. I will always remember our meetings and productive debates. As we all know – truth is born in an argument. Finally, I am happy that I met Jordan simply because without him my personal development would not have been different.

I am also grateful to my co-supervisors whose contribution to this thesis project is truly significant. Joost van de Weijer evoked in me passion for statistics and data analysis. Without Joost, it would not have been possible to arrange a technical side of the experiment and to process the results.

I am truly thankful to Marianne Gullberg who has been giving me courage all the way and who provided very helpful and precise comments and criticism. Besides this, Marianne was a source of inspiration and motivation due to her enormously broad knowledge, toughness and kindness rolled into one.

I would like to thank the Humanities lab at Language and literature centre in Lund for giving me a chance to join this great place with high-tech equipment and kind people working there. I also want to thank Lund University for all those great people I met there and for making my studies possible financially by awarding me a grant that covered the largest part of the tuition fee.

I especially want to thank people who participated in my experiment and/or helped with recruiting people. I am thankful for your time, feedback and energy – without helpers and participants there would not have been any results to work on. Here I want to express my gratitude to my actors and actresses: Jessica, Iulia, Björn and Andre from the Swedish side and Anna, Alla, Sergey and Yevgeny from the Russian side. Without you, I could not have recorded those great videos. Special thanks go to my friend Dima who drew some pictures for the experiment and this thesis, and who helped me with piloting and editing very first videos. Finally, I want to thank my friend Alexandra Mouratidou for all those group projects we did and for saying *I will slap you in the face* when I needed to get some extra motivation to keep working.

I also want to thank two people who enormously influenced me when I studied in Saratov – Viola Talakhadze and Liudmila Ostasheva. Without them, my dreams to study abroad could have stayed as just dreams.

Finally yet importantly, I want to thank my parents and grandparents for helping me morally and financially, for believing in me not only when I worked on this thesis, but during my whole life. My fluffy friend Pushok also deserves special thanks for giving me positive emotions and spending days and nights with me when I was working on this thesis at home.

Table of contents

List of figures	vii
List of tables.....	viii
Abbreviations.....	ix
CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.....	4
2.1 Introduction.....	4
2.2 Cognitive Semiotics.....	4
2.2.1 Some general concepts	4
2.2.2 Signs, and language and gesture as semiotic systems	8
2.2.2.1 The <i>sign</i> concept.....	8
2.2.2.2 Language.....	10
2.2.2.3 Gesture.....	12
2.2.2.4 Gesture and bodily mimesis	13
2.3 Politeness and impoliteness: theories, models and approaches	14
2.3.1 Introduction.....	14
2.3.2 Politeness face theory.....	14
2.3.2 Discursive approaches to (im)politeness	17
2.3.3 Modern approaches to (im)politeness	18
2.3.4 A composite approach to impoliteness	19
2.4 Conventionality, directness, implicatures and impoliteness.....	22
2.4.1 Semantics and pragmatics	22
2.4.2 Directness	23
2.4.3 Implicature	24
2.4.4 Conventionality.....	25
2.5 (Im)politeness in Russian and Swedish cultures	30
2.6 General hypotheses.....	32
CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY.....	34
3.1 Establishing cross-cultural comparability of words and gestures.....	34
3.2 Questionnaire	36
3.3 Experiment and post-experiment interview.....	36
3.3.1 Participants.....	36

3.3.2 Design and materials.....	37
3.3.3 Equipment	39
3.3.4 Procedure	40
3.3.5 Ethical considerations.....	41
3.3.6 Post-experiment interview	41
3.4 Predictions and specific hypotheses	42
CHAPTER 4. RESULTS.....	43
4.1 Introduction.....	43
4.2 H1 – Impoliteness and conventionality	43
4.3 H2 – Reaction time and conventionality	44
4.4 H3 – Gestures vs Language in terms of perceived impoliteness	45
4.5 H4 – Cross-cultural differences	46
4.6 Interview results	48
4.6.1 Directness	48
4.6.2 Typicality and frequency	50
4.6.3 Evaluation.....	51
4.6.4 Summary	52
CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION.....	53
5.1 Introduction.....	53
5.2 H1 – Impoliteness and conventionality	53
5.2.1 Clarity.....	53
5.2.2 Familiarity	55
5.2.3 Evaluation.....	56
5.3 H2 – Conventionality and speed of response.....	56
5.4 H3 – Impoliteness and semiotic systems	56
5.5 H4 – Impoliteness and culture	59
CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH.....	61
REFERENCES	65
Appendix A. Informed consent form.....	74
Appendix B. Instructions in Swedish.....	75
Appendix C. Instructions in Russian.....	77
Appendix D. Interview questions	80
Appendix E. The full script for impolite dialogues in Swedish	81
Appendix F. The full script for impolite dialogues in Russian.....	83

Appendix G. Distribution of impolite dialogues across two types of damage (Face vs. Sociality rights)	85
Appendix H. The full list of metalinguistic representations provided by Russian participants	86
Appendix I. The full list of metalinguistic representations provided by Swedish participants	91

List of figures

Figure 1. The conceptual-empirical loop, with examples from the current thesis (adapted from Zlatev 2015a).....	5
Figure 2. Hjelmslev’s understanding of sign (adapted from Meyer, 2005: 115)	9
Figure 3. The process of semiosis (adapted from Ahlner & Zlatev, 2010: 314).....	10
Figure 4. Three aspects of conventionality distinguished in the present thesis.....	27
Figure 5. Number of judgements provided by participants depending on categories of conventionality and offensiveness.....	43
Figure 6. Number of judgements provided by participants according to conventionality, offensiveness and semiotic system used in stimuli	46
Figure 7. Number of judgements for different categories of offensiveness and conventionality provided for language.....	47
Figure 8. Number of judgements for different categories of offensiveness and conventionality provided for gestures	48
Figure 9. Number of judgements on directness for different categories of offensiveness and conventionality provided for language.....	49
Figure 10. Number of judgements on directness for different categories of offensiveness and conventionality provided for gesture.....	49
Figure 11. Number of judgements on typicality for different categories of offensiveness and conventionality provided for language.....	50
Figure 12. Number of judgements on typicality for different categories of offensiveness and conventionality provided for gesture.....	51

List of tables

Table 1. Methodological triangulation in the study of impoliteness (adapted from Zlatev, 2015a)	6
Table 2. The three levels and perspective of “Coseriu’s matrix” (adapted from Zlatev & Blomberg, 2015)	7
Table 3. Coseriu’s matrix applied to impoliteness	8
Table 4. Syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations	11
Table 5. Communicative and representational complexity of gestures (adapted from Zlatev, 2014a: 7)	12
Table 6. Impoliteness formulae for categories of face and sociality rights (adapted from Culpeper, 2011a: 256)	21
Table 7. Conventionalization process (adapted from Culpeper, 2011a: 128; Terkourafi, 2005b: 211-212)	28
Table 8. The process of conventionalization and levels of Integral Linguistics	29
Table 9. Some of the gestural equivalents in the two cultures	36
Table 10. The two versions of the scale	40
Table 11. Statistical effects on relationship between conventionality, offensiveness and very impolite responses	44
Table 12. Average reaction times (in milliseconds) needed for making decisions depending on the levels of conventionality and offensiveness	44
Table 13. Statistical effects on relationship between conventionality, offensiveness and reaction time	45
Table 14. Statistical effects on relationship between semiotic systems and very impolite judgements	46
Table 15. Statistical effects on relationship between type of damage, culture and very impolite responses	47
Table 16. Amount of impolite metalinguistic representations	51

Abbreviations

FTA Face threatening act

CP Cooperative principle

GCI Generalised conversational implicature

PCI Particularised conversational implicature

HC – High conventionality or Highly conventional

LC – Lesser conventionality or Less conventional

HO – High offense or Highly offensive

LO – Low offense or Less offensive

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

There are plenty of ways to define impoliteness, but all existing notions “seem to involve behaviours that are considered emotionally negative by at least one participant” (Culpeper & Hardaker, 2017: 200). Examples (1) and (2) show two distinct kinds of impoliteness, although the differences might not be that obvious from a first glance.

- (1) Iron is iron, and steel don't rust,
But your momma got a pussy like a Greyhound Bus.
(Labov, 1997: 474)
- (2) S: I'm a traffic management operative.
AR: What do you actually do?
S: Er... put traffic cones in the road.
AR: You don't!
S: I do.
AR: Well, what an interesting person you turned out to be!
(Culpeper, 2011a:171)

Example (1) is a so-called ritual insult (Labov, 1997; Neu, 2008), which has a very direct, sexually offensive comparison. On the other hand, in (2) from the TV show *The Weakest Link* one may notice another kind of impoliteness that is more indirect and veiled, but nevertheless offensive. Not only language plays a role when impoliteness comes into play, but factors such as gestures, facial expression, intonation, context, background of participants and the relationship between them. Expressions similar to (1) could be found during 1960-1970 in the USA, when adolescents were involved in a ritual language game, which had a form of a competition. In these interactions, a winner was a person who had the best memory, the largest number of couples and the best way of presenting them (Labov, 1997: 474). In this sense, ritual insults are quite far from personal insults such as *you retard*, due to the nature of the conversation and the context. In (1) the insult is perceived as a part of a game on the basis of knowledge shared by the group (Culpeper, 2011a: 211) and may be considered as a very local and context-bound convention.¹

¹ The border between ritual and convention is fuzzy, because these two notions have number of similarities, yet there are features making them distinct. Since the thesis does not aim at making a comparison between the two notions, ritual will not be further discussed. For a detailed discussion of differences between the two notions, see (Terkourafi & Kadar, 2017).

In contrast, (2) is purposefully intended to cause offense. In this case, impoliteness is clearly directed towards the listener and built upon a mismatch between verbal sarcasm and prosody. As discussed by Culpeper (2011a), in (2) a show presenter implicitly calls what the other person does something extremely boring. These two examples show that impoliteness may have different forms and that people can express it in different ways, or even by different means. In the current thesis, the focus is on impoliteness that is conveyed both explicitly and implicitly, and by means of both language and gesture since, unlike ritual insults, these aspects have not been studied in much detail.

Impoliteness is a complex phenomenon that has been approached from fields such as linguistics, sociology, psychology, conflict studies and law studies. Various methods were employed, depending on the field within which impoliteness was studied. Linguistic approaches have often used questionnaires as a main method and focused predominantly on spoken means of conveying offense (Janschewitz, 2008; Ruh Linder & Gentile, 2009; Stephens & Umland, 2011; Stephens & Zile, 2017). Researchers in neuroscience have used fMRI for investigating processes in the brain associated with the inhibition of socially undesirable phrases (Severens et al., 2011). In psychiatry, both questionnaires and case studies have been employed (Stone et al., 2010).

However, there are several problems with the current state of things in impoliteness research. Firstly, few studies have taken a comprehensive approach to impoliteness, implementing different methods. Questionnaires, aimed at getting mostly quantitative results, have been used as a main method for a long time, but using them alone is not very reliable. On the other hand, using neuroscience methods reduces the investigation of any social phenomenon, including impoliteness, solely to the natural sciences. Secondly, most works on impoliteness are concerned with language, with the exception of a few studies (Kita & Essegbey, 2001; McKinnon & Prieto, 2014; Brown & Prieto, 2017). However, impoliteness can be conveyed by other means, such as gestures and different kinds of actions like throwing, pushing or spitting. The lack of data regarding such behaviour is obviously one of the problems in impoliteness research. Lastly, few studies have looked at how the notion of *conventionality* may be connected with impoliteness and offensiveness (Culpeper, 2011a: 113). For this reason, conventionality is one of the central notions in the current thesis.

Taking into consideration the shortcomings of previous research, the current thesis employs a novel approach based on a *cognitive semiotic* framework. Cognitive semiotics is a transdisciplinary field that incorporates methods and theories from linguistics, cognitive science, and semiotics in order to provide deeper insights on how meaning-making processes work (Zlatev, 2015a: 1043). Thus, this thesis not only offers a step of investigating impoliteness from a new perspective, but also contributes to a better understanding of impoliteness in general.

Cognitive semiotics not only focuses on linguistic means of expressing meaning, but on other semiotic systems such as depiction, music and gesture (Sonesson, 1997; Zlatev, 2018). *Gestures* can be defined as “movements that partake of ... features of manifest deliberate expressiveness to an obvious degree” (Kendon, 2004: 14). In this thesis, I explore how offensiveness and people’s judgements are intertwined, which has been a typical topic for investigation. Moreover, I examine judgements regarding the conventionality of linguistic expressions and gestures. Convention, however, is a broad concept, and I differentiate between several aspects of it (see Section 2.4.4).

In addition to examining two semiotic systems, I take a cross-cultural perspective on how impoliteness is perceived by native speakers of Russian and Swedish. At least two reasons can be found behind such a comparison. On the one hand, it is often claimed that there are cross-cultural differences in how people perceive polite and impolite behaviour that concerns (a) their personal qualities or abilities and (b) their relationship with others and social involvement (Culpeper et al., 2010). On the other hand, few comparative studies investigating these differences have been conducted.

Thus, the thesis investigates how Russian and Swedish native speakers perceive offensiveness of highly and less conventional impolite behaviour expressed by means of language and gestures. Taking into consideration both the existing problems and what cognitive semiotics offers as possible solutions, the following research questions are addressed:

- RQ1 Does *conventionality* influence the perception of offensive behaviour in terms of its impoliteness?
- RQ2 Are there differences in *how fast people react* to offensiveness expressed through highly and less conventional impolite expressions?
- RQ3 Do offensive expressions in *language* and *gesture* differ in how people perceive them with respect to *impoliteness* and conventionality?
- RQ4 What *cross-cultural differences* in the perception of impolite behaviour can be found among Russian and Swedish speakers?

The thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 2 presents the theoretical background and the most relevant concepts and theories for the current investigation. In Chapter 3, the methodology employed for carrying out the empirical part of the investigation is presented. In Chapter 4, the results of this investigation are presented, and in Chapter 5, these results are discussed. Finally, in Chapter 6, conclusions are provided and some suggestions for further research are described together with possible shortcomings of the study.

CHAPTER 2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

Chapter 2 presents the framework of cognitive semiotics (Andrén, 2010; Hribar et al., 2014; Sonesson, 2015; Zlatev, 2015a; Barratt et al., 2016), with some of its basic concepts such as the conceptual-empirical loop, methodological triangulation, language and gesture as semiotic systems, and explains how cognitive semiotics can contribute to the study of signification and interpretation. Section 2.3 introduces notions of politeness and impoliteness and provides an overview of several politeness theories, their features, and existing debates around them.² Section 2.4 starts with making a distinction between semantics and pragmatics, and goes into details discussing notions of directness, implicature, and conventionality, with a special focus on the latter notion. Section 2.5 describes some differences between Russian and Swedish cultures and the relevance of these differences for impoliteness. The final Section 2.6 summarizes the content of the chapter and presents a set of general hypotheses that serve as a foundation for the empirical investigation.

2.2 Cognitive Semiotics

2.2.1 Some general concepts

Cognitive semiotics focuses on the multifaceted phenomenon of meaning, integrating methods and theories from semiotics, linguistics and cognitive science (Zlatev, 2015a: 1043; Sonesson, 2015: 26), with the ambition that they “can enter harmoniously into a common research paradigm” (Sonesson, 2009: 107). The main goal of cognitive semiotics is to provide deeper insights into phenomena like culture, consciousness, intersubjectivity and conventionality, and their expression in semiotic systems (see Section 2.2.2) such as language, gesture, music and depiction. Moreover, cognitive semiotics not only uses qualitative first- and second-person methods (see Table 1), but employs experiments and other quantitative methods (Sonesson, 2014: 249; Sonesson, 2017: 84). Despite receiving some criticism (Lagopoulos & Boklund-Lagopoulou, 2017)³, cognitive semiotics is currently growing and offers a plethora of concepts, ideas and tools that are helpful for a well-balanced empirical investigation of various phenomena, such as impoliteness.

² Impoliteness theories are quite often built upon politeness theories. That is why it is important to understand politeness first.

³ The point of the criticism is that cognitive semiotics grounds itself in the use of so-called “objective” methods. However, this is a misunderstanding, as cognitive semiotics privileges first-person and second-person methods alongside third-person methods (as explained in this section). Thus, it cannot be considered as a reductionist framework.

One such useful concept is the *conceptual-empirical loop*, which implies a tight relationship between conceptual issues and the empirical investigation of a phenomenon (Zlatev, 2015a: 1058). This aims at defining broad theoretical concepts such as language, gesture, culture and conventionality, and specific concepts such as impoliteness, and tests these in empirical settings, with possible changes in certain theoretical concepts. It means that definitions used for any investigation are not taken as final, as they are subject to further changes and improvements, as shown in Figure 1.

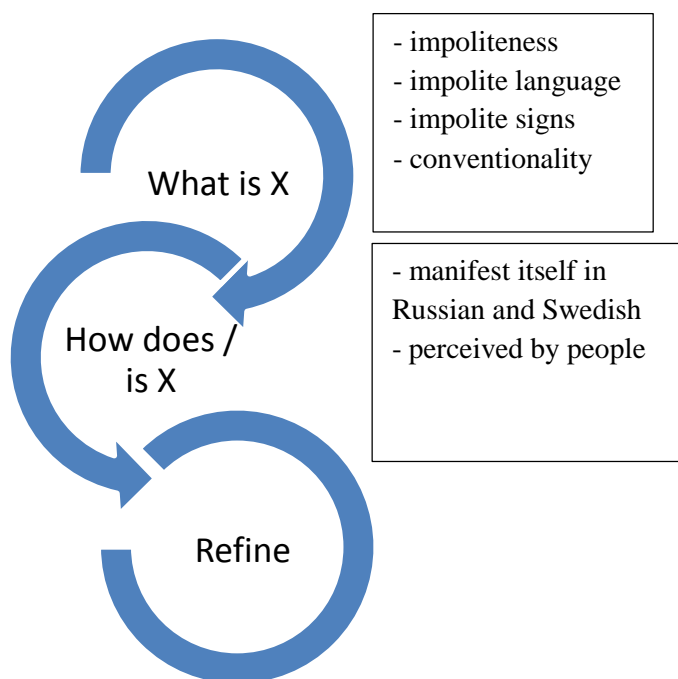


Figure 1. The conceptual-empirical loop, with examples from the current thesis (adapted from Zlatev 2015a)

Another concept widely used in cognitive semiotics is *methodological triangulation*. It implies that the study of a phenomenon cannot be reduced to the natural sciences, nor to a purely hermeneutic approach. For example, language, which is one of the core human semiotic systems, cannot be studied only as a physical or biological phenomenon (Itkonen, 2008b; Zlatev, 2008), as language is fundamentally social, which means that it is shared by a community of speakers (Zlatev, 2010: 424, 2017).

Methodological triangulation aims at combining and integrating methods from three perspectives: *first-person*, *second-person* and *third-person* (Zlatev, 2015a: 1059). The first-person perspective presupposes studying the experience of a given phenomenon itself, which is vital for studying concepts, subjective understanding of impoliteness, and conventionality. The second-person perspective is used for understanding other subjects through empathy, which could unfold

in a discussion on impolite behaviour.⁴ Finally, the third-person perspective is applied to studying people in a controlled environment, when detached observations and measurements can be made during an experiment. Despite their usefulness and reliability, experiments often use artificial situations, which leads to decreased ecological validity. This means that the sole use of the third-person perspective is insufficient for explaining a phenomenon. That is why cognitive semiotics relies on a combination of methods and privileges first-person and second-person methods.

In the current thesis, the first-person perspective is involved in the use of a questionnaire, which aims at collecting qualitative and quantitative data on participants' judgements on impolite behaviour and conventionality. Moreover, the first-person perspective is used for defining concepts. However, the second-person perspective is also helpful for such a purpose, because other people may understand impoliteness somewhat differently, and characterize impolite behaviour by means of impolite meta-discourse which can be used for revising the concepts. Thus, an explicit second-person method, adopted by the thesis, is the interview. Finally, the third-person perspective method is represented by a reaction time experiment, which aims at investigating how fast people evaluate impoliteness of highly and less conventional offensive behaviour. Table 1 shows the application of methodological triangulation to the present thesis.

Table 1. Methodological triangulation in the study of impoliteness (adapted from Zlatev, 2015a)

Perspective	Method	Applied to
First person	Questionnaire Defining concepts	Qualitative and quantitative analysis of participants' judgements on impoliteness
Second person	Interview Defining concepts	Qualitative analysis of social interaction on impoliteness
Third person	Experiment	Analysis of reactions to video recordings in a controlled setting

The goals of methodological triangulation, as used here, are: (a) to provide a better understanding of how impoliteness functions by integrating the three kinds of methods; (b) to show that these methods are valid for studying impoliteness and serve as complementary to each other (Zlatev, 2012: 14). Each of the methods gives different kinds of perspectives on impoliteness and by acknowledging and applying them, one gets a comprehensive and balanced understanding of a

⁴ Empathy can be defined as an ability to understand or feel what another person feels. It can be represented as "I would have felt X if I had been person Z in situation Y" (Itkonen, 2008b: 26).

phenomenon, without falling into reductionism, either of the natural sciences, or of purely interpretive approach such as deconstruction (Derrida, 1976).

One of the linguistic theories that coheres with cognitive semiotics is the *integral linguistics* of Coseriu (1985, 2000; Zlatev & Blomberg, 2015). Coseriu (1985) offers a framework that is helpful for studying linguistic phenomena ranging from grammar to discourse. Rather than making sharp and oppositional distinctions between different disciplines, their objects of study and methods, this theory suggests using three levels and three perspectives on language as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. The three levels and perspective of “Coseriu’s matrix” (adapted from Zlatev & Blomberg, 2015)

<i>Perspectives</i> <i>Levels</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Competence</i>	<i>Product</i>
<i>Universal</i>	Speaking in general	Encyclopedic and logical	Totality of utterances
<i>Historical</i>	Speaking a particular language	Linguistic	Lexicon and grammar
<i>Situated</i>	Discourse	Communicative	Text

Integral linguistics presents a comprehensive approach to studying language or even a particular linguistic phenomenon. The model differentiates between language in general (universal level), particular languages (historical level), and language as situated discourse. For every level, there are three perspectives: activity, competence (knowledge), and product. The most general and the broadest is the universal level, which applies to everything linguistic or related to language in general (Coseriu, 1985: xxviii). The historical level deals with particular languages and their specific norms. Lastly, the situated level has to do with specific acts of language, and specific contexts of use.

The current thesis focuses on the perception and understanding of impoliteness. Thus, the perspective of competence (knowledge) is in focus (as shown in Table 3 in bold). However, looking at how impoliteness manifests itself in language and gesture involves the activity and product perspectives as well. At the most general (universal) level impoliteness implies an attack on personality and basic human rights. At the historical level, types of behaviour are considered as offensive in particular cultures with their peculiarities and variation. Finally, at the situated level the focus is on how people understand what is considered as offensive, to which extent, and in which contexts.

Table 3. Coseriu’s matrix applied to impoliteness

<i>Perspectives</i> <i>Levels</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Competence</i>	<i>Product</i>
<i>Universal</i>	Speaking in general	General knowledge of impoliteness	Totality of utterances
<i>Historical</i>	Speaking a particular language	Knowledge of impoliteness in a specific language	Impolite lexicon and grammar
<i>Situated</i>	Impolite discourse	Situated understanding of impoliteness in a context	Impolite text

2.2.2 Signs, and language and gesture as semiotic systems

In general, semiotic systems are comprised of *signs* in complex interrelations, including rules and principles that can be used for generating various sign combinations (Shaumyan, 2006: 10). Language and gesture are seen here as two different semiotic systems, because they exhibit different properties (Stampoulidis et al., 2019) and have diverse structure (Goodwin, 2000: 1517). However, before specific features of language and gesture are described, the central but controversial notion of *sign* requires some discussion.

2.2.2.1 The *sign* concept

Saussure (1959 [1916]) famously defined the linguistic sign (in speech) as the combination of *signifier* and *signified*, i.e. a sound image and concept, respectively. The linguistic sign also has *value*, which depends on other signs standing in opposition to each other. Saussure emphasized the arbitrariness⁵ of the sign, meaning that there is no motivated link between the signifier and the signified. However, it has been shown that a linguistic sign is not necessarily arbitrary. Sound symbolism is pervasive, and goes beyond the category of onomatopoeia in many languages across the globe (Ahlner & Zlatev 2010; Dingemanse, 2012; Imai & Kita, 2014).

Hjelmslev (1961) elaborated the sign notion, by distinguishing between the *expression* plane (signifier) and the *content* plane (signified), but also between the *form* and the *substance* of

⁵ Arbitrariness should not be conflated with conventionality. The first presupposes having no motivated connection between the signifier and the signified, whereas the latter means that there should be at least two people to agree that the signifier X corresponds to the signified Y.

each. Further, he applied it to written language and other semiotic systems than language. Figure 2 shows interrelations between the two planes and their form and substance.

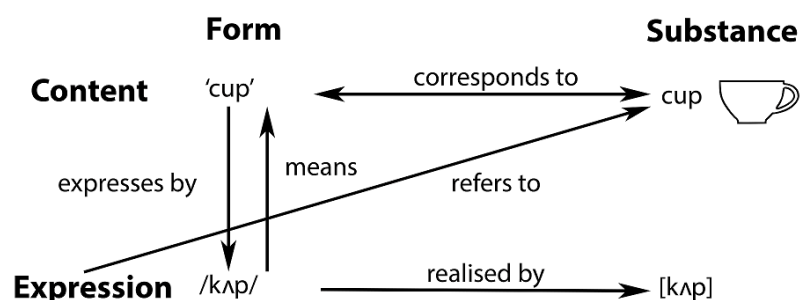


Figure 2. Hjelmslev's understanding of sign (adapted from Meyer, 2005: 115)

Content form refers to the (pure) meaning of sign, in contradistinction to other content-forms in the language, and *expression form* refers to abstracted phonemes or graphemes. *Content substance* is the actual object (real or imaginary) and *expression substance* is concrete sounds or letters by which expression form is realised. Although there is still a missing point regarding the differentiation from the point of view of the perceiver, Hjelmslev's sign model is broader, and more elaborated than Saussure's.

A much different concept of sign was proposed by Peirce (1931-1935), as reflected in the following famous quotation, illustrated in Figure 3:

A sign, or *representamen*, is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity. It addresses somebody, that is, creates in the mind of that person an equivalent sign, or perhaps a more developed sign. That sign which it creates I call the *interpretant*⁶ of the first sign. The sign stands for something, its *object*. It stands for that object, not in all respects, but in reference to a sort of idea, which I have sometimes called the *ground* of the representamen (CP 2.228).

⁶ If one follows Peirce's terminology, instead of interpreter in Figure 3 there should be "interpretant". However, as the cognitive semiotic view on the process of sign use implies a conscious interpreter, the latter term is preferred.

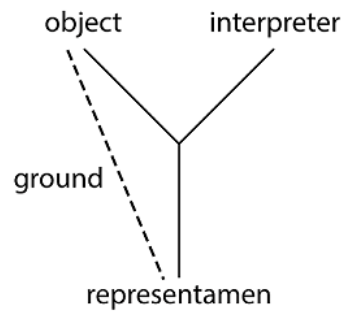


Figure 3. The process of semiosis (adapted from Ahlner & Zlatev, 2010: 314)

The *representamen* is what stands for an object, and *object* itself is anything that the sign represents. As can be seen in the Figure 3, object and representamen are related by means of *ground*, which can be of three kinds – *iconic*, *indexical* or *symbolic* (Sonesson, 2008). Iconic ground is based on similarity, for example representing walking by moving two fingers. Indexical ground is based on contiguity in time or space, or part-whole relations as in an hour-glass where the amount of sand shows how much time is left. Finally, the symbolic ground is based on conventionality, or agreement between the speakers of the community. Importantly, these grounds are not mutually exclusive, but rather one of the grounds may prevail (Jakobson, 1965). For example, gestures are often categorized as iconic (e.g. showing the shape of an object), indexical (e.g. pointing) and emblematic (e.g. an OK gesture) (Zlatev, 2015b). These correspond to the three kinds of signs, because they rely predominantly on iconic, indexical and symbolic grounds, respectively.

Finally, the role of the interpreter needs to be highlighted, as a representamen can only represent an object for a conscious subject. As Sonesson (2013) writes, the two parts of the sign (expression/representamen and content/object) are necessarily both linked and differentiated by the interpreter. The expression is more accessible and directly perceived, but not in focus, whereas content is indirectly perceived, but in focus. With such differentiation, the sign is not perceived as such, as for example by an animal or baby who attempts to eat a picture of an apple.

2.2.2.2 Language

Language can be defined as “a conventional-normative semiotic system for communication and thought” (Zlatev, 2008: 37). It is primarily a social phenomenon, shared by speakers (Itkonen, 2008a), which means that it is conventional. In other words, there is an agreement among speakers regarding the meaning and use of words and grammatical constructions. Such conventions are normative, as they specify the criteria of correctness that are shared in a language community. It

is common knowledge for speakers of English that (3) and (5) are correct, whereas (4) and (6) are incorrect either grammatically or semantically (Terkourafi & Kádár, 2017: 174).

- (3) Linguistics is a science
- (4) * A is science linguistics
- (5) A cat is an animal
- (6) * A cat is a number

All languages have grammatical norms (rules) that govern relations between words, phrases and clauses. These rules are often realized by means of grammatical morphemes such as prepositions and case-markers, known as *syncategorematic*, while *categorematic* expressions denote objects, relations and properties. Syncategorematic expressions are meaningful as well, but acquire their full meaning only together with categorematic elements (Bundgaard, 2010).

In addition, linguistic signs are often analysed (in structural linguistics) as standing in two types of relations with each other: *syntagmatic* and *paradigmatic*. Syntagmatic relations between units are of the linear kind, which means that these relations explain how linguistic elements can be sequenced. Paradigmatic relations exist between similar elements that can be substituted by similar ones. The example of these relations is shown in the Table 4.

Table 4. Syntagmatic and paradigmatic relations

	Syntagmatic				
Paradigmatic	He	drinks	coffee	every	morning
	She	eats	ice-cream	once	a week
	A neighbour	waters	flowers	twice	a month

Another feature that is often considered as specific to language is *double articulation* (Martinet, 1984). The essence of double articulation is in subdivision of the flow of speech into meaningful units such as words that can be further divided into meaningless units such as phonemes. They are meaningless on their own, but can be combined into meaningful sequences that construct words. Finally, language as a sign system is predominantly based on the symbolic ground, meaning that language signs are symbols. Signs stand for something by virtue of convention – an agreement between speakers of a community. This, however, does not exclude that they may have indexical and iconic grounds, as pointed out in Section 2.2.2.1.

2.2.2.3 Gesture

The other semiotic system of concern here is gesture. Together with the idea of seeing gesture as a separate semiotic system, the current thesis sees gestures as actions performed deliberately and perceived as serving to express some meaning, rather than for some practical aims (Kendon, 2004: 15). By employing this definition, both movements of some body parts (middle finger, rolling eyes) and actions upon an object (throwing something, opening a door as a sign to leave) are included.

As a semiotic system, gesture possesses some specific features and properties (Zlatev, 2015b: 459). To count as a gesture, a bodily movement must display a high level of communicative explicitness and/or representational complexity (Andrén, 2010; Zlatev, 2014a), as shown in Table 5. Thus, if an action is performed by a subject with a clear communicative intent in the sense of Grice (1989), implying that s/he expects its meaning to be recognized (Bach, 2012: 48; Haugh & Jaszczolt, 2012: 96), it counts as a gesture. However, it might not have RC#3 level at the same time, and thus would not qualify as a sign.

Table 5. Communicative and representational complexity of gestures (adapted from Zlatev, 2014a: 7)

Communicative intent	CI#3	Action explicitly oriented towards the other: Communicative intent is clear
	CI#2	Action framed by mutual attunement: Communicative intent is not that clear
	CI#1	Side-effect of co-presence: Communicative intent is not visible
Representational complexity (RC)	RC#3	Explicit sign where expression X stands for meaning Y
	RC#2	Typified act where action X counts as doing action-type Y
	RC#1	Situation-specific act where action X contextually suggests Y

Since impoliteness implies a purpose to offend, an act of impoliteness has communicative intent (i.e. it is meant to offend, and to be recognized as such). Thus, all impolite gestures used in the following chapter may be qualified as CI#3. The representational complexity of gestures may differ from (RC#3) to (RC#2) where the expression X counts as the action Y and finally to (RC#1) where situation specific actions come into play (Andrén, 2010; Zlatev, 2014a), as shown in (7) - (9).

- (7) Showing thumb up / down (RC#3 – since it stands for good / bad)
- (8) Rolling one's eyes (RC#2 – since it shows (“counts as”) an act of disapproval)
- (9) Opening the door (RC#1 – since it contextually suggests meaning to leave in some impolite context)

As a semiotic system, gesture also differs from language with respect to the dominating semiotic ground. For the majority of gestures, unlike language, this is indexicality or iconicity (Zlatev, 2014b). It is true that they also involve conventionality (Streek, 2009), especially so-called emblems as (7), but the representamen-object relationship is interpreted more due to resemblance or contiguity than in language.

Structurally, gesture can be characterized as having several movement excursions that comprise a gesture unit. Within this unit certain phases such as preparation, stroke and recovery can be distinguished (Kendon, 2004: 112). However, the meaningful part of a gesture is the stroke, whereas preparation and/or recovery may or may not be found. This provides a kind “proto-grammar” for gesture, but unlike the grammar of language, it is not based on norms of correctness, and is more flexible. Further, the phases of preparation, stroke and retraction do not correspond to meaningless phonemes (or graphemes) and articulatory properties within these gesture phases cannot be broken down into meaningless units, since they are meaningful in themselves.

2.2.2.4 Gesture and bodily mimesis

Communication that involves body movements is special with respect to different semiotic, cognitive, and evolutionary features. Some scholars believe that gestures originate from “a general mechanism of action generation” (Kita & Özyürek, 2003: 30), whereas others claim that gestures are generated by a communication mechanism together with language (McNeill, 1992, 2012). The current thesis sees language and gesture as distinct resources both semiotically and psychologically, although they interact in polysemiotic utterances (Zlatev, 2015b: 471; Louhema et.al, 2018).

Crucially, Donald's (1991) *mimesis theory* assumes that bodily communication emerges prior to language (Donald, 1991; Zlatev, 2008, 2013; Zlatev & Blomberg, 2016). Mimesis includes actions that are intentional, but not linguistic, and yet have a representational function (Donald, 1991: 168-169). In this sense, facial expression and whole-body movements are clear examples of mimetic acts, eventually leading to gestural communication (Zlatev et al, 2013: 313, 2014b: 165). Thus, there is an important link between mimesis, physical actions, and gesture. This is especially clear in gestures that are developmentally, cognitively, and evolutionarily closer to instrumental actions (Müller, 2016; Zlatev, 2015b; Kita & Özyürek, 2003). For example, iconic enactment

gestures are quite often performed with the whole body and stand close to actions, whereas the action serving to remove annoying objects leads to a wavy gesture, which may express “go away” (Muller, 2016: 212). This also allows us to hypothesize that at least some gestures performed in an impolite context will be perceived as more offensive due to their similarity with real physical actions.

2.3 Politeness and impoliteness: theories, models and approaches

2.3.1 Introduction

Whereas topics such as ritual insults (Labov, 1997), ethnography and origin of taboos (Allan & Burrige, 2006), sociolinguistic (Jay, 1992) and psycholinguistic (Jay, 1999) aspects of cursing have been investigated, the broad topic of impoliteness itself has received attention only as a part of politeness studies, which themselves have been rather understudied (Culpeper et al., 2017: 1). However, over the last decades this relatively young field of research has been growing thanks to the establishment of *The Journal of Politeness Research* in 2005 and a very recent contribution in the form of *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im)politeness* published in 2017. In this thesis, the term *(im)politeness* is used (a) to refer to the field that studies both politeness and impoliteness and (b) the discussion of a concept or method can be relevant for both fields.

The field of (im)politeness studies is new, but already diverse, and there is no agreement on how (im)politeness should be defined (Culpeper et al., 2017: 2). With respect to impoliteness, the ongoing debate is whether it should be studied within theories of politeness or if it should have its own theoretical foundations (Leech, 2014: 219). Moreover, within existing specific theories, scholars tend to disagree on conceptual issues (Culpeper et al., 2017: 2). Despite the existence of obvious problems and disagreements within impoliteness studies, a positive outcome of the diversity is the widening of the paradigm (Culpeper et al., 2017: 6). The current thesis rests on a combination of several models, with an inclination to those models that have been successfully adapted and applied to impoliteness. The following three sections are devoted to the discussion of the most influential models in (im)politeness research.

2.3.2 Politeness face theory

Politeness theories and models have been able to encompass impoliteness quite successfully, yet with certain limitations. A founding theory of politeness proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987) is usually considered as a starting point for any investigation on (im)politeness. This theory grounds itself in *speech act theory* (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969, 1985) and Grice’s works on conversational implicatures and utterer’s meaning (Grice, 1968, 1969, 1989).

Austin (1962) classified all utterances as having a three-fold structure: *locutionary*, *illocutionary* or *perlocutionary* acts. The locutionary act is the performing of an act *of* saying something meaningful. The illocutionary act has some force in saying something; it is the function of performing an act *in* saying something i.e. a promise, order, command, etc. The perlocutionary act serves for achieving certain effects *by* saying something; it includes consequences of saying something – “by saying X, I am doing Y” (Austin, 1962: 127). Compare examples (10) and (11).

(10) I promise you to help with your experiment.

(11) I will help with your experiment.

Although (11) does not have a performative verb such as *promise*, it is still able to express the act of promising, but the explicitness of these two speech acts differs (Culpeper & Terkourafi, 2017: 13). Searle (1969, 1985) elaborated Austin’s ideas emphasising indirect speech acts, which eventually resulted in establishing of the notion of *explicitness*, which became one of the central notions for politeness theory.

Grice’s (1989) work on conversational implicatures significantly contributed to the field of pragmatics, and to politeness theories in particular. He made a distinction between conventional and conversational implicatures, where the first goes beyond truth-conditional meaning but is coded in the expression, while the second is not (see Section 2.4.1). Grice also proposed the two types of conversational implicature - generalized and particularized, where the first does not require much inference, whereas the latter does, as it requires knowledge of the context (Grice, 1989: 37-40). The relevance of this for (im)politeness theories is that acts of politeness or impoliteness often require particularized conversational implicature (Culpeper & Terkourafi, 2017: 16).

For Brown and Levinson’s (1987) politeness theory, the notions of *face* and *face threatening act* (FTA) are central. The former is “the public self-image that every member wants to claim for himself” (Brown and Levinson, 1987: 61), which has two sides: so-called *positive* and *negative* face. Face can be threatened by FTA, which can be expressed either by verbal or non-verbal means (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 65). In other words, FTA is an actual realisation of behaviour that threatens someone’s face. Some acts “intrinsically threaten face”, which means that they are by default in contradiction either with a speaker’s or hearer’s so-called *face wants* as expressed in Brown & Levinson’s definition (1987: 62):

Positive face: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others.

Negative face: the want of every ‘competent adult member’ that his actions be unimpeded by others.

Positive face includes “the desire to be ratified, understood, approved of, liked or admired”, whereas negative face includes non-imposition, which presupposes freedom of actions (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 62). Typical examples of positive FTA are utterances expressing criticism due to having derogatory effects on a hearer, and typical negative FTA are requests since they potentially restrict one’s freedom of action, so the principle of non-imposition may be violated (Culpeper, 2011b: 400).

It has been argued by many researchers that (im)politeness is a scalar notion (Spencer-Oatey & Žegarac, 2017: 119). Brown and Levinson (1987) employ three relevant variables: *distance*, *relative power* and *absolute ranking*. Distance is symmetric and may concern similarities or differences in social characteristics and their influence on potential for interaction. Relative power is asymmetric and shows how much a person can impose his or her own wills. Applied to some impolite context, it means that if a less powerful person is impolite towards a more powerful person, the degree of perceived offense will be higher (Culpeper, 2011a: 189-191). Absolute ranking of impositions concerns potential risk imposed by a produced utterance: the greater politeness is expected from a person who asks for a big favour, because the degree of imposition is high (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 74). Depending on the interplay between the three variables, degree of (im)politeness would vary. However, for our discussion of impoliteness specifically, distance and relative power are of the primary importance, since these two variables play a major role in perception of impoliteness.

Despite its influence, Brown and Levinson’s theory has received much criticism over the last decades. Firstly, in its essence their theory is not a theory of politeness, but of “*facework*” that deals mostly with FTA and their mitigation (Locher & Watts, 2005: 10). Secondly, Brown and Levinson’s claims about universality of intrinsic FTAs were challenged by other researchers (Kienpointner & Stopfner, 2017: 67). Thirdly, the theory does not explain impoliteness specifically and situations when a person is purposefully rude – impoliteness is not a simple deviation or counterpart of politeness (Kienpointner & Stopfner, 2017: 67). Fourthly, it does not take into account what Locher and Watts (2005: 10) call *politic behaviour*, which is simply considered as appropriate and natural behaviour such as saying *thank you* when a person fulfils a request. Further, Brown and Levinson’s theory is reliant on speech act theory, which itself relies on a sentence-based, speaker-oriented mode of analysis. In other words, it does not explain all complexities of how speech acts function in context (Culpeper & Terkourafi, 2017: 17). At the same time, as Culpeper (2011b: 424) stresses “it cannot be denied that impoliteness phenomena are intimately

connected with politeness”. For this reason, Brown and Levinson’s theory together with Austin’s and Grice’s works can be considered as a starting point for creating and reworking theories of (im)politeness.

2.3.2 Discursive approaches to (im)politeness

Further elaborations resulted in a newer approach known as the discursive approach (Locher, 2006; Mills, 2011). Representatives of the discursive approach are concerned with the evaluation of (im)politeness that people make either implicitly or explicitly (Mills, 2017: 45). The main focus shifted to analysis of the individual’s conception of (im)politeness and how it unfolds in a personal discourse (Langlotz & Locher, 2017: 207). This view suggests that (im)politeness is not inherent in language and behaviour, and should be seen “as social practice and as social interaction” (Mills, 2017: 45).

In order to differentiate between lay persons’ and academic conceptions of (im)politeness, Watts, Ide & Ehlich (2005 [1992]) make a distinction between first-order and second-order politeness. First-order politeness has to do with how “polite behaviour is perceived and talked about by members of socio-cultural groups”, in other words, it has to do with “commonsense notions of politeness” (Watts et al., 2005: 3). Second-order politeness has mostly to do with theoretical issues, how a theory can explain certain language use and behaviour. This distinction helps to scrutinize both methodological and epistemological issues existing around the study of human behaviour whenever (im)politeness is concerned, as well as to focus on the interplay between the speaker’s perspective and the scientific perspective (Eelen, 2001).⁷

Among typical features of the discursive approach Culpeper (2011b: 414) singles out the centrality of the perspective of participants, an emphasis on situated and emergent meanings, rather than pre-defined meanings, with an emphasis on context and the evaluative nature of (im)politeness.⁸ Thus, representatives of the discursive approach focus on how people perceive and evaluate expressions rather than on using theories and tools that can potentially help in assessments (Mills, 2017: 45).

Works of discursive theorists yielded many useful conceptions and distinctions. Watts (2003, 2005a, 2005b) introduced the concept of *politic* behaviour, which denotes behaviour that is considered as appropriate in the interaction. In this light, terms such as “polite” and “politeness” refer to positive behaviour which means that polite behaviour goes beyond politic behaviour (Watts, 2003: 19). One of the problems with such a division is to set precise borders between

⁷ For the extensive discussion of the idea of distinguishing between politeness1 (socio-psychological concept) and politeness2 (scientific, linguistic concept) see Gino Eelen’s (2001) work.

⁸ In other words, this can be seen as belonging to the situated level in Coseriu’s matrix (see Table 3 in Section 2.2.1).

categories (Culpeper, 2011b: 419). It should rather be a matter of empirical investigation to define borders between politeness, politic behaviour and impoliteness.

Despite proposing new ideas, the discursive approach has been subjected to criticism as well, above all, because of the emphasis on first-order politeness. Shaping politeness by interactants themselves can bring definitions and labels that people consider correct, but turn out to be rather idiosyncratic (Culpeper, 2011b: 396). Moreover, for this approach creating a theory of politeness is not a primary goal, because focusing on dynamic conversations does not presuppose having politeness theory as a predictive or even as a post-hoc descriptive theory (Culpeper, 2011b: 415). Thus, any investigation taking a purely discursive approach to (im)politeness risks to leave us with mere descriptions of individual communication and hardly contribute to theory of (im)politeness (Terkourafi, 2005a: 245). Another weak side of this approach is not including any notion of *intention* (Culpeper & Hardaker, 2017: 203), although it is admitted that impoliteness can be caused both intentionally and unintentionally (Culpeper, 2011a; Culpeper & Hardaker, 2017: 203).

Nevertheless, the first-order approach to (im)politeness should not be abandoned, because it can complement and enhance explanatory power of (im)politeness theories. Culpeper (2011a) proposes studying (im)politeness meta-discourse together with relevant theories. The current thesis sees the combination of the first-order and second-order approaches as the most rational, because it goes in line with the methodological triangulation of cognitive semiotics and focuses not only on how theorists understand impoliteness, but on how ordinary people do so as well.

2.3.3 Modern approaches to (im)politeness

The most recent tendency in (im)politeness studies is moving towards new approaches which are somewhere in between the “classic” and the discursive. This tendency gave rise to a plethora of approaches such as the *relational approach* (e.g. Spencer-Oatey, 2002, 2008), the *frame-based approach* to politeness and impoliteness (Terkourafi, 1999, 2008, 2009), and the *interactional approach* (Arundale 1999; Haugh, 2007). Their (ideal) goals are to pay equal attention to both speakers and hearers in any interaction, as well as take context into consideration, but at the same time not overemphasising its role (Culpeper & Hardaker, 2017: 208).

However, even the most recent approaches have their shortcomings. First of all, the main problem is that they are all “approaches” and not theories of (im)politeness. They are usually built upon Brown and Levinson’s theory with several additions and improvements, but they do not offer an extensive classification of (im)politeness and do not explain cross-cultural variation and complexities. For example, the relational approach stresses interpersonal relations, which may touch upon only some aspects of (im)politeness (Culpeper, 2011b: 424). One of the weaknesses

that Culpeper (2008: 20) attributes to all modern approaches is that they do not provide “an authoritative account” of how an ordinary person uses (im)politeness terms and labels, by offering, for example a corpus-based investigation of impoliteness meta-discourse.

The current thesis partly integrates the relational approach and a corresponding model of *rappport management*, developed by Spencer-Oatey (2002, 2005, 2007, 2008), which can be seen as an elaboration of Brown and Levinson’s distinction between positive and negative face. Goffman, who originally coined the term, defines face as “the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact” (Goffman, 1967: 5). In other words, the notion of face has to do with concepts such as identity, dignity, self-worth, respect, status and reputation.

Spencer-Oatey distinguishes three types of face. *Quality face* has to do with a fundamental desire of a person to be evaluated positively by others in terms of one’s personal qualities such as abilities or appearance (Spencer-Oatey, 2002: 540). The other aspect of face is called by Culpeper (2011a) as *relational face* that Spencer-Oatey titles as “a relational application of face or relational construal”, which has to do with a relational component that is intrinsic to the evaluation such as being a talented leader or kind-hearted teacher (Spencer-Oatey, 2008: 15). *Social identity face* is connected with a fundamental desire of a person to be acknowledged in terms of one’s social identity and role (2002: 540). Social identity face is touched whenever a person is a member of any group, be it family or religious or nationality groups (Spencer-Oatey, 2005: 106).

In addition to this, Spencer-Oatey highlights two types of *sociality rights*. *Equity rights* have to do with being treated fairly and personal consideration from others and *association rights* that relate to a fundamental desire of a person to keep certain social involvement with other people such as keeping stable relationship with others (Spencer-Oatey, 2008: 16). Section 2.3.4 provides more details on how these distinctions can be applied to impoliteness specifically.

2.3.4 A composite approach to impoliteness

The existing approaches, regardless of whether they have originated from politeness or specific impoliteness theories, provide quite different frameworks and ideas to investigating impoliteness. The current thesis employs one of the broad definitions of impoliteness. Rather than restricting the investigation to a very specific aspect of impoliteness, it adopts a wider scope and combines the discursive and the relational approaches, with a focus on the frequency and conventionality of impolite behaviour.

The discursive approach brings the idea of studying how a layperson’s meta-language is applied to impolite behaviour (Culpeper, 2011a: 153). Although this method is well-established, there are few studies that have employed it (Culpeper & Hardaker, 2017: 202). The idea of using

impolite meta-discourse focuses on labelling certain behaviour as rude, aggressive or patronising, which eventually gives an understanding of how people perceive impolite behaviour in real life. The other method deals with how often certain expressions can be met in impolite contexts (Culpeper, 2011a: 153), which grounds it in analysing the frequency of use, context and the process of conventionalization. A combination of these two methods to studying impoliteness may give more fruitful results than their separate use.

Despite having numerous definitions of impoliteness, their common feature may be that they all involve behaviours that are perceived as emotionally negative at least by one interactant (Culpeper & Hardaker, 2017: 200). Culpeper (2011a: 23) provides a very comprehensive definition of impoliteness which shows how many factors come into play in impoliteness:

Impoliteness is a negative attitude towards specific behaviours occurring in specific contexts. It is sustained by expectations, desires and /or beliefs about social organisation, including, in particular, how one person's or a group's identities are mediated by others in interaction. Situated behaviours are viewed negatively – considered 'impolite' – when they conflict with how one expects them to be, how one wants them to be and/or how one thinks they ought to be. Such behaviours always have or are presumed to have emotional consequences for at least one participant, that is, they cause or are presumed to cause offence.

Thus, impoliteness is about a negative attitude towards someone's behaviour, which presupposes that "the interactant who utters impoliteness must have felt sufficiently provoked at some point prior to actually delivering the impoliteness" (Bousfield, 2008: 183).⁹ At the same time, individuals are more likely to view impoliteness thresholds differently, so that the same behaviour may or may not trigger impoliteness.

As the definition shows, impoliteness has to do with both moral and social norms, and societal organization. However, the core feature is that impoliteness always causes or is presumed to cause offense. Whenever impoliteness causes offense, a hearer constructs behaviour as offensive, and whenever it is presumed to cause offense, a speaker intends behaviour to be offensive. Thus, the two parties are involved, one having impolite intentions and one constructing behaviour as offensive, but one of these two factors is sufficient to consider behaviour as impolite:

In the most general sense impoliteness comes about when: (1) the speaker causes offence intentionally, or (2) the hearer perceives and/or constructs behaviour as intentionally offensive, or a combination of (1) and (2) (Culpeper, 2011a: 23).

⁹ However, sometimes it can be the case that a person is deliberately impolite and constantly exhibits such a model of behaviour.

This definition foregrounds the notion of offense and states that, in order for any behaviour to be impolite, it should (a) be intended as causing offense, or (b) being interpreted as such, without being said or done on purpose. In this thesis, I use the notions impolite and offensive *interchangeably*, since the latter is both the main property and effect of impolite behaviour. I also prefer the term offensiveness (or else offensive, offense) when I speak about my classification of stimuli that were used in the experiment, whereas for participants' judgements I prefer the term impolite.

Culpeper (2011a: 256) proposes impoliteness formulae, which can serve as a taxonomy of (at least some) impolite behaviour. Moreover, this taxonomy attributes formulae to the framework of *rappport management* developed by Spencer-Oatey (2002, 2005, 2007, 2008). This integration helps to encompass both categories of face and sociality rights, and makes the model applicable to studying different types of impolite expressions. Table 6 shows which formulae are associated with categories of face and sociality rights.

Table 6. Impoliteness formulae for categories of face and sociality rights (adapted from Culpeper, 2011a: 256)

Category	Aspects	Impoliteness formulae
Face	Quality face	1. Insults
	Relational face	2. Pointed criticism / complaints
	Social identity face	3. Negative expressives
		4. Unpalatable questions and presuppositions
Sociality rights	Equity rights	1. Condescension
		2. Message enforcers
		3. Dismissals
		4. Silences
		5. Threats
	Association rights	1. Exclusion (as a general strategy)

This model is open to further improvements and represents only some of the impolite formulae. Firstly, it does not include (emblematic) gestures that can fit under proposed formulae and aspects. Secondly, Culpeper leaves the aspect of association rights with no formulae, and only states that it is connected with exclusion. However, dismissal may presuppose some sort of exclusion as well. The use of the phrase *go away* can be seen as a violation of equity rights, when it concerns treating someone in an unfair way, or as a violation of association rights, when the

main goal is to destroy existing relationship between a speaker and hearer. Spencer-Oatey's (2002: 541) description of association rights involves *interactional association* or *dissociation*, which includes appropriate amount of conversational interaction and *affective association* or *dissociation*, which is the extent to which people share concerns, interests and feelings. It may be difficult to come up with particular formulae in this case, since the violation of association rights can be better seen in context and, presumably, it is usually expressed by non-conventional means. For example, repeated excuses or ignoring someone who tries to talk to a person could be considered as a violation. It could also be a question such as *oh really* asked with falling intonation to show negative surprise and not sharing what the other person does as shown in (12). Additional cues are needed here to state that such a question violates association rights. It can be a particular intonation, facial expression or extralinguistic situation.

(12) A: I did dumpster diving yesterday!

B: Oh really?

A more problematic issue for the model of rapport management is in the absence of a clear-cut border between face and sociality rights. No doubt, they are different, because sociality rights unlike face are concerned with equity, fairness and stability. However, it is possible to suppose that a mere fact of calling someone an *idiot* out of spite may concern fairness or stability of relationship. Obviously, it is possible to find expressions that damage solely face or solely sociality rights, but it seems that in many instances it will be a merge between two, despite the possibility to prioritise a certain type of damage.

Finally, the original model was proposed for conventional impoliteness, but it can be argued that impolite formulae and aspects of face and sociality rights apply to non-conventional impoliteness as well. In order to understand the latter type, one needs contextual cues, whereas conventional impoliteness may not require that. Additionally, non-conventionalized impoliteness is able to flout the same aspects of face or association rights as conventional impoliteness. However, the distinction between conventional and non-conventional impoliteness, as they are understood in this thesis, needs to be explained in order to make the model work, which leads us to the next section.

2.4 Conventuality, directness, implicatures and impoliteness

2.4.1 Semantics and pragmatics

The notions of conventionality, directness and implicature are intertwined, but in complex ways that need to be spelled out. In order to delve into each of these notions one should start with

drawing a distinction between *semantics* and *pragmatics* (Leech, 1983), which is helpful for defining and explaining each of the notions. This distinction has long been debated because both fields concern how linguistic meaning is expressed and understood (Saeed, 2015: 16). The current thesis does not aim at giving a detailed overview of the debate around these notions. Yet for the discussion of notions such as conventionality and implicature, some distinction has to be drawn. I see this distinction as corresponding to that of Itkonen (2008a): semantics deals with conventional or “coded” meaning, while pragmatics with contextual meaning that may include the first, but goes beyond it. In other words, semantics has to do with default and context-independent meanings, which can be found in a dictionary (Birner, 2012: 22). On the other hand, pragmatics deals with context-dependent meanings and with how meanings are constructed by speakers and understood by hearers in some context (Levinson, 2000).¹⁰ This allows making the distinction between *sentence meaning* and *speaker meaning*.¹¹ The first is the meaning that is derivable from the (default) sense of words comprising a sentence, whereas the latter concerns the meaning that is intended by a speaker in a particular situation.

2.4.2 Directness

The distinction between semantics and pragmatics brings the notion of “directness” into discussion. As mentioned in Section 2.2, the notion appeared first once speech act theory was established (Austin, 1962) and further elaborated (Searle, 1985). A direct speech act can be considered as most straightforward, because what a speaker says corresponds to its sentence meaning. However, speakers’ utterances go beyond this, especially when it concerns (im)politeness.

In Searle’s view, indirect speech acts are characterized by a mismatch between such direct meaning, and the pragmatic meaning of an utterance. According to Culpeper and Terkourafi (2017:14), Searle employs a “dual meaning hypothesis” which means that a hearer understands both sentence meaning and speaker meaning. This is clearly shown in Searle’s statement about indirect speech acts that come about when “one illocutionary act is performed indirectly by way of performing another” (Searle, 1985:31). For example, a speech act in (13) which is grammatically formed as a question is in fact an indirect request.

(13) Can you pass me a cup of tea?

¹⁰ At the same time the distinction does not need to be construed as sharp, but as forming a scale where towards either end of the scale some meanings are more conventional whereas other are more contextual (Langacker, 2008:40).

¹¹ As has been pointed out by Grice (1957:384), “A meant_{NN} something by X” is roughly equivalent to “A uttered X with the intention of inducing a belief by means of the recognition of this intention.” Thus, speaker meaning is intended meaning, which needs to be worked out by a hearer (Birner, 2012:24).

However, it is still an open question if a hearer actually notices a “direct” meaning in such a sentence or not (Culpeper & Terkourafi, 2017:15). Searle highlights that it is a form of conventionality that plays a major role here, and not directness (Searle, 1985:31)¹², because many indirect speech acts are conventionally indirect, allowing a hearer to “short-circuit” inference and understand the intended meaning directly (Levinson, 2000:22; Culpeper, 2011a:186). A related notion that is more clearly defined is that of implicature.

2.4.3 Implicature

The notion of *implicature* was introduced by Paul Grice (1989 [1975]). Implicature comes about when something is not explicitly said, but “projects that some upshot has been left unsaid” (Haugh, 2015:1). The notion is based on Grice’s famous *Cooperative Principle* (CP): “make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged” (Grice, 1989: 26). In addition, Grice proposed a set of general principles or categories¹³ with *maxims* that together with the CP implicitly govern human communication (Grice, 1989:26-28)¹⁴. For example, the category of Quality could be applied to (2) in Chapter 1: by uttering the sentence *what an interesting person you turned out to be*, the show presenter flouts the category of Quality by saying what she believes to be false, implicating that what a person does is extremely beaten and boring.

One may wonder how the CP can be related to impoliteness which is uncooperative behaviour, but Bousfield (2008: 25-29) and Culpeper (2011a: 157-158) highlight the difference between linguistic cooperation and social cooperation. From the social perspective, impoliteness is one of the most uncooperative behaviours, whereas from the linguistic perspective it is cooperative, especially in the cases when impoliteness unfolds over several turns. Thus, the Gricean approach can be applied not only for analysis of politeness, but of impoliteness (see Culpeper, 2011a; Haugh, 2015).

¹² The notion of indirectness is criticized by some scholars, but may be used for how ordinary people evaluate an utterance (Haugh, 2015: 39). In the current thesis the notion is used precisely in such a manner.

¹³ These principles or categories are misleadingly called “maxims”, though what comprise the category should be called as a maxim.

¹⁴ The category of *Quantity*

1. Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange).
2. Do not make your contribution more informative than is required.

The category of *Relation*: Be relevant.

The category of *Manner*: Be perspicuous.

1. Avoid obscurity of expression.
2. Avoid ambiguity.
3. Be brief. (Avoid unnecessary prolixity.)
4. Be orderly.

In addition, Grice (1989: 37-40) makes a distinction between *conventional* and *conversational* implicatures. The first type of implicature is based on conventional meanings of the words used in an utterance. For example, in (14) the implicature concerns the use of *but*, not *and* (Grice, 1989: 25). The second type of implicature concerns the CP and the categories with Maxims described above. Conversational implicature is divided into *particularized* and *generalized* implicatures, where the first one concerns implicatures that can be understood only in particular context (as in 15), or on a particular occasion, whereas the latter is context-general (see Levinson, 2000), as in (16).

(14): He is poor but happy.

Implicature: Poor people are often unhappy.

(15) - I left a fish on the table. Where is it?

- The cat looks very happy.

Implicature: The cat ate the fish.

(16) Some students came to the party.

Implicature: Not all students came to the party

Generalized conversational implicature is distinct from conventional implicature, since it still requires an inference, while there is no need for an inference when one deals with conventional implicature (Potts, 2006: 6; Ariel, 2012: 28). These types of implicatures and their application to the conventionalization process are further discussed in the following section.

2.4.4 Conventionality

In the most general sense, the notion of *convention* has been defined as “a regularity in behaviour produced by a system of expectations” (Lewis, 2008: 118). Both convention and conventionalization are used in the literature, with the first to refer to the product, and the latter to the process leading to the establishment of this product.¹⁵ It is important to stress that the extent to which an expression can be conventionalized differs between social groups or even dyads of people.¹⁶ This means that certain behaviour has to be used frequently enough between a group of

¹⁵ In terms of Integral Linguistics, conventionalization links the situated level (activity perspective) and historical levels (competence perspective).

¹⁶ As was stated in the section 2.2.1 (linguistic) meanings are not a private matter, even though the experience of these meanings may be different from speaker to speaker, depending on their background. Conventions exist between at least two people. What is a convention for one group of people may not be considered as such for another. Thus, if a certain expression is frequently used in, say, impolite context within a particular social group, it becomes conventional for the speakers. In this view, much depends on the frequency, and behaviour can be conventionalized only for two people, for a group or for a whole culture as it was with the expression *my bad* (Terkourafi & Kádár, 2017: 187).

speakers or a whole community in order to become conventionalized. This can be linked to the notions of generalized (conversational) implicature and politeness, as proposed by Terkourafi (2005a: 251):

Politeness is achieved on the basis of a generalized implicature when an expression *x* is uttered in a context with which - based on the addressee's previous experience of similar contexts - expression *x* regularly co-occurs. In this case, rather than engaging in full-blown inferencing about the speaker's intention, the addressee draws on that previous experience (represented holistically as a frame) to derive the proposition that "in uttering expression *x* the speaker is being polite" as a generalized implicature of the speaker's utterance. On the basis of this generalized implicature, the addressee may then come to hold the further belief that the speaker is polite.

Though Terkourafi applied her frequency-based approach to politeness, it is also applicable to impoliteness. If a certain expression such as (17) is regularly used in impolite contexts, then it conventionalizes into an expression that is (typically) impolite. At the same time, it obtains more context-spanning features because it is likely to be taken as impolite in majority of occurrences.

(17) Whatever!

This process may lead other less conventional or non-conventional expressions to becoming fully conventional. However, there is one problem with the frequency-based approach highlighted by Culpeper, (2011a: 130-131):

Where there is an interesting point of difference with politeness formulae is that people acquire knowledge of impoliteness formulae that far exceeds their own direct experience of usage of formulae associated with impolite effects in such contexts. This, I argue, is because they also draw upon indirect experience, and in particular metadiscourse. [...] Metalinguistic representations may enter public consciousness and come to constitute structured understandings, perhaps even 'common sense' understandings – of how language works, what it is usually like, what certain ways of speaking connote and imply, what they ought to be like.

These ideas lead to a complementary approach originated from the discursive approach. Namely, it concerns with how people use impoliteness meta-discourse in order to describe impolite behaviour. For example, people can characterize behaviour as rude, patronising, and arrogant. Thus, by using both the frequency-based approach and meta-discourse one can be more precise

and clear about the role of conventionality in impoliteness and consider not only the frequency, but also metalinguistic descriptions (Terkourafi & Kádár, 2017: 183).

Summing up different approaches to conventionality, this thesis proposes three aspects of it as shown in Figure 4.

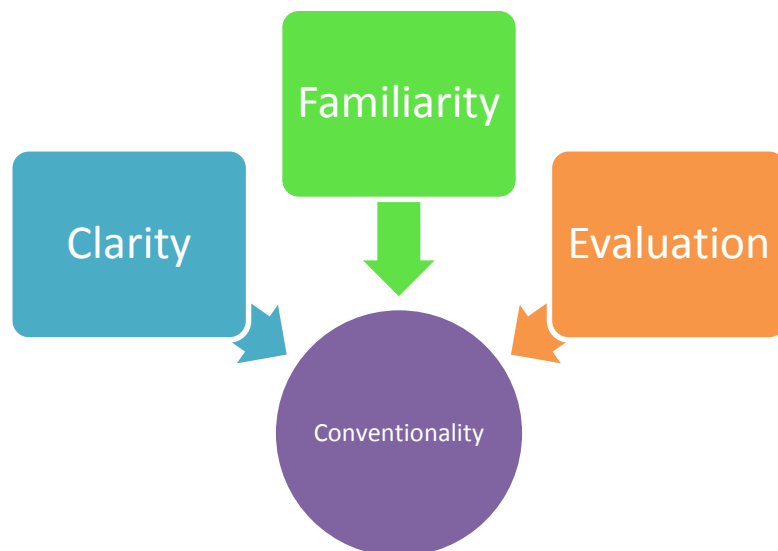


Figure 4. Three aspects of conventionality distinguished in the present thesis

Firstly, conventionality has to do with how frequently certain behaviour appears in a particular context. Thus, it can be seen as a participant's *familiarity* with use of an expression for causing offense. It can be assumed that people have knowledge that, say, in Russian, a request is realised by using imperative sentences, which is both the most frequent way of making requests and the most conventional way of doing so.

Secondly, conventionality can be studied through meta-discourse. This aspect focuses on how people describe and label behaviour. For example, it can be described as rude, patronizing, annoying or insulting. This aspect of conventionality may be called *evaluation*.

Thirdly, conventionality may have to do with *clarity* of the expressed meaning, when fully conventional expressions do not require additional inference, whereas non-conventionalized expressions do. Thus, the aspect of clarity is coupled with directness (see Section 2.4.2). Following this logic, the present thesis does not attempt to reduce conventionality (in the context of impoliteness) to a single factor, but sees it as a complex notion, involving at least three aspects: frequency, evaluation and clarity.

The process of conventionalization has its own peculiarities such as various degrees of conventionalization. The distinctions between (a) particularized conversational implicatures (b) generalized conversational implicatures and (c) conventional implicatures discussed in Section 2.2.3 may be seen as a cline of conventionalization. Generalized conversational implicature was

subdivided into two types, where one concerns meaning presumed in all contexts and the other concerns meaning presumed in a minimal context (Levinson, 2000; Terkourafi, 2005b; Culpeper, 2011a). A schematic depiction of the process of conventionalization is shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Conventionalization process (adapted from Culpeper, 2011a: 128; Terkourafi, 2005b: 211-212)

Pragmatics		Semantics	
Non-conventionalized	Less conventionalized	More conventionalized	Fully conventionalized
Particularized conversational implicature (PCI)	Generalized conversational implicature (GCI type 1)	Generalized conversational implicature (GCI type 2)	Conventional implicature
Utterance-token meaning derived in nonce context	Utterance-type meaning derived in a minimal context	Utterance-type meaning presumed in all contexts	Coded (sentence) meaning

The notion of *minimal context* was introduced by Terkourafi (2001, 2005b, 2009) to denote “extra-linguistic features that include, but are not limited to, the age, gender, and social class of the interlocutors, the relationship between them, and the setting of the exchange” (Terkourafi, 2015: 15). The next level of conventionalization (GCI type 2) is even less context-dependent since impolite expressions that fall under this category are presumed to cause offense almost in all contexts. On the opposite side of the scale one deals with non-conventionalized utterances requiring PCI. In this case, behaviour is not conventionalized relative to any context, and in order to understand what it means all details from this “nonce” (i.e. specific) context are required.

The degree of conventionalization may also vary from one group of speakers to another. However, some expressions are conventional or non-conventional for a whole culture. For Russian and Swedish cultures, for example, an eye movement known as *rolling eyes* may be considered as more conventional, since it is presumed to express absence of interest, indifference or boredom almost in all contexts. The question *did you study at school* requires some minimal context to be construed as impolite, because the meaning of the utterance may be vague if it stands on its own. A *pointing gesture* (in pointing to a door) can be used to show that a hearer should leave, and this gesture may require more than the minimal context. Finally, non-conventionalized expressions are even more indirect and should require more inference.

The different degrees of conventionalization can be coupled with levels from Integral Linguistics (see Table 3). In addition to seeing conventionalization as a process, one should understand the meanings with respect to the different degrees of conventionalization and types of conventions located at different levels. Table 8 shows where these degrees of conventionalization can be placed and how the conventionalization process might work, from the situated to the universal levels.

Table 8. The process of conventionalization and levels of Integral Linguistics

Level	Degree of conventionalization + Comment	Example
Universal	Acknowledging face and association rights threats in the most general sense	Any behaviour that might damage face or association rights common for all languages and cultures
Historical	Face and association rights threats and damage are conveyed by means of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fully conventional expressions AND <ul style="list-style-type: none"> More conventionalized expressions (GCI type 2 meanings) These conventions are seen as whole culture conventions. There is a cline either towards face or association rights domination.	Insults such as: <i>you are an idiot, asshole, retard, bitch</i> Criticism such as: <i>this is shit, stupid, unprofessional</i> Gestures such as: rolling eyes, middle finger
Situated	Face and association rights threats and damage are conveyed by means of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Less conventionalized expressions understood in a minimal context (GCI type 1 meanings) AND <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Non-conventional, novel uses of behaviour (PCI) These conventions are seen as group-specific (two people or more).	Criticism such as: <i>What an interesting person you are! You are such a good student! A fifth grader could do it better!</i> Unpalatable questions such as: <i>Do you know that the stone age is over? Did you really go to school? Have you read your assignment before you submitted it?</i> Gestures such as: pointing to the door, shrugging.

At the most general universal level, there are face and association rights that can be damaged in any culture, community or group. People have a fundamental will to be positively judged by others and to have freedom. For this reason, it does not have any concrete examples as it concerns not specific expressions and gestures, but any behaviour that would transgress on association rights and damage face in any human culture.

The historical level concerns behaviour that is presumed to cause offense in most of the context and settings in a given culture. Here we have specific taboos (Allan & Burridge, 2006) in either vocabulary or body movements (e.g. pointing towards a person with your foot in Thailand). Since they are culture-specific, they have a power over all representatives of a culture. For this reason, at this level offense is conveyed by means of conventional or highly conventional expressions.

Finally, at the situated level, individuals and small groups may initiate the process of conventionalization, by using some novel expressions in specific contexts. Since these expressions are novel, they are non-conventional. Only after some time they become somewhat conventional (less conventional), meaning that a minimal context may be sufficient for understanding. Further use of such less conventional expressions leads to higher degrees of conventionalization that eventually results in entering the historical level and becoming language or culture conventions.

Importantly for this thesis, a correlation between the degrees of conventionality and the degree of perceived impoliteness of offensive behaviour may be expected, as the use of less conventional expressions makes it easier to mitigate the potential offense.

2.5 (Im)politeness in Russian and Swedish cultures

As many important notions like language and meaning the concept of *culture* is not easy to define. Watts (2005a, xxv) pointed out that there does not exist “a solid and workable definition of the term culture, not only in (im)politeness research, but even in anthropology”. However, the problem can be addressed by establishing cultural differences and defining what constitutes them. Following Watts’s logic, some differences in terms of orientation that Russian and Swedish cultures have towards types of politeness and types of damage need to be delineated.

Various taxonomies have been used to systematize “types” of cultures. Even though there are only few studies on impoliteness cross-culturally (Culpeper, 2011a; Mills, 2011; Haugh, 2012), studies on politeness are ample for making distinctions between so-called positive and negative politeness cultures, based on Brown and Levinson (1987) (see Section 2.3.2). For example, English-speaking cultures are often considered as having “negative politeness”, because there politeness strategies are used to maintain “one’s personal space” (García & Terkourafi, 2014:2). On the other hand, Spanish-speaking cultures are considered as “positive-politeness” cultures,

because there politeness strategies are used to maintain affection and solidarity between interlocutors. If one culture gravitates towards negative politeness it can be assumed that impoliteness strategies attacking one's negative face will be perceived as more offensive than strategies attacking positive face and vice-versa.

According to some empirical investigations, it may be reasonable to see "types" of cultures on a scale, rather as dichotomized categories. García and Terkourafi (2014) use a classification that differentiates between *distancing cultures* and *solidarity or rapprochement cultures*. The first type refers to those cultures that use politeness to generate respect and differentiation, whereas the latter describes cultures where politeness is used for creating bonds of friendship, cooperation and affiliation.¹⁷ However, even within distancing and solidarity cultures there can be tendencies towards the opposite pole. So-called "Anglo cultures" (Culpeper & Terkourafi, 2017) are claimed to be oriented primarily towards negative face and are often considered as individualistic, but they may differ in their kinds of individualism (García & Terkourafi, 2014:3). For example, Australian English has horizontal individualism, which is characterized by use of informality and closeness, whereas American English has vertical individualism, which stresses individual personality and uniqueness (Goddard, 2012). An additional complexity with all classifications and distinctions is that even within the same culture there can be found different social groups, which have different norms and values, and may use different politeness or impoliteness strategies (Upadhyay, 2010; Jay, 2016).

Russian culture is said to be predominantly oriented towards positive face strategies. Comparisons between Russian and English (Takhtarova, 2015) show that the role of negative politeness in Russian is less significant, which could explain the frequent use of direct instructions or requests. Ogiermann's (2009) study on apologizing concludes that Russian culture exhibits features of collectivism¹⁸ with a cline towards positive politeness, whereas individualistic cultures often demonstrate preferences for negative politeness. In Russian culture solidarity politeness is claimed to be more valuable than deferential politeness, shown in frequent use of expressions to show closeness and familiarity (Annin, 2010).

With respect to Swedish culture, it is even harder to define to which of the poles it gravitates. As has been pointed out by Daun (1991:165): "Swedish mentality seems to have two opposing tendencies: one towards individualism and the other towards collectivity". There is clearly a collectivistic component emerging from the idea of social equality and justice. At the same time, there are high values for privacy and independence, which makes the collectivistic

¹⁷ As one may notice, this distinction echoes Brown and Levinson's (1987) distinction between positive and negative politeness cultures.

¹⁸ According to Hofstede (1980) in collectivistic societies the needs of a group are prioritized over the needs of the individuals.

component to look less dominant. Moreover, comparison between the US and Sweden suggests that in Swedish culture there is a stronger inclination towards negative politeness (Kiesling, 2015:625), although the US exhibits even more characteristics that are considered as individualistic (Salvesen, 2015:56).

As our discussion shows, many studies operate with the notions of positive and negative politeness, or with individualistic and collectivistic cultures (Sifianou & Blitvich, 2017). However, the current thesis employs face and sociality rights as two categories that can be sensitive to impoliteness. In order to reconcile terminological problems, I propose to consider positive face as corresponding to different face aspect from the model of rapport management, whereas negative face will be considered as corresponding to sociality rights at least in some aspects. For example, saying *shut up* or *get lost* can be possibly seen as an imposition on someone's freedom to express an opinion, and at the same time as a way of communication that is not fair and appropriate.

In addition to different types of cultures, there can be distinguished different types of taboos. (Allan & Burrige, 2006). In English culture "fecal" and sexual expressions are highly offensive, while Russian taboo vocabulary is predominantly sexual. Swedish taboo vocabulary is claimed to be mostly religious "sacrum-culture" and sexual (Mokienko, 2004: 33). However, it should be noted that this division is not that precise and groups are not stable. For example, in modern American English the most tabooed items are those belonging to racial abuse, abuse of minorities or abuse of physically challenged people (Jay, 2016). The similar tendency may be observed in Swedish whereas in Russian the most offensive expressions are still sexual curses. These differences in taboos also mean that certain offensive items that have more or less the same translations across different languages can have very different offensive potential. Thus, even if we have two positive-face cultures, there still may be differences, depending on a so-called taboo culture. Thus, so-called translation equivalents should be primarily found based on their culturally specific nature of offensiveness, and only then according to their denotational meaning, as discussed in Chapter 3

2.6 General hypotheses

Taking into consideration ideas and concepts discussed in the chapter, it is possible to derive several general hypotheses, serving as a foundation for the empirical study described in the following chapter.

***H1.** Given similar general degrees of offensiveness, highly conventional expressions in both language and gesture should be perceived as more impolite than less conventional ones.*

The motivation for this hypothesis is that highly conventional impolite behaviour is more context-spanning, so it should be harder to perceive these impolite expressions as dubious and to mitigate offensiveness by means of context than for less conventional impolite behaviour (see Section 2.4).

***H2.** The impoliteness of highly conventional behaviour in both language and gesture will be perceived faster than for less conventional expressions.*

The reason behind this is that less conventional behaviour is less context-spanning, less salient and may require additional inference that in its turn requires additional time for evaluation and understanding of what was actually meant (see Section 2.4.4).

***H3.** Offensive behaviour expressed through gestures will be perceived, in general, as more impolite than offensive expressions in language, irrespective of culture.*

The motivation for this is the assumption that gestures are closely related to physical actions that originate from bodily mimesis (see Section 2.2). Thus, impolite gestures are expected to have greater threatening power and greater offensiveness than impolite language.

***H4.** The perceived impoliteness of the categories of face and association rights will vary between Russian and Swedish participants.*

Taking into consideration differences that the two cultures exhibit with respect to positive and negative politeness, one may expect that they have different value in the two cultures. More precisely, in Russian culture, people should be more sensitive towards damage of face, and in Swedish culture, people should be sensitive towards association rights (see Section 2.5).

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the methods that were employed for answering the research questions and testing the hypotheses that were given at the end of the previous chapter. It begins with a description of how impolite linguistic expressions and gestures were translated. After this, the pre-experimental questionnaire, the experiment, and the post-experimental interviews are described with a special focus on their design and procedure. Finally, four specific hypotheses, which build upon the four general ones, are presented.

3.1 Establishing cross-cultural comparability of words and gestures

The thorniest part of the experimental procedure was finding equivalents for both spoken expressions and gestures in two cultures. Many words do not have one-to-one translation equivalents. Given this, a word-based translation cannot be considered to be an adequate technique. However, with offensive vocabulary which is emotionally loaded, the issue of an adequate translation becomes critical. Since the current study differentiates between higher and lower offensiveness, translation equivalents were primarily chosen based on conveyed offense and, secondarily, on their meaning.

In order to find equivalents in Swedish, I conducted five short interviews with native speakers of Swedish, where they were asked to provide equivalents for some offensive English words and gestures, and to evaluate their impoliteness on a 10-point scale. Then the impoliteness rates were compared with respective rates in English and in Russian taken from a previous study (Zlov, 2016). Finally, the best matches in terms of both impoliteness and meaning were chosen. For example, respondents were asked to provide offensive equivalents to English expressions such as *fuck you*, *nerdy person* or *stupid person*. Then they evaluated their impoliteness on the scale from 1 to 10, and finally explained what expressions mean, and in which contexts they can be used.

Examples (18) – (21) illustrate some problems with the matching of expressions cross-culturally. There are differences between *fuck you* and *fuck off* in English. The first, which is a negative expressive, is usually used to show discontent with someone; the latter is a dismissal meaning *go away*. Interviewed Swedish native speakers claimed that there is no such differentiation in Swedish so that (21) can perform both functions. In Russian, (18) – (20) can convey both meanings, as (21) does, but (20) has more features of a dismissal than (18) and (19). Moreover, there can be differences in perceived impoliteness, because all three Russian examples have tabooed roots, whereas in Swedish the less offensive word *hell* is used.

- (18) *Poshel na huj*
Go to the dick
'Fuck you / off'
- (19) *Poshel v pizdu*
Go into the pussy
'Fuck you / off'
- (20) *Ot'ebis'*
Away fuck
'Fuck off'
- (21) *Dra åt helvete*
Drag to the hell
'Fuck off / you'

The other set of examples shows a direct translation of a Swedish expression (25) into Russian (23). However, (23) has a very weak intensification, whereas (24) has a very strong intensification with a tabooed root, but together with *idiot* it looks odd due to some mismatch in impoliteness. For this reason, (22) was preferred as an adaptive translation because it better matched the degree of impoliteness, although the meaning of (22) and (25) are quite different.

- (22) *Mraz'*
Scum
- (23) *Chertov idiot*
'Devil idiot'
Fucking idiot
- (24) *Jebanij idiot*
'Fucked idiot'
Fucking idiot
- (25) *Jävla idiot*
'Devil idiot'
Fucking idiot

Another approach was used for finding cross-cultural equivalents for gestures. Previous studies show that emblematic gestures vary cross-culturally (Morris et al., 1979; Kita, 2009; Teßendorf, 2013; Müller, 2014; Payrató, 2014). At the same time, emblematic gestures often do not have a

single translation neither within a culture, nor across them (Teßendorf, 2013:90). Thus, as a main factor for finding gestural equivalents I used hand shape, whereas offensiveness played a second role, because gestures may be considered as one-to-one equivalents that have more or less stable relations between the form and the meaning (Müller, 2014:1512). An extra layer of complexity comes when one hand shape exists and means something in one culture, but not in another. Moreover, in order to convey *you are crazy*, only one conventional gesture exists in Russian and Swedish, but the potential number of spoken expressions conveying the same meaning is considerably higher. In order to find the best possible matches (see Table 9) five Swedish and three Russian participants were asked the same set of questions in English and Russian, respectively.

Table 9. Some of the gestural equivalents in the two cultures

Question	Russian	Swedish
How do you express <i>fuck you / off</i> by a gesture?	Showing a middle finger	Showing a middle finger
How do you express <i>you are crazy</i> by a gesture?	Spinning a stretched indexical finger in front of a temple	Rotating in circles a stretched indexical finger in front of a temple
How do you express <i>bye-bye</i> by a gesture?	Doing open and close palm several times	Doing a wavy movements from left to right with an open palm

3.2 Questionnaire

Initially, the study employed the questionnaire both as a separate method and as a step in arranging the experiment. However, its results were mirrored by the results from the experiment. For this reason, I will not provide a detailed overview of everything related to the questionnaire from a methodological perspective, nor its results, but rather include essential information in Section 3.3, where the experiment and interviews are reviewed.

3.3 Experiment and post-experiment interview

3.3.1 Participants

Sixty (60) participants (26 female) from different age groups and different social backgrounds participated in the experiment. The total number of participants was equally divided between Russian (15 female) and Swedish (11 female), giving thirty participants per language. The mean age of participants was 24.2 in the Russian sample, and 22.7 in the Swedish sample. Participants in both samples had either Russian or Swedish as their first language. The exclusion criteria were

earlier participation in the questionnaire or having any other language as their first language, except for the cases when participants were bilingual. Participants were recruited via personal contacts both in Skåne (Sweden) and in Saratov (Russia).

3.3.2 Design and materials

The experimental part of the study began with making up short dialogues where each speaker had two turns. A corpus-based approach was used for finding contexts in which impolite behaviour tends to occur, but it did not give feasible results due to lack of the data in corpus. Eventually, dialogues were completed based on the intuitions of native speakers of Russian and Swedish.¹⁹ Since members of the two cultures have both direct and indirect experience of impoliteness, they have reliable intuitive knowledge of behaviour that is impolite in their culture. Once a Russian version of the script was compiled, it was translated into Swedish and checked by several native speakers of Swedish. The Russian script was also checked by several native speakers of Russian.

The completed script containing 32 target²⁰ dialogues was used as a pilot questionnaire on random samples of 20 participants in each language. After necessary corrections and modifications were made, 16 target dialogues were removed as the least fitting ones, and were substituted with 16 control²¹ dialogues, which were translated and checked by native speakers in both languages. That step resulted in the creation of the final questionnaire that was completed by 54 Russian and 72 Swedish participants. Once I ensured that the questionnaire delivered correct measurements of impoliteness level, it was decided to proceed to the experiment using the script from the final questionnaire as the basis.

The experiment started with the recording of video clips. The final set included 44 items per language (16 target items, 16 control items and 12 training items). Both target and control videos were self-recorded and their content mirrored the script, whereas eight training items were taken from YouTube and varied in their content. The other four training items were self-recorded, but did not mirror the script.

Dialogues in Russian mostly corresponded to those in Swedish in terms of their setting. If there was a change in setting, it was matched with the closest possible one. For example, if it was

¹⁹ Intuition has been argued to be “the most fundamental form of consciousness for the study of language” (Itkonen, 2008b:15), as it targets intersubjective knowledge, in contrast to introspection.

²⁰ By target items, I understand those dialogues that had impolite behaviour. They were the focus, because the current thesis aims at investigating impolite behaviour. Thus, further analysis and discussion concern target (impolite) items, unless there is something peculiar found in how people understand polite dialogues.

²¹ By control items, I understand those dialogues that were not in focus. They served as diversion of attention from the impolite dialogues. In other words, they let participants evaluate impolite dialogues more precisely, with respect to polite dialogues, rather than evaluate one type of impolite behaviour with respect to another.

a library in Sweden, in Russia it could be substituted by a café that is also a public place presupposing polite behaviour by default.

There was one deficiency in the experimental design. The taxonomy for different types of damage (Face vs. Sociality rights), which was discussed in sections 2.3.3, 2.3.4 and 2.5, was employed after the experiment was piloted. That is why the target dialogues were equally distributed only across three conditions in two cultures:

1. Offensiveness: High & Low
2. Conventionality: High & Lesser
3. Semiotic systems: Language & Gesture

However, there could not be an equal distribution across different types of damage – 7 out of 8 gestures damaged sociality rights, whereas 7 out of 8 impolite expressions in language damaged face. The full list of how expressions were distributed across all conditions can be found in Appendix G.

In the video clips two people (actors) were recorded, where (a) there was first a short exchange and (b) actor B performed an impolite (target) or either polite or neutral (control) act towards A. This final *punchline* was always at the very end. Actors were four people per language – one male dyad and one female dyad. They were either university students or had recently completed their university studies. Examples²² (26) and (27) show how these dialogues could look.

(26) A: Hey, can you turn down the volume?

B: This is not loud at all!

A: This is quite loud.

B: *Fuck off!*

(27) A: Hi! Do you have some free time?

B: Hi! Yes, I do.

A: Would you like to participate in the psychological experiment, it just takes 20 min.

B: *Yes, sure.*

Each dyad played in the same number of videos and had the same number of conditions. The total number of polite and impolite punchlines performed by each actor was counterbalanced. Moreover, both male and female dyads acted out the same dialogues in Russian and Swedish.

²² These are approximate translations into English. The full list of dialogues in Russian and Swedish see in Appendix E and F.

Having all punchlines at the end was motivated by (a) not having clearly impolite behaviour earlier in the dialogs, so that impolite behaviour of one person seemed justified; (b) having more or less the same onset for polite and impolite punchlines, instead of having them in different places. Otherwise, measuring reaction times would no longer be valid, because participants could have decided on the degree of impoliteness long before they needed to enter their response. Punchlines were expressed by means of either language or gesture. Gestures were used in the absence of any vocalizations; language was used in the absence of emblematic or action-like gestures such as throwing or removing things.

The recorded videos were cut and edited, so that all of them had approximately the same duration, around 5-15 seconds. The order in which videos were presented was randomized for every participant automatically. There was a question *how polite or impolite is the last behaviour in the following video clip?* to remind participants of the actual task. The question was shown to participants for 3 seconds. After this, a fixation star was shown in the middle of the screen for 1 second and then a video was played. Finally, once a video was shown, *RATE!* appeared on the screen and participants were able to enter their judgement.

Both dependent and independent variables were controlled in the experiment. Participants reported their age, gender, and the first language. Independent variables were the two degrees of offensiveness (Highly vs. Less), the two semiotic systems (Language vs. Gesture), the two degrees of conventionality (High vs. Lesser), and the two types of damage (Face vs. Sociality rights). Responses were given on a 5-point scale (see Table 10) and reaction times were recorded.

3.3.3 Equipment

A full-HD camera Panasonic HC-V785 with a tripod was used to record a set of stimuli. Then videos were cut and edited in Sony Vegas Pro (version 13.0) software used for movie editing. Edited movies were played in E-prime software (version 3.0) developed for conducting psychological experiments. The program allows the presentation a set of stimuli in a randomized order and the measurement of response times that participants need to perform a task. When experiment took place at the Humanities Lab in Lund, the stimuli were presented on a Samsung H850 WQHD PLS monitor, the display size was 24 inches and the resolution was 2560x1440 pixels. Participants sat in approximately 60 cm from the screen. Outside the Lab, the stimuli were presented on HP EliteBook 840 G4 with a screen having diagonal of 14 inches and resolution 1920x1080. For entering responses, participants used a computer keyboard. If the noise level was too high, participants were provided with headphones.

An audio recorder was used for recording every interview session in order to have access the information participants provided.

The subsequent statistical analysis of the collected data was done with the aid of R-studio (version 1.2.1335) for Windows.

3.3.4 Procedure

In the beginning of the experiment, participants received both oral and written instructions regarding the procedure (see Appendixes B and C). They were told that the aim of the experiment was to know how polite or impolite the punchlines in the videos were. The main instructions were:

1. Try to see the demonstrated videos as generic.
2. The age and gender of the actors do not play any role – do not focus on them.
3. The actors are playing people who are not friends, but know each other.
4. Try to see the actors as if they are playing two different people every time.
5. Focus on the last behaviour in each video and do not to focus too much on the contextual details.
6. Rate the last behaviour on a 5-point scale.
7. Try to be both fast and precise in your responses. Do not rush and press random buttons or those buttons that do not correspond to your actual decision. Do not think too much about the last behaviour.
8. Rate the punchline once you see *RATE!* on the screen.

The scale was introduced several times. In the beginning of the experiment, participants were given five options for evaluation. Then the five keys for judgements were introduced (see Table 10). Finally, participants were shown a picture with one of the two versions of the scale, one going from left to right and one going from right to left. Participants were asked if they had any questions regarding the instructions or procedure before the start of the experiment and after each training session.

Table 10. The two versions of the scale

From left to right	From right to left
{D} – very polite	{D} – very impolite
{F} – polite	{F} – impolite
{SPACE} – neutral	{SPACE} – neutral
{J} – impolite	{J} – polite
{K} – very impolite	{K} – very polite

After the instructions, participants had two warming-up sessions. Once they pressed {SPACE}, the first warming-up session that had eight training videos (4 with polite and 4 with impolite punchlines) taken from YouTube started. The second session of four videos (2 with polite and 2

with impolite punchlines) recorded with actors could be started after the first was completed and {SPACE} was pressed. After completion of the second session participants received a notification saying that they could start the real experiment containing 32 videos (16 with polite and 16 with impolite punchlines) once they pressed {SPACE}.

3.3.5 Ethical considerations

Participation was voluntary both in the pilot and in the final questionnaires, where participants were asked to read the informed consent and confirm their participation. Participants were not offered anything for their participation. Before the experiment, every participant had to read the informed consent (see Appendix A) and agree on participation before the start. The informed consent used for the experiment also had a passage on the follow-up interview that was audio-recorded. Participants were informed that they could terminate their participation at any stage. Swedish participants, who completed the experiment and participated in the interview, received compensation in the form of a cinema ticket funded by Lund University. Russian participants did not receive any compensation, but were thanked for their help and offered the possibility to receive the results of the investigation on request.

3.3.6 Post-experiment interview

After the experiment, all participants were interviewed individually. At this stage, all participants were told about the real purpose of the experiment – to understand how impoliteness functions in their language and culture. Interviews yielded feedback on the experimental procedure as a whole, and provided rich data on impoliteness of linguistic expressions and gestures, and on how people understand the different aspects of conventionality discussed in Section 2.4.4.

A list of interview questions was prepared beforehand (see Appendix D). With the Russian participants, interviews were conducted in Russian, and with the Swedish participants in English, except for the part where participants had to provide impolite meta-discourse in their native language. The interview started with general questions that were followed by specific questions.

General questions aimed at eliciting participants' general impression of the experiment. Moreover, they were asked whether they had noticed any difference between the videos in terms of their offensiveness or any other features. Specific questions were asked with respect to all impolite videos that were replayed one by one from the 1st to the 16th (see Appendixes E and F).

Specific questions concerned (a) descriptions of impolite punchlines by using impolite meta-discourse, when participants in their native language characterized each punchline by means of impolite meta-discourse; (b) directness or indirectness of impolite behaviour at the end of each video; (c) frequency of such expressions in a similar or different impolite context; and (d) typicality

of impolite behaviour, namely if a certain behaviour is a typical way of conveying impoliteness in participants' culture.

Question (d) was included in order to examine the frequency aspect of conventionality from a different perspective. The difference between (c) and (d) is in their scope: frequency was supposed to shed some light on general frequency of behaviour regardless of a context, whereas typicality aimed at measuring how common a certain expression is in an impolite context in participants' cultures. This differentiation may be helpful for cases with highly offensive expressions that might be not the most frequent overall, but the most typical (prototypical) way of being offensive and hostile.

If participants had difficulties with questions, (i.e. how direct or indirect the offense was) they were offered, for example, to compare between *pointing to the door* and *throwing a bag*. When participants had to provide impolite meta-discourse, they were given only one example (28) with the word *impolite* for Swedes and *nevezhlivo* for Russians not to prime them to use specific adjectives.

(28) If a person is late for a meeting and does not say sorry for being late, I can say that this behaviour is impolite.

3.4 Predictions and specific hypotheses

The presented theoretical framework, together with a set of general hypotheses presented at the end of Chapter 2, and the methodological design of the study allows us to formulate four specific hypotheses. The results will be presented in Chapter 4 in accordance with each of these hypotheses.

H1. Linguistic expressions and gestures on the same level of offensiveness will be evaluated as more impolite, when considered highly conventional than less conventional.

H2. The reaction times needed for evaluating the impoliteness of linguistic expressions and gestures will be considerably higher for less conventional expressions, and lower for highly conventional ones.

H3. Gestures will be perceived as more impolite than linguistic expressions, irrespective of culture.

H4. Linguistic expressions and gestures that damage face will be perceived as more impolite by Russian participants and behaviour that damages sociality rights will be perceived as more impolite by Swedish participants.

CHAPTER 4. RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the investigation. The chapter has subsections for each of the four hypotheses presented at the end of the previous chapter. The qualitative aspects of the study are presented in the following chapter. However, some interview results have been quantified and are presented in the current chapter.

4.2 H1 – Impoliteness and conventionality

The first hypothesis predicted that linguistic expressions and gestures on the same level of offensiveness will be evaluated as more impolite, when considered highly conventional than less conventional. Figure 5 shows number of judgements per category for all participants. There was a clear difference in the number of very impolite judgements between HCHO and LCHO categories, where the level of offensiveness was the same, but not conventionality. The same pattern was observed for categories with lower offense – HCLO and LCLO. Thus, within the same category of offensiveness participants evaluated less conventional expressions (both in language and gesture) as very impolite less often than more conventional ones.

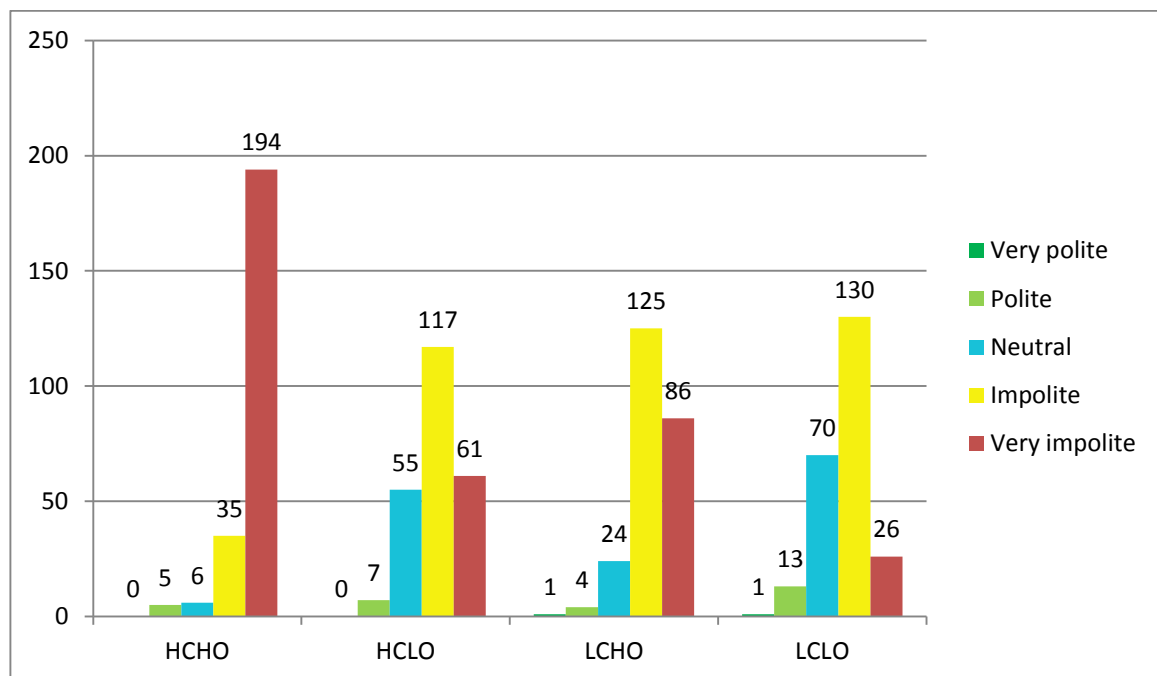


Figure 5. Number of judgements provided by participants depending on categories of conventionality and offensiveness

Table 11 shows statistical values for the estimate of the effect (EST), the standard error, the z-value and the p-value. For the analysis a logistic mixed effects regression was used, and in the

table only fixed effects are provided. The model estimates the effects of one or more independent variables on a dependent (or response) variable.²³ The p-value indicates significance of conventionality and offensiveness on participants' judgements within the very impolite category. The main effects of conventionality and of offensiveness are both significant. Those videos that had highly conventional punchlines received the rating very impolite more often than those that had less conventional punchlines, which supports H1. Similarly, videos that were highly offensive were rated as very impolite significantly more often than videos that were less offensive. However, the interaction between conventionality and offensiveness was not significant.

Table 11. Statistical effects on relationship between conventionality, offensiveness and very impolite responses

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	p value
Intercept	1.8815	0.5508	3.416	0.000
Less conventional	-2.6473	0.7416	-3.570	0.000
Low offense	-3.6440	0.7604	-4.792	1.65e-06
Less conventional * Low offense	1.6305	1.0630	1.534	0.125

4.3 H2 – Reaction time and conventionality

The second hypothesis predicted that highly conventional expressions require less time for making the decision (pressing a key) than less conventional ones, based on the assumption that people can “short-circuit” the inference process when an expression is highly conventional and obviously impolite. Table 12 shows the mean values needed for making judgements with highly and less conventional expressions (language and gesture). As can be seen, on average, participants needed less time to make a decision regarding highly conventional expressions. The difference is not that clear within the low offense category, but obvious for expressions conveying high offense.

Table 12. Average reaction times (in milliseconds) needed for making decisions depending on the levels of conventionality and offensiveness

Offensiveness	Highly conventional	Less conventional
High offense	1042	1755
Low offense	1656	1763

²³ The estimate shows if the relationship between independent variables and the dependent variable is positive or negative. The standard error shows a possible variability in a different sample. The z-value is the estimate (regression coefficient) divided by its standard error. Finally, the p-value indicates if the relationship between variables is statistically significant.

For testing this hypothesis, a mixed effects regression was used showing the estimate of the effect (EST), its standard error, degrees of freedom, the t-value and the p-value.²⁴ The output showed that the factors conventionality and offensiveness, as well as the interaction between them were significant since the p-value is low, as shown in Table 13.

Table 13. Statistical effects on relationship between conventionality, offensiveness and reaction time

	Estimate	Std. Error	Degrees of freedom	t value	p value
Intercept	1042.22	161.86	22.39	6.439	1.63e-06
Offensiveness	614.20	193.95	12.00	3.167	0.008
Conventionality	713.02	193.95	12.00	3.676	0.003
Offensiveness * Conventionality	-605.50	274.29	12.00	-2.208	0.047

4.4 H3 – Gestures vs Language in terms of perceived impoliteness

The third hypothesis predicted that impolite expressions would be evaluated as more impolite in gesture than in language (everything else being equal), based on the assumption from mimesis theory that gestures emerge from physical actions. This predicts that impolite gestures will be seen as something closer to physical aggression than to a speech act.

The results did not show that gestures tended to be evaluated as impolite and very impolite more often than language, as seen in Figure 6, and statistical analysis that employed the logistic mixed effects regression did not show a significant difference between language and gestures either, as the p-value is relatively high (see Table 14). Thus, H3 was not supported. However, there were differences between two semiotic systems from a cross-cultural perspective. Russian participants, on average, evaluated impolite expressions in language and gesture as very impolite less often than Swedish participants did, and there was some difference in the percentage of evaluation between two semiotic systems with a slightly higher percentage for gestures. On the other hand, for Swedish participants this difference was higher and impolite expressions in language were evaluated as very impolite more often than in gesture.

²⁴ The degrees of freedom show the number of values in the final calculation that are free to vary. The t-value is the estimate divided by the standard error. It shows how big the estimate is relative to the standard error.

Table 14. Statistical effects on relationship between semiotic systems and very impolite judgements

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	p value
Intercept	-0.879331	0.746426	-1.178	0.239
Gesture	-0.005847	1.029802	-0.006	0.995

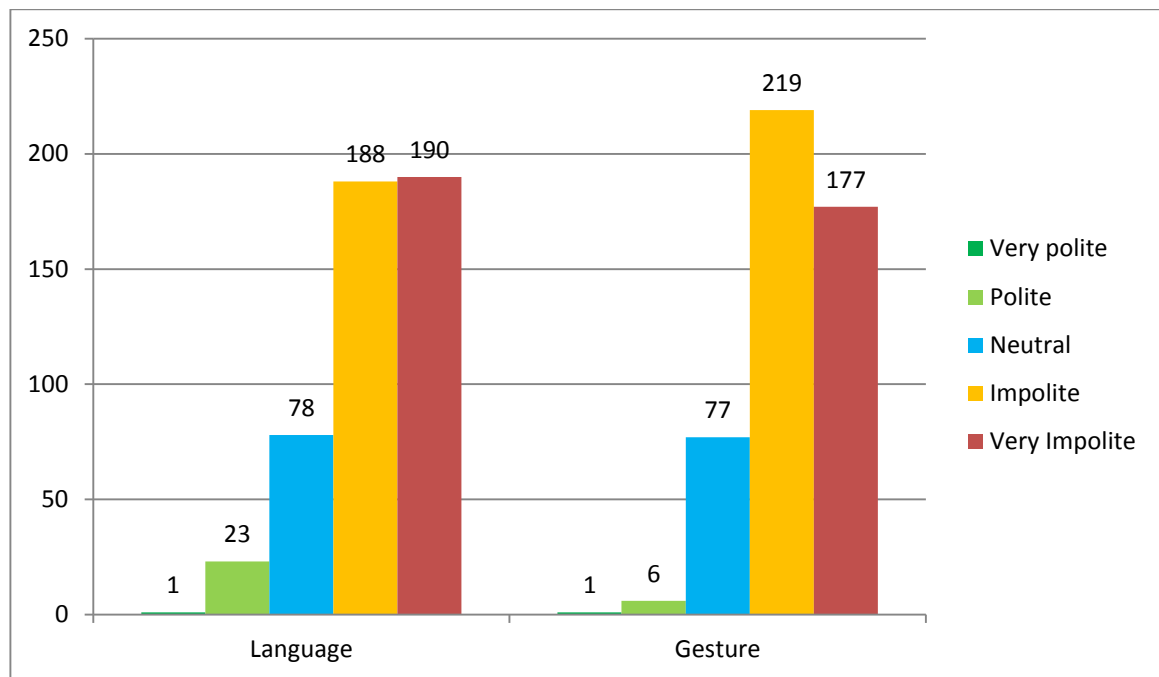


Figure 6. Number of judgements provided by participants according to conventionality, offensiveness and semiotic system used in stimuli

4.5 H4 – Cross-cultural differences

The fourth hypothesis predicted that there would be differences in how Swedish and Russian participants evaluate impolite behaviour depending on whether it damages face or sociality rights. According to H4, Russian participants should be more sensitive to expressions damaging face, whereas Swedish participants to expressions damaging sociality rights. For testing this hypothesis, similarly to H1 and H3, the logistic mixed effects regression was used. As Table 15 shows, the interaction between type of damage and culture was not significant meaning that a particular type of damage (face vs. sociality rights) did not lead to a statistically significant increase in very impolite responses. Thus, H4 was not supported. However, the main effect of culture was significant, given the low p-value, and this outcome asks for some explanation.

Given that due to methodological issues, (see Section 3.3.2) almost all gestures presented in the stimuli concerned sociality rights, whereas impoliteness expressed through language damaged face, we may compare the two judgments from the two cultures in terms of the two

semiotic systems. As can be seen in Figures 7 and 8, Swedish participants judged impolite behaviour as very impolite more often than the Russian participants, for both linguistic and gestural expressions, and especially in the latter. I return to this unexpected result in Chapter 5.

Table 15. Statistical effects on relationship between type of damage, culture and very impolite responses

	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	p value
Intercept	-0.4349	0.8268	-0.526	0.598
Damage	0.2846	1.1304	0.252	0.801
Culture	-1.5362	0.4224	-3.637	0.000
Damage * Culture	0.6588	0.4064	1.621	0.105

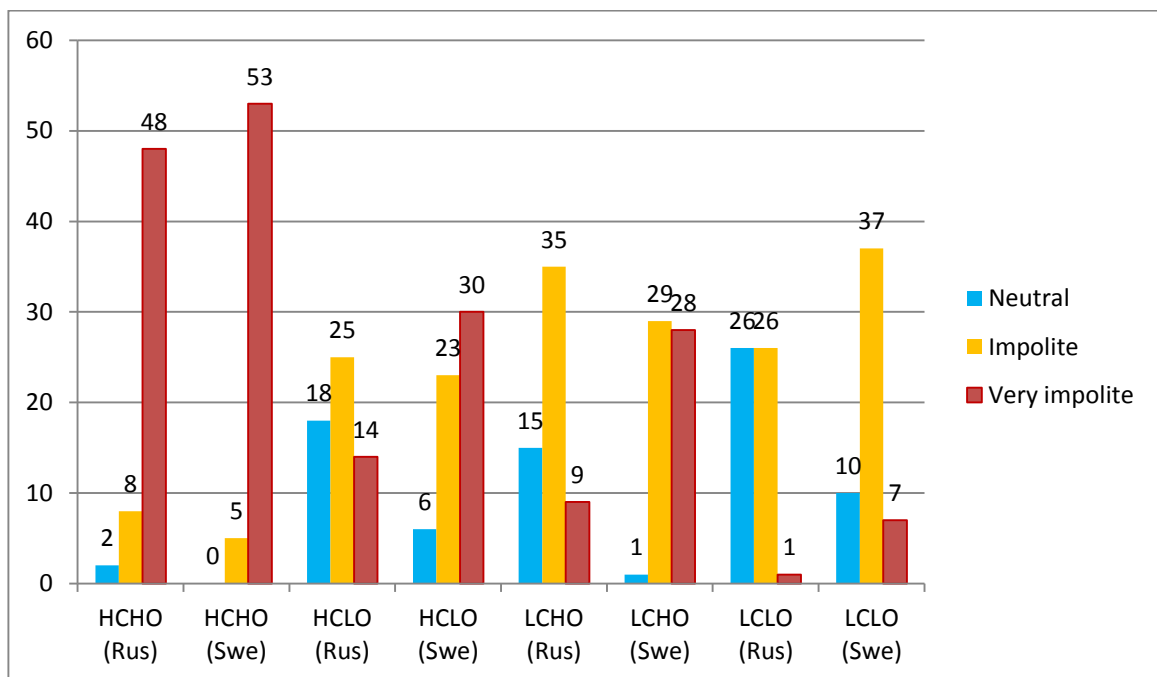


Figure 7. Number of judgements for different categories of offensiveness and conventionality provided for language

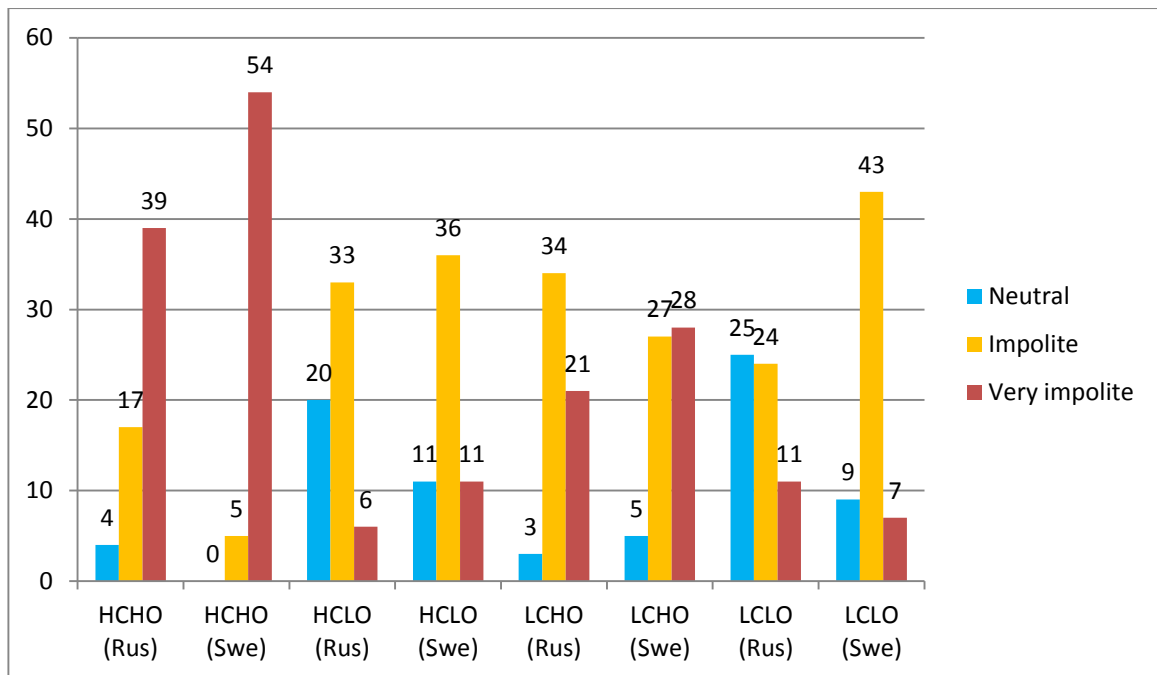


Figure 8. Number of judgements for different categories of offensiveness and conventionality provided for gestures

4.6 Interview results

The interviews yielded not only valuable qualitative data, to which we turn in the following chapter, but also some quantifiable data that may help shed light on the interrelation between conventionality and impoliteness. It was proposed in Chapter 2 that conventionality is a complex concept, associated with at least three different factors: directness, typicality and evaluation. The interviews aimed at understanding how participants evaluated these three factors.

4.6.1 Directness

It could be expected that actions that are more conventional are seen as more *direct* or, in other words, more straightforward. In the course of interviews, participants were asked if the punchline in each impolite video clip was direct or indirect, and to explain their decision. Responses distributed across four categories, where *more direct* or *more indirect* represent lower degree of directness or indirectness respectively. As can be seen in Figures 9 and 10, highly conventional and highly offensive expressions were judged as direct both in language and in gesture more often than other categories.

The results suggest that directness is perceived differently depending on a semiotic system. In language, there is a gradual decrease in *direct* category, if moving from HOHC to LOLC category, whereas *indirect* responses are increasing in numbers. However, in gesture, highly offensive categories were considered equally *direct*, whereas less offensive categories were low, but still comparable in numbers with each other. The results suggest that for language the level of

conventionality matters more than offensiveness when it comes to perception of directness. At the same time, in gesture the level of offensiveness seems to have a larger impact over conventionality, so that categories with different level of conventionality have almost the same number of responses, unlike in language.

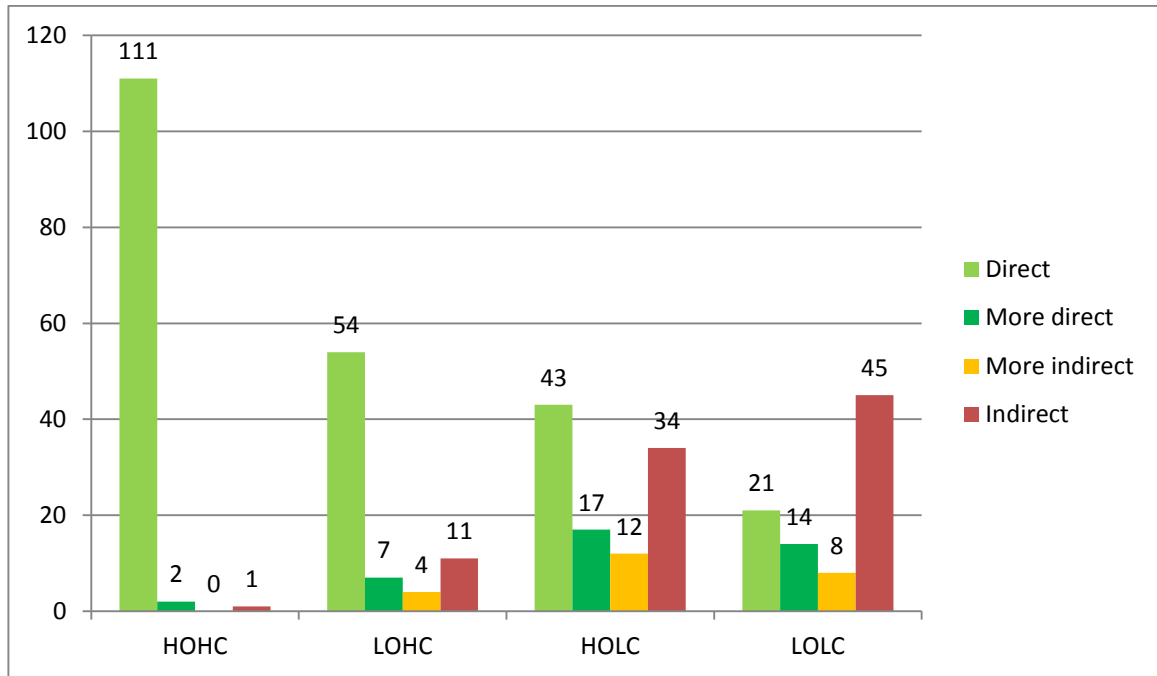


Figure 9. Number of judgements on directness for different categories of offensiveness and conventionality provided for language

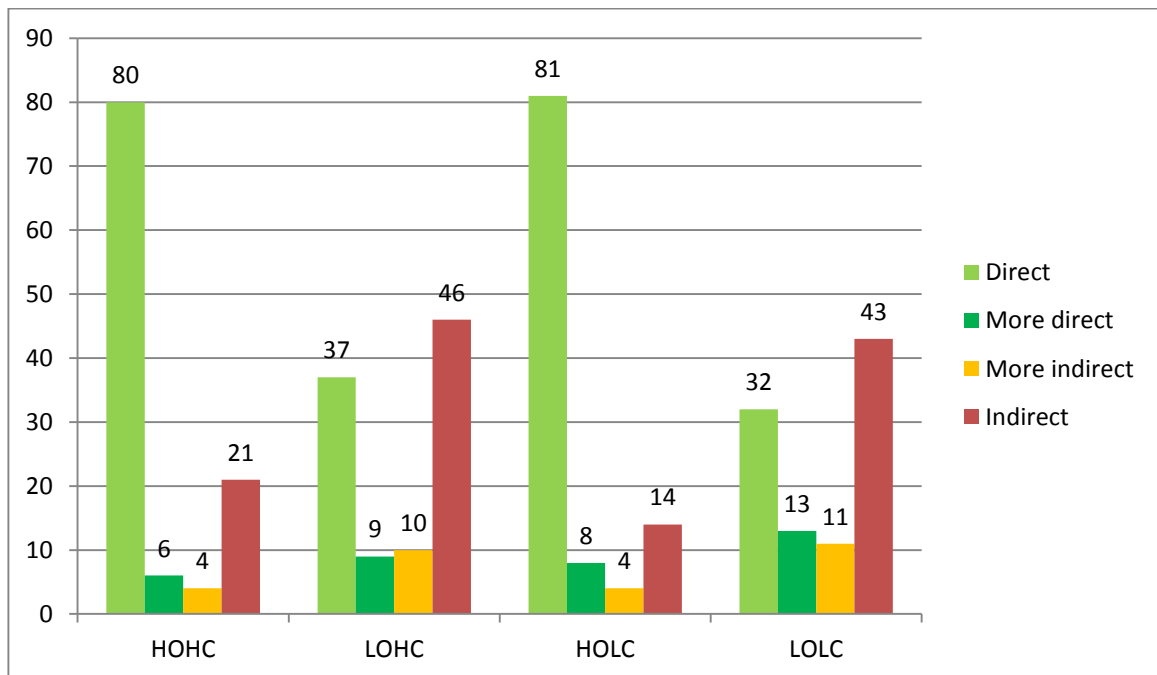


Figure 10. Number of judgements on directness for different categories of offensiveness and conventionality provided for gesture

4.6.2 Typicality and frequency

The other aspect of conventionality, as it was discussed in Section 2.4.4, is frequency. It was approached from two perspectives: absolute frequency and typicality. However, the results in both cases were nearly the same, so figures are provided only for typicality.

Concerning absolute frequency, it was found that gestures were seen as infrequent irrespective of conventionality and offensiveness levels, with a slight decrease in responses for the low offensive category. In language, all four possible combinations of offensiveness and conventionality were seen as more frequent rather than infrequent. However, the differences between frequent and infrequent categories were higher for HOHC, LOHC and LOLC, but lower for HOLC.

From the typicality perspective, participants also found impoliteness expressed through language as more typical compared to gestures as shown in Figures 11 and 12. The most typical language category was LOLC, whereas all other categories had modest differences between typical and atypical judgements. Concerning gestures, all four categories were considered as atypical, although low offense categories got at least a few typical and more typical judgements.

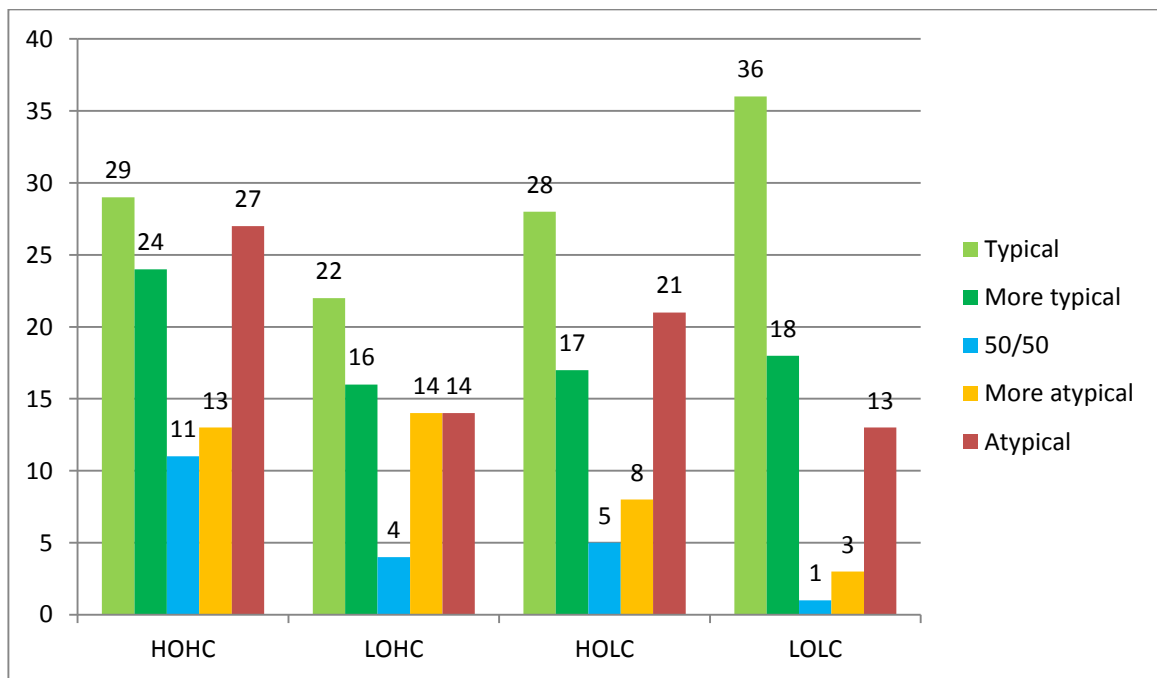


Figure 11. Number of judgements on typicality for different categories of offensiveness and conventionality provided for language

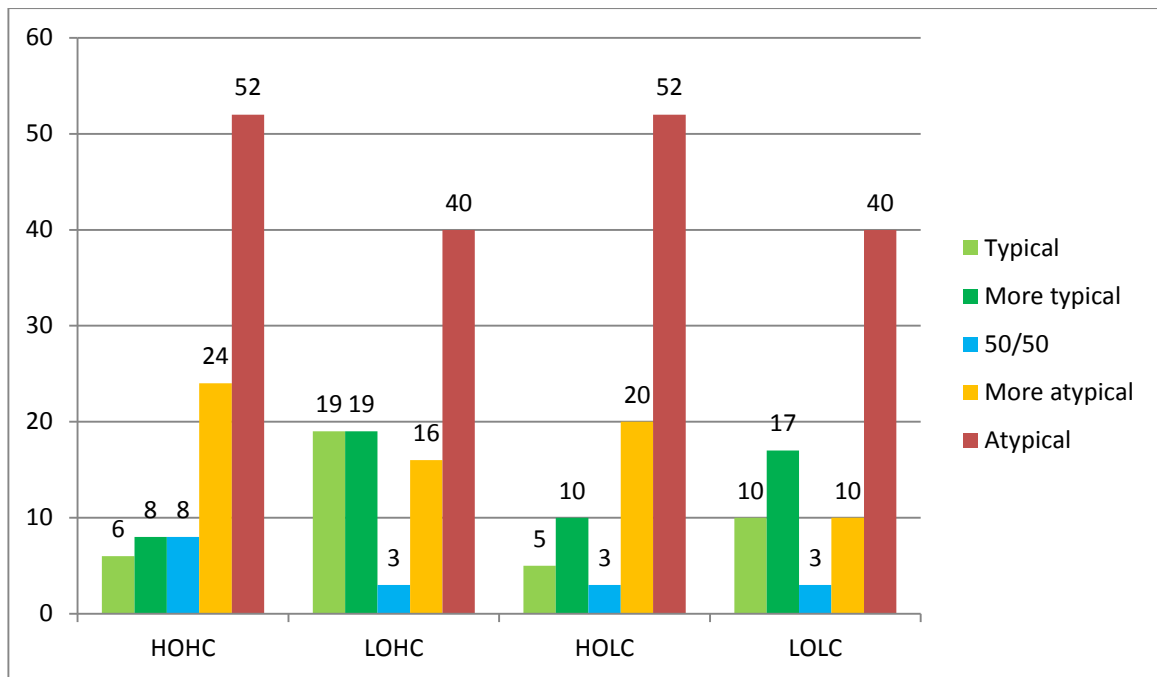


Figure 12. Number of judgements on typicality for different categories of offensiveness and conventionality provided for gesture

4.6.3 Evaluation

Impolite meta-discourse serves as a tool for measuring the degree of conventionality as shown in previous studies (Culpeper, 2011a). In the current thesis, I also adapt this view, and see impolite meta-discourse as the evaluative aspect of conventionality. The detailed lists with metalinguistic vocabulary are shown in Appendixes H and I. However, in this subsection only general quantitative tendencies are reported, whereas qualitative aspects are touched upon in Section 5.2.3. In general, participants did not experience difficulties with providing meta-discourse: the Russian participants provided 532 descriptions and the Swedish participants 530, although the number of impolite meta-discourse representations is lower and shown in Table 16.

Table 16. Amount of impolite metalinguistic representations

	Russian		Swedish	
	Language	Gesture	Language	Gesture
HOHC	61	51	62	45
HOLC	30	32	43	31
LOHC	45	47	40	42
LOLC	32	39	34	35

The results on impolite meta-discourse did not show sizeable differences cross-culturally or with respect to semiotic systems, at least when it concerns quantitative aspect. As a generalization, one

can notice that the majority of impolite representations were provided for HOHC category. Moreover, participants provided a few more representations for the categories where conventionality was higher. This might suggest that people indeed find it easier to describe impolite expressions that are more conventional. Another interesting finding appeared when differences between all meta-discourse representations and *impolite* representations were calculated. These differences suggest that the participants were more precise with providing representations for language than for gesture, since the difference between all and impolite representations was lower for language.

4.6.4 Summary

Summing up, the interviews yielded very rich and interesting data on how people judge conventionality of impolite language and gestures, although the three aspects were understood differently by participants. For example, clarity (directness) and familiarity (frequency and typicality) came apart to a certain extent. Highly offensive gestures, irrespective of their conventionality, were seen as direct as highly offensive and highly conventional offensive language. At the same time, all impolite gestures were perceived as less typical or completely atypical, compared to language. Concerning the evaluative aspect of conventionality, it showed that highly conventional expressions received more impolite meta-linguistic descriptions. A not directly related difference was that the participants provided more descriptions for gesture overall, but the final amount of impolite descriptions for gestures was lower than for language.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive discussion of the results, experimental arrangement and theoretical foundations presented in Chapter 2. Sections 5.2-5.5 link the results to the specific hypotheses proposed at the end of Chapter 3 and discuss the key concepts such as conventionality, impoliteness, semiotic systems and culture. Finally, a short summary is presented at the end of the chapter.

5.2 H1 – Impoliteness and conventionality

The results showed that what was initially classified as highly conventional impolite expressions in both language and gesture was more often judged as *very impolite*. In order to better understand the relationship between conventionality and offensiveness, one may analyse conventionality in terms of its three components: *clarity* (based on directness), *familiarity* (frequency and typicality-based), *evaluation* (based on metalinguistic representations).

5.2.1 Clarity

In the majority of cases, participants differentiated between direct and indirect ways of expressing impoliteness, but admitted that it was difficult to pinpoint the difference. Even less technical formulations such as “(in)direct” seemed to be perceived as dubious. Perhaps, one can simply invest more time in interviews and let participants think aloud about the notion.

According to the collected data, highly offensive expressions were also seen as more direct. An additional control question yielded the following results: 19 participants considered direct expressions as more impolite, whereas 7 considered less direct ones as more impolite. Interestingly, none of the Swedish participants considered less direct behaviour as more impolite.

The question about directness also led to contradictory views among participants. A group of participants found indirect impoliteness as more insulting, providing the following reasons as shown in (29) – (31).

(29) *Косвенная невежливость обижает и задевает сильнее. Человек ставит себя выше, потому что это не просто агрессия, а что-то большее. [Russian participant]*

‘Indirect impolite behaviour is more offensive, striking. A person puts himself above others, because it is not simply aggression, but something bigger than this.’

(30) *Косвенные более невежливы, потому что они более издевательски и больше накалят конфликт. [Russian participant]*

‘Indirect ones are more impolite, because they are mocking and escalate the conflict even more.’

- (31) *Непрямые высказывания более невежливы, потому что человек прилагает усилия и придумывает гадкую фразу. [Russian participant]*

‘Indirect ones are more impolite, because a person makes an effort to come up with an ugly phrase.’

Others had the opposite view on indirect impoliteness and supported it with the arguments in (32) – (34).

- (32) *Прямые реакции более резкие и поэтому более невежливые, в то время как косвенные можно обыгрывать. [Russian participant]*

‘Direct reactions are more crude and that is why they are more impolite, whereas one can play around indirect ones.’

- (33) *Direct expressions are more impolite, but indirect ones are more frequent. [Swedish participant]*

- (34) *Direct impoliteness is conceived as more offensive, but indirect is better as an art form. [Swedish participant]*

An interesting finding was that the majority of participants found all gestures as indirect – even very conventional ones such as the middle finger gesture. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, but (35) and (36) show common opinions.

- (35) *Прямо – это либо словесно, либо физически. Жесты – косвенны. [Russian participant]*

‘Direct behaviour is either verbal (expressed through words) or physical. Gestures are indirect.’

- (36) *Жесты более невежливы, потому что есть больше способов для их интерпретации. [Russian participant]*

‘Gestures are more dubious and have a larger potential for different interpretations.’

The problem with directness was that some participants conflated the question about this notion with comprehensibility. The point is that both direct and indirect reactions are eventually clear. A positive note is that the majority of participants differentiated between directness and comprehensibility, and confirmed that both are clear, but indirect expressions look or sound hidden, masked, and vague, and allow several interpretations.

5.2.2 Familiarity

The relationship between the familiarity aspect and offensiveness was not clear-cut. Impoliteness expressed through language was considered as frequent more often than as infrequent regardless of the conventionality level. The same pattern was observed with typicality, although highly conventional spoken expressions were seen as atypical more often than less conventional ones. Moreover, the most typical expressions were less conventional with low degree of offense. This might not be very surprising since by default even in a conflict situation people do not try to escalate it, but rather to mitigate a conflict. Less offensive expressions might not be the best mitigation, but if they are also less conventional then they may be perceived at least as something neutral.

Another finding was that participants expressed opposed views even with respect to highly conventional and highly offensive expressions. Although the majority of participants said that expressions such as *fuck off* or *getting out of a car and yelling* at another driver are very impolite, many claimed that these expressions are extremely frequent, whereas others said the opposite. Some participants commented on the relationship between frequency and offensiveness in different ways as shown in (37) and (38).

(37) *Сильная невежливость – нормально, потому что это часто встречается. [Russian participant]*

‘Strong impoliteness is normal, because it happens often.’

(38) *Less frequently used ones are more offensive, because people are coming up with new things to be mean. [Swedish participant]*

There is an assumption that what is frequently used becomes less offensive over some time, because emotional power of an expression fades away. Example (37) supports this idea, and although (38) also does in some way, it contradicts the abovementioned idea about milder character of less conventional impolite expressions. The general tendency in terms of frequency and typicality was that less conventional and less offensive categories are seen as more typical both in language and in gesture. However, in order to have a clearer picture, more information about participants should be collected, since it might be that education, age and their closest social circle play a significant role in how they see certain behaviour in terms of its offensiveness and frequency.

5.2.3 Evaluation

Unlike the familiarity aspect, the evaluation aspect indeed seems like a helpful method for identifying degrees of conventionality and offensiveness. Those expressions that were initially classified as HOHC received the highest number of descriptions such as aggressive [*aggressivt; агрессивно*], rude [*oförskämd; грубо*], impolite [*oartigt; невежливо*] and specific to this category descriptions such as wild [*дико*], terrible [*ужасно*], hard [*hårt, жестко*] and attacking [*attackerande*]. At the same time, LOHC and HOLC categories did not seem to exhibit many differences between themselves. They both had descriptions such as rude [*oförskämd; грубо*], impolite [*oartigt; невежливо*], but at lower numbers. Perhaps, in case of LOHC it was conventionality that compensated low offensiveness, and in case of HOLC it was offensiveness that compensated low conventionality. Finally, LOLC category had very few instances of rude and impolite, but many other descriptions such as indifferent [*индифферентно, безразлично*], not empathic [*empatilöst; неэмпатично*], patronizing [*nedlåtande*], egoistic [*эгоистично*]. Although the amount of impolite meta-representations was high for all categories of conventionality and offensiveness, sometimes participants had troubles with providing several labels or provided the same set of labels. The term impolite [*oartigt; невежливо*] proved to be an effective umbrella term for expressions triggering negative evaluation.

5.3 H2 – Conventionality and speed of response

H2 predicted that less conventional expressions should take more time to be evaluated because of they open the way for several interpretations. However, it was found that only highly conventional and highly offensive expressions were evaluated much faster, whereas other categories took nearly the same time. Further, it is not possible to decouple offensiveness and conventionality, as shown by the results regarding H1. Perhaps, expressions that are even more pragmatic and creative should have been used in less conventional categories, so that differences between two levels of conventionality could become evident. Since the results revealed that participants considered gestures as indirect, it was checked if gestures had taken participants more time for judging, but no such differences were found. Methodological constraints may be the reason why only HOHC category considerably differed from others, as elaborated in Chapter 6.

5.4 H3 – Impoliteness and semiotic systems

Quantitative results together with inferential statistics did not support the hypothesis that gestures would be judged as more impolite than language. The qualitative results, however, were not that straightforward. One possible reason why quantitative results did not support H3 can be of terminological character. During the interviews some participants viewed gestures not as more

impolite, but as more *aggressive* than words. It is doubtless that notions of impoliteness, offensiveness and aggression are interrelated, but they do not denote and describe the same thing. It appears that words such as “impolite” and “offensive” can be (and are) used interchangeably, but not “impoliteness” and “aggressiveness”, or “offensive” and “aggressive”. Summing up, the terminological angle from which one looks at impoliteness plays a crucial role. Most likely, the experiment results would have been different if I had asked participants to evaluate a level of aggressiveness. On the issue of gesture aggressiveness participants commented in (39) and (40).

(39) *Offensive-wise - language and gesture are similar, but gestures look more physical and threatening. It is a start of an escalation. [Swedish participant]*

(40) *Жесты более закрытые и защитные - более скрытая реакция получается. После жестов следует физическая агрессия. Если эмоция выражается открыто, то она выплескивается, а если закрыто, то дальше можно ожидать физической агрессии. Слова - более сильные. Жесты - более агрессивные. [Russian participant]*

‘Gestures are more closed and defensive. Their use results in a more masked reaction. Physical aggression follows gestures. If one expresses emotions in an open way they are splashing out directly, but if one expresses them in a closed way then one might expect physical aggression. Therefore, words are stronger, but gestures are more aggressive.’

In the course of interviews, participants were asked if gestures in general look more *powerful* than words or if they are different from each other in some aspects. Some participants said that gestures are indeed more powerful and aggressive, and closer to physical actions such as punching or pushing, as shown in (41) and (42).

(41) *Some of non-verbal ones were more powerful than words. Using emblems is more direct sometimes, because one thing carries powerful meaning. It is not always to the point with words. Gestures feel more direct. They can be more in your face. They can be seen as a threat, because you can go physical. [Swedish participant]*

(42) *Gestures are more powerful and closer to physical action. Even from the distance - if a person starts flipping the finger on the other side of the field, it would look more serious rather than screaming out some of the very impolite phrases. [Swedish participant]*

Other participants saw gestures as milder and less aggressive reactions as (43) – (44) point out. According to this view in order for gestures to be very aggressive they should be either performed in proximity to their body or face, or even be a part of a physical action such as touching.

(43) *Жесты менее агрессивны, чем слова, потому что есть еще интонация и прочие средства. Слова задевают больше. Если нарушить личное пространство или трогать вещи, то это заденет так же, как и слова. [Russian participant]*

‘Gestures are less aggressive than words, because we also have intonation and other means. Words damage more. If one violates personal space or touches person’s belongings it hurts to the same extent as words do.’

(44) *Gestures are less powerful and aggressive. They cannot result in physical action and feel more childish in a way. [Swedish participant]*

Few people admitted that gestures are not always more aggressive or powerful, but more *provocative* and *irritating* as (45) and (46) show.

(45) *Жесты более бесящие, потому что служат не для передачи эмоций, а для показываний, что ты о*уенный. Выбешивают. Жесты не переход к физической агрессии. [Russian participant]*

‘Gestures are more irritating, because they are serving not for expressing emotions, but for showing that you are cool and better than others. They piss me off. Gestures are not a transition to physical aggression.’

(46) *Gestures are more impolite. By doing a gesture is the end of discussion you mean “I won”. They are more annoying. They trigger the other person more. [Swedish participant]*

Another factor that might have influenced the results is a larger interpretational capacity of gestures. Some participants admitted that gestures allow more interpretations, and it is not always clear what a person might have meant by performing a gesture that is not accompanied by words. This idea also echoes the result with respect to greater indirectness of some gestures, as was shown in Figure 10. Although there were opposite views as well, leading to opposite stances on impoliteness as shown in (47) and (48).

(47) *Жесты более невежливы и грубы, потому что есть больше способов для их интерпретации. Пока кто-то не дотронется, жесты не являются физической агрессией или близким к ним. [Russian participant]*

‘Gestures are more impolite and rude, because they have more ways for interpretation. Gestures are not close to physical aggression as long as someone does not touch you.’

(48) *Жесты - более негативные и однозначные. Они могут быть потенциальной физической агрессией, потому что на них надо затратить больше энергии, чем на слова. А там может и дальше пойти. [Russian participant]*

‘Gestures are more negative and unambiguous. They may result in physical aggression, because one has to invest more energy in performing them, than in saying something, and it can go further.’

5.5 H4 – Impoliteness and culture

The collected results showed no major differences in how Russian and Swedish participants evaluate impolite behaviour when it concerns type of damage: face vs. sociality rights. There can be several reasons behind this.

Firstly, it is reasonable to suggest that the design of the study does not completely fit this hypothesis because there is no ideal distribution between face vs. sociality rights types of damage across two semiotic systems. The current design is already heavy in terms of the number of variables and another layer of complexity does not influence the results in a positive way.

Secondly, a layperson might not be able to discern different types of damage within a short time frame. Perhaps offensiveness and conventionality, as characteristics of impolite behaviour, take leading roles when it comes to immediate perception. Had I spent even more time for interviews, which already had length between 40 and 60 minutes, I could have asked more questions about perceived degree of impoliteness depending on the type of damage. However, that would have given qualitative results that had not been measurable statistically. Perhaps, for this question a larger scale could have been beneficial. At the same time, a larger scale would have led to higher reaction times and that would have undermined H2. Moreover, the larger the scale is, the less reliable the results become. As a solution, both the same and a larger scale could be used later on the same sample or on a completely different sample in a complementary study.

Lastly, it might be possible that this division between face and sociality rights works better for politeness than for impoliteness. The model of rapport management may simply better fit politeness, because it was initially developed for politeness. There is no doubt that it fits

impoliteness as well, but maybe it does better theoretically rather than practically. However, I admit that either a better design or a better selection of punchlines could have solved this issue.

In addition to it, the concept of culture did not help to motivate and explain found cross-cultural differences. Perhaps, as we discussed in Section 2.5, it is better to find some differences first and work with them, rather than employ some dichotomy such as individualistic and collectivistic cultures. I cannot exclude that Russian and Swedish cultures are indeed not the opposites, but counterparts. Although cross-cultural differences in perception of face vs. social rights damage were found in a previously conducted study, but the overall finding was that in all countries people took offense at broadly similar things (Culpeper, 2011a). However, this study reports that the English data had more instances where face was damaged and the Chinese data had more instances of damaging social norms or rights. At the same time, larger number of instances does not necessarily mean that people take a greater offense to some behaviour.

The cross-cultural differences found in the current data were that Swedish participants were more sensitive to impolite behaviour irrespective of the semiotic system, and tended to judge it as very impolite more often than Russian participants do. Moreover, there were striking differences in perceived frequency of impolite behaviour. Further, all types of spoken impoliteness were conceived as *frequent* by Russian participants more often than by Swedish, who used either *quite frequent* or *quite infrequent* more often. Even after merging frequent and quite frequent categories in one, HOHC category was still considered frequent by the Russian participants. This may partly explain why Russian participants judged highly offensive behaviour as very impolite less often than Swedes do – impoliteness fades away because of the overuse of it.

CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

This thesis examined the interplay between impoliteness on the one side, and conventionality, semiotic systems and culture on the other. Despite a very broad scope and complex design, the investigation led to successful explorations of all four research questions and yielded very rich data. Of no less importance are theoretical and methodological concerns that need to be considered for future research on the topic.

The first research question asked whether conventionality influences the perception of offensive behaviour in terms of its impoliteness and in which ways this influence manifests itself. Although the interaction between conventionality and offensiveness was not found to be statistically significant, there were strong separate significance effects of conventionality and of offensiveness on the level of perceived impoliteness. Based on this, we can conclude that higher degrees of conventionality do increase perceived impoliteness, and this effect is stronger when the level of offensiveness is also high.

This should not be taken to mean that conventionality needs to be explicitly considered when one evaluates (im)politeness of any expression. It is hard to imagine that a person first analyses how creative an insult was, then matches this with how impolite it was, and only then decides on the actual degree of impoliteness. Rather, as discussed in Chapter 2, one or more of the aspects of conventionality may contribute to the offensiveness being more obvious, and unable to be interpreted in different terms. More work is to be done in order to see how much each aspect of conventionality influences the perceived offense.

With the help of the *conceptual-empirical loop* we did a full cycle: first, the notion of conventionality was explicated as having three aspects; then these aspects were tested in the experiment. It was productive to see conventionality as three-fold and to use alternative terminology to access these aspects. In the case of impoliteness, it seems misleading to postulate that conventional = “what is commonly or regularly used by people” in the spirit of the classical work of Lewis (2008 [1969]). Showing the middle finger is tightly associated with being impolite and it is indeed used in impolite contexts. Nevertheless, can we actually say that it is the most common and regular way to be impolite? Most likely not, since people do not commonly aim to be impolite, to escalate a possible conflict, and to run the risk of losing face.

The *clarity* aspect of conventionality yielded an evident pattern for language where with each step on a continuum from highly offensive and highly conventional behaviour to less offensive and less conventional behaviour one could observe a decrease in directness. However, for gestures directness did not work in the same way, possibly because at least some of them can be interpreted more diversely. In general, clarity seems to “mirror” the semantics – pragmatics

scale where less conventional expressions are located closer to the “pragmatics end” of the scale and are thus more indirect, whereas more conventional expressions are more direct because they are closer to the “semantics end”. The *familiarity* aspect shed some light on frequency and typicality of some impolite expressions – how common they are. The results were that expressions with low offense and of less conventional character are seen as the most widespread and common ones. In some way, this aspect is closer to Lewis’s understanding of conventionality based as on regularity. Finally, the *evaluation* aspect allowed seeing how people understand impoliteness in other terms, as well as something about the emotions behind their judgements.

The second research question asked whether there are differences in how fast people evaluate different categories of impolite expressions. A clear difference in terms of reaction times was found between highly offensive, highly conventional category and three other categories. The current experimental design does not allow saying how much each of the factors – offensiveness and conventionality – affects participants’ reaction, but I offer some suggestions for how to tackle this below.

The third research question asked whether the two semiotic systems of language and gesture differ in how people perceive them in terms of their impoliteness and conventionality. According to the bodily mimesis theory, gestures emerge from physical actions, and since these are more threatening than words, it can be expected that gestures could be perceived as more impolite. This hypothesis was not supported, but in the interviews, impolite gestures were indeed judged to be more “aggressive” by some participants. Aggressiveness can be one of many properties of impolite behaviour, but what makes a certain expression aggressive is rather unclear. Further, in terms of conventionality the differences between language and gesture were prominent. With respect to *clarity*, only gestures conveying high offense were considered as direct, whereas less offensive were seen as indirect, closed or ambiguous. Concerning *familiarity*, all categories of gestures were conceived as infrequent and atypical. Finally, in terms of *evaluation*, gestures either were considered as “childish” and “mild” or as more aggressive, provocative, and intimidating than language.

The fourth research question asked whether there are differences in how Russian and Swedish speakers perceive and evaluate impolite behaviour. The main finding is that Swedish participants evaluated both offensive language and gestures as very impolite more often than Russian. Surprisingly many Russian participants claimed that any type of impolite behaviour is also frequent or very frequent, especially in highly offensive and highly conventional category. However, this fact does not seem to support the idea of bleaching offensiveness out of impolite behaviour, because behaviour with high levels of offensiveness and conventionality was still judged as very impolite. Swedish participants were more sensitive to impoliteness in general and

to impoliteness expressed through language in particular. While this is so far speculative, it may be that for Swedish participants the demand for conflict mitigation could be on average higher than among Russian participants.

For **future research**, a number of methodological and theoretical proposals could be made. Firstly, I would not consider questionnaires distributed through social media as a suitable method for impoliteness studies. Even if one puts aside their generally low reliability when it concerns scale judgements for impoliteness, questionnaires cannot fully grasp aspects such as conventionality where a qualitative approach with interviews is needed to give a clearer picture of the phenomenon. However, as a pre-experimental step, questionnaires serve their purposes well.

Using an experiment seems to be a reliable method that allowed not only describing contexts, but, with the help of video-recordings, actually showing the interaction between actors, which means that this setting is closer to real-life situations. However, there is room for improvement. Firstly, in order to gain accurate results on reaction times, the length of so-called “punchlines” should be as similar as possible. A second issue was having two separate sets of video clips for Russian and Swedish participants. As a result, settings, actors, and language including prosody, facial expression, and gesture were different to a certain extent.²⁵ Ideally, these variables need to be controlled for more thoroughly, as well as a general level of realism in dialogues. Thirdly, it seems reasonable to include a condition where impolite language and gesture go together, in order to see what happens when two the semiotic systems interact.

Concerning interviews, they should either be done in participants’ native languages from the beginning or be held in the same second language such as English. However, in the latter case the proficiency level should be controlled, which might be a problem as well. One issue is particularly hard to eliminate – regardless of experiment instructions, participants quite often took into consideration the whole dialogue and were not able to focus exclusively on the last expression. As long as there is an interaction between actors participants will be taking the whole dialogue into account.

With respect to politeness, there are also some ideas for future research. Some participants noted that it was quite hard to differentiate between very polite, polite, and neutral behaviour, but much easier to say what is impolite and very impolite. Some studies suggest that people have direct experience of politeness simply because it is more widespread than impoliteness. However, judgements about polite behaviour seem to cause even more problems than those about impolite behaviour.

²⁵ This does not mean that those impolite gestures that were in punchlines were different. They were just adapted according to cross-cultural differences. Here we mean co-speech gestures in language category and different quality of their performance in both language and gesture categories. Concerning prosody, this aspect was controlled as much as possible, but some differences are inevitable anyways.

In sum, the thesis showed that impoliteness is a complicated phenomenon requiring a composite approach and that cognitive semiotics can help in providing one. Perhaps more questions were raised than answered, but this can be seen as an advantage rather than a shortcoming: the conceptual-empirical loop is never fully closed. In general, the current thesis not only yielded much interesting data, but also showed that conventionality in impoliteness has several aspects, and these appear to be perceived differently depending on semiotic systems and cultures. Finally, the thesis showed clearly that *impoliteness* may serve as an effective umbrella term for empirical investigations, but particular expressions have many other shades of meaning that need to be taken into account.

REFERENCES

- Ahlner, F., & Zlatev, J. (2010). Cross-modal iconicity: A cognitive semiotic approach to sound symbolism. *Sign Systems Studies*, 38 (1/4), 298-348.
- Allan, K., & Burridge, K. (2006). *Forbidden words: Taboo and the censoring of language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Andrén, M. (2010). *Children's Gestures from 18 to 30 Months* (Vol. 50): Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University.
- Annin, I. (2010). Cultural Differences in Politeness Based on Analysis of Russian and English Communication Styles. *Transcultural Studies*, 6 (1), 201-211.
- Ariel, M. (2012). Research paradigms in pragmatics. In K. M. Jaszczolt & K. Allan (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of pragmatics* (pp. 23-46). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arundale, R. B. (1999). An alternative model and ideology of communication for an alternative to politeness theory. *Pragmatics. Quarterly Publication of the International Pragmatics Association (IPrA)*, 9 (1), 119-153.
- Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to do things with words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bach, K. (2012). Saying, meaning, and implicating. In K. M. Jaszczolt & K. Allan (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of pragmatics* (pp. 47-68). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Barratt, D., Rédei, A. C., Innes-Ker, Å., & Van De Weijer, J. (2016). Does the Kuleshov effect really exist? Revisiting a classic film experiment on facial expressions and emotional contexts. *Perception*, 45 (8), 847-874.
- Birner, B. J. (2012). *Introduction to pragmatics* (Vol. 38). New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- Bousfield, D. (2008). *Impoliteness in interaction* (Vol. 167). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Brown, L., & Prieto, P. (2017). (Im) politeness: Prosody and Gesture. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im) politeness* (pp. 357-379). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Brown, P., & Levinson, S. C. (1987). *Politeness : some universals in language usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bundgaard, P. F. (2010). Husserl and language. In *Handbook of phenomenology and cognitive science* (pp. 368-399). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Coseriu, E. (1985). Linguistic competence: what is it really? *The Modern Language Review*, 80 (4), xxv-xxxv.
- Coseriu, E. (2000). The principles of linguistics as a cultural science. *Transylvanian Rev (Cluj)* IX (1), 108-115.
- Culpeper, J. (2008). Reflections on impoliteness, relational work and power. *Impoliteness in*

language: Studies on its interplay with power in theory and practice, 21, 17.

- Culpeper, J. (2011a). *Impoliteness: Using Language to Cause Offence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Culpeper, J. (2011b). Politeness and impoliteness. *Pragmatics of Society*, 5, 393-438.
- Culpeper, J., & Hardaker, C. (2017). Impoliteness. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im) politeness* (pp. 199-225). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- 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., & Terkourafi, M. (2017). Pragmatic Approaches (Im)politeness. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im) politeness* (pp. 11-39). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Daun, Å. (1991). Individualism and collectivity among Swedes. *Ethnos*, 56 (3-4), 165-172.
- Derrida, J. (1976). *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Dingemanse, M. (2012). Advances in the cross-linguistic study of ideophones. *Language and Linguistics compass*, 6 (10), 654-672.
- Donald, M. (1991). *Origins of the modern mind: Three stages in the evolution of culture and cognition*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Eelen, G. (2001). *A critique of politeness theories*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
- García, M. J. B., & Terkourafi, M. (2014). First-order politeness in rapprochement and distancing cultures. *Pragmatics. Quarterly Publication of the International Pragmatics Association (IPrA)*, 24 (1), 1-34.
- Geoffrey, L. (1983). *Principles of pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Goddard, C. (2012). 'Early interactions' in Australian English, American English, and English English: cultural differences and cultural scripts. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 44 (9), 1038-1050.
- Goffman, E. (1967). *Interaction ritual: Essays on face-to-face behaviour*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Goodwin, C. (2000). Action and embodiment within situated human interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 32 (10), 1489-1522.
- Grice, H. P. (1957). Meaning. *The philosophical review*, 66 (3), 377-388.
- Grice, H. P. (1968). Utterer's meaning, sentence-meaning, and word-meaning. *Foundations of Language*, 4 (3), 225-242
- .
- Grice, H. P. (1969). Utterer's meaning and intentions. *The philosophical review*, 78 (2), 147-177.

- Grice, H. P. (1989). *Studies in the Way of Words*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Haugh, M. (2007). The discursive challenge to politeness theory: an interactional alternative. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 3 (2), 295-317.
- Haugh, M. (2015). *Im/politeness implicatures* (Vol. 11). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Haugh, M., & Jaszczolt, K. M. (2012). Speaker intentions and intentionality. In *The Cambridge handbook of pragmatics*, (pp. 87-112).
- Hjelmslev, L. (1961). *Prolegomena to a Theory of Language*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Hofstede, G. (1980). Culture and organizations. *International Studies of Management & Organization*, 10 (4), 15-41.
- Hribar, A., Sonesson, G., & Call, J. (2014). From sign to action: Studies in chimpanzee pictorial competence. *Semiotica*, 2014 (198), 205-240.
- Imai, M., & Kita, S. (2014). The sound symbolism bootstrapping hypothesis for language acquisition and language evolution. *Philosophical transactions of the Royal Society B: Biological sciences*, 369 (1651), 20130298.
- Itkonen, E. (2008a). The central role of normativity in language and linguistics. In *The shared mind: Perspectives on intersubjectivity*, 12, (pp. 279-305). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Itkonen, I. (2008b). Concerning the role of consciousness in linguistics. *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 15 (6), 15-33.
- Jakobson, R. (1965). Quest for the essence of language. *Diogenes*, 13 (51), 21-37.
- Janschewitz, K. (2008). Taboo, emotionally valenced, and emotionally neutral word norms. *Behavior Research Methods*, 40 (4), 1065-1074.
- Jay, T. (1992). *Cursing in America: A Psycholinguistic Study of Dirty Language in the Courts, in the Movies, in the Schoolyards, and on the Streets*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Jay, T. (1999). *Why we curse: A neuro-psycho-social theory of speech*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Jay, T. (2016). *We Did What?! Offensive and Inappropriate Behavior in American History*: California: Greenwood.
- Kendon, A. (2004). *Gesture: Visible action as utterance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kienpointner, M., & Stopfner, M. (2017). Ideology and (Im) politeness. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im) politeness* (pp. 61-87). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Kiesling, S. F. (2015). Cross-cultural and Intercultural Communication and Discourse Analysis. In *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 2 (pp. 620-638). New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- Kita, S. (2009). Cross-cultural variation of speech-accompanying gesture: A review. *Language and cognitive processes*, 24 (2), 145-167.
- Kita, S., & Essegbey, J. (2001). Pointing left in Ghana: How a taboo on the use of the left hand influences gestural practice. *Gesture*, 1 (1), 73-95.
- Kita, S., & Özyürek, A. (2003). What does cross-linguistic variation in semantic coordination of speech and gesture reveal?: Evidence for an interface representation of spatial thinking and speaking. *Journal of Memory and language*, 48 (1), 16-32.
- Labov, W. (1997). Rules for ritual insults. In *Sociolinguistics: A reader* (pp. 472-486). New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Lagopoulos, A. P., & Boklund-Lagopoulou, K. (2017). Social semiotics: Towards a sociologically grounded semiotics. *Semiotics and its Masters*, 1, 121.
- Langacker, R., & Langacker, R. W. (2008). *Cognitive grammar: A basic introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Langlotz, A., & Locher, M. A. (2017). (Im) politeness and Emotion. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im) politeness* (pp. 287-322). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Leech, G. N. (2014). *The pragmatics of politeness*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Levinson, S. C. (2000). *Presumptive meanings: The theory of generalized conversational implicature*. Cambridge: The MIT press.
- Lewis, D. (2008). *Convention: A philosophical study*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- Linder, J. R., & Gentile, D. A. (2009). Is the television rating system valid? Indirect, verbal, and physical aggression in programs viewed by fifth grade girls and associations with behavior. *Journal of applied developmental psychology*, 30 (3), 286-297.
- Locher, M. A. (2006). Polite behavior within relational work: The discursive approach to politeness. *Multilingua - Journal of Cross-Cultural and Interlanguage Communication*, 25 (3), 249-267.
- Locher, M. A., & Watts, R. J. (2005). Politeness theory and relational work. *Journal of Politeness Research. Language, Behaviour, Culture*, 1 (1), 9-33.
- Louhema, K., Zlatev, J., Graziano, M., & van de Weijer, J. (2018). *Translating from unisemiotic to polysemiotic narratives: A study of Finnish speech and gestures*. Paper presented at the IACS 3-2018 (International Association for Cognitive Semiotics).
- Martinet, A. (1984). Double articulation as a criterion of linguisticity. *Language Sciences*, 6 (1), 31-38.
- McKinnon, S., & Prieto, P. (2014). The role of Prosody and Gesture in the Perception of Mock Impoliteness. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 10 (2), 185-219.

- McNeill, D. (1992). *Hand and mind: What gestures reveal about thought*. Chicago: University of Chicago press.
- McNeill, D. (2012). *How language began: Gesture and speech in human evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Meyer, P. G. (2005). *Synchronic English linguistics: an introduction*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Mills, S. (2011). Discursive approaches to politeness and impoliteness. *Discursive approaches to politeness*, 8, 19.
- Mills, S. (2017). Sociocultural Approaches to (Im) politeness. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im) politeness* (pp. 41-60). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Morris, D., Collett, P., Marsh, P., & O'Shaughnessay, M. (1979). *Gestures: Their origins and distribution*. London: Stein and Day.
- Müller, C. (2014). 114. Ring-gestures across cultures and times: Dimensions of variation. *Volume 2* (pp. 1511-1522). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Müller, C. (2016). From mimesis to meaning: A systematics of gestural mimesis for concrete and abstract referential gestures. *Meaning, mind and communication: Explorations in cognitive semiotics*, 211-226. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Neu, J. (2008). *Sticks and stones: The philosophy of insults*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ogiermann, E. (2009). *On apologising in negative and positive politeness cultures* (Vol. 191). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Payrato, L. (2014). 110. Emblems or quotable gestures: Structures, categories, and functions. *Volume 2* (pp. 1474-1481). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Peirce, C. S. (1931). *Collected papers of Charles Sanders Peirce*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Potts, C. (2007). Into the Conventional-Implicature Dimension. *Philosophy compass*, 2 (4), 665-679.
- Saeed, J. I. (2015). *Semantics*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- Salvesen, K. E. (2015). Politeness strategies in requests by Norwegian learners of English in comparison with native English speakers. *Hawaii Pacific University TESOL Working Paper Series*, 13, 53-69.
- Saussure, F. (1959). *Course in general linguistics* (W. Baskin, Trans.). New York: Philosophical Library.
- Searle, J. R. (1969). *Speech acts: An essay in the philosophy of language* (Vol. 626). Cambridge: Cambridge university press.

- Searle, J. R. (1985). *Expression and meaning: Studies in the theory of speech acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Severens, E., Kühn, S., Hartsuiker, R. J., & Brass, M. (2011). Functional mechanisms involved in the internal inhibition of taboo words. *Social cognitive and affective neuroscience*, 7 (4), 431-435.
- Shaumyan, S. (2006). *Signs, mind, and reality: a theory of language as the folk model of the world* (Vol. 65). Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Sifianou, M., & Blitvich, G.-C. (2017). (Im)politeness and Cultural Variation. In *The Palgrave handbook of linguistic (im) politeness* (pp. 571-599). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Sonesson, G. (1997). Mute Narratives: New Issues in the Study of Pictorial Texts. *Interart Poetics: Essays on the Interrelations of the Arts and Media*, 243-251.
- Sonesson, G. (2008). Prolegomena to a general theory of iconicity. *Naturalness and iconicity in language*, 7, 47-72.
- Sonesson, G. (2009). View from Husserl's Lectern. *Cybernetics and Human Knowing*, 16 (3-4), 107-148.
- Sonesson, G. (2013). The picture between mirror and mind: from phenomenology to empirical studies in pictorial semiotics. In *Origins of pictures: anthropological discourses in image science* (pp. 270-310). Cologne: Herbert von Halem Verlag.
- Sonesson, G. (2014). Translation and other acts of meaning: In between cognitive semiotics and semiotics of culture. *Cognitive Semiotics*, 7 (2), 249-280.
- Sonesson, G. (2015). From Remembering to Memory by Way of Culture. A Study in Cognitive Semiotics. *Southern Journal of Semiotics*, 5 (1), 25-52.
- Sonesson, G. (2017). Mastering phenomenological semiotics with Husserl and Peirce. *Semiotics and its Masters*, 1, 83.
- 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), 529-545.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2005). (Im)Politeness, Face and Perceptions of Rapport: Unpackaging their Bases and Interrelationships. *Journal of Politeness Research. Language, Behaviour, Culture*, 1 (1), 95-119. doi:10.1515/jplr.2005.1.1.95
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2007). Theories of identity and the analysis of face. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 39 (4), 639-656.
- Spencer-Oatey, H. (2008). Face, (im)politeness and rapport. In *Culturally speaking: Culture, communication and politeness theory*, 2, (pp. 11-47). London: Continuum.
- Spencer-Oatey, H., & Žegarac, V. (2017). Power, Solidarity and (Im) politeness. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im) politeness* (pp. 119-14). London: Palgrave Macmillan.

- Stampoulidis, G., Bolognesi, M., & Zlatev, J. (2019). A cognitive semiotic exploration of metaphors in Greek street art. *Cognitive Semiotics*, 12 (1).
- Stephens, R., & Umland, C. (2011). Swearing as a response to pain—Effect of daily swearing frequency. *The Journal of Pain*, 12 (12), 1274-1281.
- Stephens, R., & Zile, A. (2017). Does Emotional Arousal Influence Swearing Fluency? *Journal of psycholinguistic research*, 46 (4), 983-995.
- Stone, T., McMillan, M., & Hazelton, M. (2010). Swearing: Its prevalence in healthcare settings and impact on nursing practice. *Journal of psychiatric and mental health nursing*, 17 (6), 528-534.
- Streeck, J. (2009). *Gesturecraft: The manufacture of meaning*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Takhtarova, S. (2015). Communicative category of politeness in German and Russian linguistic culture. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 6 (3 S2), 497.
- Terkourafi, M. (2008). Toward a unified theory of politeness, impoliteness, and rudeness. *Impoliteness in Language: Studies on its Interplay with Power in Theory and Practice*, Derek Bousfield and Miriam A. Locher (eds), 45-74.
- Terkourafi, M. (2009). On de-limiting context. *Contexts and constructions*, 9, 17.
- Terkourafi, M. (1999). Frames for politeness. *Pragmatics. Quarterly Publication of the International Pragmatics Association (IPrA)*, 9 (1), 97-117.
- Terkourafi, M. (2005a). Beyond the micro-level in politeness research. *Journal of Politeness Research*, 1 (2), 237-262.
- Terkourafi, M. (2005b). Pragmatic correlates of frequency of use: The case for a notion of "minimal context". *Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs*, 161, 209-233.
- Terkourafi, M. (2015). Conventionalization: A new agenda for im/politeness research. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 86, 11-18.
- Terkourafi, M., & Kádár, D. Z. (2017). Convention and ritual (Im) politeness. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Linguistic (Im) politeness* (pp. 171-195). London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Teßendorf, S. (2013). 4. Emblems, quotable gestures, or conventionalized body movements. *Volume 2* (pp. 1511-1522). Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Upadhyay, S. R. (2010). Identity and impoliteness in computer-mediated reader responses. In: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG.
- Watts, R. J. (2003). *Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Watts, R. J. (2005a). Linguistic politeness research: Quo vadis? In *Politeness in Language Studies in its History, Theory and Practice* (pp. xi-xxvii). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Watts, R. J. (2005b). 2. Linguistic politeness and politic verbal behaviour: Reconsidering claims

- for universality. In *Politeness in Language Studies in its History, Theory and Practice* (pp. 43-69). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Watts, R. J., Ide, S., & Ehlich, K. (2005). Introduction. In *Politeness in Language Studies in its History, Theory and Practice* (pp. 1-17). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.
- Zlatev, J. (2008). The dependence of language on consciousness. *Journal of Consciousness Studies*, 15 (6), 34-62.
- Zlatev, J. (2010). Phenomenology and cognitive linguistics. In *Handbook of phenomenology and cognitive science* (pp. 415-443). Dordrecht: Springer.
- Zlatev, J. (2012). Cognitive Semiotics: An emerging field for the transdisciplinary study of meaning. *Public Journal of Semiotics*, 4 (1), 2-24.
- Zlatev, J. (2013). The mimesis hierarchy of semiotic development: Five stages of intersubjectivity in children. *Public Journal of Semiotics*, 4 (2), 47-70.
- Zlatev, J. (2014a). Image schemas, mimetic schemas and children's gestures. *Cognitive Semiotics*, 7 (1), 3-29.
- Zlatev, J. (2014b). Bodily mimesis and the transition to speech. In *The evolution of social communication in primates* (pp. 165-178). Cham: Springer.
- Zlatev, J. (2015a). Cognitive semiotics. In P. P. Trifonas (Ed.), *International Handbook of Semiotics* (pp. 1043-1067). Springer: Dordrecht.
- Zlatev, J. (2015b). The emergence of gestures. In *The Handbook of Language Emergence*, 458-477. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.
- Zlatev, J. (2017). Embodied intersubjectivity. In *The Cambridge handbook of cognitive linguistics*, 172-187. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Zlatev, J. (2018). Mimesis theory, learning, and polysemiotic communication. In *Encyclopedia of Educational Philosophy and Theory*. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Zlatev, J., & Andrén, M. (2009). Stages and transitions in children's semiotic development. *Studies in language and cognition*, 380-401.
- Zlatev, J., & Blomberg, J. (2015). Language may indeed influence thought. *Frontiers in psychology*, 6, 1631.
- Zlatev, J., & Blomberg, J. (2016). Embodied intersubjectivity, sedimentation and non-actual motion expressions. *Nordic Journal of Linguistics*, 39 (2), 185-208.
- Zlatev, J., Madsen, E. A., Lenninger, S., Persson, T., Sayehli, S., Sonesson, G., & van de Weijer, J. (2013). Understanding communicative intentions and semiotic vehicles by children and chimpanzees. *Cognitive Development*, 28 (3), 312-329.
- Zlov, V. (2016). *Functioning of obscene language in Russian and American linguocultures*. (Bachelor's thesis). Saratov: Saratov State University.

Mokienko, V. M., & Nikitina, T. G. (2004). *Slovar' russkoj brani*. Saint Petersburg: Norint.

Appendix A. Informed consent form

The experiment that you will participate in is a part of my thesis in the MA Program in Language and Linguistics at Lund University, Sweden.

First, you will watch 44 short video clips, and then rate some parts of these clips according to the provided criteria and instructions. After that, you will participate in a follow-up interview, which will be audio recorded. Your participation is voluntary and you can refuse to continue participating both in the experiment and the interview at any time, without having to give an explanation.

All information will be used only for this project and, possibly, for publishing a scientific article. Some personal data such as your age, gender and native language will be collected and presented as a part of statistical analysis, but will be treated fully anonymously.

After completion of the experiment and the interview you will be given a cinema ticket to thank you for your participation.

I hereby confirm that:

- I am informed that my name will not be revealed to third parties.
- I am aware that I can withdraw from the study at any point.
- I agree that the interview will be audio recorded for the sake of analysis.
- I understand that the results of the study will be presented at conferences and/or be published, in anonymous form.
- I have been given enough information before the experiment and the interview, and I have had an opportunity to ask questions regarding the procedure.

This consent form will be signed in duplicate, one for you, as a participant, and one for project documentation.

Place and date _____

Signature _____

For more information, you may contact me, or my main supervisor:

Vladislav Zlov vl6032zl-s@student.lu.se

Prof. Jordan Zlatev: jordan.zlatev@semiotik.lu.se

Appendix B. Instructions in Swedish

Screen 1

Välkommen till ett experiment som undersöker hur människor bedömer artiga och oartiga svar som förekommer i dialoger mellan två skådespelare. Graderingen görs med en 5-punktsskala:

1 – Mycket artigt

2 – Artigt

3 – Neutralt

4 – Oartigt

5 – Mycket oartigt

Experimentet tar 15-20 min. Har du några frågor? Tryck på {SPACE} för att få ytterligare instruktioner.

Screen 2

Du kommer att få se 44 antal korta videoklipp, som har interaktioner mellan två skådespelare. Om det är möjligt, försök att se dessa dialoger som om de förekommer mellan två olika personer varje gång. Personerna är inte nära vänner, utan bara känner varandra. Slutligen, handlar det inte om kön eller ålderskillnader, men vi har manliga och kvinnliga aktörer för att skapa balans. Du kommer att få se två uppvärmningssessioner: först kommer videoklipp från det verkliga livet och sedan med skådespelarna. Har du några frågor? Tryck på {SPACE} för att få ytterligare instruktioner.

Screen 3

Tänk på att du bedömer alltid det sista beteendet: den sista frasen, gesten eller handlingen i varje dialog. Vi är medvetna om att det inte är möjligt att ignorera sammanhanget helt och hållet, men vi ber dig att fokusera på det sista beteendet. Således spelar det ingen roll om vissa artiga eller oartiga svar kan verka rättfärdiga eftersom en person är snällare och den andra är mer irriterande - du fokuserar alltid på hur artig eller oartig det sista beteendet är. Har du några frågor? Tryck på {SPACE} för att få ytterligare instruktioner

Screen 4

I slutet av varje dialog finns en fras, gest eller handling som du ska bedöma enligt 5-punktsskalan. På denna skala står {SPACE} alltid för neutral och knappast D,F, J och K står för mycket artig, artig, oartig och mycket oartig. Du bedömer vad som har sagts eller gjorts i slutet

av videoklippen. Du ska se skalan snart. Har du några frågor? Tryck på {SPACE} för att se skalan som du kommer att använda.

Screen 5

Picture with the scale (left or right layout)

Screen 6

Din uppgift är inte bara att bedöma artiga och oartiga beteendet i slutet av dialogerna, men att göra det så fort du kan. Helst bör du vara både exakt och snabb i dina bedömningar. Det finns också en fråga "Hur artigt/oartigt är sista beteendet i följande situation?" före varje video. Frågan visas för 3 sekunder och du behöver inte trycka på någon knapp. Efter det, ser du en stjärna på skärmen för 1 sekund och en video börjar. Efter en video, när du väl ser "BEDÖM" på skärmen, kan du trycka på en knapp som motsvarar hur artigt eller oartigt det sista beteendet är. Har du några frågor? Tryck på {SPACE} för att få sammanfattningen av instruktionerna.

Screen 7

Sammanfattningsvis:

- Försök att se dessa dialoger som om de förekommer mellan två olika personer varje gång
- Kön eller ålder av aktörerna spelar ingen roll
- Skådespelarna spelar två personer som inte är vänner, men känner varandra
- Fokusera inte på sammanhanget för mycket
- Du bedömer endast det sista beteendet: frasen, gesten eller handlingen
- Du använder 5-punktsskalan

Har du några frågor? Tryck på {SPACE} för att börja en uppvärmningssession med exempel från det verkliga livet.

Between the sessions

Nu är vi färdiga med den första uppvärmningssessionen. Har du några frågor? Tryck på {SPACE} för att börja den andra uppvärmningssessionen med skådespelarna.

Nu är vi färdiga med den andra uppvärmningssessionen. Har du några frågor? Tryck på {SPACE} för att börja det riktiga experimentet.

Tack så mycket för ditt deltagande!

Appendix C. Instructions in Russian

Screen 1

Данный эксперимент направлен на исследование того, как люди оценивают вежливое и невежливое поведение, которое встречается в диалогах между двумя актерами. Оценка производится с помощью шкалы, которая имеет 5 вариантов ответа.

1 – Очень вежливо

2 – Вежливо

3 – Нейтрально

4 – Невежливо

5 – Очень невежливо

Эксперимент занимает 15-20 минут. У Вас есть вопросы? Нажмите {SPACE}, чтобы получить дальнейшие инструкции.

Screen 2

Вам будет предложено просмотреть 44 коротких видеоклипа, каждый из которых содержит небольшой диалог между двумя актерами. Если возможно, постарайтесь воспринимать эти диалоги таким образом, будто бы они происходят каждый раз между двумя разными людьми. Люди, которых играют актеры в диалогах, не являются близкими друзьями, но знают друг друга. Кроме того, эксперимент не направлен на исследование возрастных или гендерных различий, поэтому разный пол актеров не имеет значения. Перед началом эксперимента Вам будет предложено пройти две тренировочные сессии. Первая тренировочная сессия содержит видеоклипы из реальной жизни. Вторая тренировочная сессия содержит видеоклипы с актерами. У Вас есть вопросы? Нажмите {SPACE}, чтобы получить дальнейшие инструкции.

Screen 3

Помните, что Вы всегда оцениваете последнюю реакцию: последнюю фразу, жест или действие. Мы понимаем, что невозможно полностью игнорировать контекст, но мы просим Вас фокусироваться на последней реакции в каждом диалоге. Кроме того, Вам не следует уделять внимание тому, насколько оправдана та или иная реакция или тому, что один человек более раздражен или более вежлив. Пожалуйста, фокусируйтесь на том, насколько вежлива или невежлива последняя реакция в диалоге. У Вас есть вопросы? Нажмите {SPACE}, чтобы получить дальнейшие инструкции.

Screen 4

В конце каждого диалога содержится фраза, жест или действие, которые Вам нужно оценить с помощью 5-ти ступенчатой шкалы. На этой шкале {SPACE} всегда означает «нейтрально», а кнопки D, F, J и K представляют опции «очень вежливо», «вежливо», «невежливо» и «очень невежливо». С помощью этих опций Вам нужно оценить то, что происходит в конце каждого видеоклипа. У Вас есть вопросы? Нажмите {SPACE}, чтобы увидеть ту шкалу, которую Вы будете использовать.

Screen 5

Picture with the scale (left or right layout)

Screen 6

Ваша задача не только в том, чтобы оценивать вежливые и невежливые реакции в конце каждого диалога, но и делать это настолько быстро, насколько возможно. В идеале Вы должны отвечать быстро и точно. Перед каждым видео на экране будет вопрос «Насколько вежлива / невежлива последняя реакция в данной ситуации?». Данный вопрос будет показан на экране в течение 3 секунд. Затем в течение 1 секунды будет показана звезда в центре экрана, после чего начнется видеоклип. После каждого видеоклипа на экране появится слово «ОЦЕНИТЕ» и Вы сможете нажать на ту кнопку, которая соответствует той или иной оценке. У Вас есть вопросы? Нажмите {SPACE}, чтобы получить краткие инструкции еще раз.

Screen 7

Краткое обобщение

- Постарайтесь воспринимать данные диалоги так, будто бы они происходят каждый раз между двумя разными людьми
- Пол или возраст актеров не играет никакой роли
- Актеры играют двух людей, которые не являются друзьями, но знают друг друга
- Не уделяйте слишком большое внимание контексту
- Вы оцениваете последнюю реакцию: фразу, жест или действие
- Вы используете 5-ти ступенчатую шкалу

У Вас есть вопросы? Нажмите {SPACE}, чтобы начать первую тренировочную сессию с примерами из реальной жизни.

Between the sessions

Вы завершили первую тренировочную сессию. У Вас есть вопросы? Нажмите {SPACE}, чтобы начать вторую тренировочную сессию с видеоклипами, в которых играют актеры.

Вы завершили вторую тренировочную сессию. У Вас есть вопросы? Нажмите {SPACE}, чтобы начать настоящий эксперимент.

Большое спасибо за участие!

Appendix D. Interview questions

Aim: to collect both qualitative and quantitative data on the impolite dialogs that participants have judged in the experiment, so it helps to better understand impoliteness in general, conventionality and some cross-cultural differences.

General questions: more general and mostly indirect ones go first, for example:

- How do you feel about the experiment? How did you experience it as a whole?
- How did you feel while watching the videos? How did they look like for you?
- Did you notice anything odd about some offensive videos? That the reaction is not odd / strange in some aspect / sense for example?
- Do you think there is a difference between offensive videos? (that some punchlines in videos are more impolite / offensive than others).What is different?

Specific questions: we go through offensive videos and I ask the following questions after re-watching each video.

- How can you characterize what the person X said by using descriptive adjectives and adverbs?
- Do you think that offense is conveyed directly or indirectly? Why? *If this does not work:* ask about indirectness / clarity in any two examples offer them for a comparison.
- Do you think this behaviour is frequent in a conflict situation? Do you think it is likely that another person could say / do the same in a similar / different conflict situation, or such behaviour seems as being individual-specific?
- Do you think this behaviour is a (proto)typical way of conveying impoliteness / offense in your culture?

Additional questions:

- Do you think that impolite gestures are more powerful or more aggressive than words? Do they differ from words in some aspect?
- Do you consider direct or indirect expressions as more impolite?

Appendix E. The full script for impolite dialogues in Swedish

Offensiveness / Conventionality	Språk	Gest
Highly offensive Highly conventional	<p>1. («B» använder svärord på en allmän plats)</p> <p>A: Hej, kan du sluta svära? B: (på telefon) Va fan! Jag säger att han är ett jävla rövhål, en jävla idiot! A: Lyssnar du på vad jag säger? B: (till «A») Dra åt helvete!</p> <p>2. («B» utsätter andra för fara med sin körning)</p> <p>A: Vad gör du?! B: (Kör in plötsligt framför A's bil och kör långsamt). A: (Börjar tuta). B: (Stoppar, går ut ur bilen). Varför tutar du, din jävla idiot!?</p>	<p>3. («B» lämnar smulor efter sig på ett bord i universitetets cafeteria)</p> <p>A: Varför lämnade du bordet så äckligt efter dig? B: Fixa det själv om du behöver det. A: Konstigt att de låter människor som du studera här. B: (Visar långfingret).</p> <p>4. (En student «A» upptar ett bord, och går ifrån en liten stund. «B» sätter sig ned)</p> <p>A: Hej! Tyvärr, men bordet är upptaget. B: Hur ska jag kunna veta det, ingen satt här? A: Men jag lämnade min ryggsäck för att visa att det var upptaget. B: (Tar ryggsäcken och slänger den åt sidan).</p>
Less offensive Highly conventional	<p>5. («A» klagar på för hög studiebelastning i sitt program)</p> <p>A: Jag är så trött på mina studier på universitetet! Det känns som att jag blir galen snart med alla dessa projekt och inlämningar. B: Det ser redan ut som om du blivit galen över dina studier. Det är det enda du pratar om. A: Du behöver ju inte överdriva. B: Men du har blivit en nörd.</p> <p>6. («B» talar högt i telefon i biblioteket)</p> <p>A: Hej, det här är ett bibliotek. Om du behöver prata, kan du göra det utanför, tack. B: (Ignorerar person A). A: Hörde du vad jag sa till dig? B: (till «A») Försvinn!</p>	<p>7. («A» förklarar vad som hände i en tv-serie och «B» lyssnar)</p> <p>A: Så under den fjärde säsongen fick vi veta att Saga blev satt i fängelse och ... B: (Avbryter) Kanske kan du bara säga hur avsnittet slutade? A: Vänta vänta! Så vi fick veta att hon hamnade i fängelse och väntade på att domstolen skulle besluta ... B: (Himlar med ögonen).</p> <p>8. («B» är alltid sen till mötena för ett gruppprojekt)</p> <p>A: Du är alltid sen. Du har nog aldrig kommit i tid till våra möten. B: Det verkar bara så för dig. A: Skämtar du? B: (Drar långsamt tummen och pekfingret över munnen).</p>
Highly offensive Less conventional	<p>9. («A» tittar på en film där olika termer nämns)</p> <p>A: Har du sett den här filmen? B: Ja, det har jag, men förstår du verkligen allt? Vet du vad utrensningsslagen betyder, till exempel? A: Hm...</p>	<p>11. («B» börjar röka i ett studentboendes kök)</p> <p>A: Du får inte röka här. B: Och du bestämmer inte över mig. A: Pfft, skojar du? B: (Pekar mot dörren).</p>

	<p>B: Har du verkligen gått i skolan?</p> <p>10. («A» lagar mat i ett studentboendes kök)</p> <p>A: Hej! B: Hej. Vad lagar du idag? A: Kryddad soppa med skaldjur och vissa asiatiska kryddor. B: Mmm, matavfallet luktar mycket bättre än dina mästerverk!</p>	<p>12. (En förare «B» och en passagerare «A» åker tillsammans i en bil)</p> <p>A: Kör du bara i det högra körfältet och med så låg hastighet? B: Ja! Jag fick precis mitt körkort. Så nu kör jag bara så här. A: Det verkar som att du har haft ditt körkort under lång tid. Jag skulle rekommendera att köra med mer självförtroende och inte bara i det högra körfältet och så långsamt. B: (Stannar bilen, går ut ur bilen och öppnar passagerarens dörr).</p>
<p>Less offensive Less conventional</p>	<p>13. («A» ber «B» att kolla på A's CV)</p> <p>A: Hej, kan du titta på mitt CV? B: Visst! A: Tack! (ger CV till person «B» och hen börjar läsa det). B: Började du skriva innan du bestämde dig för innehållet?</p> <p>14. («A» kommer till ett studentboendes kök där människor spelar ett brädspel)</p> <p>A: Hej allihopa! B: Hej! Kom och spela med oss! A: Jag kan inte. Jag har en inlämningsuppgift. B: Åh. En sån bra student!</p>	<p>15. («A» och «B» hyr en lägenhet tillsammans)</p> <p>A: Kan du följa vårt schema och städa när du måste? Det blir smutsigt i lägenheten om vi inte städar minst en gång i veckan. B: Om det är smutsigt för dig, städa du det själv. Jag är okej med det här. A: Jag ska rapportera ditt beteende. B: (Håller handen för munnen med uppspärade ögon).</p> <p>16. («A» och «B» ska åka i en bil)</p> <p>A: Ok, var ska jag sitta? B: Försök att pressa dig in i baksätet. A: Men det finns knappast nån plats här, bara lador! B: (Rycker på axlarna).</p>

Appendix F. The full script for impolite dialogues in Russian

Offensiveness / Conventionality	Язык	Жест
Highly offensive Highly conventional	<p>1. («Б» использует ругательства в публичном месте)</p> <p>А: Эй, может перестанешь материться тут? Б: (по телефону) Да какого черта! Я тебе же говорю, что он еблан, самый настоящий конченный мудака! А: Ты слышишь, что тебе говорят? Б: (человеку «А») Да пошел(ла) ты на хуй!</p> <p>2. («Б» создает аварийные ситуации на дороге)</p> <p>А: Ты чё делаешь?! Б: (Резко перестраивается перед водителем «А» и начинает медленно ехать). А: (Начинает сигналить). Б: (Останавливается, выходит из машины). Ты чё библикаешь, мразь!?</p>	<p>3. («Б» оставляет мусор на столе в столовой университета)</p> <p>А: Почему ты не убрал(а) за собой? Б: Возьми и убери, если тебе нужно. А: Странно, что таких как ты принимают в университет. Б: (Показывает средний палец).</p> <p>4. (Студент(ка) «А» занимает стол, но отходит на минуту. За стол садится «Б»)</p> <p>А: Эй! Извини, но этот стол занят. Б: Откуда мне знать занято тут или нет, если тут никто не сидит? А: Но я оставил(а) тут свой портфель, чтобы показать, что стол занят. Б: (Берет портфель «А» и кидает его в сторону).</p>
Less offensive Highly conventional	<p>5. («А» жалуется по поводу чрезмерной нагрузки в университете)</p> <p>А: Я так устал(а) в этом универе. Мне кажется, я скоро с ума сойду от всех этих домашек, конспектов и прочей хрени. Б: По-моему, у тебя уже крыша поехала со своей учебой. Кроме нее ничего не видишь. А: Ну не надо преувеличивать только. Б: Да ты уже стал(а) задротом.</p> <p>6. («Б» громко говорит по телефону в библиотеке)</p> <p>А: Эй, тут библиотека вообще-то. Если надо поговорить, то сделай это за её пределами, пожалуйста. Б: (Игнорирует человека А). А: Ты слышишь, что тебе говорят? Б: (человеку «А») Отвали!</p>	<p>7. («А» рассказывает сюжет одного из сериалов, а «Б» слушает)</p> <p>А: В общем в четвертом сезоне мы узнаем, что Сага попала в тюрьму и... Б: (Перебивает) Может ты лучше сразу расскажешь, что произошло в конце сезона? А: Да подожди блин! В общем, она попала в тюрьму и ждет, пока суд решит... Б: (Закатывает глаза).</p> <p>8. («Б» постоянно опаздывает на встречи по групповому учебному проекту)</p> <p>А: Ты всегда опаздываешь и еще ни разу не пришел(ла) вовремя на наши встречи. Б: Тебе кажется. А: Ты шутишь? Б: (Смыкает указательный и большой палец и медленно проводит ими вдоль рта).</p>
Highly offensive Less conventional	<p>9. («А» смотрит видео, в котором упоминаются различные термины)</p> <p>А: А ты смотрел(а) это видео?</p>	<p>11. («Б» начинает курить на кухне в квартире, где он(а) снимает комнату)</p> <p>А: Ты знаешь, что тут нельзя курить?</p>

	<p>Б: Я-то смотрел(а). А ты-то сам(а) понимаешь, о чём там речь? Вот что такое люстрация, например? А: Эмм... Б: Ты вообще учился(ась) в школе?</p> <p>10. («А» готовит еду на кухне в студенческом общежитии)</p> <p>А: Привет! Б: Привет. Что готовишь в этот раз? А: Острый суп с морепродуктами и восточными специями. Б: Ммм, да помои пахнут и то приятнее этого шедевра!</p>	<p>Б: А ты знаешь, что тебе нельзя читать мне нотации? А: Ты издеваешься что ли? Б: (Показывает указательным пальцем на дверь).</p> <p>12. (Водитель «Б» и пассажир(ка) «А» едут в машине)</p> <p>А: А ты только правым рядом и с такой низкой скоростью едешь? Б: Да, потому что я только недавно получил(а) права, так что пока что только так езжу. А: Мне кажется уже прилично времени прошло. Я бы советовал(а) более уверенно ездить, а не только в правом ряду и так медленно. Б: (Останавливает машину, выходит и открывает дверь пассажира(ки)).</p>
<p>Less offensive Less conventional</p>	<p>13. («А» просит «Б» посмотреть его(её) резюме)</p> <p>А: Привет! Можешь взглянуть на мое резюме? Б: Да, давай посмотрю! А: Спасибо (передает резюме «Б» и он(а) начинает его читать). Б: А ты его начал(а) писать перед тем, как подумал(а) о чем и как писать?</p> <p>14. («А» заходит на кухню в общежитии, где группа людей играет в настольные игры)</p> <p>А: Привет народ! Б: Привет! Присоединяйся к нам! А: Я не могу. Мне надо задание по учебе доделать. Б: Ой. Какой(ая) хороший(ая) студент(ка)!</p>	<p>15. («А» и «Б» снимают квартиру вместе)</p> <p>А: Ты мог(ла) бы соблюдать график уборки? В квартире все-таки становится грязно, если хотя бы раз в неделю не убираться. Б: Если тебе грязно, то ты и убирайся. Меня все устраивает. А: Я оставлю на тебя жалобу арендодателю, если ты продолжишь так себя вести. Б: (Округляет глаза и прикрывает рот ладонью).</p> <p>16. («А» и «Б» собираются поехать на машине)</p> <p>А: Окей, куда мне садиться? Б: Попробуй уместиться на заднем сиденье как-нибудь. А: Да тут вообще места нет, одни коробки! Б: (Пожимает плечами).</p>

Appendix G. Distribution of impolite dialogues across two types of damage (Face vs. Sociality rights)

Offensiveness & Conventionality / Semiotic system	Language (L)	Gesture (G)
Highly offensive (HO) & Highly conventional (HC)	1. Face 2. Face	3. Rights 4. Rights
Less offensive (LO) & Highly conventional (HC)	5. Face 6. Rights	7. Face 8. Rights
Highly offensive (HO) & Less conventional (LC)	9. Face 10. Face	11. Rights 12. Rights
Less offensive (LO) & Less conventional (LC)	13. Face 14. Face	15. Rights 16. Rights

Appendix H. The full list of metalinguistic representations provided by Russian participants

1 НОНС / Language	2 НОНС / Language	3 НОНС / Gesture	4 НОНС / Gesture
Агрессивно	Агрессивно *7	Агрессивно	Агрессивно*3
Безразлично	Борзо	Безобидно	Беспардонно*2
Высокомерно	Быстро	Безысходно	Возмутительно
Гневно	Гипертрофированно	Бесполезно	Высокомерно
Грубо *17	Грубо *12	Бестактно	Грубо*9
Дико	Дерзко	Глупо	Демонстративно
Дурно	Дико	Грубо*5	Дерзко
Жестоко	Доминантно	Деревенско	Жестко
Зашкварно	Жестко	Забавно	Импульсивно
Игнорирующе	Импульсивно *2	Иронично	Критично
Нагло*2	Нагло	Коротко	Мерзко
Неадекватно	Напористо	Не очень вежливо	Нагло*5
Невежливо *9	Неадекватно*3	Не очень оскорбительно	Нахально*2
Невоспитанно*2	Невдумчиво	Не по-товарищески	Неадекватно
Недостовечно	Невоспитанно	Неадекватно	Невежливо*3
Некрасиво*2	Незаконно	Невежливо*3	Нездорово
Некультурно	Некрасиво	Невоспитанно	Некрасиво*5
Неподходящая (неуместно)*4	Некультурно*3	Недружелюбно	Некультурно
Непозволительно	Ненормально	Некрасиво	Неожиданно*2
Неправильно	Неожиданно	Некультурно	Непорядочно
Неприлично	Непонятно	Немного обидно	Неправильно
Неприятно*2	Неправильно	Неоправданно	Неприлично
Нетактично*2	Неприятно *2	Неправильно	Неприятно
Нетолерантно	Нервно	Неприлично	Нетактично
Неуважительно	Несдержанно	Неприятно	Неуважительно*4
Неучтиво	Нетактично	Несерьезно	Неуместно
Оскорбительно*2	Неуважительно*2	Неуважительно*2	Обидно*2
По-быдлярски*2	Неуместно*2	Неуместно	Оскорбительно*3
Пренебрежительно	Неуравновешенно	Низко	По-скотски
Провокационно	Опасно	Нормально*2	По-стервятски
Раздраженно	Оскорбительно	Оскорбительно	Пренебрежительно*2
Резко *3	По-быдлярски	По-детски	Резко
Сильная	По-свински	Понятно	Самоуверенно
Ужасно*2	Похуистично	По-свински	Сомнительно
Хамско	Прямолинейно	Примитивно	Странно*2
Эгоистично*3	Резко	Проигрышно	Тупо*4
	Сильно	Просто	Убого
	Странно	Резко	Хамско*6
	Типично	Сомнительно	Эгоистично*2
	Тупо	Справедливо	

	Хамско*6	Типично*2	
	Чересчур	Универсально	
	ЧСВ-шно	Шуточно	
	Эгоистично	Эгоистично	
	Эмоционально	Ясно	

5 ЛОНС / Language	6 ЛОНС / Language	7 ЛОНС / Gesture	8 ЛОНС / Gesture
Грубо*2	Агрессивно	Безучастно	Безапелляционно
Забавно	Асоциально	Безысходность	Беспардонно*2
Иронично	Безразлично	Вменяемо	Высокомерно
Невежливо*2	Бестактно	Выражение скуки, презрения.	Грубо*4
Негрубо	Глупо	Глупо.	Жестко
Нейтрально*5	Грубо*7	Легкая нетерпимость	Забавно
Некрасиво	Дерзко	Невежливо*2	Мягко
Нетактично*2	Наплевательски	Недовольство	Нагло
Неуважительно	Не очень вежливо	Нейтрально*4	Надменно*2
Нечутко	Неадекватно	Некрасиво	Не по-товарищески
Неэмпатично	Невежливо*5	Немного преувеличенная реакция.	Невежливо*2
Никак	Невоспитанно*3	Необъяснимо	Негрубо
Обидно*2	Нейтрально*2	Неоскорбительно	Недовольно
Обычно*2	Некорректно	Неприятно*2	Нейтрально*2
Оскорбительно	Некрасиво*3	Нерационально	Некрасиво*3
Резко	Некультурно*4	Нетерпеливо	Некультурно
Саркастично	Неподобающе	Неуважительно*3	Неловко
Шутливо	Неприлично	Нормально*3	Неоскорбительно*2
	Неприменимо	Обыденно*2	Непонятно
	Нетактично	Обычно	Неприятно*2
	Неуважительно*3	Ожидаемо*2	Несерьезно
	Пренебрежительно*2	По-детски.	Нетактично
	Раздражительно	Раздраженно	Неуважительно
	Резко*4	Раздражительно	Неуместно*2
	Средне	Сожаление	По-дружески
	Умышленно	Типично*2	Презрительно
	Эгоистично*3	Эгоистично	Пренебрежительно* 3
	Эмоционально		Раздраженно
			Резко*2
			Спокойно
			Странно*2
			Тихо
			Умилительно
			Шутливо

9 HOLC / Language	10 HOLC / Language	11 HOLC / Gesture	12 HOLC / Gesture
Беспардонно	Бескультурно	Безмолвно	Агрессивно*1
Вероятно	Бестактно	Бесительно	Безбашенно
Вызывающе	Высокомерно	Бескультурно	Безразлично
Высмеивающе	Глупо	Беспардонно	Безбашенно
Высокомерно*5	Грубо*13	Быдло	Властно
Грубо*2	Ехидно	Властно	Возмущенно
Задевающе	Жестко	Высокомерно*5	Гипертрофированно
Заувалированно	Издевательски*2	Грубо*9	Глупо*2
Заумно	Изобретательно	Нагло	Грубо*5
Издевательски	Креативно	Нахально	Дебильная
Надменно	Невежливо*5	Невежливо*6	Демонстративно
Не по-дружески*2	Негативно	Негативно	Импульсивно
Невежливо*3	Нейтрально*2	Нейтрально	Неадекватно*3
Нейтрально*4	Неконструктивная критика	Некрасиво*4	Невежливо*3
Немного грубо*2	Некорректно	Некультурно*2	Недружелюбно
Нетерпимо	Некрасиво*2	Неправильно	Некорректно
Неуважительно	Немного грубо*3	Неприменимо	Некрасиво
Обидно	Необдуманно	Неприятно	Нелогичная
Обоснованно	Неправильно	Нетактично	Необдуманно
Обычно	Неприятно	Неуважительно*4	Необоснованно
Подколос	Непродуктивно	Неэмпатично	Неоправданно
Показательно	Нетактично*2	Нормально	Непонятно*2
Пренебрежительно*2	Неуважительно*3	Оскорбительно*2	Неправильно*4
Претенциозно	Неэмпатично	Отвратительно	Неприменительно
Принижающе	Неэффективно	Понятно	Нервно
Самоуверенно	Обидно	Пофигистично	Несдержанно
Снисходительно	Оскорбительно*2	Предсказуемо	Нестандартная
Тщеславно	Подло	Прямо	Нетерпимо
Унизительно	Пренебрежительно	Раздражительно*2	Неуважительно
Уничижительно	Саркастично	Ужасно	Нечутко
	Хамско	Уничижительно	Оправдано
	Черство	Хамско*2	Оскорбительно
		Эгоистично*4	По-детски*2
		Эмоционально	По-дурацки
			Прикольно
			Психованно
			Раздраженно
			Резко*3
			Слабо
			Смешно
			Странная*3

			Стремно
			Уничижительно
			Чересчур
			Эмоционально

13 LOLC / Language	14 LOLC / Language	15 LOLC / Gesture	16 LOLC / Gesture
Безразлично	Агрессивно	Безответственно	Безответственно*2
Бестактно	Высмеивающе	Безразлично	Безразлично*2
Возмущенно	Ехидно	Безучастно	Безучастно
Грубо*6	Иронично	Беспардонно	Грубо*2
Детски	Классично	Возмущенно	Забавно
Забавно	Лицемерно	Глупо	Индифферентно*2
Издевательски	Насмешливо	Грубо	Нахально
Интересующаяся	Нежестко	Дразняще	Невежливо
Конструктивно	Незадевающе	Ехидно*2	Негостеприимно
Критично	Нейтрально*7	Забавно	Недобросовестно
Лаконично	Немного ехидно	Издевательски	Незаинтересованно
Не очень жестко	Немного неуважительно	Компрометирующе	Нейтрально*6
Не по-дружески	Необидно	Нагло*3	Неловко
Не по-товарищески	Неоскорбительно*2	Наигранно*2	Неоскорбительно
Невежливо*3	Нормально*2	Наплевательски*2	Непонятно
Невоспитанно	По-товарищески	Невежливо*4	Нетактично
Нейтрально*5	С издевкой	Невоспитанно	Неуважительно
Неконструктивная критика	Саркастично*7	Негрубо	Неуклюже
Некорректно	Слегка обидно	Недовольно	Неуместно
Некрасиво	Язвительно*2	Нейтрально	Нормально*2
Необоснованно		Некрасиво*2	Обыденно
Нетактично		Некультурно	Пофигистично*3
Неуважительно		Немного невежливо	Самоуверенно
Неуместно		Непонятно	Смешно
Неэмпатично		Нетактично	Странно
Нормально		Неуважительно*4	Эгоистично
Прямолинейно*2		По-детски*2	
Резко		По-позерски	
Саркастично		Пофигистично	
Хамско		Пренебрежительно	
Язвительно		Провокационно	
		С издевкой	
		С иронией	
		Самоуверенно	
		Саркастично	
		Смешно	
		Странно	

		Театрално	
		Удивително	
		Утрировано	
		Хамско	
		Эгоистично*2	

Appendix I. The full list of metalinguistic representations provided by Swedish participants

1 HOHC / Language	2 HOHC / Language	3 HOHC / Gesture	4 HOHC / Gesture
Abrupt	Aggressivt*16	Aggressivt	Aggressivt*3
Aggressivt*5	Arg*6	Aktivt	Arrogant
Arrogant	Attackerande	Arrogant	Barnsligt*4
Avfärdande	Direkt	Barnsligt*2	Direkt
Dåligt tålamod	Dominant	Direkt	Drygt*5
Drygt*2	Drygt	Drygt*2	Elakt*3
Elak*3	Dumt	Elakt*3	Fånigt
Empatilos	Egoistiskt	Enkel	Förvånande
Hänsynslöst	Elakt*3	Explosivt	Hänsynslöst*2
Hårt	Explosivartat	Försvårande	Indirekt
Icke tillmötesgående	Explosivt	Hotfullt	Känslokallt
Ignorant	Extremt	Ilsket	Kaxigt
Ilsket	Farlig	Käbbel	Konstigt
Irriterande*2	Förvånande	Knäpp	Likgiltig
Jobbig	Förvirrad	Konstigt*3	Lungt
Kalt	Framfusigt	Korkad	Märkligt
Känslöst	Frustrerad	Kort	Nonchalant*3
Konfronterande	Fysiskt	Likgiltig	Oartigt*3
Kort	Galen	Loj	Oförsiktig
Motbudande	Hotfullt*2	Märkligt	Oförsämd*2
Nonchalant	Ilsket*3	Oartigt*3	Omoget
Normbrytande	Irrationell	Offensivt	Onödigt*3
Oartigt*2	Irreterande	Oförsämd*3	Opassande*2
Obnoxious	Irriterad	Omoget*2	Oskönt*2
Oförsämd*3	Knäpp	Onödigt*3	Osvenskt
Okänsligt	Konstigt	Oskönt	Otrevligt*11
Olyssnade	Oartigt*2	Otrevligt*12	Överdrivet
Onödigt*2	Offensivt*2	Ovänligt	Överlägsen
Oprovocerad	Oförsämd*2	Respektlöst	Överraskande
Oskönt	Omogen	Störande	Passivt-aggressivt
Otrevligt*12	Onödigt*2	Taskigt	Sjalviskt
Oväntad	Opassande	Trubbigt	Stingsligt
Överdrivet	Oprovocerad	Tystprotest	Störig
Respektlöst*2	Orimligt		Taskigt*2
Sjalvcentrerad*2	Otrevligt*6		Töntigt
Självpuptagen	Överdrivet*3		Trotsades
Snäsigt	Överreagerad(e)*2		Trotsigt
Störande*2	Skrämmande		Upprörande
Taskigt*4	Skrikigt		
Uppblåst	Tänkelöst		
Uppdriven	Taskigt		

	Upprört		
--	---------	--	--

5 LOHC / Language	6 LOHC / Language	7 LOHC / Gesture	8 LOHC / Gesture
Ärlig	Aggressivt*6	Arrogant*3	Aggressivt
Drygt*2	Attackerande	Barnsligt	Arrogant
Dumt	Barnslig	Drygt	Dramatiskt
Elakt*4	Direkt*2	Dumt	Drygt*5
Förminskande	Drygt*2	Elakt	Empatilöst
Hotfullt	Elakt*3	Enkelt	Enkelt
Ironiskt	Empatilöst	Förminskande	Frustrerad
Lekfullt*2	Förminskande	Förstående	Hänsynslöst
Likgiltig	Förnedrande	Ignorant	Ilsket
Nedlåtande	Förvånande	Indirekt	Irriterad
Neutralt	Hänsynslöst*2	Inte bra tålamod	Kaxigt*3
Oanständigt	Högfärdig	Irriterad	Konstigt*2
Oartigt*2	Ignorant	Nedlåtande*2	Kort
Oförsämd	Irriterad	Nedvärderande*2	Märkligt
Ögonöppnande	Känslokalt	Neutralt*2	Nonchalant*2
Ointresserad	Kaxigt	Oartigt*5	Normalt*2
Okänsligt*2	Konstigt	Ointresserad*5	Oartigt*4
Onödigt*2	Kort*2	Okänsligt	Oförsämd*2
Otrevligt*4	Nedlåtande	Omotiverad	Omodern
Otydligt	Nonchalant	Onödigt*2	Omogen
Ovänkapligt	Normbrytande	Otålig	Onaturligt
Överlägsen	Oartigt*6	Otrevligt*7	Onödigt*2
Retsamt	Oförsämd*3	Otydligt	Otrevligt*7
Skämtsamt*3	Ointresserad	Respektlöst*3	Ovänligt*2
Svårt	Omoget	Trött*3	Övriggande
Taskigt*3	Onödigt	Ungivenhet	Respektlöst
Vänkapligt*2	Otrevligt*6	Uttråkad	Snabbt
	Oväntad	Vänligt	Töntigt
	Överdrivet		
	Regelbrytare		
	Respektlöst*2		
	Självupptagen		
	Snobbigt		

9 HOLC / Language	10 HOLC / Language	11 HOLC / Gesture	12 HOLC / Gesture
Arrogant*3	Aggressivt	Aggressivt*5	Aggressivt
Besserwisser	Arrogant*2	Arg*2	Beslutande
Bufflig	Drygt*3	Avslutande	Bestämd*2
Drygt*2	Elakt*5	Avvisande	Dåligt tålamod

Dumt	Förminskande*3	Befallande	Direkt*2
Elakt*5	Förnedrande	Bestämd	Dominant
Extremt	Förolämpande	Direkt	Dramatiskt
Fördummande	Inte seriös	Dominant	Drygt
Förminskande*4	Konstigt	Drygt*3	Elakt
Förolämpande	Lekfullt*2	Elakt*4	Farligt
Förväntad	Nedlåtande*2	Eskalerande	Försurad
Ifrågasättande	Nedvärderande*2	Explosivt	Frustrerad
Känslökallt	Negande	Förminskande*2	Ilsket*2
Kritiserande	Oartigt	Hänsynslöst	Irriterad
Makt	Obefogat	Indirekt	Känslofullt
Nedlåtande	Oförskämt	Inte befogat	Löjligt
Nedtryckande*2	Oförväntad	Känslökallt	Märkligt
Nedvärderande*7	Oskönt	Kaxigt	Menande
Oartigt	Otrevligt*2	Konstigt*2	Neutralt*2
Onödigt*2	Pikande	Märkligt	Oartigt*3
Osympatiskt	Positivt	Nonchalant	Onödigt
Otrevligt*8	Roligt*2	Oartigt*5	Öppet
Överlägsen	Sårande	Oklart	Osäkert
Översittande*2	Skämtsamt	Omoget	Otrevligt*4
Patroniserande	Taskigt*3	Onödigt*2	Oväntad*2
Respektlöst	Töntigt	Opassande	Överdrivet*3
Sarkastiskt	Vänskapligt	Otrevligt*7	Överraskande
Självgett		Otydligt	Passive-aggressive
Taskigt*3		Pubertalt	Rättfärdigt
Underlåtande		Råkt	Respektlöst
Uppnosigt		Respektlöst*2	Roligt
Verbal		Snabbt	Stark
		Stort	Stingsligt
		Taskigt	Trött*2
		Trötsigt	Tydligt
			Unrealistic?
			Uppgivet

13 LOLC / Language	14 LOLC / Language	15 LOLC / Gesture	16 LOLC / Gesture
Ärlig	Avundsjuk	Arrogant	Arrogant
Direkt*2	Banalt	Barnslig*4	Avslappnad*2
Drygt*3	Barnslig*2	Defensivt	Drygt*2
Elakt*2	Drivande	Dramatiskt	Empatilöst*2
Förminskande*2	Drygt*3	Drygt	Hänsynslöst
Förolämpande	Elakt*4	Förlöjliga	Hjälpsamt
Hårt	Förlöjligande*3	Förväntad	Icke inkluderande
Ifrågasättande*2	Förminskande*4	Icke samarbetsvilligt	Icke lösningsorienterad
Inte kontrollerad	Inte snällt	Ironiskt*2	Ignoratnt

Känslokallt	Ironiskt	Konfronterade	Inte omtänksamt
Kaxigt	Kaxigt*2	Konstigt*2	Inte sägande
Komisk	Lekfullt*2	Kreativt	Konstigt
Konstruktiv kritik	Löjligt	Likgiltig	Lekfullt
Konstruktiv*2	Menande	Nedlåtande	Likgiltig*3
Kritiskt	Nedlåtande*3	Oartigt*3	Lite elakt
Märkligt kommentar	Nedvärderande	Offensiv	Neutralt*2
Misstänksam	Ointresserad	Omoget*3	Nonchalant*3
Nedlåtande	Omognad	Öppet	Oartigt*3
Neutralt*2	Onödigt	Otrevligt*4	Obesvårad
Oartigt*2	Opassande	Överdrivet	Oblygt
Oavsiktligen	Oskönt*2	Överspelat	Oempatiskt
Offensivt	Otrevligt*2	Respektlöst*2	Oförstående
Ohjälpsam	Överdrivet	Roligt	Okalrt
Onödigt*2	Pubertalt	Sarkastiskt*4	Onödigt
Oproduktivt	Retande	Skämtsamt	Opassande
Otrevligt	Sarkastiskt*2	Taskigt	Oplanerad
Otydligt	Skämtsamt	Tydligt	Oskönt
Överlägsen	Skuldbeläggande		Otrevligt*2
Överraskande	Taskigt		Ovälkomnade
Pubertalt	Vänskapligt		Ovänligt*2
Råkt			Ovänskapligt
Roligt			Trött beteende
Sarkastiskt			Uppgivet
Snällt			Visar ointresse
Stötande			
Taskigt			
Tönt			
Uppriktig*2			