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Dieser Ausatz diskutiert die Verbindung zwischen der Höflichkeits- bzw. Unhöflichkeitsforschung und Studien, welche Emotionen untersuchen, wie sie in interpersoneller Kommunikation auftreten. Wir schlagen vor, dass der kognitive Begriff des 'frames', d.h. die mentale Repräsentation von Erfahrungswissen, als Orientierungsrahmen für soziale Normen und Erwartungen dient. Dieses Normwissen spielt eine Rolle, wenn GesprächsteilnehmerInnen die Angemessenheit von Beziehungsarbeit ('relational work') bewerten. In diesem Prozess werden auch Emotionen evoziert, welche ihrerseits eine wichtige Funktion in diesem Entscheidungsprozess einnehmen. Es braucht jedoch noch mehr Forschung, um zu eruieren, wie und zu welchem Grad emotionale Reaktionen die Bewertungen der Beziehungsarbeit unterstützen.

Schlüsselwörter:
Beziehungsarbeit, Höflichkeit, Unhöflichkeit, Intention, Emotionen

1. Introduction

In this paper on relational work[1], a programmatic framework is proposed which sketches an integration of cognitive, discourse analytical and emotional notions to discuss interpersonal dimensions of human interaction. Cognitive pillars such as the notion of "frame" and issues of politeness and impoliteness always involve an individual in a particular social activity, who judges relational work according to the norms of this practice. It is recognized that this social being has emotions and that these may influence or in fact be part and parcel of such judgments. We therefore aim to delineate the possibilities of connecting cognition, interaction and emotion for a relational work framework in an exploratory manner. We are well aware that we will only be able to touch the tip of the iceberg on research on emotions, but hope to show that im/politeness research would benefit from learning more about emotions, since only a small number of politeness researchers have explicitly explored this issue so far (most notably Spencer-Oatey, 2005, 2007). In section 2 of this paper we will briefly address past and current politeness research. In section 3, we will outline how emotions and the recognition of intentions intertwine with relational work. In section 4 we will discuss examples of naturally

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occurring linguistic data in order to illustrate the surfacing of emotions as caused by the breaking of frames. The focus of this discussion will be on how interactants negotiate these breaks in their endeavor to maintain or challenge their relationships. Finally, section 5 summarizes the main findings of this paper and formulates a number of questions for future research.

2.   Politeness and impoliteness research

Politeness research has been in vogue ever since the seminal work of Lakoff (1973), Brown & Levinson (1978, 1987) and Leech (1983). This early work is still discussed today and has furthered our knowledge of how individuals negotiate the interpersonal aspect of language to a great extent. In the meantime, however, researchers have developed additional frameworks to address interpersonal language issues (e.g., Fraser, 1990; Kasper, 1990; Watts, 1989, 1992), and several monographs have tackled both the task of reviewing the existing literature and of adding to it (e.g. Eelen, 2001; Locher, 2004; Mills, 2005; Watts, 2003). Not only can we speak of two general trends in research today – first order versus second order investigations –, we can also witness a move away from primarily focusing on the study of mitigation towards a broader understanding of facework, or relational work, in linguistics. This interest has sparked recent work on *im*politeness and conflictual data (Bousfield, 2008a; Bousfield & Culpeper, 2008; Bousfield & Locher, 2008; Gorji, 2007).

In politeness research, the distinction between first order and second order research goes back to Watts, Ide and Ehlich's (1992) introduction to the collection *Politeness in Language*, and it was highlighted in the early 2000s by Eelen (2001). At the moment, the beginning of texts usually see politeness researchers identify whether they wish to discuss theoretical, that is etic, second order concepts, or whether they intend to pursue investigations of an emic, or first order nature that studies the understanding of lay people. In section 2.1 second order approaches are touched on, while section 2.2 is reserved for first order approaches. In section 2.3 we will briefly address the most recent findings in impoliteness research.

2.1   Traditional approaches to politeness research

The works of Lakoff (1973), Brown & Levinson (1978, 1987) and Leech (1983) are among the most discussed approaches to politeness. It is impossible to give these frameworks justice in such a brief review. In what follows those key issues specifically needed for the discussion of emotions and relational work are addressed.

Fraser (1990) argues that both Lakoff (1973) and Leech (1983) work within a conversational maxim approach. Both researchers list rules or maxims and

claim that interactants orient their linguistic behavior accordingly. Lakoff's rules of politeness are 'don't impose', 'give options', and 'make *A* feel good, be friendly'. Leech (1983) postulates that a Politeness Principle works in conjunction with the Cooperative Principle (Grice, 1975). In fact, he claims that the Politeness Principle is at the heart of people's frequent non-adherence to the Cooperative Principle (1980: 80) and that the aim of the Politeness Principle is "to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place" (Leech, 1983: 82). The Politeness Principle consists of the following maxims (Leech, 1983: 132):

(I) TACT MAXIM (in impositives and commissives)
    (a)   Minimize cost to *other*
    [(b)   Maximize benefit to *other*]
(II) GENEROSITY MAXIM (in impositives and commissives)
    (a)   Minimize benefit to *self*
    [(b)   Maximize cost to *self*]
(III) APPROBATION MAXIM (in expressives and assertives)
    (a)   Minimize dispraise of *other*
    [(b)   Maximize praise of *other*]
(IV) MODESTY MAXIM (in expressives and assertives)
    (a)   Minimize praise of *self*
    [(b)   Maximize dispraise of *self*]
(V) AGREEMENT MAXIM (in assertives)
    (a)   Minimize disagreement between *self* and *other*
    [(b)   Maximize agreement between *self* and *other*]
(VI) SYMPATHY MAXIM (in assertives)
    (a)   Minimize antipathy between *self* and *other*
    [(b)   Maximize sympathy between *self* and *other*] (Leech, 1983: 132)

Leech maintains that not all the maxims have equal weight. He considers the Tact Maxim and the Approbation Maxim as stronger than the Generosity and Modesty Maxims, since politeness is argued to be generally more oriented towards the other than the self. Overall, he claims that the interactants give "avoidance of discord" more importance than "seeking concord" (Leech, 1983: 133).

In Lakoff's (1973) and Leech's (1983) approaches we see rules or maxims written down which are claimed to guide interactants in their linguistic output. The discursive approach to politeness also postulates that norms play a role when we deal with politeness issues, as explained below. The difference is, however, that the discursive approach highlights that such norms are sensitive to different cultures and are, in fact, specific to *practices* that interactants engage in. They may thus differ quite considerably (for a more thorough discussion see Locher, 2004: 65-66).

The most popular and productive politeness theory to date was proposed by Brown and Levinson in 1978 (republished in 1987). They center their understanding of politeness on the concepts of face, face-threatening act and mitigation. Brown & Levinson (1987: 61) base their definition of face on Goffman (1967) and describe face as "the public self-image that every

member wants to claim for himself [or herself]". They maintain that there are two sides to face:

> *negative face*: the want of every 'competent adult member' that his actions be unimpeded by others.
> *positive face*: the want of every member that his wants be desirable to at least some others. (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 62)

Scollon & Scollon (2001: 48) have named these two sides the *independence* and *involvement aspects* of face. Brown & Levinson's argument is that "face respect is not an unequivocal right" (1987: 62), but that it is in the interactants' interest to "maintain each other's face" (1987: 60). Since people cannot avoid having to commit acts that are face-threatening (i.e. face-threatening acts, or FTAs), Brown & Levinson argue that they work along the following rationale:

> Unless [the speaker]'s want to do an FTA with maximum efficiency [...] is greater than [the speaker]'s want to preserve [the hearer]'s (or [the speaker]'s) face to any degree, then [the speaker] will want to minimize the face threat of the FTA. (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 62)

This argumentation results in a focus on mitigation in the sense that politeness is claimed to play a role once interactants consider each other's face and choose the relevant strategy to hedge the force of a face-threatening act. Brown & Levinson (1987: 60) list two main strategies ("do the FTA", "don't do the FTA") and distinguish between off record and on record ("without redressive action, baldly"; "with redressive action, positive politeness"; "with redressive action, negative politeness") strategies (see Fig. 1).
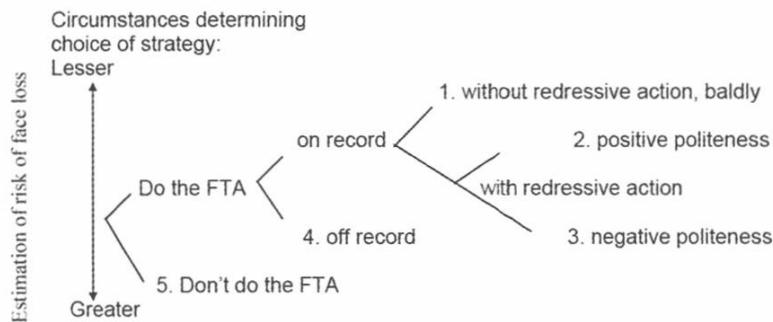
Fig. 1:   Possible strategies for realizing FTAs (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 60)

The choice of strategy is adjusted according to the balancing of three factors: the value of the distance (D) between the speaker (S) and the hearer (H), the measure of the power that the hearer has over the speaker (P), and the relative ranking of the imposition in its cultural and situational context (R_x). Brown and Levinson (1987: 76) work these factors into the following equation for the weightiness (W) of the face-threatening act 'x': $W_x = D (S,H) + P (H,S) + R_x$. This presents an abstract way of accounting for the intricate social factors that play a role in interaction.

Brown and Levinson's work has been criticized for several reasons. For example, the ranking of strategies, i.e. that indirect utterances are more polite than direct ones, has been found to be an over-generalization. In fact, many researchers would stress today that no linguistic utterance is polite or impolite per se[2]. In addition, Brown and Levinson clearly describe manifestations of facework, that is the linguistic manifestation of paying attention to face, but do they also describe politeness as such? Whether or not to answer this question positively or negatively depends on your theoretical standpoint, as we will discuss in the next section[3].

2.2   The discursive approach to politeness research

Lakoff (1973), Brown & Levinson (1978/1987) and Leech (1983) can be described as second order, theoretical researchers, aiming at a universal understanding of politeness phenomena. This is not to say that they did not work with naturally occurring data. On the contrary, they worked with such data in order to develop a theoretical understanding of the observed linguistic patterns. There is, of course, nothing to say against such an approach. The objection by first order researchers such as, for example, expressed in Locher (2006), is therefore not directed at developing theories as such, but it is one that takes issue with the name of the theory. For example, Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness has been treated in such a way that every linguistic manifestation that cannot be explained with the above-mentioned strategies is considered impolite. In other words, politeness and impoliteness, in their theoretical understanding, cover the entire spectrum of facework.

The discursive approach to politeness claims that there is not only face-saving behavior to be studied, but also manifestations of face-enhancing, face-maintaining, or face-aggravating (i.e., face-attacking; cf. Tracy, 2008) behavior. In Locher & Watts (2008), we maintain that

> Relational work refers to all aspects of the work invested by individuals in the construction, maintenance, reproduction and transformation of interpersonal relationships among those engaged in social practice. (Locher & Watts, 2008: 96)

First order researchers argue that the term politeness is used by interactants for a much smaller slice of the relational work pie, as assumed in second order research (Locher & Watts, 2005, 2008). As soon as the term is removed from its status as labeling a theory, it returns to the realm of judgments by lay people, and is part of a whole series of terms that describe how people deem

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[2]   This is a point that was already made early on in politeness research (see e.g. Fraser & Nolen, 1981: 96).

[3]   Suffice it to say that Brown and Levinson's strategies can be used to describe facework more generally. For further criticism of this theory see Eelen (2001), Watts (2003) and Locher (2004, 2006).

other people's relational work, such as *rude, offensive, uncouth, polite, polished, refined*, etc. This view is fully compatible with participant-oriented ethnomethodological approaches to studying the praxeology of negotiating norms (cf. Garfinkel, 1967).

This approach is described as 'discursive' for two reasons. First, the meanings of the first order terms change over time. For example, the connotations of what constitutes 'politeness' in the 18th century differ from the 21st century dictionary definitions (cf. Locher, 2008). Second, even today, interactants of different practices have different ideas of what exactly constitutes, for example, *polite*, *rude* or *impolite* behavior. This is the case both with respect to the different connotations of these terms, as well as the different linguistic behavior associated with the terms. For example, Mills (2002, 2005) reports that the term 'politeness' may carry negative connotations for some groups of people, while others value the term. As a consequence, we need to study the practices[4] in which interactants engage in order to find the norms of behavior that trigger the judgments.

Here we can make the link between practices and the cognitive concept of 'frame'. In Tannen's (1993: 53) words, frames are "structures of expectation based on past experience" – classic examples being how to behave in a restaurant or in a service encounter[5]. In other words, interactants will not make judgments on relational work in a social vacuum, but in relation to their past personal experiences or expectations about norms as well as rights and obligations pertaining to their person. In a process of analogy, interactants will even approach situations that they have never been in before with expectations about such rights and obligations. Such frames are acquired in a process of socialization during a person's life.

The discursive, first order approach to politeness and impoliteness is of course not the first attempt at describing relational work that highlights the importance of norms and expectations. As mentioned before, Lakoff (1973) and Leech (1983) base their understanding of politeness on pragmatic rules or principles. Brown & Levinson (1978, 1987) can also be argued to account for norms when we consider the estimation of the weightiness of the face-threatening act 'x', which is, among other factors, based on the relative ranking of the imposition. In contrast to the discursive approach, they speak of such norms on a much more global or even universal level, rather than on a practice-based level. However, Fraser (1990: 233) proposed to speak of a conversational contract that participants enter when engaging in interaction.

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[4]   For this purpose, the notion of Community of Practice as used by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992) in their research in sociolinguistics is helpful.

[5]   For earlier approaches, see Bateson (1954) and Goffman (1974, 1981) and consult, for example, Escandell-Vidal (1996) or Tannen (1993) for an overview of different terminology.

He maintains that there are sets of rights and obligations, one of which is "imposed by the social institutions applicable to the interaction" (Fraser, 1990: 232)[6]. In fact, much of the recent work on politeness and impoliteness recognizes the importance of *practice*-based norms (cf. e.g. Bousfield & Locher, 2008). There thus seems to be a trend towards recognizing variation in relational work, while the differences in approach with respect to first order and second order investigations remains to a certain extent.

2.3   Impoliteness research

It is only in the last couple of years that research interest has moved beyond the study of mitigation within relational work, and has turned to conflictual data. The study of impoliteness phenomena, however, is still somewhat neglected in linguistics. Early research was heavily influenced by Brown and Levinson's framework. Lachenicht (1980), Culpeper (1996), Kienpointner (1997), and Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann (2003) all attempted to work out analogous strategies of impolite relational work to the ones proposed for polite behavior by Brown and Levinson. Culpeper, Bousfield and Wichmann (2003), for example, speak of five 'super-strategies' (bald on record impoliteness; positive impoliteness; negative impoliteness; off-record impoliteness; withhold politeness). Bousfield (2008b) later reduces these strategies to only two – on-record impoliteness and off-record impoliteness. First order researchers such as Hutchby (2008) and Tracy (2008) highlight the need to study situated, 'grounded' practices to observe what might be deemed impoliteness. Today, we can thus see both first order and second order researchers tackling face-aggravating or face-attacking behavior, as evidenced in the edited collections *Rude Britannia* (Gorji, 2007) and *Impoliteness in Language* (Bousfield & Locher, 2008), the special issue of the *Journal of Politeness Research* (Bousfield & Culpeper, 2008) or the monograph *Impoliteness in Interaction* (Bousfield, 2008a). Bousfield & Culpeper (2008: 163) maintain that, while there is a rapprochement of the first and second order approaches (Locher & Bousfield, 2008: 7), there is still considerable disagreement about the basics. They list the following issues in need of clarification (Bousfield & Culpeper, 2008: 163):

1.   How to label the phenomenon under scrutiny

2.   The ontological status of impoliteness and the implications of this

3.   The role of intention

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[6]   Fraser (1990: 232) speaks of three sets of rights and obligations: a conventional and seldom negotiated set (e.g. the rules of turn-taking); one that is "imposed by the social institutions applicable to the interaction", and which is also seldom negotiated; and the third is "determined by previous encounters or the particulars of the situation" and is hence variable. (cf. Locher, 2004: 70-72)

4.   How to analyze the language and contexts that constitute impoliteness

In what follows, we will highlight the problem of intention and will add considerations about the role of an affective stance or emotions towards relational work.

3.   Relational work, intentions and emotions

With respect to assigning intentions to interactants in relation to their linguistic output, we are faced with first order and second order distinctions once more. Brown and Levinson (1987: 58), for example, speak of a 'model person', who acts rationally and thinks strategically about his or her language choices. In the same way, it is argued that addressees recognize linguistic output as having been motivated by such rational and strategic considerations. Once we move to *judgments* on relational work in a discursive framework, however, assigning intentions appears to become less straightforward. In fact, even researchers who favor a second order approach, struggle in their attempt to establish to what extent and in what ways intentions play a role in the study of impoliteness and rudeness. Bousfield (2008b: 132) takes "impoliteness as constituting the issuing of *intentionally* gratuitous and conflictive face-threatening acts (FTAs) that are purposefully performed" (emphasis added). Culpeper (2008: 36) also assigns importance to intentions in his definition of impoliteness: "Impoliteness, as I would define it, involves communicative behaviour *intending* to cause the 'face loss' of a target or perceived by the target to be so" (emphasis added). In contrast, Terkourafi (2008: 70) hypothesizes that the recognition of intentions by addressees is linked to rudeness rather than to impoliteness:

- *marked rudeness* or *rudeness proper* occurs when the expression used is not conventionalised relative to the context of occurrence; following recognition of the speaker's face-threatening intention by the hearer, marked rudeness threatens the addressee's face (and, through that, the speaker's face in the addressee's eyes – although it may also constitute it in the eyes of another participant, including the speaker him/herself); when over-politeness leads to rudeness proper it threatens the speaker's face;

- *impoliteness* occurs when the expression used is not conventionalised relative to the context of occurrence; it threatens the addressee's face (and, through that, the speaker's face) but *no face-threatening intention* is attributed to the speaker by the hearer. (Terkourafi, 2008: 70, emphasis added)

These definitions differ from the approach by Brown and Levinson in that the researchers claim that it matters whether the interpreters of an utterance assign intentionality to the speakers in order to arrive at a relational work judgment such as 'rudeness' or 'impoliteness', rather than arguing that

interactants always act intentionally per se[7]. This thus constitutes a move towards a first order understanding of terms such as 'impoliteness' or 'rudeness'.

In Locher & Watts (2008), we stress Lachenicht's (1980: 619-620) argument that "[i]f the purpose of aggravation is to hurt, then means must be chosen that *will* hurt" (emphasis in original). In other words, interactants must be aware of the relative norms of a particular practice in order to adjust the relational work accordingly. However, we also mention that

> [a] speaker may wish to be aggressive and hurtful, but still not come across as such to the hearer. Alternatively, a hearer may interpret the speaker's utterance as negatively marked with respect to appropriate behaviour, while the speaker did not intentionally wish to appear as such. In a first order approach to impoliteness, it is the interactants' *perceptions* of communicators' intentions rather than the intentions themselves that determine whether a communicative act is taken to be impolite or not. (Locher & Watts, 2008: 80)

We thus stress the interactive quality of communication and its unfolding dynamics. The jury is still out on the role of intentions both with respect to its theoretical status in relational work theories as such and its connection to particular lexical items – in other words, whether 'rudeness' or 'impoliteness' indeed differ with respect to whether or not people assign intentions to the speakers, as posited by Bousfield, Culpeper and Terkourafi quoted above[8]. What we are left with then is, as Hutchby (2008: 238) argues, the possibility to focus on "occasions when participants themselves display an orientation to actions as impolite". We can thus, for example, focus on the meta-comments in which interactants refer to relational work that did not meet the norms of appropriateness of a particular practice (see section 4).

The final theoretical issue that shall be tackled in this paper is the role of emotions in the creation and interpretation of relational work. Brown and Levinson do not give emotions much room in their framework, but they mention 'affect' or 'liking' in their preface to the 1987 edition (p. 16) and call for further research on its connection to the distance variable. They also claim that explicit "expressions of strong (negative) emotions towards H – e.g. hatred, anger, lust (S indicated possible motivation for harming H or H's goods)" or "expressions of violent (out-of-control) emotions (S gives H possible reason to fear him or be embarrassed by him)" are intrinsic face-threatening acts (Brown & Levinson, 1987: 66). Indeed many of the acts that

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[7]   Brown and Levinson's framework is generally more sender / speaker than addressee / interpreter oriented (cf. e.g. Schulze, 1985; Werkhofer, 1992).

[8]   In fact, some people do not seem to make a difference between the lexemes 'rude' and 'impolite', as evidenced in the not to be neglected number of instances on the Web where they are used interchangeably or even in combination: 'rude and impolite' (cf. Locher, under review).

they list are at least emotionally charged, such as disapproval, challenges, criticism, contempt, ridicule, irreverence, but also compliments, or praise, etc.

While some researchers such as Culpeper (2007) and Kienpointner[9] (2008) have mentioned the importance of emotions, Spencer-Oatey (2005) seems to be the politeness researcher who stresses emotions most in her framework of rapport management as she explicitly links the linguistic considerations to a psychological background. In order to show how she does this, her framework will be very briefly introduced.

Spencer-Oatey (2005) argues that

> [r]apport refers to the relative harmony and smoothness of relations between people, and *rapport management* refers to the management (or mismanagement) of relations between people. (Spencer-Oatey, 2005: 96; author's emphasis)

Rapport management is thus closely related to relational work, and we would posit that the terms can be used interchangeably[10] (cf. Locher, 2008 for a comparison). Both terms refer to behavior that is not only face-enhancing, but can also be face-maintaining, or face-damaging (cf. Spencer-Oatey, 2005: 96). Like the discursive approach to relational work, Spencer-Oatey is also interested in perceptions and judgments by interactants on relational work. She argues that there are three key elements at the basis of such judgments: "behavioural expectations, face sensitivities and interactional wants" (Spencer-Oatey, 2005: 96). The behavioral expectations can be linked to the notion of *frame* previously discussed and stem from the interactants' beliefs about "what is prescribed, what is permitted and what is proscribed" in a particular social practice (2005: 97). 'Interactional wants' refer to the local goals that emerge in interaction and that are negotiated on the spot, while 'face sensitivities' can be related to the rights and obligations that a person expects to be granted/given in a particular practice.

With respect to this latter complex, we should not see face as static, but as emerging in interaction (cf. Goffman's notion of face, as discussed in Locher, 2008). In this way, the concept of face can be linked to identity – a notion that is in turn understood as dynamic and constructed rather then pre-determined (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005), since we can speak of many different faces that interactants negotiate in interaction. What we find, then, is an intricate interweaving of social dynamics: people judge relational work with respect to social norms, including expectations about rights and obligations that are

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[9]   Kienpointener (2008: 246) argues that "apart from factors such as power, distance and rank of imposition, the emotional relationship between the interlocutors, too, plays a decisive role, influencing the cooperative or competitive climate of the ongoing interaction. This has rightly been stressed by Watts (2003: 96-97)".

[10]   Spencer-Oatey (2007: 647) has a different view on this.

claimed by individuals in particular practices. The final step in this reasoning is to claim that it matters to people on an emotional level whether their attempts at identity construction are approved of or not. Spencer-Oatey succinctly (2007) describes this connection between face and emotions as follows:

> [F]ace is associated with affective sensitivity. Goffman (1967), Brown & Levinson (1978/1987) and many other face theorists all agree that face is a vulnerable phenomenon, and hence associated with emotional reactions. Goffman (1967: 6) explains it as follows: "If the encounter sustains an image of him that he has long taken for granted, he probably will have few feelings about the matter. If events establish a face for him that is better than he might have expected, he is likely to 'feel good'; if his ordinary expectations are not fulfilled, one expects that he will 'feel bad' or 'feel hurt'. (Spencer-Oatey, 2007: 644)

Such considerations are at the heart of comments made on the markedness of relational work. In Locher and Watts (2005) a line of argumentation is pursued, originally initiated by Watts (e.g., 1989, 1992), which claims that people judge social behavior positively, negatively or neutrally with respect to appropriateness. It was then claimed that positively marked relational work could be interpreted as, for example, 'polite' (face-enhancing), while negatively marked relational work might be labeled 'impolite' (face-challenging or face-damaging). This argument is in line with research on emotions in the field of Discursive Psychology (for a concise overview see Edwards, 2005). For instance, Edwards (1997) claims that

> Emotion discourse is an integral feature of talk about events, mental states, mind and body, personal dispositions, and social relations. [...] Emotion categories are used in assigning causes and motives to actions, in blamings, excuses, and accounts. (Edwards, 1997: 170)

In Locher & Watts (2005) it was also argued that there is relational work that is appropriate to a particular practice but not marked as such (face-maintaining, politic). These values are indeed to be understood with emotional reactions in mind, as outlined in Spencer-Oatey's description quoted above. Examples of such emotional reactions can be listed as follows:

Emotional reactions (own and other)

Joy	contentment/pleasure
	pride
Surprise	surprise/amazement
Anger	irritation/annoyance
	frustration
	disgust/disapproval
Sadness	disappointment/displeasure
	shame/guilt
	embarrassment/insult/humilitation

(from "Fig. 3. The Base of Dynamic Perceptions of Rapport", (Spencer-Oatey, 2005: 116))

From Damasio's (1994, 1999, 2004) neuropsychological perspective, emotional reactions must be seen as:

> [...] bioregulatory reactions that aim at promoting, directly or indirectly, the sort of physiological states that secure not just survival but survival regulated into the range that we, conscious and thinking creatures, identify with well-being. (Damasio, 2004: 50)

Thus emotions are internally represented value categories that can be perceived subjectively and expressed to interactants. Having a primarily evaluative function, emotional categories allow human beings to define their subjective relationship to their world of experience including their social environments. In line with Schwarz-Friesel (2007: 67), emotions help us (1) to position ourselves to other people, objects, states, and events (e.g., love, hate, envy, jealousy, sympathy, empathy), (2) to evaluate our proprioceptively perceived selves (e.g., shame, regret, pride), (3) to react to situational factors (e.g., happiness, anger, mourning), and (4) to determine our orientation towards and our engagement with our world (e.g., fear, panic, lust). All of these dimensions also play a quintessential role with regard to relational work: the display of emotional states allows the interactants to signal their evaluation of both the transactional state of the shared practice as well as the ongoing linguistic negotiation of their social relationship. Thus, since the concept of 'face' is directly linked to an evaluative classification, the (linguistic) expression, description and negation of face needs through relational work strategies must be tightly coupled with emotional display. Thus, face-enhancing strategies or face-challenging / damaging FTAs must be coupled with (the expression of) emotions that support the feeling of being accepted or not (e.g., love, hate, happiness, shame, pride), while face-challenging and face-damaging expressions are very likely to be associated with emotions that evaluate one's engagement with the world as being thwarted (e.g. anger, envy, jealousy). Accordingly, it is to be expected that first order judgments such as 'polite' or 'rude' can predominantly be linked to particular emotional reactions (other than merely stating that they are negative or positive), but this link still needs to be empirically explored. As a potential starting point, we see fruitful – but so far underexplored – links between relational work, impoliteness research in particular, and research on emotions in the field of conflict communication (e.g., Guerrero & La Valley, 2006; Jones, 2000). Alternative interdisciplinary research perspectives are pointed to by Metts & Planalp (2002): they see links between linguistics and philosophy, which also recognizes that emotions are a source of values (344), history, which investigates the changing ways of communicating emotions over time (344), and sociology, which places shame "at the crux of micro- and macroprocesses in social control and conformity" (345).

In actual communication, emotions can be expressed on three levels: (1) perceptible bodily symptoms such as sweating, blushing, turning pale,

(2) non-verbal expressions such as facial expressions or gestures, and (3) verbally through intonation, interjections, emotion words, style differences, expressive speech acts, etc. (cf. Schwarz-Friesel, 2007, Ch. 5). From the perspective of first order research, these forms of emotional expression cannot be assumed to be universally and statically coupled with politeness judgments[11]. Rather these associations are in flux and bound to the concrete discursive environments in which they occur. Concrete emotional display and meta-comments on social and emotional behavior in actual discourse, e.g. conflict communication, allow us to connect emotional reactions with the socio-communicative contexts and practices in which they are embedded. Similar to this argument, Metts & Planalp (2002) posit that

> [e]motional meaning of messages is a flexible substance that is shaped and negotiated in the moment (the proximal context) and yet built from resources developed by the participants through their experiences, predispositions, and cultures (the distal context). (Metts & Planalp, 2002: 361)

We can thus establish a link between the cognitive concept 'frame', established in practices, and the dynamic and interactive concepts of face and emotion. Indeed, the codification and expression of emotions is subject to cultural and social conventions and norms, which Ekman & Friesen (1975) and Ekman (1978) call *display rules*. Depending on socio-cultural context and practice, interactants are expected to *intensify, deintensify, simulate, inhibit*, or *mask* their emotions in order to behave according to the norms of appropriate relational behavior. With regard to frames, display rules are thus coupled with emotional expectations linked to specific parts of the frame. Thus the close association between display rules and expectations about appropriate relational work seems obvious. Culture-specific and practice-specific norms can become explicit in proverbs or sayings such as *Boys don't cry!* or they can be bound to more implicit norms; for instance, we expect familiar people to smile or be happy when they greet us or to show some level of regret when we are leaving. So to survive in orderly and face-maintaining or face-enhancing social environments we rely on people to control their emotions according the expectations of the practice. Otherwise we would not have reason to ban hooligans from football stadiums because they do not conform to the acceptable intensity of emotional display and behavior.

The association of display rules with frames and corresponding expectations of relational work makes it possible to take up again the notion of *intention* in

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[11]   Research on emotions in the field of behavioral anthropology suggests a complex interaction of both universal and highly culture-specific determinants (for a recent overview see Ekman, 2003). Ekman's studies show that facial expressions for basic emotions, including anger, fear, surprise, disgust, happiness, and sadness, are universally recognized by members of different cultures or even produced by congenitally blind people. However, Ekman (1978) also shows that the display of emotions is often subject to culture specific rules.

politeness research. Just as Lachenicht (1980: 619-620) points out that you have to know the norms of a practice to exploit them, display rules equally invite speakers to intentionally play with, expand or violate these rules strategically to create purpose-driven *emotional* effects that have a direct impact on the definition of the interactants' social relationship, including their context-specific definition of face and identity. For instance, flight attendants are trained to smile happily even in stressful situations to construct the image of extraordinarily friendly service. This is what Hochschild (1983) calls *emotional labor*. To interpret Hochschild's analysis from the perspective of politeness research, emotional labor thus consists in stretching display rules for the expression of happiness and sympathy in the context of service practices. The intention of this exaggerated display of happiness is to create face-enhancing effects with the customers.

In short, while a discussion of 'emotion' has so far not had center stage in politeness research[12], we can nevertheless establish quite an obvious connection between the two by linking the notion of face and identity construction with judgments on a person's rights and obligations in a particular practice.

4.   Discussion of examples

In what follows we will revisit two examples of naturally occurring conflictual data from Locher (2004) that were previously discussed in relation to the exercise of power and its potential co-occurrence with politeness manifestations. In the following analysis, however, the emphasis is placed on the breaking of norms of a practice and the emotional reactions this triggers. Methodologically, we identify such instances in the meta-comments made by the participants themselves as well as their explicit display of emotion through tone of voice. In doing so, we wish to demonstrate the link between the cognitive and emotional dimension of violating discursive expectations. The first example is taken from a dinner among family and friends, while the second example stems from a publicly broadcasted radio interview of President Clinton and Amy Goodman. In the third example, we will reflect on the use of emotionally charged verbs in a number of email service agreements found on the World Wide Web, which open a window into the explicit articulation of norms of emotional conduct.

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[12]   The study of the connection of language and emotion is not new to linguistics (e.g. Bamberg, 1997; Niemeyer & Dirven, 1997; Metts & Planalp, 2002), but fairly new to the field of im/politeness research.

4.1   Fending off lasting damage: Insecurity about the seriousness of face-threatening acts

'The Argument' is a sequence of 14 minutes during a dinner conversation among family and friends taped by one of the authors (Locher) in the late 1990s in Philadelphia, USA. There are seven people around the dining table:

Anne (host):	40 years old, married to John, designer
John (host):	44 years old, married to Anne, Roy is his cousin, engineer
Debbie (host):	15 years old, John and Anne's daughter
Roy (guest):	64 years old, university professor
Kate (guest):	62 years old, his wife, musician
Steven (guest):	39 years old, an MD, Kate is his aunt
Miriam (guest):	25 years old, friend with everyone, linguist

The topic of the sequence entitled 'The Argument' concerns the high tuition fees of some US universities. Positions pro (Roy) and contra (Steven, Kate, Miriam, Anne) such fees are taken up by the participants (Debbie's and John's positions do not become clear). A more heated phase within 'The Argument' starts when Roy reports a study on twins in which earning power was compared. Roy and Steven are the main contributors during this episode. Roy presents this study in such a way that a heated argument occurs about its validity and results. Roy also particularly chooses to address Steven as his main contender and commits several face-threatening acts towards him (for example, claiming that Steven is prejudiced). In Locher (2004) I studied how the interactants express their agreement and disagreement and exercise power over each other. What we want to focus on here are Kate's comments on this episode, which occurred at a later stage during the dinner (cf. Locher, 2004: 203-206):

(1) Reflections on "The Argument" (Locher, 2004: 204)

1	Anne:	^no I will not touch ^anything.	((REFERENCE TO DOING THE DISHES))
2		I 'want to enjoy your ^company.	
3		^please don't give me a hard 'time,	
4		and [stay as <X XX X>.]	
5	Kate:	[you've ^you've enjoyed] ^fights,	((ADDRESSES MIRIAM))
6		.. you've enjoyed,	
7		.. ^boy you've got your 'dose tonight.	((REF. TO RECORDING))
8		.. we we 'apologize Steven.	
9	....		((LONG PAUSE))
10	Kate:	wha-	
11		the -	
12		that was the the --	
13	Steven:	for what?	
14	Kate:	^well you--	
15		.. look at the ^horns,	
16		and ^his 'horns,	
17		you ^locked,	
18		.. it was 'very ^dramatic.	
19	Steven:	uh it was a lot of fun.	
20	Kate:	'two ^males,	
21		^kind of fun isn't it?	

```
22    ....                                                      ((LONG PAUSE))
23    Roy:        grrr.                                 ((GROWLING LIKE A DOG))
24    Kate:       and I don't [see any] any horns on the ground.
25    Miriam:                  [@@]
26    Kate:       you know,
27                there is no --
28                there is no ^disaster.
29                I watch the ^animals on the discovery channel,
30                and I get such a ^kick out of it.
31    Steven:     so does my ^cat.
```

In Locher (2004) I describe that I had felt insecure about the seriousness of the committed face-threatening acts during 'The Argument' – a fact that I did not explicitly comment on during the interaction[13]. However, that the episode was marked within the overall sociable and enjoyable evening was explicitly confirmed by Kate (l.5-8), who refers to my taping the event when she mentions "fights", claims that "^boy you've got your 'dose tonight" and then apologizes to Steven. Interestingly enough Kate apologizes although it was her husband, who was the main antagonist (l.8). I argued that this constitutes marked relational work since the apology comes much later in the evening, when 'The Argument' itself has faded in the background and thus gives it center stage once more, and since Kate includes her husband in this act. In other words, we witness an attempt at making sure that the good social relations between the participants are reinstituted before the party breaks up. In the continuation of the example, Steven is reluctant to refer back to 'The Argument' as problematic by not taking up the apology at first (l.9) and then asking 'for what' (l.13). Finally, he 'reframes' the episode as 'a lot of fun' (l.19). Roy seems to confirm this when he takes up Kate's analogy to the animal kingdom and 'growls' at Steven in a humorous way (l.23). This jocular analogy is interesting in itself because it tries to capture a transgression of emotional display during the argument. The metaphorical allusion to 'his horns' and the animalistic growling in reaction can thus be read as after-the-fact meta-comments on emotional display: 'for a short time we behaved beyond the norm of appropriate emotional expression; we were too aggressive; a bit like ferocious animals'.

With respect to emotions we have evidence that Kate perceived 'The Argument' as problematic as shown in her subsequent meta-comments in extract (1). Her attempt at ensuring a balance in the social ties between the protagonists, points to the breaking of a comfort zone with respect to the norms of this social practice of family and friends. Kate's interpretation was shared by me when experiencing 'The Argument', and also by Anne, who had

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[13]   We would like to point out that this is one of the cases where discourse-analytical methods, which focus on the displayed signals only, fall short of accounting for internal cognitive and emotion states of interactors because they were not displayed by the participant.

engaged in acts of face-repair during 'The Argument', while Steven and Roy engaged with gusto in their verbal competition.

4.2 Irritation and anger in a political interview

The second example, also discussed in detail in Locher (2004), is taken from a radio interview that President Clinton gave to Amy Goodman of the broadcast 'Democracy Now!' on Radio Pacifica in 2000. The interview is of interest in so far as President Clinton lost his temper during the broadcast and displayed irritation and anger in his meta-comments and tone of voice. He had called the critical and independent radio station himself to encourage the listeners to go and vote as it was the day of the presidential election (November 7). While President Clinton had intended to spend a mere two minutes on the show, he found himself in the midst of a political interview of 30 minutes when Amy Goodman and the co-host Gonzalo Aburto kept addressing critical and challenging questions to the parting president (Democracy Now! 2000). These questions[14] were placed in such a way during the interview that President Clinton could not terminate the phone-call without giving the impression of dodging the questions – an impression he tried to avoid since the purpose of the call was to persuade the radio audience to go and cast their votes for the candidates of the Democrats[15]. While he was well-inclined to answer initially, he became more and more irritated during the interview, since, in an enormous tour de force, the topics raised ranged from the role of corporations in politics, Leonard Peltier, the death penalty, Latino interests, Puerto Rico, undocumented workers ('trabajadores indocumentados'), Iraq, Cuba, China, Israel, Palestine, whether Ralph Nader had had an influence on the Democrats having swerved to the political right and the highest population of prisoners in the industrialized world to racial profiling. Extract (2) occurs towards the end of the interview when President Clinton answered a question on whether he had taken his party to the political right. He responded by asking "What is the measure of taking the Democratic Party to the right?" and then enlisted a number of points on which the Clinton administration had been successful.

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[14] Here the term 'questions' does not only refer to 'questions' making use of the typical syntactic form of a question, but also to the first pair part of an adjacency pair which invited President Clinton to respond (cf. Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991: 98). While Goodman uses syntactic questions, she also makes use of statements of a challenging nature to engage President Clinton.

[15] The candidates were Al Gore for President, Joe Liebermann for Vice-President and Hillary Clinton for Senator of New York.

(2) Clinton's annoyed comments on violated expectations (Locher, 2004: 298-299)

```
1       Clinton:     ((CONT.))
2                    that the ^schools in this country that the ^test scores among--
3                    since 'we have required ^all the schools to have basic=
4                    =^standards,
5                    ^test scores among ^African Americans and other minorities=
6                    =have ^gone ^up ^steadily?
7       Goodman:     <A can I say what [^some people--A>]
8       Clinton:                       *[<A now what] now 'let me just finish. A>
9       Goodman:     <A ^let me just  [[say-- A>]]                              *((ANNOYED))
10      Clinton:                      [[<A now ^let me--A>]]
11                   <A now ^wait a minute ^you ^started this and ^every question=
12                   =you've 'asked has been ^hostile and ^combative so ^you=
13                   ='listen to my ^answer will you ^do that? A>       ((C. VERY ANNOYED))
14      Goodman:     they've been [^critical.]
15      Clinton:                  [now now ^you] just ^listen to me.
16                   ^you ask the question and I'm going to ^answer.
17                   .. you have 'asked,
18                   ^questions in a ^hostile ^combative and even ^disrespectful
19                   =tone but I--
20                   and you have ^never been able to combat the ^facts I have=
21                   =given you now you ^listen to this.
22                   the ^other thing Ralph Nader says is that,            ((END))
23                   you know ^he's pure as Caesar's,
24                   ^wife on the environment. ((CONT.))
```

Goodman interrupts President Clinton's list in line 7, which is immediately reacted to in an irritated tone of voice. By line 10, President Clinton has won the fight for the floor and vents his irritation by stepping out of the interview frame and turning to aggressive meta-comments on the interviewing experience. His comments demonstrate that his expectations about how such a phone interview should evolve have been violated. He claims that it was Goodman who called up the interview frame ('you started this', l.11) and reproaches her of asking in a 'hostile', 'combative' and 'even disrespectful tone' (l.12, 18-19). President Clinton even gives a blueprint of how he interprets the situation: 'you ask the question and I'm going to ^answer' (l.16). He constructs Goodman's rights and obligations as follows: She has the right to ask questions, but the duties to do this in a respectful way and to listen to the answers without interrupting. President Clinton then continues answering and the interview finishes shortly after.

This interview is exceptional since its frame was not pre-determined. Instead, it was originally triggered by an unannounced call from the President to the radio station. We have evidence in President Clinton's reaction, though, that he likened what evolved to a political interview in which certain rights and obligations are traditionally given to the interviewer and the interviewee (cf. e.g. Clayman & Heritage, 2002a; Greatbatch, 1988, 1992; Heritage & Greatbatch, 1991; Jucker, 1986, 2005; Locher & Watts, 2008; Thornborrow, 2001). As just outlined, President Clinton explicitly lists these rights and obligations and at the same time complains that the interviewers have not granted him his rights. He seems to interpret this as an attack on his person

and reacts negatively in an emotional way. The example thus nicely illustrates how face challenging acts are coupled with strong emotional reactions. According to Clinton's interpretation, this particular interview is deviating from the norm, which threatens his freedom of expression and challenges his self-image. His evaluative reaction to this unfavorable context is therefore driven by a direct and spontaneous display of emotion: he is annoyed, angry, and becomes aggressive himself. Emotional display thus provides a powerful scaffolding to managing, negotiating, and protecting his face at a stage where the practice escalates, at least in his eyes.

Interestingly, Amy Goodman also seems to orient herself to the interview frame, since she keeps asking questions in order to make the most of the President's phone call for her audience. However, she argues that her questions were 'critical' (l.14) rather than 'disrespectful'. We thus see two points of view on the same relational work, with Goodman having the greater tolerance for adversarialness[16]. In fact, she might consider it her obligation as a journalist at Radio Pacifica towards her audience to be as critical as she is. To echo Damasio's quotation above, Clinton's associations with 'well-being' in the interview are different and therefore lead to a discrepant emotional evaluation.

4.3   Codes of conduct on email service agreements

To complement these interactions based analyses, we will reflect on the use of emotionally charged verbs in a number of email service agreements found on the World Wide Web. These Netiquette statements address norms of emotional display explicitly and thus represent an attempt at institutionalizing frames of conduct. Therefore, they make it possible to gain direct insight into the assumed link between emotion, cognition, and relational work.

Email received much attention in the early stages of CMC research and many manuals on proper writing were published (cf. e.g. Crystal, 2006, Ch. 4). Some of these texts claim that taboo language should be avoided and there are in fact email programs that 'warn' writers when they want to send off messages that contain taboo language (e.g. Eudora). This triggered the question whether email services mention taboo language nowadays in their service agreements. To study this, we will look at four email service providers.

With respect to swearwords, Jay & Janschewitz (2008: 269) point out that "[f]rom what we have observed, we argue that swearing can be polite,

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16   Clayman & Heritage (2002b) point out that adversarial questions directed at Presidents are nowadays quite common and that the overall level of deference and respect towards the Presidency has decreased over time.

impolite, or neither and it may be used with any emotional state." They especially stress the emotional aspect of using swearwords:

> Swearing is the use of taboo language with the purpose of expressing the speaker's emotional state and communicating that information to listeners [...]. In contrast to most other speech, swearing is primarily meant to convey connotative or emotional meaning; the meanings of the words themselves are primarily construed as connotative [...]. (Jay & Janschewitz, 2008: 268)

Expressing emotions openly and using taboo language on the Internet can be interpreted as an inappropriate use of language in some practices, as such usage might threaten the social balance of the interaction, while it may be the norm and expected in others. Many manuals on online interaction advise against using 'flaming' and 'impolite language' to avoid misunderstandings and being disrespectful towards the often unknown addressees (Graham, 2008: 287). However, in the general agreements on a code of conduct found when one signs up for an email service, four of the popular email providers, Hotmail, Gmail, Yahoo!, and Lycos[17], are rather vague and general in the description of language usage[18]. This is not surprising since these rules are designed to apply to email interaction at the most general level and to include all kinds of communities of users (rather than being the negotiated result of those communities). Nevertheless they provide interesting data because the presumed link between norm and emotion is explicitly articulated. For example, Hotmail has the following to say with respect to proper conduct in its code of behavior in the section on prohibited use:

(3) Hotmail's code of conduct

You will not upload, post, transmit, transfer, distribute or facilitate distribution of any content (including text, images, sound, video, data, information or software) or otherwise use the service in a way that:
-       [...]
-       incites, advocates, or expresses pornography, obscenity, vulgarity, profanity, hatred, bigotry, racism, or gratuitous violence.
-       [...]
-       threatens, stalks, defames, defrauds, degrades, victimizes or intimidates an individual or group of individuals for any reason; including on the basis of age, gender, disability, ethnicity, sexual orientation, race or religion; or incites or encourages anyone else to do so.
-       [...]

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[17]   Hotmail: Microsoft Service Agreement, http://help.live.com/help.aspx?project=tou&mkt=en-us;
        Gmail Program policies, section on 'Prohibited actions':
                http://mail.google.com/mail/help/intl/en/program_policies.html
        Yahoo!: Terms of Service, section on 'Member conduct':
                http://info.yahoo.com/legal/us/yahoo/utos/utos-173.html
        Lycos Mail Terms of Service, section on 'Member and User Conduct':
                http://info.lycos.com/tos-mail.php

[18]   My thanks for the idea to compare these sites go to Christine Tobisch, who wrote a seminar paper on Netiquette in 2008 at the University of Berne.

As we can see, these guidelines are not restricted to text alone, but include other modes of communication as well. Taboo language per se is not mentioned but the reader is left to imagine that some of the topics raised could be expressed by means of taboo language. In other words the terms of agreement refer to the *content* of a message rather than to its linguistic realization. The same observation is also valid for Gmail, Yahoo! and Lycos:

(4) Gmail Program policies, section on 'Prohibited actions'

In addition to (and/or as some examples of) the violations described in Section 3 of the Terms of Use, users may not:
- [...]
- Send, upload, distribute or disseminate or offer to do the same with respect to any unlawful, defamatory, harassing, abusive, fraudulent, infringing, obscene, or otherwise objectionable content

(5) Yahoo!: Terms of Service, section on 'Member conduct':

You agree to not use the Service to:
a. upload, post, email, transmit or otherwise make available any Content that is unlawful, harmful, threatening, abusive, harassing, tortious, defamatory, vulgar, obscene, libelous, invasive of another's privacy, hateful, or racially, ethnically or otherwise objectionable;

(6) Lycos Mail Terms of Service, section on 'Member and User Conduct':

In addition to the Prohibited Conduct listed in Section 6 of the General Terms and Conditions, you agree that you will not use the Service to
[...]
3b. Send, upload, distribute or disseminate or offer to do the same with respect to any unlawful, defamatory, harassing, abusive, fraudulent, infringing, obscene, or otherwise objectionable content

The degree to which the chosen words are charged with negative emotions is immediately striking. Serious face-threatening acts are committed when one interactant "threatens, stalks, defames, defrauds, degrades, victimizes or intimidates" another person. These acts clearly threaten the social balance and attack a person's identity to a large extent. The fact that these issues have to be put down in writing points to their potential occurrence, though, and warns new users of the service about being careful to respect the rights of other members, if they wish to avoid evoking the negative evaluations triggered by the offences. In other words, they are warnings against breaking emotional display rules. Indeed the game of *trolling*, i.e., the conscious and intentional act of starting an online conflict – also known as a *flame war* (cf. Wood & Smith, 2005: 135) –, has the one and only purpose of triggering very strong and aggressive emotional reactions in the attacked victims. Flame wars therefore constitute a perfect example of the strategic violation of emotional display rules and their close association with expectations of appropriate behavior, in this case Netiquette (cf. Baker, 2001; Du Val Smith, 1999; Reid, 1999).

What is also striking is the similarity of the vocabulary employed in the codes of conduct of the four email services. In fact, if you google the Yahoo! paragraph quoted above in string form (33 words), you get 159,000 hits alone, which points to the fact that this wording is routinely used in legal texts on service agreements. We are of course dealing with legal reminders here rather than with member's compilations of codes of conduct usually associated with Netiquettes of particular practices per se. It would be of interest to see whether the Netiquettes of mailing lists, in which groups of people negotiate norms of conduct create their own wording or whether they also rely on each others' phrasing of rules to a large extent. Thus, with reference to our previous examples, it would be fruitful to study how online communities refer to and negotiate such rules of conduct in actual CMC interactions. We can easily find both instances of meta-comments on relational work given by the interactants themselves by doing lexical searches for judgments (e.g. 'polite', 'rude', 'impolite') and we can study how practices emerge and how norms are negotiated (cf. e.g. Graham, 2007, 2008 on the emergence and negotiation of norms in a mailing list). Computer-mediated communication (CMC) thus constitutes a fascinating area for researchers interested in interpersonal pragmatics (cf. Locher, under review, on the negotiation of conflict on a message board).

5.   Conclusion and further research

The selection of examples discussed was not chosen with the intent of claiming that emotions occur in naturally occurring interaction – this would be too obvious a point. What we hope to have shown, however, is that emotions play a role in judgments on relational work and how we can tie this finding in with the existing literature from politeness research. In other words, if we speak of perceptions and judgments on behavior in relation to the norms inherent in a particular social practice, it is significant to realize that it is the *individuals* who claim these rights and obligations in analogy to their past experiences. These interactants tie these rights and obligations to their own person, i.e. to their face and identity, which makes them vulnerable. While many interactants will neither comment on their emotions directly nor immediately reference relational work with labels such as 'refined', 'rude' or 'disrespectful', sometimes we get the chance to witness interactants expressing their emotions and their judgments on relational work explicitly in meta-comments on interaction. We argue that these comments can function like windows into the fabric of social norms, so that researchers can get a glimpse at what people construct as breakings of frames. We suggest that this is taken as a starting point to further explore the interface of relational work and emotion with regard to the following theoretical and methodological issues:

- What forms of emotional display are there in language and interaction?

- What is emotional meaning? Is emotional display always coupled with relational meaning?

- Where and when does emotional display occur in discourse and when and why is there no explicit display of emotions?

- What challenges does this create for discourse analytical methodology?

- Is it necessary to integrate discursive approaches with psychological paradigms?

Despite the fact that this paper has maybe raised more questions than it has answered, we hope to have demonstrated that the discursive approach to politeness, which can be enlarged to the study of relational work in general, will also have to tackle questions pertaining to emotions and that the interface of the study of cognition, interaction and emotion still holds many exciting questions for us to answer in the future.

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Appendix

Transcription conventions

The following conventions have been adapted from Du Bois *et al.* (1992):

.,?	A period is used to indicate a falling intonation with a conclusion point; a comma expresses a continuing intonation; a question mark indicates a high rising terminal.
^word	A caret marks a word which carries the primary accent in an intonation unit.
'word	A raised stroke indicates a minor or secondary accent.
=	In order to show lengthening of sounds, an equals sign is used. Alternatively it is used to indicate run-on lines (see illustration below).
-	A single hyphen is used to indicate an unfinished word.
--	Two hyphens show that a whole intonation unit was left unfinished.
..	Two periods indicate a short pause (according to the author's judgment).
...	Three periods or more are used to indicate a medium or very long pause.
[word]	Square brackets indicate speech overlap. Double or triple square brackets are used to distinguish this overlap from previous ones.
@	This symbol is used to represent laughter in syllables.
X	The letter X is used to indicate either a speaker whose identity is unclear or an unintelligible syllable or word.
*	An asterisk points to further background information given in double parentheses.

The following combinations indicate that the words enclosed by the angle brackets have the quality of the additional symbol(s):

<X ... X>	Utterances marked by this are unintelligible.
<A ... A>	Allegro, rapid speech
((GULP))	Double parentheses are used to accommodate the transcriber's comments.