

## **(IM)POLITENESS IN SPANISH-SPEAKING SOCIO-CULTURAL CONTEXTS: INTRODUCTION**

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The papers collected for this special issue of *Pragmatics* continue the discussion on the phenomena of politeness in Spanish, initiated and sustained within EDICE Programme (*Estudios del Discurso de la Cortesía en Español*, ‘Studies on the Discourse of Politeness in Spanish’)<sup>1</sup>. The purpose of this collection is to provide recent research on politeness *in* and *about* Spanish to the international academic community. To meet these objectives, each paper in English is preceded by a summary written in Spanish.

Previous work published within EDICE Programme has focused on the relation between the interpretation of politeness and socio-cultural and situational contexts. Those publications have adopted a critical perspective towards the universalism present in the theoretical framework put forward by Brown and Levinson ([1978] 1987). Bravo (2004) discusses the *tension* between universalism and cultural relativism observed in the traditional theories of politeness, highlighting the importance of incorporating an extralinguistic element in the analysis. In that paper, the author argues that the study of politeness should proceed through a methodology that takes into account conditions of both dependence and independence to socio-cultural factors. As Bravo (op. cit.) explains, it is necessary to consider two types of contexts to interpret “activities of politeness”. First, the “co-textual” context, which includes networks of meaning created by those communicative resources associated to the expressions under analysis, the conditions of the exchange, the thematic progressions and even the discursive dynamics of the interlocation. Second, the “extralinguistic” and “extra-textual” context, which may be *internal* to the communicative situation (such as, for example, the activity of drinking coffee accomplished together by participants of a social encounter, and even the disposition of furniture in the location for that encounter) or *external* to it (such as the social characteristics of the interlocutors, their beliefs, worldviews, and behavioural expectations). In this volume, the author summarises her methodological proposal<sup>2</sup>, presents papers that follow the same methodology, and puts forward other authors with related methodological designs.

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<sup>1</sup> EDICE Programme aims at bringing together scholars from Spanish departments and research centers located both in Spanish-speaking countries and outside the Spanish-speaking world. EDICE Programme’s main objectives are (1) to study polite behavior in Spanish, (2) to account for the various socio-cultural contexts underlying that behavior, (3) to carry out contrastive analyses between Spanish and other European languages, as well as between different varieties of Spanish, (4) to study differences in polite behaviors in relation to more general and permanent social roles adopted by participants in interaction, (5) to study differences in polite behavior emerging from situational roles played by the participants and which depend on the kind of social activity they are engaged in, (6) to contribute to the development of theoretical models in the research area.

<sup>2</sup> See also Bravo (1999).

According to Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2004), politeness is both a *universal* phenomenon when aiming at securing “social harmony” and a *non-universal* one in its forms and conditions of use. This author suggests making some adjustments to Brown and Levinson’s model (op. cit.) by introducing the concept of *face flattering act*<sup>3</sup>, as opposed to *face threatening act*. The former concept is fundamental for Brown and Levinson’s theory and in direct relation to what these authors have identified as “negative politeness”. The distinction between face flattering and face threatening acts has been very important for the analysis of Peninsular Spanish conducted within EDICE Programme, as many expressions of politeness for this linguistic variety are mainly related to face flattering acts and not to negative politeness.

Spencer-Oatey (2003), in addition, considers that Brown and Levinson’s model assumes a pragmalinguistic perspective that focuses on studying language use in different contexts, as opposed to a sociopragmatic perspective that studies social motivations and communicative objectives so as focus on the production and interpretation of linguistic expressions. As a consequence of its pragmalinguistic orientation, Brown and Levinson’s model would be susceptible of favouring “ethnocentric” interpretations of politeness (2003: 86-87).

### **Politeness as a pragmatic and socio-cultural phenomenon**

The researchers at EDICE Programme have identified the phenomenon of politeness as a pragmatic and a socio-cultural one, something that refers back to the concepts of *context of the user* and *speech community* (Hymes 1961, 1964, 1972). Bravo (2005) stresses that, contrary to anthropological and ethnolinguistic studies<sup>4</sup>, EDICE Programme does not study the social reality of language users, but it takes that reality as an extralinguistic context to interpret communicative choices. In addition, it does not adhere to a sociopragmatic perspective as described by Spencer-Oatey (op. cit.), where the analyst considers the language users’ expectations as the starting point of the study to proceed subsequently to the analysis of speech expressions. In fact, EDICE Programme recognises, following Fairclough (1992), that a communicative situation is a “social practice” and that making a sociopragmatic analysis according to Spencer-Oatey (op. cit.) increases the analyst’s shared knowledge with language users. However, one important methodological difference is that researchers at EDICE Programme usually take the analysis of the corpus itself as the starting point for their studies, with tools traditionally provided by disciplines related to discourse analysis. These researchers are constantly establishing interrelations between linguistic production and extralinguistic contexts through parallel corroborations based on hypothesis emerging from the analysis. Bravo (in this volume) provides a more detailed explanation of this methodology, specially those concerning what the author identifies as “socio-cultural hypothesis”, while Bolívar (in this volume) describes a similar methodology using “tests of social habits”, one data gathering method that has been used in several other studies within EDICE Programme.

It is worth mentioning that EDICE Programme assumes a socio-cultural pragmatic perspective not as a means of studying language users (how they conceive interpersonal relationships or which communicative objectives they have in a given

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<sup>3</sup> “Enhancing politeness” (Bernal 2007).

<sup>4</sup> See Duranti (1992).

situation), but as a way of describing different linguistic expressions in a given language variety. Expressions may be “textual constructions” with a given semantics that responds to a network of meanings found both *in* and *out* the text itself and its linguistic resources. The model for these textual constructions is *dialogue* and, as a consequence, *interaction*, understood as an interlocutive process. In this process, an utterance starts to be produced in the mind of a language user while he or she interacts virtually with a “social” interlocutor (Voloshinov [1929] 1992). It follows that the dialogic model would reflect any type of communicative production, such as face-to-face interaction or any other type of written or oral discourse.

The purpose of including “discourse of politeness” as part of the denomination for EDICE Programme is conveying the idea of an internal and external coherent text in which the intersection between language and society is manifest. Discourse is defined as a set of utterances produced by the interdependence of communicative resources making up a “text” in the sense of being co-textually and contextually “constructed” and, more specifically for the research interests at EDICE Programme to a particular type of textual modality that communicates objectives of politeness. For example, a study can identify a “discourse of negotiation” in certain speech acts that characterises that discourse (such as *offers* and *counter-offers*<sup>5</sup>), but at the same time this study can also make a reference to a “discourse of politeness” made evident thanks to the identification of different activities that an analyst may refer to as “polite”<sup>6</sup>. The discourse of politeness “lives together” in an “unmarked form” with other types of discourses, being a part of them. A discourse of politeness can be confirmed by opposition to other discourses, by absence of them, or by situational cues. Based on the construction of these discourses through speakers’ daily social practices, communicative styles are projected to an extralinguistic plane. In this way, I argue, the process of mutual interdependence between language and society is accomplished.

### **Review of traditional theories and an alternative proposal for the study of politeness in Spanish**

From the starting point discussed above, EDICE Programme has been revising the adequacy of theoretical and methodological tools when analysing politeness phenomena in corpora of spoken and written Spanish. Bravo, Bolívar, Stenström, Contreras, Hernández-Flores, Kaul and Bernal’s contributions to this volume study aspects of face understood as “autonomy” (a category that includes all those behaviours related to how a person wishes to see him/herself and be seen by others as an individual with a contour of his/her own within the group) and as “affiliation” (a category that includes all those behaviours through which a person manifests how he/she wishes to see him/herself as regards those characteristics that identifies him/her with the group), notions presented in Bravo (2002: 144, and this volume). These categories express the duality of the concept of face (O’Driscoll 1996) and are thought as an alternative to Brown and Levinson’s “negative” and “positive face” ([1978] 1987). The reason for this alternative proposal would be that Brown and Levinson’s aspects of face are constrained to symbolizing the needs of territory and freedom of choice in the case of negative face, and the needs of having the opinions, properties and personalities respected in the case of positive face.

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<sup>5</sup> See Bravo (1996).

<sup>6</sup> *Facework*.

As it is explained in Bravo (1999), the same psycho-sociological needs are not necessarily present in other socio-cultural contexts and communicative styles. For example, Swedish speakers orient their communicative behaviours towards a socio-cultural content of autonomy face based on the notion of self-sufficiency and of independence from the group (so as to free it from responsibilities); for the contents of the affiliative face, Swedish speakers' most valued one is establishing agreements in the exchange of opinions. The configuration of face in a communicative interaction can be associated to objectives of politeness, which vary depending on a series of contextual factors and, as a direct consequence, cannot be the same for all cultures. In this sense, the categories of autonomy and affiliation are conceived as void of socio-cultural contents but they may be "filled in" with contents stemming from the analysis of pertinent corpora. It is necessary to make the observation that the description of the autonomy aspect of face as to how "a person manifests to see him/herself as regards those characteristics that identifies him/her with the group" does not imply a dichotomy between "self" or "individual" against "group" or "society", but merely to recognise a "contour of its own within the same group of belonging" for the self or individual. To give an example, consider John as a member of a group of boys who goes to high school together (affiliative aspect of face), the boy in that same group who is recognised as being intelligent in Mathematics (autonomy face).

The notion of "face" accounts for the interpersonal relation in the presentation of self in society (or of "I" before an audience) as well as the expectations for adequate behaviours. Also, this notion includes personal and social identity, allowing an analysis of how the socio-emotional state of interpersonal relations modifies or maintains polite behaviours (Bravo, 2003)<sup>7</sup>.

The psychological perspective for the notion of personal identity of the *self* is a set of qualities without which the individual cannot imagine him/herself; the sociological perspective for the same notion regards the *self* as a set of relatively stable perceptions of who the individual is in relation to him/herself, other individuals and social systems. The self is organised around a "concept of itself"; that is to say, around ideas and feelings about the individual him/herself, and always in relation to other individuals. These perceptions come from different sources: how an individual think other individuals regard him/her, how a given culture (for example, the culture of a company) values social roles, describes them or distributes responsibilities according to what is appropriate or not, how individuals themselves as persons have evaluated and processed their personal and public experiences, etc. (Bravo 2003: 2; translated from Spanish).

The notions of "autonomy" and "affiliation" are more adequate to account for universal human needs than Brown and Levinson's negative and positive face. The former notions can formalise how an individual perceives him/herself, while also how he/she is perceived as a member of society. The analyst using the notions of "autonomy" and "affiliation", so as to work on categories that apply to different communicative situations, the language users' given social variables and cultural values, should bear in mind that the categories obtained are justified only if they meet, on the one hand, conditions of neutrality in relation to socio-cultural contexts and, on the other, if they are considered in an unmarked form as "interdependent" (see Bravo in this volume).

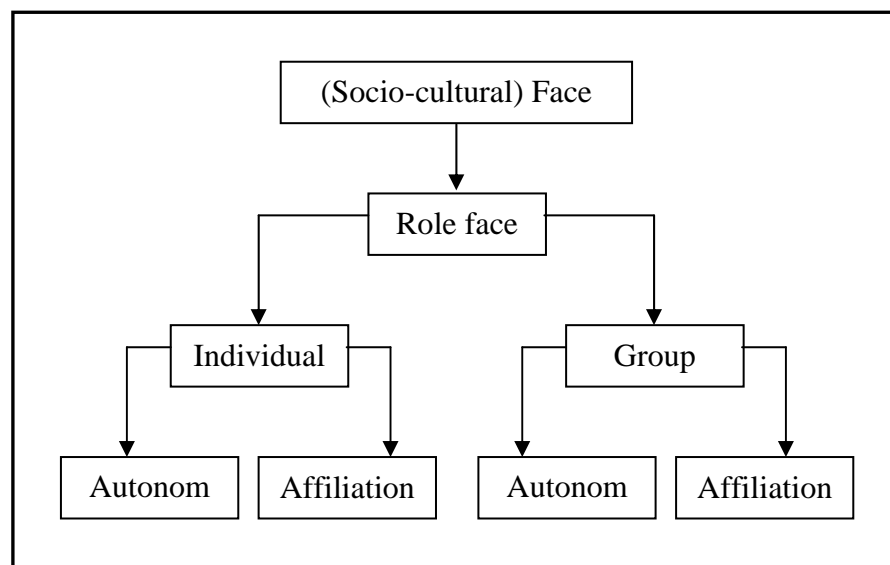
According to Goffman (1961, 1967), the notion of face is a psycho-social one. The individual presents in interaction an image of him/herself that reflects the way in

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<sup>7</sup> See Bolívar and Bernal's papers in this volume.

which he/she sees or perceives him/herself and how he/she perceives his/her relation with others. At the same time, a group also sees or perceives the face of an individual, while also seeing and perceiving itself. That is the reason why it is not enough to analyse the face of individuals, but it is necessary to do the same from the perspective of the social group under analysis. In this sense, autonomy and affiliation are conceived as interdependent and they confirm a perspective of communicative interaction that includes language and society in the same equation.

It is important to stress that the categories of autonomy and affiliation are void of socio-cultural values. Despite the fact that Brown and Levinson's aspects of face have been redefined and reformulated by several authors, the criteria, in most of the cases, have been to describe specific contents that restrict negative and positive aspects of face to socio-cultural contexts trespass. In this line, Fant (1989: 255) considers that autonomy is a representation of self as an independent and autonomous individual, with a clear demarcation of a personal territory that does not allow meddling. For Kerbrat-Orecchioni (2004), negative face (autonomy) represents the demands of personal territory while positive face (affiliation) represents the narcissism that the person manifests in doing a good figure in interaction. In Scollon & Scollon (1995: 36-37), the notion of "independence" (autonomy) stresses the right to move and to choose freely without impositions while the notion of "involvement" (affiliation) refers to the right of an individual to be considered as normal and that he/she contributes to society. These aspects of face, thus described, cannot be applied to other social or cultural scenarios without prior analysis. In other words, for the categories of autonomy and affiliation to be functional and instrumental, they should not be aprioristically determined with socio-cultural contents. Quite on the contrary, it is necessary to consider those contents as a result stemming from the analysis of the discourse of politeness in the corpora under study<sup>8</sup>. Figure 1 shows the different aspects of face so far described for the categories of autonomy and affiliation:



**Figure 1.** Adapted from Bravo (2002).

<sup>8</sup> See also Bravo (2003: 9).

The categories of autonomy and affiliation have been expanded by Kaul (2005) so as to relate impoliteness with those extreme behaviours of autonomy that lead a speaker to present him/herself as opponent to the group, as well as extreme behaviours of affiliation that leads a speaker to adhere to a group so as to justify his/her attacks in defense of the group<sup>9</sup>.

### **Studies of politeness in Spanish within EDICE Programme**

The first Colloquium of EDICE Programme (Stockholm, 2002) discussed the role played by socio-cultural and situational contexts in the interpretation of politeness in Spanish. Since this event several studies used the categories of autonomy and affiliation to particularise the aspects of face adopted in a given communicative situation and socio-cultural context. These studies discussed the relation between polite behaviours and the aspects of autonomy and affiliation in speakers of Spanish<sup>10</sup>. In these papers, the authors used some other methodological instruments that have been considered useful for describing certain discourses related to politeness or specific styles of politeness, without overgeneralising the results stemming from the analysis of specific corpora. One of such instruments is using “socio-cultural premises”, a tool that allows making explicit reference to the shared knowledge between the speaker and the analyst. The analyst has resorted to his/her shared knowledge to hypothesise about and interpret the communicative behaviours of the speaker under study<sup>11</sup>. Another methodological instrument used effectively is the “social effect” that a given behaviour has in the ongoing communicative situation. The question for the analyst is if that social effect he/she observes produces politeness or not. Also, researchers use “socio-cultural hypothesis” to conclude about the relation between communicative behaviours and face. Finally, there are some other methodological proceedings to determine the contexts of a language user. “Tests of intersubjectivity” have been used to gather information about the research subjects so as to cancel some of the variables affecting the analyst’s objectivity, such as gender, age, previous communicative experience, and academic status. Moreover, the “tests of social habits” gather data on how language users perceive and conceive polite behaviours and politeness phenomena, a tool explained in detail by Bolívar in this paper. Table 1 presents a description of all these tools of analysis (see also Bravo in this volume).

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<sup>9</sup> See Kaul in this volume.

<sup>10</sup> See among others Hernández-Flores (1999, 2002, 2003); Albelda (2003, 2004); Briz (2003, 2004); Contreras (2005) for Peninsular Spanish; Boretta (2001); Cordisco (2003, 2005); Granato (2003) for Argentinian Spanish; Madfes (2004) for Uruguayan Spanish; Bravo (1998); Schrader-Kniffki (2003) for Mexican Spanish and Murillo (2003, 2004) for Costa Rican Spanish.

<sup>11</sup> See Bravo (1999, 2002, 2003 and in this volume).

<b>Analysis of corpus</b>	(a) Identification of an episode made of exchanges and communicative contributions. (b) Co-textualisation of the utterances and the sequences of the exchanges. (c) Analysis of the communicative situation, roles and footing. (d) Analysis of social effects.
<b>Socio-cultural premise</b>	Reference to the knowledge that the analyst supposes is being shared between language users and that justify his/her evaluations/interpretations as regards the social effects caused by the communicative behaviours under study.
<b>Preliminary results</b>	Classification of communicative behaviours in acts, sub-acts, strategies, communicative resources and social effects in terms of politeness, impoliteness or neutrality.
<b>Socio-cultural hypothesis</b>	Reference to socio-cultural variation in relation to the socio-cultural contents of face in terms of autonomy and affiliation, basic face and role face.
<b>Reports informing about language users' communicative habits and behaviours</b>	Tests of intersubjectivity and tests of social habits.
<b>Conclusions</b>	Results derived from the comparison between the interpretation of the analyst and the data provided by the informants.

**Table 1.** *Methodological tools and instances of analysis*

One distinction that has been proved productive, discussed in this volume, is that not all facework is related to politeness. In Hernández-Flores' paper, this distinction is adopted to analyse the relation between politeness with other types of facework as, for example, *self-facework*. The author shows that this facework is not of politeness when its social effect does not involve positively the interlocutor's face. This observation may orient to suppose that, if given the case, facework done by a son or daughter may entail in front of other people involving positively the affiliative face of his parents or of her other brothers or sisters. In Bolívar's paper, the author contrasts "being politically correct" to "objectives of (im)politeness". In this case, the observation may also orient to suppose that it may be possible to find an interlocutor whose face is negatively involved due to a politically incorrect behaviour of another member of the same group of belonging<sup>12</sup>. Table 2 summarises the conclusions that different studies have arrived as regards the relation between facework and activities of politeness.

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<sup>12</sup> See Bernal (2007).

<b>Facework</b>	
Politeness?	
<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Mitigating (includes redressing)</li> <li>• Enhancing</li> <li>• Ritualised</li> <li>• Anti-politeness</li> <li>• Mock politeness (includes anti-politeness).</li> </ul> <p><i>Sources:</i> Albelda (2004), Bravo (2005), Bernal (2007), Hernández-Flores (2002, 2004b), Stenström-Jørgensen (in this volume), Zimmerman (2003).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Impoliteness<sup>13</sup></li> <li>• Self-facework</li> <li>• Being politically correct (see Bolívar, in this volume)</li> </ul> <p><i>Sources:</i> Kaul (1992, 2005, in this volume), Bernal 2005, 2007, in this volume) Hernández-Flores (in this volume).</p>
<p><b>Definition of politeness</b></p> <p>Politeness is a communicative activity that fosters a positive interpersonal relation between interlocutors. This activity follows norms and social codes that, supposedly, are known by speakers and considers in all contexts a benefit for the interlocutor. The effect of this activity in interaction is interpersonally positive (Bravo 2005:33-34).</p>	<p><b>Definition of impoliteness</b></p> <p>Impoliteness is a communicative activity that aims at damaging the interlocutor's face. This activity follows norms and social codes that, supposedly, are known by speakers and considers in all contexts detriment to the interlocutor. The effect of this activity in interaction is interpersonally negative, from what it is interpreted that an activity of impoliteness has been produced (Bernal, in this volume).</p>

**Table 2.** *Facework and politeness*

### The papers in this volume

Diana Bravo discusses the interpretation of politeness in corpus of spoken Spanish. The author argues for the incorporation of extralinguistic contexts that she thinks an analyst should take into account when determining if a certain behaviour is polite or not. Her paper in this volume puts forward a set of analytical tools that incorporates socio-cultural and situational contexts. This set includes the notions of *autonomy* and *affiliation face*, the *contents of face*, the *social effect of politeness* and *socio-cultural premises*. They result from a critical revision of different notions in the present core theories for the study of politeness, such as *face*, *threats*, *mitigations*, *strategies of politeness* and *participants' roles* involved in a communicative exchange.

Adriana Bolívar's study focuses on the interpretation of politeness from the point of view of the evaluations produced by speakers. In her paper, Bolívar shows that speakers evaluate according to their knowledge about acceptable or expected communicative behaviours and to the social contexts in which those behaviours are inscribed<sup>14</sup>. She concludes that variation is associated to the type of situation, the

<sup>13</sup> Taking Culpeper's paper (1996) as a starting point, researchers have identified different types. For a review of Kaul's work on impoliteness from 1992, see Alba-Juez (2007).

<sup>14</sup> *First order politeness*, as described by Watts (2003).



assumed and allocated roles, and role relations. It is worth highlighting that the results obtained by the author are based on a test of social habits, a methodological tool already used by Hernández-Flores (2002), among others. Bolívar stresses the importance and usefulness of the test of social habits but also focuses on it as an instance of social practice. She shows that it is possible to obtain both information about evaluations of politic and (im)polite behaviour in hypothetical situations (those represented in the test), and evaluations of politic and (im)polite behaviour in real interactions between informants and researcher, where ideological issues are made more evident.

Anna-Brita Stenström and Annette Myre Jörgensen analyse the multifunctional uses assigned to phatic expressions by London and Spanish adolescents. They wonder how to distinguish phatic and informative talk in the discourse of teenagers as well as how the researcher can interpret speakers' communicative intentions. They argue that the phatic function of both small words and taboo words have a social purpose that is related to linguistic politeness. Those resources are used to keep a conversation going and they help to create a feeling of rapport between the speakers. Starting from Leech's "Phatic Maxim" (1983), they answer to the question if phatic talk in teenagers can be somehow characterized as polite. They show that "London and Madrid teenagers' use of expressions that have been criticized by adults is highly motivated for phatic purposes and can rightfully be considered to represent polite behaviour notably the use of encouraging feedback and reaction signals, face-saving hedges, the macro-structural small words (including pure fillers) and the use of rapport-creating taboo words" (see Stenström and Myre Jörgensen in this volume). The corpus used by these authors is gathered not only from Spain but also from Latin-American countries. This effort represents an extraordinary contribution to comparative studies across varieties of Spanish teenage language<sup>15</sup>.

In the same line, Domnita Dumitrescu compares corpus of spoken Spanish in different socio-cultural groups. To assign polite or impolite functions to interrogative *alo-repetitions*, the author considers the structural features of the communicative strategy and its cognitive, conversational and interactional functions. This strategy is multifunctional and, from the viewpoint of politeness, it can act as an "enhancing strategy" (integrating the interlocutor to its own discourse) or as having negative social effects (such as corrections, complaints, and even expressions of discontent or disdain). The author concludes that it is not possible to establish a polite or impolite function in an interrogative *alo-repetition* without taking into consideration each particular interactional context in which interpretations are made.

Nieves Hernández-Flores makes a detailed analysis and characterisation of the *face work* produced by participants of a television panel discussion. The author describes the notion of *politeness*, understood as the aim at achieving an ideal balance between the face of participants in the communicative acts of the exchange (cf. Hernández Flores 1999, 2002, 2004a). She also analyses the *face work* produced without having politeness as goal, such as *self-facework* that does not imply the involvement of the addressee's face (see Bolívar, in this volume). In her contribution, Hernández-Flores describes politeness and other types of face work in accordance with the specific characteristics of the communicative genre (as the speakers' social, situated and discursive roles, or the mediatic purpose of the interaction). Thereby she concludes

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<sup>15</sup> COLA-corpus, Madrid teenage talk.

that face work has its own social and communicative characteristics in accordance with the kind of communicative genre where interaction occurs.

Josefa Contreras Fernández examines the perception of silence and its functions in a corpus of spoken Peninsular Spanish and German. The author contrasts some differences as regards the configurations of *face*, situational contexts and the relation between participants. Contreras Fernández argues that there is a correlation between silence and face in conversations. In order to explain the different perceptions of silence as polite behaviours in conversations, Contreras Fernández uses Bravo's notion of *face contents*. The author observes that Spanish speakers tend to avoid silence in conversations, something that promotes interpersonal relationships of *mutual trust* ("confianza"), a face content characteristic of Spanish society. On the contrary, German speakers maintain silences in their interactions, as conversations should preserve *privacy*, a face content characteristic of German society.

Silvia Kaul de Marlangeon accounts for the characteristics of impolite expressions in institutional and non-institutional contexts. In her paper, the author expands notions already presented in other works (Kaul de Margaleon 1992, 2003, 2005). She redefines the socio-culturally empty categories of affiliation and autonomy (already mentioned in this Introduction) to study impoliteness: She understands affiliation as *exacerbated affiliation* (to perceive oneself and be perceived by others as part of a group) and autonomy as *refractoriness* or *exacerbated autonomy* (to perceive oneself and be perceived by others as an opponent to the group). In this volume, Kaul de Marlangeon compares political debates<sup>16</sup>, army recruit training interactions<sup>17</sup>, Tango lyrics<sup>18</sup> and plays<sup>19</sup> to conclude in relevant distinctions for the phenomenon of impoliteness. The author pays special attention to situational variation in terms of Brown and Levinson's (op. cit) parameters of Power and Social Distance.

Marta Albelda, following Briz (2004), observes a relation between *codified* (or *linguistic*) (*im*)politeness and *interpreted* (or *situated*) (*im*)politeness. In this paper, a corpus of formal language is contrasted with an informal one, characterising situational features that are present in the interpretation of politeness. Albelda returns to the problem of *pseudo-politeness* (Albelda 2004) by arguing that there wouldn't be a direct correlation between *face threatening acts* and *impoliteness*. She concludes that, at least in her corpus, *pseudo-impoliteness* is not present in formal conversations, but frequent in informal conversations<sup>20</sup>. Based on Bravo (2002), Albelda's study uses the concept of "social effect of politeness" as a methodological tool for the evaluation of impoliteness in a selection of her Peninsular Spanish corpus<sup>21</sup>. This methodological approach lets her analyse contrastively whether the features characterising certain communicative situation affects the interpretation of impoliteness in the corpus.

In the same line, María Bernal's paper closes the volume discussing some categories used by different authors to refer to *impoliteness* (such as Culpeper 1996 and 2005) or to *antipoliteness* (Zimmerman 2003). Based on a corpus of Peninsular Spanish, the author analyses apparently impolite expressions so as to determine if they cause

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<sup>16</sup> Blas Arroyo (2001).

<sup>17</sup> Culpeper (1996).

<sup>18</sup> Kaul de Marlangeon ([1992]1995 and 2005).

<sup>19</sup> Kaul de Marlangeon (2003).

<sup>20</sup> Compare this conclusion to the one made by Kaul de Marlangeon in this volume, based on a corpus of political debate.

<sup>21</sup> See also Bernal (2005).

negative interpersonal effects. She concludes that the distinction between an *authentic* and a *non-authentic impoliteness* is justified.

These papers reflect in most cases years of detailed observations of corpus of spoken Spanish and careful explorations for adequate methodologies. There is in all these papers an innovative enthusiasm and a renewed interest in issues related to politeness phenomena in Spanish, as well as in the scientific exchange fostered by EDICE Programme.

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