

***¡No seas cobarde!:* Discursive/Pragmatic Variation of Impoliteness in a Multi-Party Political Debate**

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Abstract

This study sets out to investigate the discursive/pragmatic variation of impoliteness as a discursive strategy in the institutional context of political debate. The study examines a six-way political debate before the Puerto Rico's 2012 governor elections. Analysis of the participation framework (Goffman, 1978; Levinson, 1988) in the discourse demonstrates that the monologic multi-party context displays a different interactional dynamic from the typical face-to-face political debate, while maintaining the same impoliteness strategies (Culpeper, 2011) as previous studies have found (Blas Aroyo 2001, 2011). Finally, I ground my interpretation of these impoliteness strategies on the theory of rapport management (Spencer-Oatey, 2002). It was found that candidates in the monologic multi-party debate attacked each other's face rights and sociality rights with the interactional goal of maintaining superiority over their opponents. The analysis showed that the impoliteness strategies did not vary greatly from previous studies (Blas Arroyo, 2001; García-Pastor, 2008). In terms of the participation framework, the candidates in the multi-party monologic debate interface preferred to select their opponents and their respective parties as indirect targets and the audience as the interlocutor. This study represents the application of variational pragmatics in investigating discursive and pragmatic behavior in the institutional context of political debates.

Keywords: impoliteness, participation framework, institutional discourse, political debate

1. Introduction

The study of (im)politeness has moved from the theoretical examination of politeness and linguistic form (Brown & Levinson, 1987) to a more empirically grounded approach with a focus on social interaction (Culpeper, 2008, 2011; Kasper, 2009; Locher, 2006; Terkourafi, 2008, 2011). In line with the latter view of (im)politeness theory, I propose in this study to demonstrate how public discourse serves as an instrument through which impoliteness is observed. As Blas-Arroyo (2003) and Kaul de Marlangeon (2008) point out, a political debate is one where the discourse is shaped with a main goal: to win the debate and therefore the elections altogether. The impoliteness strategies used in this context therefore function as a way of “unveiling the fragility and the incompetence of the opponent before millions of citizens” (Blas Arroyo, 2001, p. 24, my translation).

The present study revisits previously proposed strategies of impoliteness in face-to-face political debates (Blas Arroyo, 2001, 2011; García-Pastor, 2008) and revises these to apply it to a multi-party monologic debate interface. Although Blas Arroyo (2011) explains that most of the nature of a political debate is monologic, he states that interruptions and question posed by the opponents make the debates more dialogic than not. Nonetheless, in the presented data, aside from eventual rhetorical questions, these features are scarcely present. Therefore, aside from the moderator’s questions, I consider the data at present to be almost purely monologic.

In the multi-party monologic debate interface there are more than two participants, there is no sequential overlap in the talk, and very rarely do debaters speak directly to the opponents. Instead, they refer to their physically present opponents, what Blas Arroyo (2011) refers to as a *delocutor*, and Levinson (1988) categorizes as an *indirect target reception role*. Given the interactional dynamic of this context, this study looks into the construction of a participation framework, which includes a speaker, an interlocutor, and the target of the speech act.

In this study I take a pragmatic variational approach, which includes an analysis at the actional level (Schneider & Baron, 2008; Schneider, 2009), while applying a discursive lens to provide a comprehensive analysis of the interactional dynamic of the data. Although there is a focus on the actional level of analysis, in this study I focus on how the different impoliteness strategies manifest themselves in a multi-party political debate interface from one candidate to the next. Additionally, to understand how the speakers deliver these communicative actions, the analysis must evaluate the participation framework that is constructed to fulfill the goal of attacking the opponent’s face, while still abiding by the constraints of the multi-party monologic political debate interface.

This paper is divided into four main sections. First, I provide a review of the literature on (im)politeness in political debates and Levinson’s (1988) roles of reception in the participation framework. Second, I present the methodology with details on the data, participants, and the interactional and physical structures of the debate at hand. In this section I provide a percentage-based quantitative distribution of the data with the variation of the strategies of impoliteness and the receptive roles adopted. Following this, I provide a section of the results

exemplifying each strategy of impoliteness and the participation framework used by the participants. Lastly, I discuss the results and expand on future directions of the research such as including more debates from the past to the present to see how the different parties have varied in their discursive and pragmatic strategies.

2. Literature review

2.1 Political debates and impoliteness

Previous studies on discourse and pragmatics have explored several phenomena in political debates including, but not limited to, politeness strategies and gender (Fracchiolla, 2011), politeness and power (Shibamoto-Smith, 2011), conversational violence (Luginbühl, 2007), irony (Nuolijärvi & Tiittula, 2011), personal deixis strategies (Blas Arroyo, 2000; Proctor, Lily & Su, 2011), and (im)politeness strategies (Blas Arroyo, 2001, 2003, 2011; Fernández García, 2000; García-Pastor, 2001, 2008; Harris, 2001). Additionally, much work has been done on the functional analytic framework of political discourse, including political debates (Benoit, 2013; Benoit & Henson, 2007; Benoit, Wen, & Yu, 2007; Choi & Benoit, 2009; Herrero & Benoit, 2011).

As can be seen from these previous studies, the intersection of (im)politeness and political discourse has received a lot of attention in the literature. In following this line of research, this study focuses on impoliteness as a strategy in human communication, as seen in this type of institutional discourse. To operationalize impoliteness, this study uses Culpeper (2011), who states that “[a]ll impoliteness has the general function of reinforcing or opposing specific identities, interpersonal relationships, social norms and/or ideologies” (p. 252). He further characterizes the functions of impoliteness as both content and context dependent. In an early study on exploitative television shows, Culpeper (2005) proposes that impoliteness can be characterized by either one or both of the following: the speaker’s intention to damage the interlocutor’s face and/or the interlocutor’s perception of the speech act as an intention to damage her/his face. He strengthens his argument by using some components of Spencer-Oatey’s (2002) rapport management, which I define in the following paragraphs.

Impoliteness can assume several roles in any given context. For instance, in the context of the political debate, impoliteness may function as an instrument of diminishing one’s opponent, robbing him/her of agency before the public, and persuading the public to believe that one is better than said opponent (Blas Arroyo, 2001, 2003, 2011). Blas Arroyo (2001, 2011) provides five recurring strategies of impoliteness based on his work on the 1993 face-to-face political debates in Spain. The strategies are based on Brown and Levinson’s (1987) face threatening acts (FTAs) and Culpeper’s (1996) strategies of impoliteness. Blas Arroyo’s (2001, 2011) strategies of impoliteness in the political debate context are as follows (pp. 204-205):

- (1)
- a. Associate the interlocutor with pernicious facts, intentions, values, etc.
 - 1.1 Incompetence
 - 1.2 Concealment (of facts)
 - 1.3 Credibility
 - 1.4 Responsibility
 - b. Tell him he lies
 - c. Show yourself contemptuous with the opponent
 - d. Create disadvantageous contrasts for the interlocutor
 - 4.1 Comparison to speaker
 - 4.2 Criticism of people close to interlocutor
 - e. Accuse the interlocutor of contradicting himself.
 - 5.1 Does the contrary to what he says
 - 5.2 Says contradictory things

Furthermore, Blas Arroyo (2011), in his review of his 2001 study, briefly makes mention of Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2002) components of face rights and sociality rights of her theory of rapport management. Similarly, García-Pastor (2008) also makes allusion to Brown and Levinson's (1987) positive and negative face in her design of impoliteness strategies in the political debate context; however, she does not provide a comprehensive framework for how it applies to impoliteness theory in political debates. She comments on impoliteness as intentional in the political debates simply by the nature of the context, which is the need to aggravate and attack the opponent's face.

Although I agree with the perspective that intentionality of the speakers is sufficient to declare a communicative action, and more specifically a face-threatening act, as an impoliteness event, I believe it needs to be further grounded in theory. The recent literature urging pragmatic research to move from the traditional speaker-based paradigm to the context-based paradigm (e.g. Barron & Schneider, 2008; Kasper, 1990; Locher & Watts, 2008; Terkourafi, 2011) motivates the present study to justify how the current speaker-based data (i.e. the monologic interface) may still fit within the context-based paradigm. That is, despite the lack of an active interlocutor and evidence of perception and/or reaction to the impoliteness strategies, the interactive goals of the participants in this study and the nature of the political debate context help justify impoliteness as a face-threatening event without the need for an analysis of perception and/or reaction (cf. Culpeper, 2005).

I argue that Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2002) rapport management, as also used in Culpeper's (2005) definition of impoliteness, provides a fruitful framework for understanding the nature of the face-threatening acts in the political debate context. In spite of the purely monologic context, I will show how participants must still maintain a balance within the framework of rapport management. At the heart of Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2002) theory of rapport management lie three main components: (1) face; (2) sociality rights; and (3) interactional goals. Table 1 provides a summary of each of these concepts with Spencer-Oatey's (2000,

2002) abridged definitions. I frame each of the revised strategies of impoliteness using Spencer-Oatey's (2002) rapport management, Culpeper's (1996, 2010) strategies of impoliteness, and Blas Arroyo's (2001, 2011) strategies of impoliteness in the political scene.

Table 1. Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2002) components of Rapport Management

<u>Component</u>	<u>Definition</u>
<u>Face Rights</u>	
Quality face	"desire for people to evaluate us positively in terms of our personal qualities; e.g. our competence, abilities, appearance, etc." (2002, p.9)
Social identity face	"desire for people to acknowledge and uphold our social identities or roles, e.g. as a group leader, valued customer, close friend" (2002, p. 13)
<u>Sociality Rights</u>	
Equity rights	"belief that we are entitled to personal consideration from others, so that we are treated fairly: that we are not unduly imposed upon or unfairly ordered about, that we are not taken advantage of or exploited, and that we receive the benefits to which we are entitled" (2002, p. 9)
Association rights	"belief that we are entitled to association with others that is in keeping with the type of relationship that we have with them" (2002, p. 10)
<u>Interactional goals</u>	"the specific task and/or relational goals that people may have when they interact with each other" (2000, p. 14)

I now turn to the model of reception roles in the participation framework (Goffman, 1978, 1981; Levinson, 1988) and reconfigure the strategies that emerge from the present data. Before providing the revised strategies of impoliteness I now present Levinson's (1988) model on roles of participation.

2.2 Participation roles

Levinson (1988) revises Goffman's (1978, 1981) notion of *footing* and extends it to include a more comprehensive view of the speaker-hearer paradigm within the participation framework. In doing so, Levinson (1988) identifies two main participant roles, the *reception role* and the *production role*. In this study I will focus on the reception role and define three main roles as per Levinson's model: (a) interlocutor; (b) indirect target; and (c) audience. Each of these roles may have one or more of four functions: addressee, recipient (of the message), participant (of the utterance), and present participant. The interlocutor in this model is addressed, is the recipient of the message, participates in what is being said, and is present and able to receive the message. Similar to the interlocutor the indirect

target is the recipient of the message, participates in what is being said, and is present and able to receive the message. Nonetheless, the indirect target is not addressed directly in Levinson's (1988) model. The audience on the other hand is neither addressed nor receives the message directly; instead they are passive participants of what is being said and are present during the speech event.

In providing a more precise definition of the indirect target reception role, Levinson (1988) highlights the prevalence of this role in political discussions in the media. He states, "in such political panels, simply by identification of participants with political parties, accusations of political incompetence (etc.) can readily pick out a representative of a political party as a non-addressed recipient, or indirect target" (p. 211). In this sense, the main participation roles in the multi-party monologic debate interface are the speaker, the interlocutor, and the indirect target. While the audience would be a passive participant for the most part, the way the political candidates frame their speech activates the audience's participation and thus their role is more that of interlocutor than of mere audience. Given the multi-party monologic interface of the political debate under study, I use the reception role model to make clearer the use of impoliteness strategies in the speech of the political candidates. However, when identifying the participant roles it is fundamental to include the use of personal deixis in the debates. Levinson (1988) considers the participation framework to be "at the heart of deixis" (p. 164). He argues that to understand the roles of participation in language use, the analyst must consider the grammatical structure of personal reference or deixis. Similarly, Blas Arroyo (2000) outlines the different discursive spaces produced by politicians during debates to create different effects from self-praise of the individual speaker (i.e. presidential first person singular pronoun) to blame on the opponent's party affiliation (i.e. second person plural pronoun which includes the interlocutor and his party affiliation). In this study, I pay particular attention to the use of third-person singular and plural by the participants when delivering face attacks. This is what characterizes the multi-party monologic debate interface.

In combining Blas Arroyo's (2011) strategies of impoliteness, as grounded in Spencer-Oatey's (2000, 2002) rapport management, and the multi-party interactional dynamic in the present study, I aim to answer the following questions:

- How do the candidates in the debate vary in their use of strategies of impoliteness in a multi-party political debate interface?
- How is the participation framework set up across participants in the multi-party debate interface?
- How do participants manipulate the participation framework to deliver the strategies of impoliteness?

3. Method

3.1 Background

The data are comprised of a televised two-hour political debate in the Puerto Rico 2012 general elections for governor of the commonwealth. The show was hosted by the group “Vota o Quédate Callao” (Vote or stay quiet), and was broadcast by SistemaTV. The debate was available through local television as well as on SistemaTV’s YouTube channel. The participants were six candidates for governor of Puerto Rico from the six parties registered for elections that year. Table 2 shows a list of the candidates with their respective party affiliations, as well as the results from the election.

Table 2. Candidate names with their respective political affiliations

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Abbr.</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>Election Results (%)</u>
Alejandro García Padilla	A	Popular Democratic Party	47.73
Luis Fortuño	F	New Progressive Party	47.13
Juan Dalmau	J	Puerto Rican Independence Party	2.52
Rogelio Figueroa	R	Puerto Ricans for Puerto Rico	0.36
Arturo Henández	H	Sovereign Union Movement	0.56
Rafael Bernabe	B	Working People’s Party	0.98

The debate was organized into six parts: (1) Introductions; (2) Security and Justice; (3) Economy; (4) Status; (5) Education; (6) Closing remarks. The order in which each candidate answers the questions was chosen either at random by the moderator (not specified how) or by choice of the journalist asking a question. Each candidate was given between 30 and 90 seconds to make statements or answer questions. Table 3 presents a detailed outline of the debate structure, while Figure 1 visualizes the physical distribution of the participants, including the imagined (or virtual) audience.

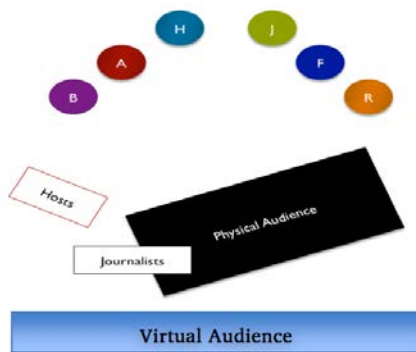


Figure 1. Visual representation of the physical space of the context

Table 3. Structure of the debate

<u>Part</u>	<u>Format</u>	<u>Order</u>	<u>Time given</u>
Introductions	Statement	Random	30 s
Topics	Statement	Random	1 min
	Question 1	Random	1.5 min
	Question 2	Journalist's pick	1 min
Concluding	Statement	Random	1 min
Remarks			

Members of the audience were mainly university students, professors, and journalists. The journalists asked a question related to the topic. Each participant answered the given question and there were no interruptions. Participants did not answer the question of the original speaker directly; instead they answered the question to the audience (whether physical, virtual or both). In a couple of instances the participants directed their talk to their opponents, but it was rather uncommon. Although most participants stayed behind their podium, some actually walked up in front of their podium to get closer to the audience.

3.2 Data analysis

In order to answer the three research questions, the data were analyzed in two steps. The first step involved doing a distributional analysis of the results using raw percentages. In this step I looked at the overall distribution of the use of the strategies of impoliteness, and then I analyzed the total use of strategies by candidate; a comparison of the impoliteness strategies in Blas Arroyo (2011) and the ones used in the present study can be found in Table 4 on the next page. Following this, I looked at the distribution of reception roles by looking at the percentage of use of interlocutors and indirect targets. During this step of the analysis I was able to get a view of the recurrent strategies as well as the common interlocutor and the common targets in the debate.

I took a qualitative approach for the second step of the analysis. Each FTA (N = 215) was coded for strategy type, interlocutor, and indirect target. Each strategy was assigned according to the type of face right or sociality right violation that was intended by the candidate. The interlocutor was assigned according to whom the speech or utterance was directed to, and the indirect target was assigned to those participants who were addressed but not referred to directly (Levinson, 1988). I divide the Results section into three parts. First, I provide the results of the quantitative distributional analysis for the first two research questions. In the second part I provide a qualitative description of each strategy and how the reception roles were used in the construction of these strategies with the aim of answering the third question.

Table 4. Side-by-side comparison of functional strategies of impoliteness

<u>Blas Arroyo (2011)</u>	<u>Present study</u>	<u>Examples</u>
<p><i>1st strategy: Associate the interlocutor with pernicious facts, intentions, values, etc.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Incompetence a. Concealment (of facts) b. Credibility c. Responsibility 	<p><i>1st strategy: Associate recipient with negative facts</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Incompetence b. Concealment (of facts) c. Credibility d. Responsibility e. Perpetrating quality 	<p>Dalmau: el candidato del Partido Popular...apoyó el IVU y el IVU más alto. 'the candidate of the Popular Party...supported the IVU and the higher IVU'</p>
<p><i>2nd strategy: Tell him he lies</i></p>	<p><i>2nd strategy: Accuse recipient of lying</i></p>	<p>García Padilla: él te mintió 'he lied to you'</p>
<p><i>3rd strategy: Show yourself contemptuous with the opponent</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Be condescending b. Ridicule him/her c. Use sarcasm 	<p><i>3rd strategy: Show yourself contemptuous to the recipient</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> d. Be condescending e. Ridicule him/her f. Use sarcasm g. Insult him/her 	<p>Dalmau: haciéndote creer falsamente 'making you falsely believe'</p>
<p><i>4th strategy: Create disadvantageous contrasts for the interlocutor</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. Comparison to speaker b. Criticism of people close to interlocutor (or indirect target) 	<p><i>4th strategy: Contrast recipient with yourself, your party or others who are cast with positive attributes</i></p>	<p>Dalmau: tú junto a mi, le dijimos no a los dos. 'you [the audience] together with me, told both of them no.'</p>

4. Results

4.1 RQ1: Strategies of impoliteness

In the following analysis I present two main components of the study that aim at answering the two research questions: (1) the strategies of impoliteness; and (2) the reception roles invoked through the participation framework (i.e. the interlocutor, the target of the FTA). The strategies of impoliteness were adopted from Blas Arroyo (2001, 2011) and were revised to match the monologic debate model as per the participation roles across the different speech events. The speakers’ use of personal deixis (i.e. indented indirect target, and person-number agreement in verbs) in establishing participation roles in their speech were then coded and analyzed to revise the existing strategies. Table 4 provides a side-by-side comparison of Blas Arroyo’s (2011) strategies of impoliteness and the revised form in this study. Examples of these strategies will be provided in the results section of the paper.

Table 5 below provides a distributional analysis of the data according to the strategies of impoliteness used overall across all participants.

Table 5. Overall strategies used across all participants

<u>Strategy</u>	<u>Total N</u>	<u>Total %</u>
<i>1st strategy: Associate recipient with negative facts</i>	77	35.8%
<i>2nd strategy: Accuse recipient of lying</i>	5	2.3%
<i>3rd strategy: Show yourself contemptuous to the recipient</i>	58	27.0%
<i>4th strategy: Contrast recipient with yourself, your party or others who are cast with positive attributes</i>	49	22.8%
<i>5th strategy: Compare recipient to others cast with negative attributes</i>	13	6.0%
<i>6th strategy: Accuse recipient of contradictory things</i>	13	6.0%
Total	215	100%

As seen in this table, the most used strategy was the 1st strategy “Associate recipient with negative facts” (35.8%). The two other with the highest use were the 3rd strategy “Show yourself contemptuous to the recipient” (27.0%) and the 4th strategy “Contrast recipient with yourself, your party or others who are cast with positive attributes” (22.8%).

Table 6 below provides a distributional analysis of the total strategies as used by each candidate.

Table 6. Total strategies used by candidate

<u>Candidate</u>	<u>Total N</u>	<u>Total %</u>
Alejandro García Padilla	66	30.7%
Juan Dalmau	39	18.1%
Luis Fortuño	35	16.3%
Rogelio Figueroa	31	14.4%
Rafael Bernabe	30	14.0%
Arturo Hernández	14	6.5%

Alejandro García Padilla, who was the majority party rival of governor-at-the-time Luis Fortuño, used the most strategies of impoliteness throughout the entirety of the debate. The other candidates, with the exception of Arturo Hernández, showed a balanced distribution of strategies used with a range of about 4 percentage points.

4.2 RQ2: Reception roles in the participation framework

In this section I provide the distribution of the use of reception roles in the participation framework. Table 7 shows the distribution of designated interlocutor roles.

Table 7. Distribution of designated interlocutor in percentage and total number

<u>Participant(s)</u>	<u>Interlocutor % (N)</u>
General Audience	88.0% (189)
Journalist	63.3% (136)
Candidates	3.0% (6)
Other (e.g. Puerto Rico)	9.3% (20)

Most speakers addressed or directed their answers to the general audience (both virtual and physical) 88% of the time. This is evidenced by the nature of the debate set-up. The role of interlocutor was assigned to the journalists 63% of the time, which was done in overlap with the general audience during the question sessions of the

debate. That is, the journalists were referred to in some of the answers, however the embodiment in the discourse suggested that the candidate was also addressing the public. This resulted in an overlap between journalist and audience. When candidates addressed the questions they would at times mention the journalist’s name, but direct their talk to the audience. These instances are therefore open to interpretation and may be biased by the analyst. The participants very rarely addressed the other candidates directly (3%) and there were various instances of the candidates (especially the minority candidates who alluded to patriotism and cultural discourses) addressed “Puerto Rico,” “compatriota” (fellow countrymen) or “pueblo” (the people) as interlocutors (9%).

Table 8 displays the percentage of the use of indirect targets on the participants.

Table 8. Distribution of designated indirect target in percentage and total number

<u>Participant(s)</u>	<u>Indirect Target % (N)</u>
Candidates	39% (84)
Opponent’s party	58% (125)
Other (i.e. Puerto Rico)	0.4% (1)

In the data, the most common target of the impoliteness strategies was the opponent’s party (58%). This was a common strategy across all participants given the mitigating effect that comes with targeting the opponent’s party rather than delivering the attack directly to the opponent. However, the candidates were addressed directly 39% of the time, which made up most of the data. There was only one instance of “Puerto Rico” being addressed as an indirect target by Rogelio Figueroa from the Puerto Rican Party for Puerto Ricans.

Table 9 shows the distribution of designated indirect targets by the actual participants, namely García Padilla and Fortuño.

Table 9. Distribution of indirect target by candidate(s) in percentage and total number

<u>Participant(s)</u>	<u>Indirect Target % (N)</u>
Alejandro García Padilla (PPD; Majority Party)	20.5% (44)
Luis Fortuño (PNP; Majority Party; Incumbent)	37.2% (80)
Both Majority Party Candidates Together	38.1% (82)
All Other Candidates	0.9% (2)

It comes without surprise that the incumbent candidate Luis Fortuño from the Progressive Party received 80 (37%) of the impoliteness strategies, and was also a target, together with García Padilla, of the 82 (38%) strategies used when attacking both majority party candidates. García Padilla was the third most targeted with 20% of the strategies being directed to him. There were only two instances where other minority candidates were targeted (.9%).

4.3 RQ 3: The strategies and the participation framework

4.3.1 1st strategy: Associate recipient with negative facts

The first strategy, “Associate recipient with negative facts,” sought primarily to attack the recipient’s face rights, and it was the most used strategy throughout the debate. In associating someone with negative facts with the end-goal of characterizing him as incompetent, as concealing facts, as not credible, as responsible for some fault or as a perpetrator of malfeasance this challenges both his quality face and social identity face rights. On the one hand their quality face is damaged in that they are evaluated negatively before a large audience, which includes those physically present and those virtually present (i.e. television/online viewers). On the other hand, their desire to be trusted as political leaders and to be able to hold their title as important public figures is threatened by an attack on their social identity face.

The participants mainly delivered this strategy by addressing the audience (interlocutor) and targeting the opponent (indirect target). Extracts 1 and 2 exemplify this strategy.

Table 10. Extract 1, Fortuño to Audience (interlocutor) about García Padilla (indirect target)

1. F: ahora la pregunta es, y te tienes que hacer	1. F: [now the question is, and you have to figure
2. del lado quién ha estado durante todos estos años,	2. whose side (he) has been on during these
3. <u>el candidato del Partido Popular.</u>	years,
4. cuando fue secretario de asunto al consumidor	3. <u>the Popular Party candidate.</u>
5. que se suponía que defendiera a los consumidores,	4. when he was Secretary of Consumer Affairs
6. <u>apoyó el IVU y el IVU más alto.</u>	5. that he was supposed to defend consumers,
	6. <u>he supported the IVU and the higher IVU.</u>

In Extract 1 Fortuño initiates the strategy by making the audience both the addressee and the recipient of the message in line 1: **te tienes que hacer** ‘you have to figure’. Then he switches the recipient to “el candidato del Partido Popular” (the Popular Party candidate), who is García Padilla, while maintaining the addressee as the audience. By setting up the participation framework, Fortuño prepares García Padilla as the

target of the upcoming FTA. In this case, he delivers the FTA by associating García Padilla with the rise of the retail tax as a negative fact in line 6, thus framing García Padilla as responsible for an undesirable outcome that has affected the addressee, in this case the audience. By attributing responsibility for a negative fact to García Padilla, Fortuño manages to attack his quality face, evaluating him negatively in front of the audience. Likewise, he attacks García Padilla’s social or role identity face by making a negative evaluation of García Padilla’s performance as a person in power (i.e. as senator).

Extract 2 shows an example that does not appear to be common in the typical face-to-face political debate as seen in Blas Arroyo (2001) and García-Pastor (2008). Blas Arroyo (2011) discusses this briefly when noting the participation of the moderator, where at times the political candidate will address a complaint to the mediator about the physically present opponent. Given the interactional dynamic of the multi-party political debate interface, the construct of the participation framework lends itself to incriminating the opponent as perpetrator or victimizer of the audience.

Table 11. Extract 2, Dalmau to Audience (interlocutor) about García Padilla & Fortuño (indirect targets)

1. <u>ffjate, los que te metieron la mano</u>	1. listen up, <u>those who put their hand</u>
2. <u>en el bolsillo, no te negaron,</u>	2. <u>in your pocket</u> , didn’t deny,
3. <u>que van a eliminar ese 4%</u>	3. that they will eliminate that 4%
4. <u>que representa 1.800 de</u>	4. that represents 1,800
5. <u>dólares, y lo que va a ocurrir, es</u>	5. dollars, and what’s going to happen, is
6. <u>que te van aum-te van a aumentar a ti</u>	6. <u>they will inc-they will increase on</u>
7. <u>el IVU, que van a despedir más</u>	<u>you</u>
8. <u>empleados públicos, y hoy te lo</u>	7. <u>the IVU, they will fire more</u>
<u>niegan,</u>	8. <u>public employees</u> , and today they
	deny it,

In line 1, Juan Dalmau turns his view to the camera and uses the discursive marker **ffjate** ‘listen up’ selecting the audience as the interlocutor. He follows this up in lines 1-2, by redirecting the upcoming FTA to Fortuño and García Padilla using **los que** ‘those who’. As Blas Arroyo (2011) states, the impolite strategy can be delivered to an assumed target by using implied knowledge. In this case, the two candidates Fortuño and García Padilla had previously avoided the journalist’s question on whether they would eliminate or reduce the IVU. Furthermore, these two candidates are members of the only two parties who make decisions in government, and it is therefore implied that they are the targets of the association Juan Dalmau is making.

In associating them with a negative claim **te metieron la mano en el bolsillo** ‘they put their hands in your pocket’, Dalmau frames Fortuño and García Padilla as perpetrators of theft on of the audience’s “pockets”, and thus launches an attack on their quality face. In lines 6-8 he closes the strategy by making a hypothetical claim of Fortuño and García Padilla’s misuse of power if they were elected. This way, Dalmau attacks their social identity face as political figures by unveiling their potential for incompetence in their positions.

4.3.2 2nd strategy: Accuse recipient of lying

The second strategy, “Accuse recipient of lying” occurred with a very low frequency (N = 5). Four of these were explicit accusations by García Padilla, and one was an implicit accusation by Juan Dalmau. This strategy was actually more common in Blas Arroyo (2001) and García-Pastor’s (2008) studies than in the present data. However, this could be attributed to the disregard of indirect accusations in the present study. In the data, I only coded for instances where the accusation of lying was made explicit or implicit. Indirect accusations such as accusing of providing wrong or misinformed information were categorized as 1st strategy since this was considered a negative fact. Instances where the candidate accused the opponent of making a promise and not fulfilling it were coded as the 6th strategy “Accuse recipient of contradictory things.”

The accusation of lying is one with a higher impact, which, not unlike the 1st strategy, threatens the face rights of the opponent, but may also inflict damage on one’s own face rights. In Extract 3 García Padilla outright accuses Fortuño of lying.

Table 12. Extract 3, García Padilla to Audience (interlocutor) about Fortuño (indirect target)

1. vino aquí <u>a mentirte</u> igual que hace	1. he came here <u>to lie to you</u> just like
2. cuatro años vino <u>a mentirte</u>	2. four years ago he came <u>to lie to you</u>

In this example García Padilla selects the audience as the interlocutors by using the second person singular and looking at the audience. He then selects Fortuño as the target by making him the subject of **mentirte** ‘lie to you’. He restates the accusation in line 2 by explaining that this is a common behavior for Fortuño. Given that accusing someone of lying is a high threat to the quality face, García Padilla takes the risk of damaging his own face. This was a common behavior of his throughout the debate, which may have led to his defeat.

On the other hand, Juan Dalmau in Extract 4 accuses both Fortuño and García Padilla’s administrations of lying implicitly. This mitigates the FTA and helps Dalmau to save face. Not only is his attack mitigated by the implicit accusation, but he also targets Fortuño and García Padilla’s parties to distance the attack from the actual opponents.

Table 13. Extract 4, Juan Dalmau to Audience (interlocutor) about Fortuño and García Padilla’s Administrations (indirect targets)

1. para explotar tu prejuicio y el de la sociedad	1. to exploit your judgment and that of society
2. <u>haciéndote creer falsamente,</u>	2. <u>making you falsely believe,</u>
3. que así se está atendiendo	3. that that’s how it is being treated
4. el problema de la seguridad social,	4. the problem of public safety,
5. y del crimen,	5. and crime,
6. cuando realmente,	6. when really,
7. no se está yendo a la raíz del problema.	7. no one is going to the root of the problem

In Extract 4 Dalmau accuses the majority party leader's administrations of making the audience, the selected interlocutor, the receivers of false beliefs. This accusation of lying damages both Fortuño and García Padilla's faces through two filters of mitigation.

4.3.3 3rd strategy: *Show yourself contemptuous to the recipient*

The third strategy, "Show yourself contemptuous to the recipient," was used 27% of the time. This strategy, as Blas Arroyo (2011) notes, is used to attack mainly the social identity face and represents a more personal threat. By showing oneself as contemptuous, one makes oneself vulnerable to negative evaluation and therefore quality face is on the line. In the following examples I provide two instances where the 3rd strategy was used. In the first example, Extract 5, I show how Juan Dalmau threatens not only the social identity face of García Padilla but also threatens his association rights. The second example, Extract 6, shows a direct insult from García Padilla to Fortuño and the first time during the debate where the opponent was selected as the interlocutor.

Before Extract 5, García Padilla mentions Juan Dalmau in his response to a question on Education stating that he and Dalmau are close friends. He further claims that he and Dalmau disagree over education, but they know how to have a conversation about it. However, Dalmau, during his turn disassociates himself from the claim using irony, which is then followed by a brief condescending chuckle.

Table 14. Extract 5, Juan Dalmau to Audience (interlocutor) about García Padilla (indirect target)

1. cuando hace unos minutos escuché	1. when just a few minutes ago I heard
2. a García Padilla hablar tan bien de mí,	2. García Padilla talk so well about me,
3. temí por un segundo que pusieran	3. <u>I was afraid for a second they would</u>
4. una músiquita aquí y me sacara	4. <u>put on</u>
5. a bailar ((risa)).	4. <u>some music here and he would take me</u>
6. Es el típico abrazo	5. <u>out</u>
7. de un opositor político	5. <u>to dance ((laughter)).</u>
8. en momento que usa a otro candidato	6. it's <u>the typical bear hug</u>
9. para exaltar su proyecto político.	7. of a political opponent
	8. at the time he uses another candidate
	9. to exalt his political agenda

In lines 1-2 Dalmau opens his turn with a reintroduction of the event García Padilla had previously initiated. Following this, in lines 3-4 Dalmau delivers a FTA by using jocular mockery (Haugh, 2010) and targeting García Padilla. In this case, Dalmau claims he 'was afraid for a second they would put on some music ... and [García Padilla] would take [him] out to dance'. Given that such action, taking one out to dance, would be highly unusual in the debate context, this instead rises as irony. Thus, a jocular mockery act emerges from the deployment of a contextually unfitting statement.

Dalmau in this extract attacks Gacía Padilla’s social identity face by placing him as actor in an unfitting context, thus ridiculing him (cf. Blas Arroyo, 2011). This is further evidenced by a chuckle he produces at his own joke in line 5.

Finally, in lines 5-8 Dalmau disassociates himself from García Padilla’s claim by stating that García Padilla’s purpose for establishing some sort of relationship with him stemmed from an opportunistic agenda. He does so by alluding to the metaphor of **el abrazo típico del oso** ‘the typical bear hug’. He not only attributes García Padilla with negative qualities, but he attacks his association rights before the audience. That is, Dalmau disconnects García Padilla from the “group” that García Padilla had previously established.

In Extract 6, as previewed above, García Padilla shows himself as contemptuous by outright insulting Fortuño.

Table 15. Extract 6, García Padilla to Fortuño (interlocutor) about audience member (indirect target)

1. MÍRALO NO SEAS COBARDE,	1. LOOK AT HIM <u>DON’T BE A COWARD,</u>
2. ESTÁ FRENTE A TI.	2. HE’S IN FRONT OF YOU.
3. MÍRALO AHÍ. AHÍ ESTÁ!	3. LOOK AT HIM THERE. HE’S RIGHT THERE!

In line 1 García Padilla turns to look at Fortuño and selects him as the interlocutor. He commands him **MÍRALO** ‘LOOK AT HIM!’ using a louder voice than his average volume, which threatens Fortuño’s equity rights. Fortuño is not treated like an equal during this speech event. García Padilla is able to abase Fortuño’s power by using the pre-established monologic floor to his advantage. Following this command, he challenges Fortuño, which Culpeper (2010) categorizes as a form of insult, by providing an opportunity for him ‘not to be a coward’ by apologizing to a man in the audience. He continues to yell and Fortuño lowers his head and continues to write notes as García Padilla’s turn soon comes to an end.

The instances of the 3rd strategy “Show your self as contemptuous to the recipient” are the second most common as it aids the speakers in more directly attacking the opponent’s face. Nonetheless, it appears to be riskier than the 1st strategy “Associate recipient with negative facts.” The possibility of putting one’s face on the line by showing contempt may be a reason why this strategy is not as common as the first one.

4.3.4 4th strategy: Contrast recipient with yourself, your party or others cast with positive attributes

This fourth strategy “Contrast recipient with yourself, your party or others cast with positive attributes” was the third most used among all strategies. I provide only one example of this strategy since it did not vary as much in structure. The common structure for this strategy consisted of two parts. First, the candidate states a negative fact about the opponent(s), and then he follows this with a contrasting example that includes him or others affiliated to him that do the opposite (i.e. a positive deed).

Table 16. Extract 7, Juan Dalmau to Audience (interlocutor) about García Padilla and Fortuño (indirect targets)

1. los dos aprueban la mano dura	1. both of them approve of the iron fist
2. de movilizar, la guardia nacional,	2. to mobilize, the national guard,
3. y militarizar, el sistema de seguridad de	3. and militarize, the security system of
4. Puerto Rico, y los dos ((apunta con los dedos gordos hacia A y F))	4. Puerto Rico, and both ((points thumbs to A and F))
5. promovieron que tú renunciaras a	5. prompted you to give up
6. tus derechos porque supuestamente esa	6. your rights because supposedly that's
7. es la causa del crimen, y tú junto a mi,	7. the cause of crime, <u>and you together with me,</u>
8. <u>le dijimos no a los dos.</u>	8. <u>told both of them no.</u>
9. en estas elecciones has lo mismo.	9. in these elections do the same.

In lines 1-7 in Extract 7, Dalmau prefaces a negative fact by stating that García Padilla and Fortuño both approved actions such as an iron fist of militarizing the security system in Puerto Rico. He selects García Padilla and Fortuño as subjects of these actions and therefore the indirect targets of his accusation. In so doing, in lines 7-8, he attacks their quality and social identity faces by creating an opposition between them and himself in inclusion with the audience. By creating the contrast, Dalmau positions himself as well as the audience as superior to the majority party opponents. He thus builds solidarity with the audience at the expense of García Padilla and Fortuño.

4.3.5 5th strategy: Compare recipient to others cast with negative attribute

The 5th strategy “Compare recipient to others cast with negative attributes” follows the inverse structure of the 4th strategy. First, the opponent introduces a source, then follows it by associating the opponent with this source. Finally, he makes a negative evaluation. This strategy does not always follow this order, but it was fairly common in the data. This is exemplified by Extract 8.

Table 17. Extract 8, Juan Dalmau to Audience (interlocutor) about García Padilla (indirect target)

1. y por otra parte, <u>un exgobernador</u>	1. and on the other hand, <u>an ex-governor</u>
2. <u>del partido popular,</u>	2. <u>of the popular party,</u>
3. <u>que es asesor del</u>	3. <u>who is a current consultant of the</u>
4. <u>actual candidato del Partido Popular</u>	4. <u>current Popular Party candidate</u>
5. escribe un artículo justificando las	5. writes an article justifying the
6. acciones cuestionables, de este señor.	6. questionable actions, of this man.

In lines 1-2, Dalmau introduces a source **un exgobernador del Partido Popular** ‘an ex-governor of the Popular Party’. By introducing this source, it could be implied that he

is targeting García Padilla, however he makes it explicit by associating García Padilla to the source in lines 3-4. Right after this in lines 5-6 he makes the negative evaluation, which attacks García Padilla’s positive face by framing him as associated with an incriminated source.

In this strategy the candidates manipulate the participation framework to include a negative evaluation of an outside absent participants or organizations, in this example a former leader of their political party, with which they can associate the opponent and therefore incriminate them. This act threatens opponents’ quality face by making indirect negative evaluations, and their social identity face by devaluing their credibility as power figures.

4.3.6 6th strategy: Accuse recipient of contradictory

The 6th strategy “Accuse recipient of contradictory” was not used as frequently. In some instance, this strategy was too subtle or opaque to identify. This strategy functioned as a way to lower the opponent’s credibility, similar to some cases of the 1st strategy. However, in the 6th strategy they directly stated that the target had said or done the opposite of what was previously said or done. In Extract 9 I provide an example of how this strategy manifested itself.

Table 18. Extract 9, Bernabe to “working people” (interlocutor) about García Padilla, Fortuño, and Juan Dalmau (indirect targets)

1. recaban tu voto, cada cuatro	1. they take your vote, every four
2. años en nombre de la estadidad o la autonomía, y cuando los elegimos,	2. years in the name of statehood or
3. <u>gobiernan en contra, de nosotros, el</u>	3. <u>autonomy, and when we vote for</u>
4. <u>pueblo, trabajador.</u>	4. <u>they govern against us, the</u>
	5. <u>working people.</u>

In lines 1-3 Rafael Bernabe prefaces the FTA by indirectly selecting some of the participants. He does so by talking about those who promise a political status change in exchange for the people’s vote. This automatically selects García Padilla (pro status quo or autonomy), Fortuño (pro statehood), and Dalmau (pro independence) as targets of the upcoming FTA. Following this, Bernabe, in lines 3-5 deploys the contradiction. Although the impact of this strategy might be mitigated by its being diffused across three participants, it still attacks the quality and social identity faces of the three candidates by evaluating them as untrustworthy and as incapable of keeping promises.

5. Discussion

5.1 RQ 1: Strategies of Impoliteness

As was presented in the data, there were three main strategies that were common in the debate. These included the 1st strategy (35.8%), the 3rd strategy (27%), and the 4th strategy (22.8%). The first strategy, “Associate the recipient with negative facts”

seems to be the most common given its focus on attacking the social identity face of the opponent. As Blas Arroyo (2011) mentions, that when attacking the social identity face rather than the quality face, it is easier to maintain the professional dynamic of the debate. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that a strategy like the second one “Accuse the recipient of lying” is less frequent than the abovementioned since it could result in the loss of face by the speaker.

The 3rd “Show yourself as contemptuous” and 4th “Contrast recipient with yourself” strategies were the second and third most used, respectively. These were common given their tendency to diminish the target opponent and elevate the speaker. However, the third strategy specifically, like the 2nd strategy “Accuse the recipient of lying” may have negative effects on the speaker’s face. García Padilla, who was widely criticized in the media after this debate, delivered the highest number of 3rd Strategy FTAs (31%). All of these were delivered to Fortuño, the incumbent at the time. This aligns with what Blas Arroyo (2011) proposed from his data, that the opponent to the incumbent normally uses the most strategies of impoliteness given his need to abase the incumbent and present himself as the better and newer alternative.

Lastly, the 4th strategy, “Contrast the recipient with yourself, your party or others cast with positive attributes,” was proportionately distributed among all participants with a percentage range of 4 points (highest 22%, lowest 18%). This becomes clearer when looking at the structure of the debate in closer detail. During the statement sections each candidate had one minute to provide a general statement on the discussion topic (e.g. security, economy, status, education). Most statements were organized to present the problem at hand, state who has failed at solving it (mainly Fortuño, the incumbent), and close it with how the candidate will make it better. In this way, the candidates used this strategy mostly to present themselves as better than their opponents, which is typical of the context at hand (Blas Arroyo, 2011).

5.2 RQ2: Reception roles in the participation framework

As for the participation framework there were two main trends, the selection of the interlocutor and that of the indirect target. The interlocutor, given the constraints of the interactional set up of the debate, was most often the audience. This selection was done both through embodiment and language. When selecting the interlocutor, the candidates would look at the camera, at the physical audience or at the journalists. In addition, they would use the **tú**, **usted** or **ustedes** second person forms to address the audience. At times the candidates would also point to the audience in concordance with the use of **tú** ‘you’ or other second person pronouns.

The indirect targets were selected by the mention of opponents’ names, their parties or commonly known actions they have taken part in. It was more common to target the opponent’s parties (58%) rather than the candidates directly (37%). This use of an indirect target aids in mitigating the effect of the FTA, and for the minority parties it helped them group the majority party members into one target to save time in their responses.

Furthermore, as expected of the context, the incumbent, Fortuño, received the majority of the attacks addressed directly (38%). Meanwhile, García Padilla received

20% of the attacks being the second one most mentioned in the debate. Nevertheless, 38% of the attacks were targeted to both García Padilla and Fortuño together. This showed that the majority candidates, given their extensive history in politics, carry with them more baggage on which judgment is more easily placed. On the other hand, it is hard to draw out any negative experience with minority party members given their virtually non-existent participation in the past and present political scene. Furthermore, García Padilla and Fortuño were aware of their competition. Knowing the implausibility of any of the four minority parties being elected, they can spend most of the debate focusing on each other's moves and disregarding the weaker competition.

5.3 RQ 3: The strategies and the participation framework

In the qualitative analysis of each occurrence of the strategies I found that the interactional dynamic of the multi-party debate interface may not differ greatly from the face-to-face debates previously studied (Blas Arroyo, 2001; García-Pastor, 2008), with the exception of the participation framework. In the context at present, the participation framework differed from that of the face-to-face context. Most strategies for example would use the interlocutor (the audience) as victims of the opponent's actions as a rhetorical strategy to further diminish the opponent's face. Especially in the first strategy, "Associate the recipient with negative facts," often times the speaker would characterize the opponent as perpetrator by telling the audience they were afflicted by some sort of damage (i.e. economical) by the opponent's incompetence. This kind of strategy is useful in this context given that the candidates are not talking to each other, but to the audience.

Similarly, in the third strategy "Show yourself as contemptuous to the recipient," there are many instances of jocular mockery. Jocular mockery in this context serves as a face threat to the opponent, especially given the constraints of the interaction. The speaker can launch an FTA by ridiculing an opponent, and the opponent must stay quiet and wait his turn. However, when his turn comes around, he may not have time to recuperate the loss of face, instead he may launch a retaliating attack.

Lastly, there was one instance of an outright insult, or what Culpeper (2010) calls *bald on record impoliteness* by García Padilla. This however, was a marked behavior given the unusual switch from indirect target to interlocutor when selecting Fortuño as the recipient of the attack.

6. Conclusion

In this article I presented the different strategies of impoliteness and the selection of reception roles in the participation framework of a monologic multi-party political debate. Six strategies emerged from the data as revised from Blas Arroyo's (2001) original five. The most used strategies are those with the most successful attack on social identity rights that protect the quality face of the speaker. The strategies were then complemented with the discursive selection of the reception roles within the framework of participation that the candidates constructed as they delivered the

attacks. Two main reception roles were identified in the delivery of strategies. One was the recurrent use of the audience as the interlocutor, and another was the selection of the opponents as indirect targets to deliver the attack. I found that the multi-party interface uses a different participatory framework to carry out the strategies of impoliteness, while still correlating with the previous studies.

Impoliteness in the political debate is an expected event, marked by the speaker's intentions to coercively diminish his opponent's face, and to make himself appear as more qualified than the opponent. It is also important to mention, as the more important contribution of this study, that even within a monologic interface, participants must still manage rapport and therefore maintain a balance in the facework. Both face and equity rights are at stake in the political debate scene. Adding the component of the participation framework and rapport management provided a more comprehensive examination of the interactive setup of the multi-party political debate interface. In spite of the lack of turn taking and the typical conversational sequences, the analysis in this study displayed how participants in a competitive context still rely on similar, if not the same, strategies to achieve their interactive goals. There is still more to see in political discourse and impoliteness studies.

Unlike Blas Arroyo's (2000, 2001, 2011) studies on impoliteness in the political debate context, the present study does not provide a comparative component to the debates (i.e. first debate versus second debate). Given the limited access to the data, I was only able to obtain the second debate of the 2012 governor elections. Perhaps a more detailed comparison of time would have shown different trends of behavior across participants (e.g. an increase or decrease of strategies employed from an earlier debate to a later debate). Furthermore, more information on who won the debate could have also provided, to a degree, some of the perceptual information of the audience. For future research, other social factors could be looked at. For instance, in the 2016 elections there will be a female candidate who will run as an independent candidate alongside some of the already established political parties. The discursive pragmatic analytical approach would allow inquiring into gender relations in the political debate context. As a final remark, this paper sought to examine political debates as instruments through which impoliteness is fostered in a monologic restricted setting. Furthermore, the study found how the same strategies of impoliteness were employed; however a different type of participation framework had to be redrawn in order to accomplish this.

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