On the universality of the politeness concept of 'face': Evaluation strategies for construing 'good face' across writing cultures: writers' voice in academic book reviews

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Note: This presentation is Ana I. Moreno's short version of the full-length paper published as Moreno and Suárez (2011) (see references) with a greater emphasis on the concept of *good face* (drawn from O'Driscoll, 1996) for its usefulness and relevance in crosscultural studies of academic writing. The paper was presented under the title 'Evaluation across reviewing writing cultures: writers' intrusion into the expression of critical comments on academic books under review' at the Int-Eval: International Workshop on the Evaluative Function of Language: Evaluation across Text Types and Cultures, October 6 - 8, 2011, UNED, Madrid, Spain. Available from Bulería (http://hdl.handle.net/10612/1132).

Introduction

One important academic writing skill is the ability of writers to construe an appropriate representation of themselves and their work through their textual voice (Ivanic and Weldon 1999). One way in which writers achieve this is intruding into their text by means of a type of evaluation resource (Thompson, Geoff / Hunston, Susan. 2000) known as writers' intrusion, or writers' visibility and invisibility strategies (following Hyland 2002). This resource is typically used by writers to explicitly signal or conceal their personal responsibility for the ideas referenced in it.

Using this kind of voice resource appropriately has revealed itself as particularly important, since their use not only signals how writers represent themselves in the act of writing, but also the degree of authoritativeness with which they write, which may have important interpersonal implications for the writer-reader relationship (Hyland, 2000). However, writers' decisions in this respect have shown to be highly problematic in English for Academic Purposes (EAP), especially for non-native English speakers (Hyland 2000, 2002).

One reason for this confusion may be the great number of factors affecting the use of voice resources, e.g.: disciplinary (Hyland 2000, 2001); diachronical (Salager-Meyer et al. 2003, Salager-Meyer 2006); audience-related (Gea Valor, forthcoming); cultural (Vassileva 1998, Moreno 1998, Salager-Meyer et al. 2003, Lorés-Sanz 2006, Mur 2007); and intratextual as, for example, the discourse/pragmatic role of the proposition within the same text (Hyland 2002; Harwood 2005) or the polarity of the proposition (i.e. whether the proposition is positive or negative, Hyland, 2000).

The purpose of my presentation is to discuss a study (Moreno and Suarez, 2011) in which we became interested in exploring the effects of the cultural factor (following Salager-Meyer et al. 2003; Salager-Meyer and Alcaraz Ariza, 2004) and to highlight the usefulness of the concept of *good face* (as proposed in O'Driscoll 1996) for crosscultural studies of evaluation resources. In such a study, we hypothesize that a part of the problem non-native English speakers have might be related to differing crosscultural expectations of the kind of

rhetorical and interpersonal effects that it is appropriate to create in each sociocultural context when comparable types of writers express comparable claims, in particular critical comments (henceforth CCs), in comparable genres and disciplinary fields.

Theoretical framework

For notions of rhetorical effects we draw on accounts of rhetorical or inter-subjective positioning such as those proposed by White (2003), who in turn draws inspiration from Bakhtin/Volosinov's dialogic perspective of discourse. According to White (2003), there are two major kinds of rhetorical strategies in which a given claim may participate:

- 1) a *dialogic* (*heteroglossic*) rhetorical strategy, where the textual voice represents itself as "entertaining or opening up the space" for alternative voices and/or points-of-view being referenced or activated by the text. This is typically achieved by the use of hedges or personal attribution.
- 2) a *monoglossic* rhetorical strategy, whereby the textual voice represents itself as "supressing or closing down the space" for such alternatives voices. This is typically achieved by the bare assertion.

The distinction between these two rhetorical strategies, with two very different *rhetorical effects*, is relevant because their choice might have significant bearings on *face*, with certain potential interpersonal implications for the participants in the ongoing communicative situation. We understand *face* as the public self-image that every member of society wants to claim for himself (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

For notions of *face* and *interpersonal effects* we draw on Brown and Levinson's (1987) model of face-maintenance, O'Driscoll's (1996) revision of some of its concepts, Hyland's (2000) application of such a model to the analysis of the expression of criticism in English BRs, Gea Valor and del Saz Rubio (2000-2001), and Gea Valor's (2004) empirical analyses and discussions of personal and impersonal strategies used by book reviewers in BRs in English, and Salager-Meyer et al. (2003)'s, of BRs in English, Spanish and French.

As reasoned in some of these works, CCs may potentially affect the self-image claimed by the author of the book and the wider audience in various ways. For instance, CCs of any type may potentially *threaten* other readers' negative face, i.e., their "desire that the universal need for distance and individualisation be given symbolic recognition in interaction" (O'Driscoll 1996), since reviewers adopt a position of authority in relation to readers, representing themselves as experts "qualified to speak, as it were, for the discipline" (Hyland 2000: 45). Negative CCs may also potentially *undermine* the book authors' positive face, i.e., their "desire that the universal need for proximity and belonging be given symbolic recognition in interaction" (O'Driscoll 1996: 4). And positive CCs may also pose a potential *threat* because "not everyone is entitled to compliment, and conveying praise implies an authority to appraise and make public one's judgements" (Hyland 2000: 45). Thus these potential face-effects are likely to create a certain degree of interpersonal friction and to affect how readers accept the reviewer's evaluative comments.

The concepts of positive and negative face in Brown and Levinson's (1987) model are proposed as language universals. However, this has given rise to many objections (see O'Driscoll 1996). O'Driscoll (1996: 4) introduces a revision of the notion of *face* that attempts to solve these objections. He proposes a third reflex of face, i.e. culture-specific face, which refers to "the foreground conscious desire for *good face*." In my understanding, this means the foreground conscious desire for *appropriate face*, that is, for the right type of face to give to the addressee *in a given sociocultural context and in given circumstances* (e.g. when communication is private vs. public). So, *good face* would be a relative concept.

Thus, although the desire for *good face* might be universal across cultures [I would say, among normal people], we concur with O'Driscoll (1996) that *the constituents of good* may be variable even in comparable contexts because they are also culturally determined, as recognised by Brown and Levinson, emphasized by O'Driscoll (1996) and empirically proven, for instance, by Moreno and Suárez (2010) in relation to the politeness strategy of 'giving reasons for critical comments' in authentic communication. We therefore find it relevant to continue exploring other crosscultural differences in how comparable types of academic writers construe *good face* in comparable communication circumstances.

Study design

Our aim is thus to compare (and understand) how successful scholars from two comparable writing communities, that of British/American and Castilian Spanish scholars of literature, partly construe *good face* by means of writers' intrusion (visibility and invisibility) strategies when expressing CCs in the book review genre (henceforth BR) and in the disciplinary field of literature in their respective sociocultural contexts. To achieve our aim, we use two methods:

- 1) A crosscultural text analysis: a quantitative corpus-driven text analysis of CCs drawn from two comparable corpora of BRs of literature written by British/American and Castilian Spanish scholars.
- 2) A crosscultural ethnographically-oriented method: An e-mail interview around-the-BR-genre with a sample of reviewers from the two writing communities under comparison.

Crosscultural text analysis

Establishing the constants of the comparison

To this purpose, we take into account Moreno's (2008) recommendation that, in order to compare any textual variable across two given writing cultures in a meaningful way, other relevant variables affecting the content and form of exemplars of the genre under comparison except the independent variable under investigation (in the present case, the writing culture), need to be fairly constant at a variety of levels of genre and text analysis (see also Connor and Moreno 2005). The way in which we establish the constants of our crosscultural text analysis is the following:

First, we aim to match comparable data at the generic level, so we choose two comparable corpora of 20 published BRs of literature each written by single authors from the British

and American English and the Castilian Spanish writing cultures. This compilation has been named the LIBRES corpus (see Moreno and Suárez 2011 for more details of our method of comparable corpora compilation). That is, we compile two corpora of text instances that share a great number of relevant generic variables (e.g. the overall purpose, the overall topic of the works reviewed (poetry, drama, fiction, literary theory...), the type of participants, etc.). We assume that choosing published academic book reviews will allow us to analyze instances of *good face*, as typically construed in this genre, in each sociocultural context.

Then, we seek to match comparable data at the textual level, so we match claims that perform comparable pragmatic functions and are about comparable THINGS in the world outside the text. In particular, we focus on any critical comments made by reviewers to *appreciate* the good or bad in an academic book, or some aspect of it (Martin 2000; Thompson and Hunston, 2000). Eg.:

- (2E) I'm afraid that my summary may be giving the book and the individual chapters more coherence than they actually have.
- (2S) Este libro comienza con mal pie.
- (2S Trans) [This book gets off on the wrong foot.]

By focussing on this kind of speech acts, we restrict our comparison to those propositions whose main purpose is to offer the writer's personal opinion on a book under review (see Moreno and Suárez 2008a for more details of our method of identification and quantification of critical comments). Our preliminary *quantitative corpus-driven text analysis* yields two sets of critical comments, comprising 459 CCs in English (289 positive/70 negative) and 299 CCs in Spanish (258 positive/41 negative).

Comparing the variables

In order to compare the text-rhetorical variable under comparison, that is, the rhetorical and interpersonal effects created by the use of writer's intrusion (both visibility and invisibility) strategies, we take into account Moreno and Suárez' (2008b) discussion of the importance of comparing comparable evaluation resources. And so we analyse all the CCs and their cotext in each subcorpus in a real corpus-driven fashion, that is, manually and without basing our analyses on any preconceived list of textual items. We take the following steps.

Step 1: We read each CC and focus on how reviewers have positioned themselves, both with respect to other possible voices on the books (rhetorical strategy) and with regard to their own CCs, in particular, whether they have signalled or concealed their responsibility for their CCs.

Step 2: We take note of the effects created by the choice of a given rhetorical strategy and by the way of signalling their responsibility for their CCs. This yields a number of subcategories:

Rhetorical effects identified (for further details see Moreno and Suárez 2011):

- monoglossic: imposing effect (closing down the space)
- heteroglossic or dialogic: mitigating (perhaps boosting) effect (opening up space)

Effects of signalling or concealing writers' responsibility for their CCs:

- When writers are taking on responsibility, we observe two effects:
 - o An expert sounding (perhaps modest) effect, despite giving the impression that they are giving a personal opinion.
 - A subjectivising effect, whereby authors reposition themselves and their authority reacting as ordinary readers, rather than as experts. This facilitates rapport.
- When writers are taking off responsibility, as if they were speaking on behalf of others, this tends to have a shielding (or face-saving) effect. We observe two possible sub-effects:
 - o An objectivising effect, as if they were speaking on behalf of an impersonal or neutral entity.
 - A perspectivising effect, as if they were speaking on behalf of the audience, without implying alignment.
- When writers are sharing responsibility, we observe the following effect:
 - o An engaging effect, as if they were trying to draw the audience's voice into the text.

We note that none of these strategies, except for the strategy causing the subjectivising effect, manage to modify the basic monoglossic imposing effect of the CC.

Step 3: We codify each critical comment according to a number of categories, each of which consists of a different combination of effects.

4.0. monoglossic, imposing effect

E.g.: she is good in her analyses of the possibly neoclassical impulse.

4.1. dialogic (heteroglossic), subjectivizing, mitigating the effect of the imposition (boosting?) E.g. and thus *I find* that this volume [...] does not fully deliver what the series promises.

 $4.2.\ monoglossic,\ expert\ sounding/modest,\ imposing\ effect$

E.g.: [trans] We may, then, conclude that 'El amor, la inocencia y otros excesos,' is a new contribution to that solid fiction work [...]

4.3. monoglossic, engaging, imposing effect

E.g. His claims for considering the positions [...] parts that we all should be grateful for.

4.4. monoglossic, perspectivizing, shielding (face-saving), imposing effect

E.g. ... the reader does not end up with a clear sense of their relationship.

4.5. monoglossic, objectivizing, shielding (face-saving), imposing effect

E.g. it is striking how much [...] evidence he offers.

Step 4: We observe whether writers have intruded into the expression of CCs or not (non-intrusion) and identify the writers' intrusion (visibility and invisibility) strategies which have contributed to somehow modifying the basic monoglossic, imposing effect of the bare assertion created by writers' non intrusion strategies.

Writers' non-intrusion strategy

4.0. E.g. she is good in her analyses... [bare assertion]

Writers' intrusion strategies

- 4.1. E.g. and thus *I find* that ... [first person singular + opinion verb]
- 4.2. E.g. [trans] We may, then, conclude that ... [first person plural, exclusive]
- 4.3. E.g. ... parts that we all should ... [first person plural inclusive]
- 4.4. E.g. *the reader* does not end up with [reference to the audience]
- 4.5. E.g. *it* is striking how ... [impersonal construction]

Step 5: We tally the categories (or combination of effects) for each corpus.

Step 6: We match the quantitative results from each corpus according to comparable categories of rhetorical and interpersonal effects.

Step 7: We analyse and interpret the quantitative differences obtained by means of the chi-square test of goodness of fit and independence to detect group differences using frequency (count) data (Preacher, 2008). [Alfa value is set up at p<0.05. We employ the Yates correction[1] in one 2 x 2 case of the chi-square test of independence in which one expected frequency was less than 5.]

Quantitative results from crosscultural text analysis and discussion

As we show in table 2 (reproduced below), our first empirical result is that writers' non-intrusion is a much more frequent option in both corpora (82% in English and 78% in Spanish) than intrusion¹ (18% in English and 22% in Spanish), showing no statistically significant differences for p<0.05, $x^2=(1, N=758)=1.624$, p=0.203.

	English				Spanish				Total			
	P	%	N	%	P	%	N	%	Eng.	%	Sp.	%
4.0.	249	86	126	74	212	83	21	51	375	82	233	78
4.1-4.5.	40	14	44	26	46	18	20	49	84	18	66	22
Total	289	100	170	100	258	100	41	100	459	100	299	100

(P= positive; N= negative; 4.0. = writers' non-intrusion; 4.1-4.5: writers' intrusion)

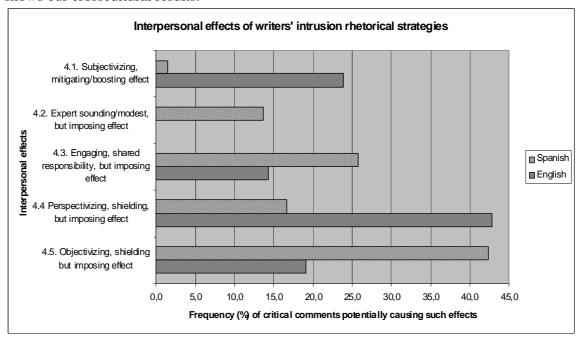
Table 2. Rhetorical options for expressing CCs in the LIBRES corpus.

(Moreno, A. I. & Suárez, L. 2011).

We interpret this as the reviewers' tendency to assume that expressing CCs without their intrusion is generally a constituent of *good face*. It is as if reviewers assumed that they have been granted the authority to pass judgement on the book under review, without feeling the need to open rhetorical

¹ All intrusion strategies (from 4.1 to 4.5) have been grouped into one category for this comparison.

space for alternative positions. Next, we focus on the effects that BR writers of literature prefer to create by the use of writers' intrusion rhetorical strategies. Table 3 (reproduced below) shows our crosscultural results.



(Moreno, A. I. & Suárez, L. 2011).

As can be seen, the preferred choice of the English-speaking scholars in the *LIBRES* corpus is to create a textual voice for themselves that presents itself as speaking on behalf of other readers (4.4), thus creating a perspectivizing shielding effect that serves to protect their own positive face, while threatening the negative face of those-readers-who-do-not-share-the-same-view and the book authors' positive face. Their second best option to create a subjectivizing effect (4.1.), opening up space for alternative positions, thus mitigating the imposition of the bare assertion. They do so by means of a singular form, to make it clear that they are giving their own opinion, as ordinary readers. They never use the expert sounding exclusive we (4.2. = 0). Alternatively, they frequently resort to the objectivizing shielding it mainly (4.5.) and, more rarely, to the engaging inclusive we (4.3.)

In contrast, the preferred choice by the Spanish scholars in this corpus is to create an objectivizing shielding effect (4.5.). They also have a considerable tendency to create an engaging effect by using the inclusive we (4.3.) whose use is much greater than in English. Their tendency to create a perspectivizing effect (4.4.) is, in contrast, much lower than that of the English-speaking reviewers. What they clearly avoid doing as much as possible is reveal their personal identities in the text (4.1.), except when they assume their role as experts, for which purpose they use the expert-sounding exclusive we (4.2.)

All in all, we take these results to show that the rhetorical and interpersonal effects that academic writers of literary BRs tend to create by their use of writers' intrusion strategies to construe *good face* when expressing CCs vary significantly across the British/American English vs. the Castilian Spanish writing cultures.

We acknowledge that one problem with this kind of quantitative text analytical method is that it does not help us to understand the reasons for the differing rhetorical preferences of reviewers from the two comparable writing communities. Thus we hypothesize that these two groups of writers may have different conceptions of *good face*, that is, of the rhetorical and interpersonal effects that it is appropriate to create in their respective sociocultural contexts, assuming they all have a common conscious desire for good face, and that possible failures to construe good face, whether intentional or not, have not been generally allowed to be published.

A crosscultural ethnographically-oriented method

To confirm this second hypothesis we feel the need to get behind the textual data. To this aim, we contact the authors of the reviews themselves by means of an *e-mail interview-around-the-BR-genre*. We include the following interview questions, among 30:

- -'Do you think reviewers should detach themselves from their evaluations by avoiding first person singular personal pronouns? Why?'
- -'Do you think that the use of engagement markers such as the second person singular personal pronoun... constitutes a useful resource in book reviews?'

Answers from the E-mail interview-around-the ABR genre

We recognise that the evidence is too limited to generalise from, since only seven reviewers respond. However, we suggest that reviewers' expectations (as revealed through their answers) of which kind of rhetorical and interpersonal effects and writers' visibility and invisibility strategies should be used in order to express CCs in BRs closely match their actual writing practices.

On the one hand, most of the British & American informants do not find it problematic to use the personal pronoun I or a more detached third person style on the grounds that it does not matter, that they are "trained to navigate different styles and approaches as academic readers". As one of them suggests, "write as you feel comfortable." In spite of this, two of them acknowledge that they prefer to use I because "it's only one person's opinion after all, and reviewers are often, very often, wrong." And one of them recommends the use of I "so long as one (a) tries to avoid being unduly subjective, while (b) the very use of I makes plain that the view IS that of just one person". With regard to the use of you, the four British & American informants acknowledge that this is a form they never use or do not like to use. One of them says that it sounds baroque, as if showing disapproval, and another one specifies that he prefers expressions like "other readers may think 'X' about this, though personally I think 'Y', because [...] (facts/reasons offered)".

For their part, two of the Spanish reviewers also consider the use of a more or less committed or detached style as of little importance and, in fact, states that both perspectives may be combined. In spite of this, we note that in both cases their answers imply that a reviewer should attempt to be objective. As one of them says, "we all know that behind any discourse there is always a first person, however objective it attempts to be." The other

informant also recognises the need for Spanish writers to detach themselves from their text to establish a greater distance from readers by using the third person, thus supporting our empirical results. With regard to the use of second person singular pronouns, the three informants clearly say that they would not use that form. Two of them say they do not like it and one considers this form "violenta" (threatening). We also note that what our Spanish informants do not mention is why they clearly prefer to use first person plural, instead of singular, verb forms when they express their CCs. It is as if this were the most natural choice to make out of convention. This is proposed as an interesting issue for further research.

Discussion of results from e-mail interviews

From these answers, we tentatively conclude that the reviewers' comments are not only intraculturally consistent but also confirm at least some of the empirical quantitative results that we obtained by means of our crosscultural text analysis. For example, the English-speaking reviewers' preference for the use of a perspectivising strategy is corroborated by the comment that expressions like "other readers may think 'X' about this..." are favoured. Their preference for a dialogic strategy (e.g. "though personally I think 'Y'"), as their second best option, is also confirmed by comments like "it's only one person's opinion after all" and "so long as one tries to avoid being unduly subjective". By contrast, the Spanish-speaking reviewers' preference for creating an objectivizing shielding, monoglossic effect is corroborated by comments like "however objective one attempts to be" or "to establish a distance from readers". These comments suggest that reviewers may have a different conception of how *good face* is construed in this respect in each sociocultural context.

Conclusions

From our results, we conclude that reviewers from the two groups have a clear idea of how to construe *good face* in their respective sociocultural context when expressing CCs. That is, they all implicitly acknowledge the need that the universal needs for distance and individualisation vs. proximity and belonging be given symbolic recognition in writing appropriately. However, reviewers' means of recognising those needs symbolically appropriately in writing by using writers' intrusion strategies seems to differ across the two groups. As our study also indicates, the differing choice of such symbolic means in writing might well be due to reviewers' different conception of the rhetorical and interpersonal effects that it is appropriate to create in each sociocultural context when expressing CCs in a way that construes *good face*.

Specifically, the English-speaking writers are more inclined to create a textual voice for themselves that presents itself as speaking on behalf of other readers, thus creating a perspectivizing face-saving effect. If they decide to make themselves visible, they prefer to take on personal responsibility for their CCs to create a subjective effect. By contrast, in the Spanish academic book reviewing culture, it seems more appropriate to make CCs on behalf of an impersonal entity, thus creating an objectivizing face-saving effect. If writers decide to make themselves visible at all when expressing CCs, they prefer to create an expert sounding (perhaps modest) effect.

One possible implication of our type of empirical crosscultural results for Politeness Theory (Brown and Levinson 1987) may be the need to introduce O'Driscoll's (1996) revision of the concept of *face*, recognising a third reflex of face, that is, "culture-specific face" or "the foreground conscious desire for *good face*", in addition to positive and negative face. This revision could postulate that although the foreground conscious desire for *good face* may be a linguistic universal [among normal people (my own addition)], the constituents of *good* vary across cultures.

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10

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