Advances in (Im)politeness Studies
Series Editor: Chaoqun Xie

Maria Sidiropoulou

Understanding Im/politeness Through Translation

The English-Greek Paradigm

Springer

Advances in (Im)politeness Studies

Series Editor

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Maria Sidiropoulou

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Maria Sidiropoulou
Department of English
Language and Literature
School of Philosophy
National and Kapodistrian
University of Athens
Athens, Greece

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To Petros

who seeks for politeness patterns
in all human communication

Preface

Translation seems to offer a new, highly enlightening view into pragmatics and the phenomenon of im/politeness cross-culturally. Multiple target versions of the same source text (academic work, press article, novel, playtext, audiovisual product, etc.) reconstruct relational work in multiple ways across language versions, producing alternative target options of source im/politeness manifestations in target discourses.

Translation is never a straightforward activity and there is no such thing as 'the' perfect translation—because there is always the potential of a better, more communicative option in a language; so the various options translators suggest often bring to the fore a range of alternative renditions, occasionally far from straightforward ones, which tally with the various contextual conditions which translators assume for each transfer instance.

In this sense, translation practice is a kind of a laboratory context, where the workings of im/politeness manifest themselves through the meaning-transfer practice. Translation data, in various genres, are highly eloquent

(a) in confirming what monolingual research may have suggested with respect to the workings of im/politeness and
(b) in broadening perception of potential options a target language paradigm can offer, at points of non-equivalence with the source context.

The translators' bilingual awareness and expertise unintentionally produce data, which are worth exploring for the communicative force they display and their potential to speak volumes to researchers.

The book sets out to explore the potential of translation data in manifesting the workings of im/politeness in various genres, across English–Greek.

Athens, Greece
2021

Maria Sidiropoulou

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Abbreviations

AVT	Audiovisual translation
CDA	Critical discourse analysis
CofP	Communities of practice
FTA	Face-threatening act(s)
L1	First language
NKUA	National and Kapodistrian University of Athens
OUP	Oxford University Press
ST	Source text
TEFL	Teaching English as Foreign Language
TEGMA	Translated English–Greek Material
Tim/po	Translated im/politeness
TT	Target text

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Part I
Im/politeness in Translated Non-fiction

Chapter 1
On Translation and Im/Politeness



The study shows that translation studies have a lot to offer to the study of im/politeness. The chapter starts with presenting im/politeness and translation studies as two parallel paradigms permeated by similar theoretical insights and methodological concerns (the significance of the role of reader/addressee in the analysis and evaluation of practice in both paradigms, their awareness of the significance of a discursive approach to phenomena, their concern about whether identities are durable or not, their awareness that genre, societal factors and historicity are important variables affecting appropriate use of phenomena, their affinity to pragmatics, their potential to contribute useful insights to TEFL or the teaching of any language, their awareness of the dichotomy between first-order and second-order judgements, their overlap with ethics and that translation may itself be described as im/polite behaviour towards source author and text). Then the chapter presents the three waves in im/politeness research and developments in translation studies as a discipline. It also highlights their shared methodologies in terms of self-reporting, observational and experimental methods for studying phenomena, their concern with contrastive pragmatics across cultures or communities of practice, and the emphasis they both place on meta-pragmatic comments. The chapter goes on with showing that the three approaches of intercultural communication (the cognitive, the interpretive and the critical) are to be found in both paradigms, although not to the same extent. The chapter concludes with what motivated this book and the content organization.

1.1 Two Parallel Paradigms

A lot has been said about the tale of politeness, its theoretical make-up and perspectives, especially through monolingual data. Even when politeness was researched cross-culturally, the research data were comparable texts (originally produced in both working languages). Researching politeness through parallel data (original in one working language and translated in another) was rarely an option, probably

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because translation is a second-order type of production, which adds more variables to the research situation, perhaps questioning the validity of findings. Such variables may be translator background, potential generic conventions in a target environment, power differentials between interlocutors and across languages, etc. The view that translation data may not be a reliable resource for drawing conclusions about the use of phenomena rather underestimates the communicative force that translation options may convey in real-life translation situations, where the translators' creativity, professional expertise and linguistic insight in a (native) target language may offer a target version. Translators provide target versions with a socio-politically appropriate impetus and dynamism, which may speak volumes to the target addressee (and the researchers). Translational data are claimed in this book to strategically reveal aspects of intercultural variation in the communicative dynamism of discourse, which might have gone unnoticed otherwise.

This book shows that translation studies and translation practice seem to have another story to tell about their potential to advance understanding of im/politeness. It argues that the way translation practice implements im/politeness patterns in target versions of texts allows an illuminating view into the phenomenon of im/politeness. It points towards a socio-constructionist approach to the phenomenon, one which highlights a number of relational aspects of meaning-making in the communication process.

Both disciplines, the study of im/politeness and translation studies, seem to share quite a few insights. The evaluative task that translators implicitly perform to ensure translation quality and appropriateness in a target context points towards a discursive model of im/politeness which views the hearers' evaluative role as fundamental: see, for instance, Hatim and Mason's (1990) 'reader oriented' translation or Conway's (2012) 'audience comments' in analyzing translation data. This is the case with the discursive turn in im/politeness theory, which favours a socio-constructionist approach to the phenomenon. Translation studies have also embraced the constructivist view, as a paradigm which allows translation practice to discursively reshape reality in a target version.

The book assumes that the study of the discursive shifts registered in real-life translation practice, for target versions to become operative in a target context, may pave the way towards a translation-oriented approach to im/politeness, which Mills (2011) and Mills and Kádár (2011) suggest should be undertaken, if we are to study im/politeness at a cultural or cross-cultural (Sifianou 1992; Haugh 2007) level.

Im/politeness partially overlaps with identity theory. There are views suggesting that the difference between the notion of face (im/politeness) and that of identity is difficult to tease out theoretically. Translation and identity theory also seem to have much in common. Translation is a practice of socio-cultural nature, a process which registers socio-historically significant discursive shifts in a target version and so does identity theory in its discursive perspective: it views identity as a socially constructed phenomenon, which goes beyond the individual level and involves hearers' evaluations. The parallel assumes that translation practice is an ongoing process of identity construction, which may highlight aspects of key theoretical issues in im/politeness theory. One of the key theoretical debates im/politeness theory has focused on is

the difference between face and identity and the question arises whether translation can offer a fresh view which may advance understanding of the relation/difference between the notions.

The discursive shift in identity theory emphasized the non-permanent nature of identity (Blitvich 2013): identities are conceptualized as versatile and non-static phenomena. This point of view blurred the distinction between face and identity, because identity, like face, is now conceptualized as a non-permanent social construction. Translation practice has its own contribution to make, at this point. It seems to confirm the non-permanent nature of identity, in that texts (e.g. plays) are often retranslated over the years to cater for shifting audience identities and do justice to audience expectations. The non-permanent character of identities may not necessarily be manifested diachronically. Identities may also shift with regards to the translators' awareness of the ideological positioning of the commissioning institution.

Certain scholars assume that identities are rather durable, arising from a 'process of sedimentation' in language and social experience (Butler 1990). The phenomenon has a parallel in translation practice. There seem to be discursive patterns in translated communication which are *systematically* favoured in the parallel versions of data, realizing that durable sedimentary knowledge which translators draw on, in constructing target discourses. Translator trainers also make sure they make trainees aware of this sedimentary knowledge across contexts, which permeate discourses.

The assumption that identities are not static and fixed processes is confirmed through translation practice diachronically, in that certain linguistic features which seem to realize some social identity features in source versions may be enhanced or weakened in target versions over the years, potentially under the pressure of the workings of globalization through discourse. These are instances where translation practice makes its own contribution to issues arising in im/politeness research, perhaps offering a triangulation opportunity.

The book argues that translation practice adds a level of empirical specificity to im/politeness research in that the parallel versions (source/target texts, ST/TT hereafter) may discursively realize varied constructions of identity and sedimented knowledge across versions. Alternatively, face enactment in im/politeness theory may tally with the mediators' intention to save face by forwarding (or resisting) an attitude foregrounded through a source discourse. Thus, translation practice may offer discursive contexts where face and identity may be cooperating towards an intended discursive goal, as the data will show in subsequent chapters.

Translation theory has highlighted the importance of genre in establishing equivalence in translation. Trosborg (1997) showed the relation between text type and translational behaviour for anyone who would like to become a 'competent text-aware professional'. In the same vein, Blitvich (2010, 2013) suggests a *genre* approach to im/politeness theory. This study takes the assumption on board and organizes the content of the book around genre types (press, academic, fictional) to do justice to generic conventions which may permeate practices in translation and im/politeness research.

Both paradigms have had a keen interest in societal factors, such as gender or age, as variables affecting interaction. In im/politeness research, gender was originally viewed "in categorial ways, by clearly distinguishing masculine and feminine forms of politeness behavior" (Kádár 2017 online). Gender was later thought to be discursively constrained by interactional negotiations. Likewise, gender-conscious macro-analysis of translated texts has been highly esteemed in translation studies (Simon 1996; von Flotow 1997).

Kádár (2017 online) also highlighted the interface between im/politeness and historicity, arguing that "it is perhaps not too ambitious to argue that no theory of politeness can be complete without engaging in some form of historical research". Eelen (2001: i) singles out a number of factors which historically confirm the complexity of the im/politeness notion: these are "aspects of social hierarchy (the court), social status (life in the city), but also a more general notion of behavioural conduct" which warrants the interplay between language and social reality. The interface between translation and historicity is equally productive in translation studies: multiple retranslations of the same theatrical plays or academic texts offer a wealth of historicity-relevant data (including evidence of im/politeness enacting over the years).

In TEFL (Teaching English as a Foreign Language) contexts, im/politeness does not seem to be a priority in language teaching curricula, not even between languages which favour different im/politeness patterns in the relevant genres or communities of practice. This awareness is often acquired at later stages of language learning, if it is not a life-long process. Translational contexts offer a superb opportunity for shifts in im/politeness to be revisited and thoroughly understood in educational contexts, because translation expertise has registered shifts in politeness phenomena cross-culturally, which make texts operative in both environments and can highlight systematic variation in the use of im/politeness in parallel contexts.

The *Journal of Politeness Research: Language, behaviour, culture,* on its 10th anniversary (2005–2015), acknowledged the interdisciplinary affinity of im/politeness studies to "pragmatics and a number of diverse other disciplines, including sociolinguistics, social anthropology, sociology, communication studies, computing, psychology, gender studies and business" (van der Bom and Grainger 2015: 165). Translation is nowhere to be found on the list.

The assumption in this book is that im/politeness and translation may benefit from each other's perspectives, in theory and practice. The interaction of the two paradigms can be fruitful for both disciplines. Im/politeness theory viewed through a translation perspective may advance understanding of own concepts and operations. Likewise, translation theory viewed through the lens of a discourse-permeating phenomenon like im/politeness may advance understanding as to what it is that matters in translation practice.

1.2 Translation as Im/Polite Behaviour

Brown and Levinson's (1978/1987) seminal work on politeness received thorough criticism from the postmodern im/politeness paradigm, which abandoned the search for universals and instead focused on interpersonal interaction. Likewise, translation studies themselves have been concerned with general rules pertaining to the practice of translation and then focused on variables affecting the interpersonal dimension of communication instances as manifested through translation.

Another objection of the post-modern paradigm of politeness concerns the researchers' potential to identify what is im/polite. The second wave of politeness suggested that the most reliable source of evidence as to what is im/polite is lay people's im/politeness judgements, which they named 'first-order' politeness versus the researchers' views which they called 'second-order' politeness. On a par, translation studies shifted research attention to reception of target versions in target environments and communities of practice.

1.2.1 First- and Second-Order Judgements

Haugh (2007) highlighted epistemological and ontological challenges to the post-modern paradigm. For instance, the emphasis of the second wave on the hearers' first-order evaluation of politeness in research versus the analysts' second-order judgements on politeness, *is* welcome, Haugh argues, but he wonders which part of the binary may be assumed to be the dominant one in the model.

Likewise, translation studies have appreciated the discursive perspective and the notion 'communities of practice' versus approaches which view cultures as more homogeneous, highlighting culture-driven norms in the use of phenomena. Attention, in translation studies, has also been directed to the receivers' judgements as to the appropriateness of the target options with respect to the implications and connotations they carry. Translators are expected to avoid unintended or inappropriate implications in a target context, and audience judgements are often taken into consideration in translation quality assessment contexts.

1.2.2 Ethics

Another shared feature between im/politeness behaviour and translator behaviour is the moral character of the discursive decision-making process they both often involve. In the same way that politeness scholars acknowledge the ethical dimension of the discursive decision-making in the context of im/politeness (Haugh 2007: 308), politeness involves an understanding of both what people think *should* happen (moral norms) and what people think *is likely to* happen (empirical norms) (Eelen 2001: 140;

Haugh 2003: 400), translation theorists have also highlighted the moral responsibility that translators carry (Baker 2011, Inghilleri 2011, Pym 2011) in performing the mediation task (moral norm/normativity), and their concern for meeting the expectation of a target audience (empirical norm/normativity). In translation studies, the return to ethics was also associated to the political agenda and activism, and concern was about how translators would behave as active agents in geopolitical conflicts, making decisions as to how they can act ethically or politically "without relying on the traditional foundations of identity, IDEOLOGY [sic] or rationalist/universalist moral judgement" (Inghilleri 2011: 101).

The book assumes that translation itself can be conceptualized as im/polite behaviour towards the text or author intentions, in the process of intercultural transfer. Translators may intentionally or unintentionally override aspects of meaning in target texts, which may be interpreted as rude behaviour, in the relational work enacted between translator and text. 'Face' (the speakers' 'public self-image' in the eyes of interlocutors) may be conceptualized as the translators' concern about their public self-image and professional/social profile in the eyes of editors, readers, clients etc. following from decisions they make on how they may reshape the identity of their discourse entities to match (or ignore and resist) audience expectations.

1.2.3 Translation as Im/Politeness

Another challenge is that cultural perceptions of what is im/polite vary cross-culturally. There is no cross-cultural consensus of what im/polite is. Notions which have been considered polite across cultures are "consideration, friendliness, pleasantness, respect, appropriateness and modesty" (Haugh 2007: 300). Watts (2003: 15) for instance suggests that the Russian notion of what 'politeness' is and evidence from "Sifianou's Greek informants tend to stress the expression of intimacy and the display of warmth and friendliness - apart from the term 'reserved' in Rathmayr's list of attributes". Likewise, translation theorists have used several politeness metaphors for the translators' attitudes towards an original text: translators are 'friends' with the source author, they may deeply 'respect' the original, in which case they may end up with a source-oriented translation. By contrast, functional translation studies emphasize 'appropriateness' in a target context, namely whether the intended function of utterances is performed, in searching for an appropriate target text equivalent item. A target-version-oriented translation may pair with impoliteness, in that translators *distance* themselves from the source author and text, with a source-text-oriented one *respecting* the source author and text.

Another challenge to the postmodern im/politeness vision is that the four categories of relational work, namely,

– impolite (negatively marked, inappropriate/non-politic)
– non-polite (unmarked, appropriate/politic)
– polite (positively marked, appropriate/politic)

– over-polite (negatively marked, inappropriate/non-politic) (Locker and Watts 2005) do not have definite boundaries (Haugh 2007).

The categories of the im/politeness paradigm could stand for the translators' 'relational work' with the original, in the process of intercultural transfer of meaning:

– Translation-'impolite' behaviour can also be inappropriately charged, in that the translator's interference is too forceful and the target text does not receive positive evaluations on the part of hearers.
– 'Over-polite' translation behaviour can produce a highly source-oriented target version, where the translator leaves traces of the source version in the target text, *at the expense* of target text quality, and the hearers' evaluations are rather unfavourable with respect to the naturalness of translation. By contrast, the
– 'non-polite' and 'polite' translation behaviours yield a target text which may be approved and enjoyed, respectively, by lay hearers and bystanders.

1.3 On the Waves of Im/Politeness Research

Im/politeness scholars have conceptualized advances in the theory of im/politeness in terms of 'waves'. Kádár (2017) identifies three waves of theoretical advancements, following the pragmatically oriented politeness research in the 1970s and early 1980s. These were

- the 'first wave' of research, which focused on cross-cultural realizations of politeness, on the basis of politeness universals,
- the 'second wave' introducing the discourse turn in im/politeness research, which highlighted the interactional co-constructivist nature of an individually based phenomenon, and
- the 'third wave' which refocuses attention on cross-cultural realizations of im/politeness, but acknowledging the benefit of viewing im/politeness as "an interactionally co-constructed phenomenon" (Kádár 2017 online).

The field has undergone various methodological and theoretical changes. These include the 'first wave' of politeness research, in the course of which researchers either attempted to model politeness across languages and cultures by using universal frameworks or engaged in culture-specific criticisms of such frameworks. In the 'second wave' of politeness research, researchers attempted to approach politeness as an individualistic, and often idiosyncratic, interactionally co-constructed phenomenon. A key argument of the second wave is that politeness can only be studied at the micro-level of the individual and so it may be overambitious to attempt to model this phenomenon across languages and cultures. In the 'third wave' of politeness research, scholars attempt to model politeness across languages and cultures, without compromising the endeavour of examining politeness as an interactionally co-constructed phenomenon.

The *Journal of Politeness Research: Language, behaviour, culture,* also conceptualizes theoretical advancements in terms of three waves (van der Bom and Grainger 2015: 169) on the occasion of its10th anniversary (2005–2015).

Following Grainger (2011: 169), the first wave of politeness theory contains research by Brown and Levinson (1978/1987) Leech (1983) and Lakoff (1973, 1989), and is predominantly informed by J. L. Austin's (1962) and Paul H. Grice's (1975) work. The second wave of politeness research can be attributed to ctitiques (e.g. Eelen 2001; Mills 2003; Watts 2003, 2005) of Gricean approaches to politeness, and is mainly informed by the "discursive turn" in politeness research (e.g. Locher 2004, 2006a, b; Locher and Watts 2005; Linguistic Politeness Research Group 2011; Mills 2011). The third wave Grainger introduces captures sociological/interactional approaches to politeness such as those put forward by O'Driscoll (2007), Arundale (2006), Haugh 2007) and Terkourafi (2005).

The first boom in the interest in politeness was, thus, followed by a number of theoretical conceptualizations aimed at advancing the original models. In the Greek context, the interest in politeness research boomed with Sifianou's pioneering, highly enlightening work on *Politeness Phenomena in England and Greece—A Cross Cultural Perspective* (1992 Clarendon OUP) and since then, research on politeness has proliferated and studied through various types of data, including English-Greek translational data (Sidiropoulou 2012, 2017, 2020).

The translational orientation of the present work takes a special interest in the cross-cultural perspective and the third wave im/politeness research, focusing on first wave notions of im/politeness while favouring the discursive perspective of the second wave.

Im/politeness research celebrates the importance of context in the assessment of impoliteness. Culpeper and Terkourafi (2017: 29) suggest that "[e]ven a bare imperative directive *Shut up* can be polite, if said slowly and evenly with a kind tone of voice to one's chatty sweetheart". Translation practice can provide a huge range of varied contexts where impoliteness can be assessed and reassessed, as e.g. in multiple retranslations of play texts, where the interpersonal relations between fictional addressees are reshaped according to socio-cultural considerations (*inter alia*), on a par with relational work the translator enacts with the audience.

1.4 Sailing with the Translation Paradigm

Translation serves communication across languages and cultures and its study has gone through the various stages which have highlighted different approaches and aspects of studying the phenomenon. These are the early linguistic, textual and communicative approaches in the 1950s and the 1960s (Munday 2001), where translation was considered a part of applied linguistics (House 2018) and focused on the notion of how *equivalence* may be achieved between source and target versions.

The descriptive paradigm (Toury 1995) followed in translation studies, which played down the concern for the notion of equivalence and emphasized the importance of solid *empirical* work. The postmodernist, postcolonial, feminist and deconstructionist views, emphasized the potential of approaching translation critically and making the translator more *visible* (in literary translation, Venuti 1992, 1995) including the feminist concern for visibility of gendered voices (Simon 1996; von Flotow 1997).

Functionalist theories emphasized the importance of achieving the *purpose* of the source text in the target version. If the purpose of the source author is to resist an ideological point of view, the translator should make sure the purpose reaches the target audience. This concern signalled a shift towards reception in translation studies, which is concerned with what actually gets through to the receiver. The trend also focused on how ideology may be reshaped in translation, e.g. in the translation of news (Galzada-Pérez 2003; Valdeón 2007; Kaniklidou and House 2013), in political texts, in advertising etc., and on the CDA awareness (van Dijk 1997; Fairclough 1995; Wodak 2013) that language may convey *power* imbalances and ideological biases (Tymoczko 2007), which may need to be resisted by the translator.

More approaches involve awareness of the narratives which circulate in a target environment, through translation (Baker 2006, 2010, 2014), carrying ethical consequences. A new non-essentialist way of approaching culture emphasized small cultures (Holliday 1999) and communities of practice (Wenger 1998) which translations had to conform to if they were to be felicitous.

1.5 Methodological Considerations and Beyond

Terkourafi (2015) highlights three methodological paradigms in im/politeness research, namely, *self-reporting* methodologies (eliciting production tasks, acceptability judgement tasks, questionnaires, online surveys, classroom observations and focus-group interviews), *observational* studies (fieldwork, corpus based studies, data from mass and online media, radio, TV and non-password protected websites, data from plays and generally scripted interaction) and *experimental* studies where the researcher intervenes to elicit data of theoretical significance, with the use of technology or otherwise.

Translation studies need all three methodological paradigms. Eliciting production tasks in a mother tongue may be used to evaluate the level of target language orientedness of a translation version, acceptability judgement tasks may be used for eliciting judgements about the acceptability of various target versions of the same source text, through questionnaires, online surveys, etc. Observational studies also thrive in translation research, as the present work shows, which will be using mini parallel corpora (source and target versions of published texts) from mass and online media, and non-password protected websites, retranslated data of plays and their source versions, to unveil the intricacies in the transfer of im/politeness across

English-Greek. Experimental studies (Tipton and Desilla 2019) have also been used in translation research, with or without the use of technology.

The previous sections have selectively embarked on a number of theoretical issues in im/politeness theory, rather vaguely, drawing a parallel with the process of translation. A question to be answered is whether the parallelism is a productive one, whether it may contribute insights for broadening the im/politeness model applicability and offer translation practice another conceptual dimension.

The data in this book are English-Greek translational data culled from real-life translation situations and are hoped to enhance the explanatory power of the discursive im/politeness model, while offering translation practice awareness with respect to the workings of the im/politeness paradigm.

There seem to be two ways in which translation and im/politeness research relate to each other: a pragmatic and a meta-pragmatic one. The latter approach examines post-event reflections on similarities and differences between im/politeness enactment and translation performance. As perception of im/politeness varies across cultures, the former approach (pragmatic) concerns the representation of variation through intercultural shifts in im/politeness phenomena as manifested through English-Greek translation. Insights on how im/politeness may be transferred cross-culturally is of paramount importance in avoiding misunderstandings and unintended inferencing on the part of target audiences.

In discussing cultural variation, Sifianou and Blitvich (2017) report on the view that research on im/politeness needs *new models* other than the ones used for im/politeness in individual interactions, for instance, for mediated interactions "such as those found in the social media" (2017: 581). The present book focuses on mediated interactions, but mediated by a translator (Fig. 1.1), and the question arises as to what aspects of reality are to be represented in such a model.

The book suggests that im/politeness models can be efficient in accounting for translation phenomena, if they cater for an intermediate level of mediation to account for the presence of the translator (Fig. 1.1), in press translation practice, in academic discourse translation and in translating fiction (novel, stage and film).

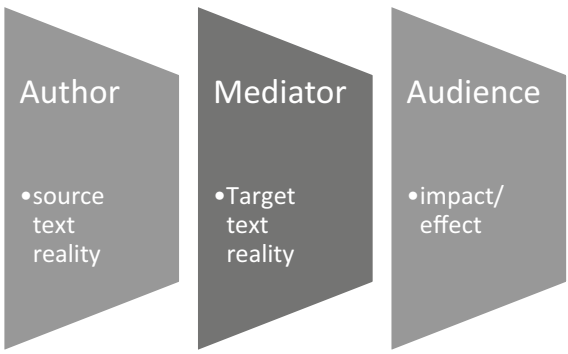


Fig. 1.1 A translation level of mediation

1.6 Approaches to Intercultural Communication

A translation model seems to be related to approaches to intercultural communication, so the study reports on Haugh and Kádár's (2017) account of three interrelated streams in the study of intercultural communication, namely, the cognitive, the interactional and the critical. Translation seems to make use of all three approaches, as the book will show.

1.6.1 The Cognitive Stream

Haugh and Kádár's (2017:606) outline the functionalist character of the first approach

> The first stream sees culture as a form of knowledge and takes what is sometimes termed the 'functionalist' approach to analysing intercultural encounters (Martin et al. 2012). Researchers aim to systematically describe cultural knowledge and how it underpins the degree to which intercultural encounters are perceived to be 'successful' or 'unsuccessful' (Busch 2009).

In this context, recent work in pragmatics assumes a more dynamic type of knowledge (Spencer-Oatey's (2007) rapport management, Kecskes' (2013) intercultural pragmatics, and Sharifian's (2011, 2017) distributed cognition offer a theoretical base for the study of im/politeness.

The analysis of the data in this book does justice to the "dynamic and individuated knowledge" (Haugh and Kádár's 2017: 606), which may vary across cultures and affect representation of relational work manifested through translation.

1.6.2 The Interpretive Stream

The second stream Haugh and Kádár argue (2017: 606) "treats culture as involving practices, that is, recurrent or preferred ways of doing, thinking and categorising people, and takes what is sometimes termed an 'interpretive' approach to analysing intercultural encounters". Central to this stream is the notion of 'community of practice' (CofP), which assumes that culture is not homogeneous and thus conclusions may be drawn only at group level, rather than at cultural level. Haugh and Kádár conclude that "there remains further theoretical work to be done to anchor the practices that are assumed to underpin evaluations of (im)politeness within a broader account of culture that goes beyond communities of practice (Mills 2011)" (ibid). Translation can show that there are certain cross-cultural preferences in discourse which permeate (or survive) in quite a few communities of practice. The term 'survive' is deliberate, because certain features may diachronically show less frequency over others which may become more frequent over time.

The data in this book acknowledge the significance of the 'communities of practice' in accounting for variation in language use, e.g. as in the case of different theatrical organizations which may have a tradition in using language in different ways, or academic periodicals which may favour one or another type of language use. However, there seem to be discursive preferences in discourse construction which seem to permeate several discourses of communities of practice and manifest in a large portion of culture; they are a kind of 'sedimented knowledge' or a type of 'distributed cognition'.

1.6.3 The Critical Stream

The third stream, Haugh and Kádár argue (2017: 607), takes into consideration the power imbalances in a community situation.

> It treats culture as an inherently ideological resource for perpetuating power imbalances or inequalities, and takes what is sometimes termed a 'critical' approach to analysing intercultural encounters […] While ideology and power has become an important focus of analysis in broadly discursive accounts of (im)politeness (Eelen 2001; Mills 2003; Watts 2003), there has been limited application of such ideas to the analysis of (im)politeness in intercultural encounters.

The translation data in this book display ample opportunities where the workings of power and ideology are evident in the way meaning is transferred across cultures.

1.7 Motivation for the Book and Content Organization

The motivation for this book has been that, as I was becoming acquainted with the translation paradigm, being a linguist with a special interest in pragmatics, I gained more and more trust in the potential of parallel data to reveal aspects of meaning-making across languages and cultures (or communities of practice). The rather vague awareness of intercultural variation, which was usually approached through comparable data in context, was becoming pleasantly concrete through the creativity and linguistic insight of various translation practitioners around the world, who registered their sub/conscious perception of intercultural understanding in target versions. The translation paradigm as a resource for the study of pragmatic phenomena (not only of im/politeness) is itself a move towards the hive mind potential which inspired the first-order assessment perspective in im/politeness theory. Parallel corpora (originals and translations) have registered the linguistic insight of numerous bilingual experts who have focused on intercultural variation in their attempt to transfer meaning across language contexts. This is a resource which has not become visible enough to non-translation scholars in various areas of interlinguistic and intercultural research.

As translation is never straightforward (Olohan and Baker 2000), parallel corpora seem to vary in the extent to which they use certain features e.g. the use of *that*

after verbs of saying (ibid) or the use of definiteness (Pavesi 2014) etc. A recent measurement of articles in Greek (as markers of specificity) in Greek translated and English original economic textbooks showed that definiteness is much higher in the translated version, and a comparison of the translated version with original Greek production showed that definiteness was even higher in original production (Sidiropoulou 2019).

If researchers can tolerate the probabilistic nature of evidence parallel data can provide, they can speak volumes about cross-cultural variation and offer opportunities for the study of variables which may affect the use of phenomena in parallel contexts. Another strong point of the parallel data, as a resource for the study of cultural variation, is that they may draw attention to aspects of variation a researcher would not have considered relevant to the pragmatic phenomenon researched (im/politeness or the relational work enacted, in this case). For instance, Chap. 2 shows lexical manifestations of relational work in translated and original data which a researcher may not have recognized as manifestations of im/politeness, if encountered out of context. Likewise, Chap. 3 shows a systematic shift in the target version of the data (i.e. in the use of surface negation) which may be associated with in/directness cross-culturally.

The book examines intercultural variation through translation in various genres, on the assumption that genre is essential for the study of translational and im/politeness phenomena. It examines non-fictional (Part I of the book) and fictional texts (Part II). Part I examines manifestations of im/politeness in the English-Greek press (Chap. 2) and academic discourse (Chap. 3). Part II examines fictional genres in translation like novel (Chap. 4), theatre (Chap. 5) and film (Chap. 6) (Fig. 1.2).

Part I (press and academic writing) considers im/politeness in asynchronous interaction contexts where journalists or academic authors address an audience, a collective receiver, in source and target cultures. In Part II, im/politeness may be observed in a two-layered communication context, namely, between fictional addressees and

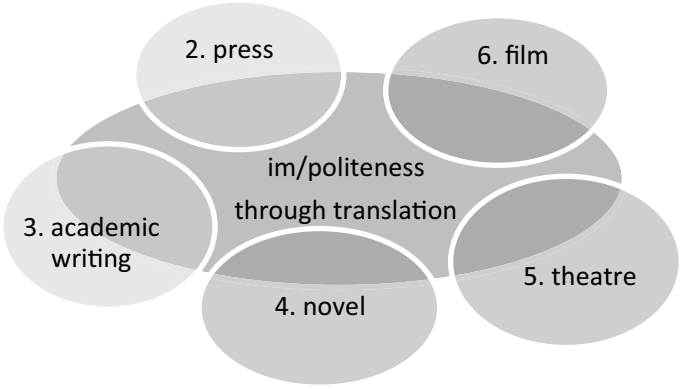


Fig. 1.2 Translated genres tackled for examining the use of im/politeness

between text producer and audience. The interaction between text producer and audience is asynchronous on page (in the case of the novel or play texts when read), but on stage and screen the interaction with the audience is synchronous because the audience is physically present.

The politic/non-politic dichotomy (Watts 2003) is important in this context, because it offers another motivation for distinguishing Part I from Part II of the book. Watts (2003) suggests that 'politic' is the 'appropriate' social behaviour:

> the appropriate discursive practices are known to us beforehand. *Politic behaviour* is that behaviour, linguistic or non-linguistic, which the participants construct as being appropriate to the ongoing social interaction (2003: 20)

The assumption is that, in Part I, the im/polite options fluctuate within the politic range of Locker and Watts' (2005) framework (see 1.2 above), because non-politic options are expected to be censored. In Part II, by contrast, both politic and non-politic options may be in use; perhaps the most operative ones being the non-politic options, which may heighten emotion. The question arises as to how a translator may handle non-/politic behaviour in target versions of texts. Will they accentuate the non-politic options or neutralize them?

Translation studies, thus, make use of an im/politeness-related distinction (non-/politic) to account for translator behaviour.

Chapter 2 presents naturally-occurring data from the English-Greek press, to show how mediators interfere to interculturally mitigate offence in order to save the 'face' of discourse entities and their own (for taking a critical stance) in the eyes of the reader-addressees, to distance themselves from certain discourse entities or praise others. It takes both etic and emic perspectives to the same data and meta-pragmatic comments to examine whether the im/polite intention of the mediator (with respect to discourse entities) gets through to the target audience. The analysis suggests that (a) the pragmatically less transparent news fragments were dependent on the readers' background knowledge in order for them to be interpreted properly, and (b) that the relational work the mediator enacts with the target readers involves renegotiating the discourse entities' identities. The chapter uses Locker and Watts' (2008) scale of first-order im/polite behaviour to account for translators' attempt to confine themselves within the appropriateness zone of the scale.

Chapter 3 examines the receivers' perception of the interpersonal dynamics between an academic text producer (i.e. the translator) and target reader, versus the interpersonal dynamics between the English text producer (i.e. the author) and readers. It identifies textual features which seem to carry a positive or negative politeness valence, and measures their frequency in the source and target versions of randomly selected chapters from parallel academic book data, in the sciences and the humanities. The chapter suggests that the positive/negative politeness distinction is a useful one, because it captures generalizations which manifest cross-cultural tendencies in discourse.

Chapter 4 explores the potential which the translation of fiction offers to researchers of im/politeness for understanding the effects of different mediating intentions in reconstructing the relational work of fictional addressees in translation

contexts. The chapter draws on scholarly translation research conducted in the context of the META-FRASEIS translation programme of NKUA (*Interlingual Perspectives* translation e-volume, English Department, 2010–2017), which examined shifting manifestations of phenomena in different Greek translations of the same source texts. The intention was to create an awareness of the translators' potential to reshape the readers' perception of the reality of a source text. The translation perspective is claimed to advance understanding of the workings of relational work between author and target audiences. It also aims at improving understanding of translator freedom to reshape the fictional reality in renegotiating the author's facework with the reader and heighten awareness of how multiple versions of fictional texts may assist with understanding im/politeness intra-culturally.

Chapter 5 considers authorial intention in some plays of Pinter translated into Greek and shows how genre (in particular sub-genre) may affect rendition of im/politeness on stage, relative to the type of sub-genre in translation. The chapter refers to studies which examined pragmatic issues and interpersonal distance *inter alia*, in two renditions of the same play text for the Greek stage to show that multiple versions of a play text are highly eloquent in displaying variation in the handling of im/politeness phenomena and face enactment on stage. Respondents assess scalar values of closeness/distance, intimacy/aggression and directness/indirectness in three Greek versions of Arthur Miller's play *Death of a Salesman*, assisted by literary critics' views in judging the appropriateness of their choice. Greater directness is manifested in Greek. The study highlights mutual benefits the two disciplines can enjoy through an interdisciplinary perspective.

Chapter 6 explores a mini corpus of twenty-one pairs of English source film trailers and their dubbed or subtitled versions, for tracing manifestations of im/politeness and audience reception of them. Extra-textual data elicited through a questionnaire show that respondents appreciated im/politeness rendition as realized in the dubbed version, rather than through the subtitles, and explained why dubbing enforced their engagement with the trailer narration, in the multimodal viewing experience.

1.8 Aims of the Book and Research Questions

As mentioned, the book intends to explore what contribution the translation filter can make to the study of im/politeness, i.e. in what way a shift from monolingual to bilingual (translation) data could contribute to both research areas. The intention of the study to focus on the press, academic discourse, novel, theatre and film assumes a 'non-fiction versus fiction' divide.

Another intention of the book is to extend the interactional model of im/politeness scholarship to instances which involve a speaker addressing a mass audience and a translator who mediates between (source) speaker and (target) audience. The translator is understood as a mediator in this context, for simplicity reasons. In fact, every 'source' author is a mediator, in that they mediate reality for the addressees, on behalf of the institution they represent (Chouliaraki 2013), a newspaper or a

Table 1.1 Genre variables

	Mass receiver	Collective sender	Appeal to emotion	Overhearer assumed
Press	+	+	±	+
Academic	+	+	−	−
Novel	+	+	+	+
Theatre	+	+	+	+
Film	+	+	+	+

publishing house. In this case, the translator performs another layer of mediation, a re-mediation. This study will be using the terms 'speaker', 'mediator' (translator), 'addressee', no matter the re-mediation process translators undertake.

The book primarily categorized genres into fiction and non-fiction, but the picture is more diverse, if other variables come in: for instance, if an overhearer is assumed in the communicative situation (or not), if the discourse has the potential to address audience emotions, whether there is a collective sender or a mass receiver. Table 1.1 summarizes features of the genres, the book will deal with, highlighting these variables.

All genres address a mass/collective reader and to some extent a collective sender, in that the journalist speaks on behalf of the institution s/he represents; performance and film also assume a collective sender including author, director, producer etc. In the academic context, the sender includes the author and the publishing company, but the author's presence may be more prominent than in other genres (±). All genres intend to appeal to emotions except the academic one, and all genres may assume an overhearer (Bell 1984): in a press situation there are quite a few overhearers (other institutions, discourse entities which may be readers, themselves etc.), in fiction the audience may be assumed to be overhearers (the hearers being the fictional addressees). A genre which may not assume overhearers is the academic one. The assumption is that when the communicative situation assumes overhearers, facework may be enacted on more than one level and the translators' mediation would need to take into consideration more variables in reshaping facework through translation. By contrast in genres where no overhearers are assumed, the translator's mediation focuses on 'facework' with the collective addressee.

The questions to be asked in this study are:

(a) what is the role of translation in understanding im/politeness and facework enactment in the press, academia and fiction?

The book shows the immense potential of translation to highlight intercultural variation in facework enactment.

(b) Is genre a category which enlightens the study of im/politeness?

The book confirms that genre is highly significant in managing the type of variation to be manifested in facework enactment across cultures and communities of practice. It

may be the case that genre A may favour face threats in English, which the translator neutralizes in Greek, whereas genre B may show the Greek version to be favouring face threats more than the English version would do. Genre thus, seems to be a highly significant category regulating translation behaviour.

(c) Can translation practice say anything about the homogeneity or heterogeneity of culture?

The homogeneity/heterogeneity of culture dichotomy rather alludes to a universalist/relativist perspective in theoretical thinking. Translation practice celebrates the relativistic perspective, because cultures and communities of practice may linguistically display varied norms and conventions within the same culture, let alone across cultures. The data will also show that there are certain (im/politeness) features which most often appear in the Greek version of the data and others which consistently appear in the English version of the data. This observation conveys a universalist gloss.

The book takes a 'third-wave' approach (Grainger 2011) to im/politeness, by acknowledging potentially universalist brushstrokes in a largely postmodern painting of im/politeness manifested through translation practice.

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Chapter 2
Im/Politeness in Translated Press Discourse



The chapter considers a translation-mediated im/politeness (Tim/po) model of interaction accommodating the translator as mediator, who can interfere with the relational work the source author enacts with the audience, by reshaping the identities of various discourse entities the text refers to. The chapter presents naturally-occurring researcher-unelicited data from the English-Greek press, to show how mediators interfere to interculturally manipulate the source author's relational work in order to save the face of certain discourse entities, attack others, distance themselves from some discourse entities and praise others, in addressing a target audience. The chapter first takes an etic perspective to the data by juxtaposing source and target press data to reveal the interaction of power and gender with im/politeness in press translated contexts and show the management of certain phenomena like taboo items in translated news discourse. The chapter then takes an emic perspective to the same data, through a questionnaire examining whether the im/polite intention of the mediator (with respect to discourse entities) gets through to the target audience. Results show that the im/polite intention of the mediator does get through to the audience and presents some of the meta-pragmatic comments respondents offered. The analysis claims that (a) the pragmatically less transparent news fragments were dependent on the readers' background knowledge in order for them to be interpreted properly, and (b) that the relational work the mediator enacts with the target readers involves renegotiating the discourse entities' identities, which points towards merging the study of relational work with the study of identity. Finally, the chapter uses Locher and Watts' (2008) scale of first-order im/polite behaviour to account for the shifts translators introduce during mediation, in order to avoid inappropriate im/politeness behaviour and confine themselves within the politic zone of the scale.

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2.1 The News Context

Translated press data are very different from the typical interactional data the discursive turn of the im/politeness paradigm deals with (Haugh 2007; Kadar 2011, 2017; Mills 2011; Kádár and Bargiela-Chiappini 2011) and press data do not seem to have attracted much of scholarly attention in im/politeness scholarship. Press data draw on institutional discourse and the type of facework enacted in these contexts. Bousfield (2008b) acknowledges that im/politeness theory needs other platforms of language use, where the phenomenon is practiced, to refine and test the theory and strengthen the claims made in impoliteness theory. Harris (2011: 85) also refers to Robin Lakoff's (1989) call for "the extension of politeness theory to discourse types beyond the interpersonal and informal situations which had been up to then its primary focus".

In translation studies, press news translation has attracted a fair share of attention for its key role in unveiling aspects of scholarly issues, in the analysis in journalistic writing across languages and cultures. Valdeón (2012) acknowledged research dealing with "the intricacies of news writing from a TS perspective" (2012: 847) in a highly enlightening special issue of *Meta,* where several significant aspects of the process came up: the key role of corpus-based studies in press translation (Károly 2012), shifts of politically-laden terms (Bulut 2012), the study of translated texts about the Arab world (Bugnot 2012), which I would assume involve im/politeness matters in the way concepts and identities are represented. The discursive paradigm, with its emphasis on the reception of discourses by an audience) is also highlighted in Conway (2012), who "studies the uses of translation in the reporting of the choices made by Muslim women concerning the wearing of the veil. He is also interested in the comments made by the audience […]" (Valdeón 2012: 848). Press translation studies seem to appreciate the same methodological paradigm which im/politeness theory has advocated. Translated press data are indispensable for revealing cross-cultural variation.

The English Department, NKUA, has compiled an English-Greek press translation data set (TEGMA, **T**ranslated **E**nglish-**G**reek **MA**terial) since 2005, comprising 547 pairs of English-Greek translated press articles to make use of the potential corpus-studies offer to the study of translation.

This chapter attempts to extend the study of im/politeness to include *press mediated* im/politeness to be found in translated press articles in Greek newspapers, deriving from the English press. The aim is to examine whether and how the discursive im/politeness model can account for im/politeness enacted in communicative situations through translated data in the English-Greek press context. Press data lend themselves for analysis of 'frontstage' (Goffman 1959) conflictive discourse the press uses and the face negotiating processes that press data display. Like courtrooms, pressrooms "construct an apparent framework of civility and controlled verbal aggression which must be taken into account when deciding precisely how and where we define 'the limits of politeness'" (Harris 2011: 108).

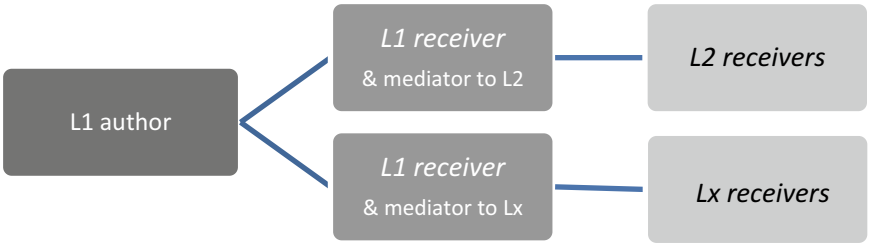


Fig. 2.1 A 'translated im/politeness' (T-im/po) model

The book modifies the two-part model of interaction between interlocutors to accommodate mediated/translated communication. This is a step away from the Saussurean dyad, to include a Peircean 'interpretant' who can interfere with the interaction to reshape im/politeness intensions by the speaker. The 'Translation im/politeness' (T-im/po) model assumed here takes the intercultural communication situation in the press to be an instance of an 'interpersonal' interaction, a mediated one by a translator. Interactants are source authors and their readers, until one of the readers takes the role of an 'interpretant', namely the translator (or mediating institution). Figure 2.1 shows the T-im/po model assumed here.

The face constituting process is enacted with each one of the addressees in the source (L1) context. Terkourafi (2008: 53) describes the process between the interlocutors as a face constituting one: "As interlocutors constitute their own faces in conversation, this multiplicity of faces may lead to interesting *permutations* of face-constituting and face threatening behaviours directed at different Others" (emphasis added).

The chapter aims at focusing on the permutations the receiver/mediator performs in transferring 'source' messages to target readers. Mediators, as members of the source (L1) audience, receive the im/polite intention of L1 author, with respect to text entities, as registered in the source discourse, and reshape the im/polite agenda of L1 author in the target environment, if necessary.

The chapter considers translation shifts related to the representation of source and target text entities, in naturally occurring parallel press data, as relational negotiation with L1 receiver, which may be renegotiated through mediated interaction with L2 receivers. Translation shifts are manifestations of a receiver/mediator's own response to the 'im/polite' behaviour of L1 author, in the transfer of information to the L2 context. The mediator may want to balance Face-Threatening Acts (FTA) of the source author or institution towards the text entities or L1 receivers; in doing so the mediating institution is negotiating their own face within the new interactional dyad, namely, in the eyes of target readers, bystanders, eavesdroppers (Bell 1984) e.g. on the basis of the critical capacity they display, the moral stance they take etc. This is a situation described in Terkourafi (2008: 53) as follows: "Self may be constituting Self's face in the eyes of Other by threatening the face of yet a different Other, who may not be the addressee". This chapter has named that 'different Other'

a 'discourse entity'. Figure 2.2 shows the discourse platforms through which the respective audiences perceive the producers' im/polite behaviour.

The flow of information in the press is from the source con/text to the target con/text rather than to-and-forth, as the traditional interactional model assumed in the discursive im/politeness research paradigm. The mediators receive the source authors' im/polite intention and they either (a) transfer it intact in another language—which is rarely the case, because intentions, values, perspectives differ across communities of practice intra-culturally, let alone inter-culturally, or (b) they interfere with the facework the source author may have enacted in the eyes of the source readers; they do so because they may have a different agenda and may disagree on ideological, moral grounds etc. with the text producer.

In a Tim/po model of interaction, facework is enacted by the mediator in the eyes of target readers, through the manner mediators represent discourse entities in target discourses. The target readers' response to the mediator boils down to the perlocutionary effect the translated message might have on them.

The study agrees with the claim that face and identity are difficult to separate on a theoretical level (Blitvich and Sifianou 2017) and assumes that the identities of discourse entities referred to in discourse, which are potentially reshaped in a target version, overlap with Terkourafi's "face of yet a different Other, who may not be the addressee" (2008: 53).

In the constructionist paradigm, politeness theorists (Eelen 2001; Mills 2002, 2003; Watts 2003) shifted attention from the rational moves of a model speaker (Brown and Levinson 1978) to discursively constructed instances of politeness as acknowledged and evaluated by receiver evaluations. This is a shift from "the absolute authority of the analyst" to "analyses that have more demonstrable validity" (Davies 2011: 190). The facework translators enact to protect or threaten the face of a discourse entity, or of the receivers, seems to touch upon both politeness analytical perspectives. This emphasis on speaker intention and hearer perception, Grainger (2011: 167) confirms, is *one* way of looking at im/politeness:

> This post-modernist emphasis on speakers' intentions and hearers' perceptions is quite a different enterprise, then, from the Goffman-inspired attempt of Brown and Levinson to account for the link between the management of social relations and language use.

Politeness1 receiver perceptions can be tested and measured, through questionnaires, interviews etc.

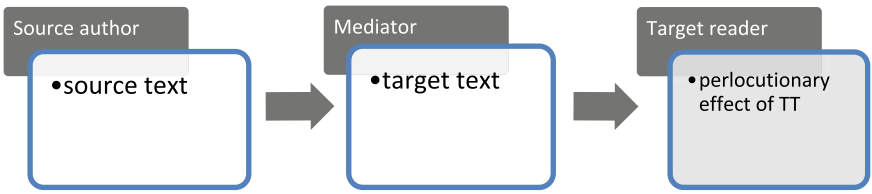


Fig. 2.2 A 'translated im/politeness' (T-im/po) set of discourse platforms

Politeness, however, is not the only desirable outcome in the press context; mediators do not exclusively aim at protecting the recipients' face, as the data below will show. Impoliteness may also be intended, of the politic type (Watts 2003) I would assume, but deliberate or accidental offence may also occur. I would use Culpeper's (2011: 59) conceptualization of impoliteness to shape impoliteness in the press:

> Impoliteness is a negative attitude towards specific behaviours occurring in specific contexts. It is sustained by expectations, desires and/or beliefs about social organization, including, in particular, how one person's or a group's identities are *mediated* by others in interaction (emphasis added).

The T-im/po model assumes both an individual and a collective face, as Culpeper's definition of impoliteness (above) anticipates "one person's or a group's identities". People may have individual faces, but a newspaper may address their collective face (poor/wealthy, left/right wing): in any case, this is *mass* communication; the mediators are likely to have groups of people in mind, in addition perhaps to individual faces they potentially wish to attack. The assumption is that press articles may comprise linguistic tokens which may contextualize threats to both a collective face and an individual one.

Another feature of the T-im/po model is that it assumed two points of emic judgements, because the translator's role has an emic aspect to it. As receivers of the source text, the translators' ostensive reaction helps reconstruct the relational dynamics between interlocutors anew, in the target versions, and in agreement with their intercultural awareness and translational expertise. The other opportunity for emic judgements comes with the target audience's reception of the translators' work.

Both these points of the model provide opportunities of data collection through questionnaires and interviews, which may shed light on aspects of the experience. The present study has made use of the target receiver's emic judgements of potential target versions but it has not dealt with the translators' potential to manifest judgements which might be of theoretical significance to the researcher. This would be a whole new project with potentially far reaching outcomes.

Meaning making processes and perlocutionary outcomes of discourse (translated or otherwise) are based on dynamic value systems and changing contextual parameters. Moreover, meaning making processes are not necessarily unanimous and that is why interviews with translators may further advance understanding of the specifics of reception.

The next section presents some instances of naturally occurring, researcher-unelicited, translated data and their source versions, from previous translation-oriented research projects, where a mediator's intention is shown in juxtaposition with the intention of source text author.

2.2 Translated Press Data: Im/Politeness

This is a data presentation and analysis section showing instances of dynamic value systems and changing contextual parameters which reshape target news headlines. The section shows the type of facework a mediator enacts to interculturally manipulate an offence s/he perceives in reading a source text, which they intend to transfer in another language. The focus is on press headlines for their concise meaning and their communicative potential as an attention attracting element of the news, although extracts from the body of press articles are also considered.

Examples 1–4 show instances of shifts in press headline make-up, which in this section is viewed from an etic perspective (from an analyst's point of view). Section 2.8 shifts to the im/politeness potential of the same headlines from an emic perspective (from the point of view of receivers).

ST1 "Tourist desert—Egypt desperate to woo back visitors after years of unrest" *The Guardian* Feb. 10, 2014.

TT1 "Ερημη από τουρίστες η Αίγυπτος **λόγω** των πολιτικών ταραχών" *Το Βήμα* Feb. 11, 2014.
BT. Egypt deserted by tourists ***because of*** *political unrest*

In example 1, the translator balances the face-threatening effect produced by the source items (ST) *desperate* and *woo* in the Guardian headline, in an attempt to protect Egypt from face damage and save his/her own face by protecting the face of discourse entities towards whom the target audience feels solidarity, or the mediators may have 'invested face' (Bousfield 2008b). The causal connective *λόγω* (*because of*) assumes given insurmountable causation, connoting that the country could not have possibly done any better, and that it was beyond its power to protect its tourism industry. The Greek version justifies the undesirable situation on the grounds of political unrest, which significantly mitigates the FTA. The mediator perceives the FTA, in reading the source discourse, balances it and legitimizes the disempowerment implication assuming a different discoursal framing of Egypt (Sidiropoulou 2018). The solidarity intention towards Egypt may be confirmed by an agreement Greece and Egypt signed, in August 2020 for the delimitation of the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), for the benefit of both countries. The solidarity intention towards Egypt, may be addressed to the local Greek readers, to bystanders or overhearers, i.e. Greek-speaking Egyptians of the Consulate etc. However, this may not be the sole motivation for the target headline make-up. As texts are hybrid entities, a reader may also perceive an underlying intention of the text producer to warn Greeks that the local political unrest, at the time of publication, may have similar detrimental effects on the country, in the same vein as it did with Egypt.

ST2 "Russia is a hostile power, but this is not a new cold war" *The Guardian* April 24, 2014.

TT2 "Δεν πρόκειται περί ενός νέου Ψυχρού Πολέμου" *Η Καθημερινή* April 25, 2014.
BT. This is not about a new Cold War.

Example 2 shows another FTA mitigation concern. The mediator perceives the FTA/face damaging intention against the discourse entity (Russia) in the source headline and balances it by eliminating the offensive item *is a hostile power* while ignoring the discourse entity altogether ('ignoring' is an impoliteness move, but here it protects Russia from face damage). The motivation for this shift may be political, ideological or other. The example may, thus, highlight the workings of power through translation and facework (Sidiropoulou 2018) and is presented here to confirm the view that power differentials should be considered in an interactional model of im/politeness (Bousfield 2008b).

ST3 "Xi and Trump Discuss Rising Tensions With North Korea"
The New York Times April 12, 2017
TT3 "Η Κίνα αναλαμβάνει δράση στη Βόρεια Κορέα"
Η Καθημερινή April 17, 2017.
BT. China undertakes action in North Korea.

Example 3 confirms the claim that what is im/polite is to be determined in context, not pre-determined by a theory. The target headline ignores the US presence in the communicate situation (ignoring is an impolite move), heightens the leading role of China (through the option *undertakes action*), while it also downgrades the role of the *North Korea* discourse entity (which, in the source version, was powerful enough—see *rising tensions*).

The importance of context, in examining im/politeness in the press, is manifested in that in example 2, ignoring a discourse entity had a face-saving function, whereas in example 3 ignoring the US in the target version degrades the role of the discourse entity (the US) and has a 'face-threatening' potential. In heightening the leading role of China in the area, the mediator is threatening North Korea's face, which takes a secondary role in the new context, and perhaps the US's, as if the US is not a global player. This is an instance of enhancing a discourse entity's face (a polite intent) to threaten another discourse entity's face (impolite intent). The data confirm Terkourafi's (2008) claim that politeness is also social indexing.

ST4 Boats stuffed with human cargo regularly set off in broad daylight. And a cynical industry has sprung up **to help them on their way**.
"Can Turkey help solve EU migrant crisis?" BBC Oct. 5, 2015.
TT4 Σκάφη γεμάτα με ανθρώπινο φορτίο σαλπάρουν τακτικά στο φως της ημέρας. Και μια κυνική βιομηχανία έχει ξεπηδήσει **για την εκμετάλλευση απελπισμένων προσφύγων.**
"BBC: Θέλει και μπορεί η Τουρκία να βοηθήσει τους πρόσφυγες;" *Το Βήμα* Oct. 6, 2015.
BT. Boats filled with human cargo regularly sail out in broad daylight. And a cynical industry has sprung up ***to exploit desperate refugees****.*

In example 4 the mediator does an FTA (by renaming the 'refugee helping' process as one of 'refugee exploitation'), in the context of the 2015 refugee crisis in Europe: the ST item *to help them on their way* is turned into TT *to exploit desperate refugees.* The mediating institution exercises its power over the discourse participants (source

institution and target readers) to critically relabel processes. By doing so, the mediating institution is itself saving face in the eyes of its Greek readers by showing concern for societal minorities, in a context where refugee suffering was more than obvious.

The question arises as to whether target receivers who do not have access to the source version of the headlines can sense the im/politeness intention of the mediating institution. This will be tackled in 2.8, where a questionnaire (addressing Greek undergraduate students of English) indicates that they are quick to process the facework enacted through the target discourse.

2.3 On Impoliteness in a Press Context

In discussing what impoliteness is, Bousfield (2008a) reviews previously suggested notions of impoliteness, like for instance Leech's impoliteness notion. He claims that the problem with Leech's (1983) Interpersonal Rhetoric model of Politeness is that "im/politeness is, in some way *always* deviant linguistic behaviour to *be avoided*" (Bousfield 2008a: 51, emphasis in original). This also seems to be a problem with the T-im/po model, because the mediator's impolite behaviour is not always to be avoided. It may be highly desirable and realizing a fundamental democratic principle, the freedom of speech.

Bousfield reformulates the definition of impoliteness to suggest a new one. He suggests that impoliteness surrounds the 'gratuitous or conflictive' intention of the speaker to 'offend' a receiver and that the offence has to be understood by the receiver, otherwise the attempt misses the target:

> impoliteness constitutes the communication of gratuitous and conflictive verbal face threatening acts (FTAs) which are purposefully delivered […] for impoliteness to be considered successful impoliteness, the intention of the speaker (or 'author') to 'offend' (threaten/damage face) must be understood by those in the receiver role […].

He then goes on to suggest conditions under which the impoliteness may not be successful.

> i. If the Speaker (or someone in the producer role intends face damage and the Hearer (or someone in the receiver role) *perceives* the Speaker's (Producer's) intention to damage face (cf. Goffman 1967: 14), then *impoliteness is successfully conveyed* […].
>
> ii. If the Speaker/Producer intends face damage but Hearer/Receiver fails to *perceive* the speaker's intent/any face-damage, then *the attempt at impoliteness fails* (Bousfield 2008a: 72).

A press translation context suggests that, receivers may perceive the intended im/polite message in various degrees (as Sect. 2.8 shows), from scrutinizing the whole body of the article, to simply scanning headlines, hearsay, etc.; yet the media impact on society is quite powerful; the speaker intention to praise, honour or offend may be reverberating throughout the target context: readers may be vaguely aware of an FTA in reading press discourses, yet this is enough to highlight the conflictive

frame of the situation and reshape their reality. If the model were to be broadened to embrace 'gratuitous and conflictive verbal threatening acts' in the press, affecting the face of discourse entities, condition (ii) might perhaps be compromised.

The analysis shows that the press translation paradigm offers an eloquent set of contexts realizing im/politeness interculturally and points towards the need for a "more contextualized approach to politeness and impoliteness" (Mills 2011: 50, ch. Keckses 2017).

Aspects of press contexts related to impolite assessments of receivers may be the tolerance to taboo language and the workings of power when intertwined with im/politeness and gender. These are tacked upon further down in this chapter.

While acknowledging the importance of the bottom-up politeness1 approach to the data, the next section goes on with translation data which do justice to the politeness2 conceptualization, the 'second-order' politeness, deriving from a 'top-down' analysts' view to the phenomenon, as suggested in Brown and Levinson (1978/1987). Following Gainger (2011) who deals with intercultural politeness, I would like to highlight aspects of the functionality these notions may display in language study.

2.4 Translated Press Data: Im/Politeness2

Grainger (2011) looked at intercultural communication between British English and Zimbabwean English speakers living in the UK. She is aware that intercultural communication may be problematic because the notion of 'culture' is not homogeneous and static or co-referential with 'nation', and that there is the danger for interactants to be drifted away by stereotypes. She tends however to observe a 'generalized style of interaction' which points to politeness2 conceptualizations manifested in recurrent patterns used by British English and Zimbabwean English speakers:

> However a combination of repeated personal experience of interacting with southern Africans, the evidence from other scholars of southern African politeness (such as de Kadt 1992), 1995, 1998; Kasanga 2006), and my own research forays into this area (Grainger, Mills and Sibanda 2010; Grainger in press) lead me to an informed supposition that *there is a generalised phenomenon of differing politeness conventions in the use of English by British users of southern African English users.* This does not necessarily preclude the influence of individual styles of interaction (2011: 178, emphasis added).

I assume what Grainger has observed is a manifestation of what Butler (1990) calls a process of 'sedimentation' in cultural values and preferences which people draw on in constructing their identities. For example, Sifianou (1992: 217) examined requests in English and Modern Greek and identified a positive valence in Greek, a negative one in English. She describes findings as follows:

> The conclusion that can be arrived at from the investigation of both the conventionalized request patterns and the preferences for modification in the two languages is that Greeks tend to prefer more positive politeness strategies, such as in-group markers, more direct patterns and in general devices which can be seen as attempts to include the addressee in the activity. They also tend to use constructions which sound more optimistic about the outcome of the

> request […]. The English on the other hand, seem to prefer negative politeness devices as far as both structures and modifications are concerned. Conventional indirectness, the chief characteristic of negative politeness, is equated with politeness […] and the tentativeness of the message. Pessimism expressed by means of negative constructions is also frequent.

This section presents varied patterns of politeness2 conceptualizations, which are recurrent in the English and Greek versions of translated press data, realized not least in terms of particular linguistic phenomena which may be associated with positive or negative politeness behaviour, but also lexically, highlighting values which point to a positive/negative politeness2 repertoire. The following example is from a study (Kontos and Sidiropoulou 2012: 211) examining realizations of culturally variant sociopolitical narratives manifested through English-Greek translated press headlines. The example was claimed to realize the two variants of the liberty narrative across versions, namely Isaiah Berlin's (1909–1997) distinction between the negative liberty of 'non-interference' and the positive liberty of 'self-mastery'. The two versions of the headline are so different that they could hardly be identified as a ST/TT pair, without the contribution of the rest of the article. In example 5, the different politeness valence is realized lexically.

It seems that the Brown and Levinson's 'Minimize imposition' strategy pairs with the *mutual respect* value in the English version, which is a realization of the negative liberty of 'non-interference'. By contrast, the TT item *διαπραγματεύσεις* (*negotiations*) pairs with the positive liberty of 'self-mastery' and alludes to Brown and Levinson's 'common ground' positive politeness strategy, namely the substrategy 'Seek agreement' (1978: 107).

ST5 "The UN can learn more from this example of mutual respect". *The Guardian* July 4, 2007.

TT5 "Εδειξε το δρόμο για διαπραγματεύσεις" *Καθημερινή* July 4, 2007. *BT. He paved the way to negotiations.*

The example shows that the translator's intuition has registered a varied perception of appropriate behaviour across cultures and expressed it lexically in the target version.

A non-exhaustive list of discourse features in this chapter realizing Brown and Levinson's positive politeness strategies in the Greek target version, *which are missing in source English texts*, are

- *'give (or ask) for reasons':* the *reason giving tendency* in example 1 (which was referred to as an example of politeness1), at the level of politeness2 may be accounted for in terms of a (positive) reason-giving tendency in Greek, which emerged as a linguistic device for the translator's intent to protect Egypt's face.
- *'offer, promise':* Greek has a tendency to prefer *strengthened adverbial cohesion* in argumentation, i.e. highlighting contrasts, or cause-and-effect relations, when no contrastive or cause-and-effect intension may be traced in the English ST. This may be assumed to be an intention on the part of the speaker to 'offer', to contribute to receivers and save them some processing effort, thus facilitating

interaction. This may be manifested through various devices in translated English-Greek academic data. The Greek version of example 6, uses two contrastive connectives when no sign of a contrastive marker appears in the English version. The 'offer/promise' positive substrategy alludes to Leech's claim that English tends to emphasize the maxim of 'tact', whereas Mediterranean cultures on the maxim of 'generocity' (Leech 1983).

– *'be optimistic':* the substrategy may be realized through *higher certainty* manifested in Greek translated versions, by avoiding the hedges of the English version. In example 7, the mediator enforces discourse certainty by adding TT7 *σίγουρα* (*certainly*).

ST6 "It doesn't matter if they do it badly or well. They should just do it". Not everyone agrees.
"It's a Mad, Mad World" *Newsweek* Feb. 15, 1993

TT6 "Δεν έχει σημασία αν θα προχωρήσουν αργά ή γρήγορα. **Αλλά** η ιδιωτικοποίηση είναι επιβεβλημένη". Δεν ασπάζονται **όμως** όλοι την ίδια γνώμη. *Το Βήμα* Feb. 15, 1993.
BT. "It doesn't matter if they proceed badly or well. ***But*** *privatization is necessary".* ***However*** *not everyone agrees.*

ST7 I have seen generations of children with their familiar monstrous deformities. John Kerry with his own blood-soaked war record will remember them. "The silent military coup that took over Washington" *The Guardian.*
Sept 10, 2013.

TT7 Έχω δει γενιές και γενιές παιδιών με τερατώδεις δυσμορφίες. Ο Κέρι με το δικό του ρεκόρ πολέμων που έχουν πνιγεί στο αίμα θα το θυμάται **σίγουρα** .
The Guardian "Η Ουάσινγκτον κατελήφθη από ένα αθόρυβο πραξικόπημα" *Η Αυγή* Sept. 14, 2013.
BT. I have seen generations and generations of children with monstrous deformities. John Kerry with his own blood-soaked war record will ***certainly*** *remember them.*

The Brown and Levinson's politeness2 framework seems to have some explanatory value with reference to English-Greek translation data in the press, and beyond. Politeness2 also seems to be useful in language teaching: it may help Greek learners of English to curb their impetus for strengthening adverbial discourse cohesion in their English production, or to tone down their certainty (Sidiropoulou 2015a/b) and their reason-giving tendency. For instance, there is evidence that Greek learners of English overuse topicalization structures like 'as for', 'with regards to' in their English production (King 1990 in Baker 1992: 142). I assume this is a manifestation of the strengthened cohesion feature I mentioned under the 'common ground' substrategy, which creeps in the English production of Greek learners because of mother tongue interference. A similar tendency, Baker (1992) suggests, is to be found, with Japanese and Chinese learners of English. I agree with Grainger's view that "if we take the valuable insights from all three 'waves' [of impoliteness theory] the result could be a very rich analysis of interactional data" (Grainger 2011: 184).

Pan and Kádár (in Kádár 2011: 254) claim that 'politeness' could be used simultaneously both as "a neutral default first-order working concept" and as a second-order notion. Example 8 in the next section may be an instance of this.

2.5 Translating Taboo Items Across Cultures and Genres

Taboo items may be face-threatening in discourse, as impolite1 items, and their conventions of use may be different across genres and cultures. This may be manifested when focusing on the use of taboo items in cross-genre translation contexts. Press translation data can eloquently show the need for focusing on context (intergeneric *and* intercultural) for defining what impoliteness can be.

Examples 8 and 9 (Sidiropoulou 1998a: 184 and 2004: 15, respectively) show that the Greek 'frontstage' press context avoids items as impolite, which in the English context seemed to be tolerated. The two contexts seem to have different tolerance levels to impoliteness.

ST8 "Pelvis exercises may help some impotent men".
The New York Times Feb. 10, 1993.
TT8 "Ειδικές ασκήσεις για την αντιμετώπιση της ανικανότητας".
Τα Νέα Feb. 10, 1993.
BT. Special exercises for the treatment of impotence.

The offensive item (*impotent men*, conveying vulnerability) in headline ST8 would have been *ανίκανοι άνδρες*, which is offensive, so the mediating institution raises tenor through the use of the nominalization *treatment* which assigns the discourse some medical gloss, mitigating the FTA. Example 8 is an instance where both notions of politeness may apply, as suggested in Kádár (2011), namely as a 'neutral default first-order' concept (the impoliteness effect is evident) and in the 'second-order' sense in that a rational move, the nominalization, has been intuitively used by the translator to mitigate the offence.

Likewise, the following *Time* magazine headline seems to tolerate the offensive value of the ST *penis* item showing a different perception of what may constitute an offence (Sidiropoulou 1998a). The Greek version assumes the item is offensive and highlights the human suffering aspect of the experience, thus mitigating the FTA.

ST9 "A Boy Without a Penis" *Time* Mar. 24, 1997.
TT9 "Δύο αλλαγές φύλου σε μία ζωή" *Έξυπνο Χρήμα* Mar. 29–30, 1997.
BT. Two sex-changes in a lifetime.

Both examples, 8 and 9, show that the offensive tolerance level in Greek news reporting is higher than that of English news reporting, so im/politeness scholars (and mediators) should take into consideration the variable 'culture' or 'generic convention' in determining contextual features which affect appropriateness. What may be im/polite and offensive seems to vary cross culturally, and this is another

context confirming Grainger's view that there is a generalized view that cultures display differing politeness conventions (2011).

Example 10 suggests that culture is not the only variable to be taken into consideration in determining appropriateness with respect to the level of offensiveness. Genre seems to be another variable which determines tolerance levels of im/politeness or mock politeness. For instance, in the Greek performance translation of Ray Cooney's play *Out of Order* (1991 Olivier award for comedy of the year), experienced Greek theater practitioner, translator and actor Vassilis Tzivilikas heightened the offensiveness of the Greek version by using defecation vocabulary, exaggerated language, creative sexual metaphors and making sexual connotations explicit (Sidiropoulou 1998a: 193). In example 10, the transexual implication is made explicit in the target version to openly reveal the alternative frame.

ST10 *(Jane appears still carrying her bag and still dressed in bra and pants).*
GEORGE: Where is it [Jane's dress], for heaven's sake?
RICHARD: I gave it to the waiter.
GEORGE: Ask a silly question!

TT10 *(Η Τζαίην βγαίνει όπως πριν με τα εσώρουχα και την τσάντα της).*
ΤΖΩΡΤΖ: Μα ποιά το πήρε [το φόρεμα της Τζαίην], τέλος πάντων;
ΡΙΤΣΑΡΝΤ: Το έδωσα στο γκαρσόνι.
ΤΖΩΡΤΖ: Είναι τραβεστί; Σοβαρό ξενοδοχείο!
BT.
(Jane appears still carrying her bag and still dressed in bra and pants).
GEORGE: Who[+female suffix] got it [Jane's dress], for heaven's sake?
RICHARD: I gave it to the waiter.
GEORGE: Is he a transvestite? Nice hotel!

The study of impoliteness needs to take into consideration contextual variables like genre, culture, context, perhaps theatrical organization tradition, and make good use of politeness1 methodology, namely, focus on the lay-person's views on (mock) im/politeness instances aiming at heightening amusement. I can recall the audience laughing at the 'offensive' points of the script, while attending the performance. I also recall that another widely acknowledged Greek comedian, Costas Voutsas, was adding his own offensive bits (not included in the script), which enhanced offensiveness for the sake of amusement. In a theatre context, where the interpersonal distance between comedy practitioners and audience is minimized, lowering tenor is tolerated and does not constitute offence.

In analysing the notion of context-dependency in intercultural communication, Kecskes (2017) draws on data produced by interlocutors from different L1-other-than-English linguistic backgrounds, who communicated in English. He suggests that context-dependency is a variable that needs to be revisited in intercultural interaction: a distinction may be drawn between 'prior context' ("core common ground", 2017: 23) and actual situational context ("emergent common ground", ibid). In intercultural communication, Kecskes suggests, interlocutors rely on 'emergent' rather than 'core' common ground and thus impoliteness implicatures may be missed. In the press

context, the target readers do not share the same cognitive environment with the source readers, which would be instrumental in helping them interpret signs.

The next section tackles how the 'power' variable interacts with im/politeness through translated press data.

2.6 Power Intertwined with Im/Politeness

The question arises as to what mediators actually do in managing offence, how they reshape facework enactment to meet the target interlocutors' expectations and serve their agenda. The target institutions mould target readers' opinions as intended, by interfering with the source author's im/politeness intentions. Locher and Watts (2008) argue that the impoliteness scale is 'intimately tied' with power, as manifested in their analysis of a BBC political interview.

On a par, García-Pastor examines the relation of power to impoliteness as a second-order notion, in data from the 2000 US political campaign debates. She distinguishes between politician's 'official' and 'persuasive' power exercised discursively. She identifies face-aggravating valenced strategies of impoliteness as summarized in the following table García-Pastor (2008: 108) (Table 2.1).

In a press context, source and target mediating institutions manage and exercise *persuasive*, rather than *official*, power over the addressees. Translated press data are highly interesting, not least because they can confirm some of face-aggravating strategies favoured across institutions within the same cultural context, but also because they point towards impoliteness face-aggravating substrategies cross-rculturally.

For instance, example 11 uses face-aggravating strategies of different valence across versions, namely, the face aggravating strategy 'be ironic/sarcastic' (positive impoliteness) in English vs. two potential negative face-oriented strategies, in Greek:

Table 2.1 García-Pastor's face aggravating strategies

Positive face-oriented strategies	*Negative face-oriented strategies*
• Convey dislike for and disagreement with H and close others (His/her/their things, actions, values and opinions	• State communicative act(s) as common or shared knowledge
• Use aggressive punning	• Indebt H
• Be ironic/sarcastic • Deny in-groups • Disassociate, distance from H	• Refer to rights, duties and rules not respected, fulfilled or complied with respectively
• Ignore H	• Increase imposition weight
• Belittle or diminish the importance of H and H's things, action, values and opinions	• Refuse H and H's things, actions, values and opinions • Challenge, Frighten, Dare

– 'stating communicative act(s) as common and shared knowledge': TT *Who are indifferent towards Syrian refugees* carries the presupposition that 'there ARE global players who are indifferent' and presents it as common or shared knowledge, or
– 'refer to rules not complied with': the implied rule (emerging from the TT item *Who are indifferent towards Syrian refugees?*) seems to be 'none should be indifferent to human suffering'.

ST11 "Why Do Muslims Flock to the "Evil West"?" *gatestone* Sept. 17, 2015.
TT11 "Ποιοι αδιαφορούν για τους σύρους πρόσφυγες" *Το Βήμα* Oct. 3, 2015.
BT. Who are indifferent towards Syrian refugees?

Likewise, the ST metaphor '*to flock to the Evil West*' (assuming the conceptualization MUSLIMS = FORAGING BIRDS) symbolically alludes to another positive face-oriented aggravating strategy, 'disassociate, distance from H'. Here, migrating is paralleled to the spectacular natural phenomenon of foraging birds high up in the sky.

I cannot claim to be offering anything approximating a general impoliteness tendency between the English and Greek headline versions, but the valence of the face aggravating strategies, in the following examples, seems to tally with the pattern of ex. 11: 'English/positive impoliteness versus Greek/negative impoliteness'.

In example 4 above, the shift (ST) *to help them on their way* vs. (TT) *to exploit desperate refugees*, in Greek, realizes the negative face-oriented aggravating strategy 'increase imposition weight' in García-Pastor's (2008 face-aggravating strategies model. The target headline highlights social inequality in the context of the 2015 European migration crisis and renders the traffickers' wrongdoing more serious.

The following example realizes the 'deny in-groups' positive face-oriented aggravating strategy (ibid) in the English version of the headline: ST *illegal migrants* denies migrants an in-group identity, which the TT item *παράτυποι* (*atypical*) mitigates, challenging the migrants' out-group status.

ST12 […] there are seven bodies of **illegal** migrants that sank off Khoms […].
"Migrant boat sinks off Libyan coast, kills at least seven: official" *Reuters* Aug. 30, 2015.
TT12 […] υπάρχουν επτά πτώματα **παράτυπων** μεταναστών από σκάφος που βυθίστηκε ανοικτά της Χομς […].
"Τουλάχιστον επτά νεκροί μετανάστες ανοιχτά της Λιβύης" *Η Καθημερινή* Aug. 30, 2015.
*BT. […] there are seven bodies of **atypical** migrants on the boat that sank off Khoms […].*

Translation practice is an arena where the im/politeness that source authors enact in addressing source audiences is renegotiated by the mediator for another audience. Im/politeness theory works as an explanatory framework for accounting for translation phenomena in various genres. A question facing researchers is whether these

negative face-oriented strategies favoured in Greek are actually occurring in both translated and original headline make-up in a target language context.

Locher and Watts' framework of negatively/positively marked behaviour of source authors accounts for the motivation of mediators to interfere with facework enactment in addressing the new audience. Examples 11 and 12 show an overall tendency of the context to favour a positive politeness orientation strategy in the target version. This is not to suggest that the mediating institution cannot use negatively oriented politeness devices. Example 13 shows the Greek version to be shifting to a negative-face aggravating technique, when the ST opts for a positive-face oriented aggravating strategy. Example 14 also cuts down on the information which would assume a positive-face orientation.

Another instance of mediators' interfering with im/politeness or face aggravating strategies is manifested in example 13. In García-Pastor's framework, the *Guns and Flowers* ST13 headline realizes a positive face-oriented aggravating strategy, as the headline makes use of the strategy 'use aggressive punning'. In the ST13 version, this is realized by the mediator's alluding to the Guns N' Roses American hard rock band whose first album *Appetite for Destruction* depicted societal unrest. The mediator, in TT13, has cancelled the positive face-oriented strategy in favour of a negative face-oriented one 'Dare' or 'Frighten' manifested through the TT13 item explosive.

ST13 "Iran. 'Guns and Flowers'" *Time* Mar. 22, 1993.
TT13 "Ιράν. Εκρηκτικό το εσωτερικό μέτωπο" *Καθημερινή* 1993.
BT. Iran. Explosive is the internal border.

Another question facing researchers is why the mediators ignored (ignoring is an impoliteness strategy) the *Indonesian fishermen* and avoided them in the TT, or why the ST item *starving refugees* is reduced to *migrants* in the target version. I would assume that the 'Good Samaritan' narrative is incompatible with the mediator's 'political injustice' frame of the target version.

ST14 "Hundreds of **starving refugees** from Myanmar, Bangladesh saved by Indonesian **fishermen** after months at sea" *Associated Press* May 20, 2015.
TT14 "Ινδονησία: Διάσωση **μεταναστών** έπειτα από 4 μήνες στη θάλασσα" *Η Καθημερινή* May 20, 2015.
*BT. Indonesia: Rescue of **migrants** after four months at sea.*

As interaction always involves power asymmetries between interlocutors, Bousfield (2008b: 150), in discussing the interplay of politeness and power, suggests that "when we are (sincerely) impolite, we are either (a) creating/activating/re-activating some aspect of our own *relative power*, or (b) we are *challenging someone over the (assumption of) power* or (c) a combination of both)". The section has suggested that the merging of power with im/politeness may be implemented differently interculturally and translation practice may disclose the ways this may be manifested.

The next section tackles the interplay of im/politeness and gender.

2.7 Gender Intertwined with Im/Politeness

Gender rightfully attracted im/politeness scholar's attention because gender-related variation is at the core of social practice. Within the im/politeness at workplace framework, Mullany (2008) focuses on interactions of men and women business managers to show "exceptions to stereotypically gendered interactional styles" (2008: 239), namely on the view that women are 'nicer' than men, although "the dominant gendered discourses demonstrate that negative evaluation and sexist comments towards women in the public sphere are not far away" (2008: 251).

Gender can interact with im/politeness in discursive contexts, and translation can lend insights by opening up another layer of signification interculturally and cross-culturally. It can identify translators' resisting or facilitating gendered face enactment in target contexts, by blocking or allowing the gender representation assumed in the source context to survive in the target. I am using Locher and Watt's (2008) scale of first-order impolite behaviour, from impolite to over-polite, to metaphorically signify the mediators' intention to be im/polite in their approach to mediating. The assumption is that example 15 displays an 'unmarked non-polite' behaviour on the part of mediators, as the Greek version takes more or less an equally favourable gender attitude, as the source text does.

ST15 "On the Canals, a Woman Paddles Against the Tide" *The New York Times* May 14, 2007.

TT15 "Κέρδισε το δικαίωμα να γίνει η πρώτη γονδολιέρισσα στα κανάλια της Βενετίας" *Τα Νέα* May 15, 2007.
BT. She earned the right to become the first female gondolier on the canals of Venice.

Example 16 (Sidiropoulou 1998b: 195) is an Air France advertisement from *Time International* and its Greek target version from the newspaper *To Βήμα* (*To Vima*). ST16 uses banter (use of impolite comments for social harmony) to advertise the company's creating some extra space between the seats of the aircraft. The ST assumes that the beautiful lady depicted on the page is NOT likely to sit next to the prospective passenger, thus highlighting a disappointing aspect of the situation and realizing the (positive-face) aggravating strategy 'Belittle or diminish the importance of H' or 'Use aggressive punning' in García-Pastor's (2008) framework. The Greek version erases the disappointing assumption in favour of a more favourable and optimistic representation of the (male) passenger's face: this is manifested in terms of the underlying assumption that the lady IS likely to sit next to the passenger, thus satisfying their macho self-image. The Greek version abandons the positive-face oriented aggravating strategy in favour of a positively polite shift.

ST16 AIR FRANCE - The chances of her being seated next to you are so slim that you won't regret the extra space between our seats. *Time International* Apr. 3, 1995.

TT16 AIR FRANCE - Ακόμη και αν…δεν καθίσει δίπλα σας, το ταξίδι θα είναι σίγουρα πιο ευχάριστο με τον πρόσθετο χώρο που δημιουργήσαμε ανάμεσα στα καθίσματα.
BT. Even if …she doesn't sit next to you, your trip will definitely be more pleasant with the additional space we have made between seats.

A question facing researchers is what it is that may regulate the 'im/polite' moves of the mediators, e.g. the use of banter in the source version and the boosting of passengers' self-image in the target. In TT16, it seems to be the stereotypical macho identity of the prospective (male) passenger assumed in the Greek context.

Manipulation of stereotypes in cultural environments are numerous in press translation contexts. Example 17 shows the stereotype of the non-working-hard female to be sneaking in the target version: the ST item *Tiana works hard* does not appear in the target version as irrelevant (?).

ST17 Our heroine is young, wholesome and effortlessly beautiful. Tiana *works hard*, smiles sweetly, and flutters her eyelashes - a lot.
"Meet Tiana, a Disney heroine like no other" *The New York Times* Nov. 23, 2009.

TT17 Η ηρωίδα είναι νέα και όμορφη. Λέγεται Τιάνα, ζει στη Λουιζιάνα, χαμογελάει γλυκά και τρεμοπαίζει τα βλέφαρά της συνεχώς.
"Η μαύρη πριγκίπισσα δεν βγήκε από τα παραμύθια" Τα *Νέα* Nov. 25, 2009.
BT. The heroine is young and beautiful. Her name is Tiana, she lives in Louisiana, smiles sweetly, and constantly flutters her eyelashes.

The representation of female behaviour seems to be biased, in example 17. Gender-related im/polite facework may be also enacted through a mediator in interpreting situations.

The section has analyzed politeness shifts in translation data culled from the English and Greek press and the analysis considered an analyst's understanding of how im/politeness may be realized in source and target versions in press headlines. The next section considers what is a reader's perception of the facework enacted by the target text producer.

2.8 Translated Press Data: Im/Politeness1

Readers and users of the language receive the im/polite intention of the 'interlocutor' as "all kinds of evaluative meanings (e.g. warm, friendly, considerate, respectful, deferential, insolent, aggressive, rude", Spencer-Oatey 2005: 97) and the question arises as to what the specifics of this reception are, in instances of mediated communication in the press. The section examines receivers' perception of the mediator's im/politeness intention in crafting translated headlines for the Greek press. The aim of the section is to find out to what extent an analyst's perception (who has access to both source and target versions of the headlines) is accessible by readers who skim translated headlines in print or online editions of a newspaper. The press is a multimodal genre in that reception and understanding is often facilitated with the contribution of the visual image which plays its own role in the interpretation of the verbal message. Although the contribution of the visual is significant, in that it can register shifts in the visual material across cultures supporting the verbal message (Sidiropoulou 2020b), the chapter intends to focus on the translation of the verbal message to check perception of it without the contribution of the visual material.

An experiment was conducted through a final examination of a 5th semester translation course in the Department of English, NKUA in Sept 2018. Students were asked to complete a part of the final exam paper, which checked their understanding of author intention through press headlines. Ten questions examined whether students perceived the author intention to be polite/compassionate or im/polite/distanced/derogatory, in favour of or against discourse entities referred to in the (translated) headlines. The questionnaire asked students to perform two tasks: One question asked which version of a Greek pair of headlines they would consider more appropriate to appear in a Greek broadsheet newspaper. Students were also asked to provide meta-pragmatic comments on their view, namely, to justify their claim.

The author-intention-recognition part of the test, a questionnaire, asked the following questions with reference to the Greek versions of headlines from the Greek press (as manifested in examples 1, 2, 8, 9, 11, 14, 15 above). Forty-two students took the exam. Some questions were left unanswered by some test-takers, evidently because they could not tell by the headline make-up alone or because they lacked background information to interpret the headline. The visual would have assisted with the interplay, but the intention was for the section to check understanding of the verbal message. The headlines appeared without the English back-translation, which appears below.

EXAM QUESTIONNAIRE, NKUA, DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH_SPING 2018

Question I. (20 points) *For everybody*.

Please read the following translated headlines to answer the relevant question and explain why you think this is the case. This is an 'author intention' recognition exercise. Please use you insight into Greek to answer the questions.

1. In reading the following headline in your newspaper, do you sense the author's attitude towards Egypt to be a compassionate one or a distancing and derogatory one?

"Ερημη από τουρίστες η Αίγυπτος λόγω των πολιτικών ταραχών"

(*BT. Egypt deserted by tourists, because of political unrest*)

.....
.....

2. The headline is about USA/Russia relations. Does the headline carry any offence against any of the two global players? Please explain why.

"Δεν πρόκειται περί ενός νέου Ψυχρού Πολέμου"

(*BT. It is not about a new Cold War*)

.....
.....

3. Please describe the power differentials in this headline. Who is implied to be the boss in the area?

"Η Κίνα αναλαμβάνει δράση στη Βόρεια Κορέα"

(*BT. China undertakes action in North Korea*)

.....

.....

4. The article is about the refugee crisis in 2015. Would you assume the article carries a pro refugee implication or does it register a distancing derogatory intention towards refugees? Please explain why.

"Φράχτες υψώνουν και οι χώρες της Βαλτικής"

(*BT. The Baltic countries raise fences, too*)

.....

.....

5. Issues of impotence are private conditions. Would you consider this headline inappropriate and offensive in any way towards male audiences, or do you think it appropriately conveys good news. Please explain why.

"Ειδικές ασκήσεις για την αντιμετώπιση της ανικανότητας"

(*BT. Special exercises for the treatment of impotence*)

.....

.....

6. You are an editor at a high circulation newspaper. The in-house translators suggest two possible headlines for a translated article. Which one would you prioritize? Please explain why. Think of the social identity the newspaper is building of itself through this.

a. “Δύο αλλαγές φύλου σε μία ζωή” b. “Ενα αγόρι χωρίς πέος”.

a. (*BT. Two sex changes in a lifetime*) b. (*BT. A boy without a penis*)

.....

.....

7. Would you assume the author's attitude is in favour of or is it ridiculing the refugee cause? Why?

"Ποιοι αδιαφορούν για τους σύρους πρόσφυγες"

(*BT. Who are indifferent to the Syrian refugees?*)

.....

.....

8. Would you assume the author is compassionate towards these migrants or is s/he rather neutral and distanced? Why?

"Ινδονησία: Διάσωση μεταναστών έπειτα από 4 μήνες στη θάλασσα"

(*BT. Indonesia: Refugee rescuing after four months in the sea*)

.....

.....

9. Does the following headline convey a dramatic/pessimistic or an optimistic/ victorious image of the lady? Please explain.

"Κέρδισε το δικαίωμα να γίνει η πρώτη γονδολιέρισσα στα κανάλια της Βενετίας"

(*BT. She gained the right to be the first female gondolier in the canals of Venice*)

.....

.....

10. Would you assume the author views whatever discourse entity she talks about, politely or impolitely?

"Εδειξε το δρόμο για διαπραγματεύσεις"

(*BT. S/he showed the way to negotiations*)

.....

.....

2.9 Questionnaire Results and Discussion

The answers to the questions are summarized below in Table 2.2. and presented in order of decreasing student agreement as to the polite/compassionate versus neutral/offensive attitude of the author-mediator.

2.9.1 China-US

The most unambiguous headline with respect to whom the mediator shows a polite/favourable attitude towards (discursive entities China-North Korea) seems to be Question 3 of the questionnaire: there was 100% agreement among students that the mediator is favourable/polite towards China and one of the most modest meta-pragmatic comments of the students was that 'China *is beginning to* gain power over North Korea'.

Table 2.2 Greek readers' perception of mediators' un/favourable attitude with respect to discursive entities in Greek headline versions

The Greek headlines of the questionnaire	In favour of/ no offence	Against/ neutral	No answer
(3) *China undertakes action in North Korea*	42	0	0
(10) *S/he showed the way to negotiations*	42	0	0
(9) *She gained the right to be the first female gondolier in the canals of Venice*	37	5	0
(7) *Who are indifferent to the Syrian refugees?*	34	7	1
(8) *Indonesia: Refugee rescuing after four months in the sea*	10	32	0
(4) *The Baltic countries raise fences, too*	10	29	3
(1) *Egypt deserted by tourists, because of political unrest*	24	16	2
(2) *It is not about a new Cold War*	19	21	2
(5) *Special exercises for the treatment of impotence*	20	17	5
Choose a headline	a	b	
(6) (a) *Two sex changes in a lifetime* vs. (b) *A boy without a penis*	37	2	3

2.9.2 Negotiations

In example 10, all students (100%) perceived the positive value of the *negotiations* item, although it could have been thought as carrying a negative value in a different context, where conflict would have been a preferable solution.

2.9.3 The Female Gondolier

In example 9, most students (88%) believed that the mediator's attitude is optimistic and victorious, because the lady 'competed in a male-dominated profession'. Five students thought that the headline implies a pessimistic view of women because 'it assumes the job is not right for a woman, in the first place'. Another student suggested that 'the female suffix of the gondolier noun gives it a derogatory gloss in Greek' or because 'no woman should feel honour for, actually practicing what she wants and name it a victory' (!). This last comment highlights how "allegiances of interlocutors can lead to different evaluations of the same utterance, i.e. to different particularized implicatures" (Culpeper and Terkourafi 2017: 33).

2.9.4 Who is to Blame

In example 7, the mediator's attitude was considered to be in favour of the refugees (80%) because the headline, students suggested, 'blames society for being indifferent to the refugee cause' or because the author 'shows resentment for authority indifference and absence of action'. Seven students thought it may be a rhetorical question which challenges the view that no one is interested, that the headline is ironic or mocking the situation. Another student thought it is against the refugee cause because Syrians appear with a small case initial. National adjectives occasionally appear with a small case initial in Greek, but it does not have a derogatory effect.

2.9.5 Indonesians Rescued

Quite a few students (78%) agreed that example 8 (the Indonesia headline) 'does not carry an emotional tone because no evaluative or exclamatory items are used' so they assumed the author was being impolite. The ones who thought that the mediator's attitude is compassionate justified it on the grounds that the mediator refers to the time span (which is too long for people to stay away from home)'. Another thought that 'it would be reasonable to assume that the author is compassionate towards the

migrants. Surprisingly though, the translator takes a descriptive attitude indicating a distancing effect and a neutral presentation mode.

2.9.6 Fence-Raising

Some students (69%) thought that headline 4, on the fence-raising Baltic countries, 'puts the blame on North Western countries'; they also claimed that 'Southern Europe has carried the burden of the crisis', and that 'refugees aren't wild animals to be kept at bay by fences'. Ten students mistook the headline as an exhortation for Greece to do the same (to erect fences), because—they argued—'even countries who used to accept refugees now close their borders'. The relatively high percentage (10/24%) of receivers who acknowledged a 'polite' author intension and misunderstood the illocutionary force of the headline 'utterance' (i.e. they took it as an exhortation for Greece to do what the Baltic countries have done [to raise fences]) is based on that they may not have been aware of the public feeling which was acknowledging refugee suffering.

2.9.7 Tourism and Political Unrest

Example 1 was claimed (by 57%) to be carrying 'a hint of compassion as the mediator exaggerates and creates a pun with *έρημη* (deserted) and *έρημος* (the desert). Some suggested that the 'deserted by tourists' item could have been rendered as 'fall of tourism demand' (*πτώση της τουριστικής ζήτησης*), which would have been neutral. Instead the mediator uses 'an emotive adjective, which is also thematized (and highly expressive), and this evaluative tone carries a pro-Egypt implicature'. The rest of the students thought that 'the author resents the political unrest but avoids making it too obvious so as not to sound offensive'.

2.9.8 The Cold War

Example 2 (the 'Cold War' example) was controversial in that 50% of the students claimed that it does not carry any offence, it implies a positive mediator attitude assuming that now the two countries are on better terms, whereas another 50% of the students felt that the mediator implicitly blames either one of the countries (Russia, 4 students) or both global players, for being involved in the Cold War. Students relied on their background assumptions to disambiguate the message.

2.9.9 Pelvis Exercises

Students were almost divided with headline 5; 48% thought that the headline 'conveys good news, it is not offensive, despite the fact that impotence is a private matter'. I would consider 48% a positive response because, I assume, the comment 'Issues of impotence are private conditions' prior to the question must have affected their assessment towards the 'offensive' judgement. Another 40% of the students thought that it is offensive and that a subtler, more scientific term should have been used, like 'erective dysfunction' which would have reduced offensiveness. I wonder what the students would have thought if the English headline had been translated literally (*Pelvis exercises for some impotent men*). The analyst's point of view is that the nominalization in Greek (*ανικανότητα* [impotence]) raises the level of formality and tones down offensiveness of the source headline.

2.9.9.1 Sex Changes

Question 6 of the questionnaire (a 'choose one' question) used the *Time* headline *A boy without a penis* (Mar. 24, 1997) which was translated in the Greek press as *Two sex changes in a lifetime.* Students were asked to say which one they would use in a Greek press context and justify their choice: 88% of the students preferred option (a), because they thought (b) was provocative, vulgar, shocking, an insult, hides the female aspect of the experience and would endanger the paper's reputation, whereas option (a) was thought to be more respectful towards transgender people.

Results show that the way the analyst (myself) has received and analyzed the translation shifts reshaping the representation of the various discourse entities' identity, is in agreement with the readers' perception, who have had no access to the source headline and the body of the article.

Results show that the pragmatically less transparent headlines depended on the receivers' awareness of the narratives circulating in the target environment for the im/polite author intention to be acknowledged. The findings suggest that politeness1 needs the contribution of the receivers' context awareness, for im/politely ambiguous headlines to be successfully received.

Translation scholars (Blitvich and Sifianou 2017) have examined monolingual data and suggested that identity and facework are inherently connected notions, complementing each other, and prioritized identity formation (rather than facework enactment) as an overall scheme encompassing relational work. The present set of translation data also points to identity formation practices with respect to discourse entities, which are expected to reshape the mediators' (source author/institution or target institution/translator) relational work within their respective cultures. Shifts, which the mediators introduce in target versions to 'smooth the rough edges of a source text', may reshape identities of discourse entities conforming to intended ideological attitudes and constructing intended narratives in a target context.

Mediators may be involved in facework enactment with fellow translators or analysts, who assess the mediators' critical potential to reshape the identity of discoursal entities. Studying face enactment and maintenance, in such cases, may require exploration of "long term relationships" and "relational histories" (Blitvich and Sifianou 2017: 236) between participants.

2.10 Conclusion

The chapter introduced the translator-mediator into the im/politeness interactional model to account for facework renegotiation enacted in communication through translation. The study first presented an etic perspective of naturally occurring press-translated English-Greek data by juxtaposing and analyzing source and target versions of press data. It then took an emic perspective into the target version of the data to check to what extent the im/polite intention of the mediator towards discourse entities gets through to the target receivers. Analysis of the findings shows that target receivers had to rely on their background knowledge to be able to calculate the impolite implicatures following from the target fragments, especially when the fragments were pragmatically opaque.

The assumption is that Locher and Watts' (2008) scale of first-order impolite behaviour can adequately account for the mediators' renegotiating relational work in the 'interaction' with a target audience. Im/politeness in a press context is likely to manifest all values of Locher and Watts' scale of first-order impolite behaviour, from impolite to over-polite (assuming rudeness, aggression, sarcasm etc.). They propose "a discursive understanding of the norms of appropriate social behaviour that underlie the interactants' judgement" (2008:78). Locher and Watts suggest the following categories of im/polite behaviours:

a. negatively marked *impolite* behaviour (inappropriate, non-politic)
b. unmarked *non-polite* behaviour (appropriate, politic)
c. positively marked *polite* behaviour (appropriate, politic)
d. negatively marked *over-polite* behaviour (inappropriate, non-politic) (adapted from Locher and Watts 2008: 78).

The translator-mediators[1] do their best to avoid negatively marked impolite behaviour, which may by assessed as inappropriate by the target audience (or audiors and overhearers). In the present context, behaviour (a) may have been manifested if the translator included the item *Russia is a hostile power* in the target version. By avoiding it, the mediating institution renegotiates its own face (and identity) in the eyes of the target readers.

ST "Russia is a hostile power, but this is not a new cold war".

[1]I use the term *translator-mediator*, because original authors are themselves mediators, as well, mediating between reality and source audiences.

TT "Δεν πρόκειται περί ενός νέου Ψυχρού Πολέμου".
BT. This is not about a new Cold War

The same seems to be the case with the following pair of headlines, where the reference to the sexual organ would have been inappropriate according to target news conventions, so the mediator opts for a headline which signals a (b) (or c) behaviour on Locher and Watts' scale.

ST "A Boy Without a Penis".
TT "Δύο αλλαγές φύλου σε μία ζωή".
BT. Two sex-changes in a lifetime.

Likewise, the source version of the following pair of headlines must have signalled a (b) behaviour: unmarked *non-polite* behaviour (appropriate, non-politic), which the translator seems to have attempted to shift into a (c) behaviour: positively marked *polite* behaviour (appropriate, politic).

ST "The UN can learn more from this example of mutual respect".
TT "Έδειξε το δρόμο για διαπραγματεύσεις".
BT. He paved the way to negotiations.

The "negatively marked *over-polite* behaviour (inappropriate, non-politic)" of behaviour (d), may be manifested in the source version of the pair.

ST "Why Do Muslims Flock to the "Evil West"?
TT "Ποιοι αδιαφορούν για τους σύρους πρόσφυγες".
BT. Who are indifferent towards Syrian refugees?

It seems that the mediating intention attempts to confine itself in the appropriate non-/politic zone of the scale, when a close translation of the source headline runs the risk of been interpreted negatively, and the mediator amends the facework enacted by the source headline.

Cross-cultural variation, which has attracted the attention of im/politeness scholars (Sifianou and Blitvich 2017), seems to benefit from a translation perspective to the phenomenon.

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Chapter 3
Im/politeness in Translated Academic Discourse



The chapter examines translated academic discourse with respect to the receivers' perception of the interpersonal dynamics between text producer (i.e. the translator) and target reader, which contrasts with the interpersonal dynamics between the English text producer (i.e. the author) and source readers. The study first makes sure that readers do have a taste as to what is an appropriate academic style in Greek. It does so through a questionnaire which asks them to distinguish between alternative structures of the same Greek extract. It then identifies textual features which may be assumed to carry a positive or negative politeness valence and measures their frequency in the source and target versions of randomly selected chapters from parallel academic book data, in the sciences and the humanities. Results show that the balance of positive/negative politeness features in the target Greek version is very different from that of the source text. The finding dovetails with the taste of respondents in the first questionnaire. The chapter confirms—through translation data—that the positive/negative politeness distinction is a useful one and should not be dismissed, because it captures generalizations which manifest cross-cultural tendencies in discourse. Another finding is that the balance between the inflowing target discourse features is different in the sciences and in the humanities, with certainty prevailing in the sciences and discourse connectivity prevailing in the humanities.

3.1 Centripetal Tendencies of the Semiperiphery

Academic discourse is rather under-researched with reference to the im/politeness features it displays. Bennett (2014) explored discursive tendencies in Portuguese historiography and distinguished two styles of academic writing, a traditional one ("a direct descendant of the grand style of Classical Rhetoric, widespread throughout Europe prior to the Scientific Revolution of the seventeenth century" (2014: 15)) and a more modern one, which reflects a more rationalist mindset. Bennett (ibid) highlights "some of the ideological and epistemological implications of the colonization process

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that is clearly under way in this discipline" (2014: 14). Portugal is a semiperipheral space where discourses are displaying centripetal forces.

In the same vein, Vladimirou (2014) examined the academic discourse produced in the context of the 'International Conference of Greek Linguistics" hosted by the Democritus University of Thrace, Komotini, Greece, and other local and international spaces which hosted the International Conference of Greek Linguistics. She sees conferences as 'indexical fields of a globalized world' and shows how language choices of authors developed between the 2005 conference held at Rethymno (Greece), York (2007), Chicago (2009), Komotini (Greece 2011) and Rhodes (Greece 2013). She concludes that language choices correlate with the host spaces, which is assumed to motivate centripetal tendencies of the semiperipheries. Bennett (2014) and Vladimirou (2014) examine original production of academic discourse or production submitted for translation, and some of the discoursal features they display.

The chapter intends to focus on translated academic discourse and to highlight potential centripetal forces which may be motivating shifts in Greek translated academic production. It also intends to explore whether translation can potentially resist these forces and discourage them from operating in the language. Some of the features Bennett highlights as pertaining to the traditional Portuguese academic discourse are (a) a "degree of linguistic complexity not commonly seen in English texts of the same type" (2014: 15), (b) highly subordinated structures, (c) an interpersonal perspective which emphasizes the author/reader relationship (e.g. the use of inclusive 'we'), (d) the use of "emotive or poetic diction, and literary or rhetorical devices designed to create a particular effect upon the reader" (ibid: 16), (e) a 'chronological blurring' with a similar vagueness in the use of logical relationships, etc. These features, Bennett argues, make up a Portuguese traditional style which is "more akin to literary than to scientific or technical writing" (ibid) suggesting that "[c]larity, precision and economy are clearly not its main objectives" (ibid).

The question arises as to which are the features that can resist the centripetal tendencies that semiperipheries may display in academic discourse make-up. In particular, what are some of the potential signs of resistance on the part of professional translators with reference to im/politeness features. The question is of paramount importance because if a university in the semiperiphery extensively uses translated bibliography in educational practice, this may affect the linguistic insight of a whole generation of students into their native Greek language. It will affect that 'sedimented knowledge' of what is an appropriate balance of im/polite features in the original semiperipheral academic production.

Empirical observation suggests that there are features of academic discourse structure which are preferred over others in Greek translated (and in original) academic production, relative to English source texts. These are renegotiated in the process of translation to meet target audience expectations.

Observation of English-Greek translation practice in academic discourse highlights a set of features which are systematically preferred in Greek, over the readily available target options which could have rendered features of the source English texts literally. The question arises as to what impact the preferred features may have on target audiences, what the audiences' assessment might be as to whether the

features improve target discourse production, if they do so at all. My insight into Greek suggests that, with quite a few of these shifts, what is at stake is the interpersonal relation between author and reader, which is an im/politeness-relational issue.

3.2 Target Reader Perception

The section intends to validate the view that certain discoursal features in Greek academic discourse create a varied perception of the interpersonal dynamics between text producer and reader. To this end, the section reports on a questionnaire which asked respondents to assess who of the authors of two slightly different discourse fragments qualifies for a speaker who is more concerned with passing knowledge to the reader.

The questionnaire results confirm that native speakers of Greek agree that certain discoursal features do generate the implication that an author may be more keen on passing knowledge to the audience, as if more concerned with the audience's needs. What's more, these features are acknowledged to a lesser or greater degree by Greek academic readers as carrying that implication. The questionnaire presents two Greek versions of seven academic discourse fragments, namely, one version retrieved from actual translated academic publications and another one in which I changed some discoursal features to mitigate the implication that the author is highly concerned with the audience's needs. My purpose was to explore to what extent certain featues generate the same implications in present-day Greek readers. For instance, the alternative versions of the text fragment pairs, in the questionnaire, differed in voice options (active/passive), explicit/implicit logical relations signalling, adverbial fronting/postposing transformations and the *we*-inclusive feature versus certain impersonal and first person singular verbal structures.

I shall later argue that these features are manifestations of im/politeness in academic discourse, but at this stage the questionnaire avoided the term 'im/politeness', to discourage any rationalist approach to im/politeness variation. I would assume, for instance, that thematizing an adverbial could be identified as the polite option because the author contributes to readers/addressees by making it easier for them to retrieve the *given* information, which the topicalization/thematization transformation highlights (Halliday, in Kress 1976). Instead, the questionnaire asked informants to identify which of these academic text fragments shape the identity of a 'considerate, eloquent author who is keen on passing knowledge on to the audience'. Eight informants, graduates of the Department of English Language and Literature, NKUA, between 23–25 years of age, answered the questionnaire. The score each linguistic option received is thus out of a total of eight marks and the information in the grey rows under each fragment pair, in the version of the questionnaire presented below, describe the linguistic variation which the relevant versions implement; this was *not* included in the questionnaire addressing the respondents. A translation of

the fragment pairs follows each pair in italics, which was also omitted from the actual questionnaire version.

Questionnaire – NKUA, Oct. 2018

Author concern for passing knowledge on to the readership
The two versions of these fragments are different at some points. Please circle the options which would realize the discursive approach of a considerate eloquent speaker who is keen on transferring knowledge to the audience.

	fragment a	fragment b	Please, circle	
1	Σε κανένα δεν αρέσει **το πώς διδάσκουμε** την ιστορία. Οι συντηρητικοί πιστεύουν ότι παραείναι πολυπολιτισμικός, **και** οι οπαδοί της πολυπολιτισμικότητας πιστεύουν ότι παραείναι συντηρητικός.	Σε κανένα δεν αρέσει **ο τρόπος διδασκαλίας** της ιστορίας. Οι συντηρητικοί πιστεύουν ότι παραείναι πολυπολιτισμικός, **ενώ** οι οπαδοί της πολυπολιτισμικότητας πιστεύουν ότι παραείναι συντηρητικός.	1a 2a	1b 2b
	*No one likes **how we teach** history. The conservatives believe it is too multicultural **and** the proponents of multiculturalism believe it is too conservative*	*No one likes the **teaching approach** to history. The conservatives believe it is too multicultural **while** the proponents of multiculturalism believe it is too conservative.*		
	1a. verbal structure 2a. implicit logical connection	1b. nominalization 2b. explicit logical connection		
2	**Σύμφωνα με** τους ειδικούς, **γίνεται** εύκολα **αντιληπτό** γιατί υπάρχει διαφωνία.	**Οι ειδικοί θεωρούν** ότι μπορ**ούμε** εύκολα να αντιλη**φθούμε** γιατί υπάρχει διαφωνία.	3a 4a	3b 4b
	According to** experts why there is a controversy **becomes** easily **understood	***Experts believe** that **we** can easily **understand** why there is a controversy*		
	3a. *according to* adverbial formed out of a SVO structure 4a. impersonal structure	3b. SVO structure 4b. inclusive *we*		

3	Οι επιστήμονες δεν μπορούν εύκολα να αμφισβητήσουν τις θεμελιώδεις παραδοχές πάνω στις οποίες **έχει οικοδομηθεί** ένας ολόκληρος επιστημονικός κλάδος.	Οι επιστήμονες δεν μπορούν εύκολα να αμφισβητήσουν τις θεμελιώδεις παραδοχές πάνω στις οποίες **έχουν οικοδομήσει** έναν ολόκληρο επιστημονικό κλάδο.	5a	5b
	The scientists cannot easily doubt the fundamental assumptions on which a whole discipline ***has been founded***	*The scientists cannot easily doubt the fundamental assumptions on which they* ***have founded*** *a whole discipline*		
	5a. passive verb structure	5b. active verb structure		
4	**Σε αυτή την ενότητα**, θα μελετήσουμε δύο απλά παραδείγματα που θα **με** βοηθήσουν να εισαγ**άγω** ομαλά τη θεωρία	Θα μελετήσουμε δύο απλά παραδείγματα **σε αυτή την ενότητα**, που θα **μας** βοηθήσουν να εισαγάγ**ουμε** ομαλά τη θεωρία	6a 7a	6b 7b
	In this unit*, we will study two simple examples which will help* ***me*** *to efficiently introduce the theory*	*We will study two simple examples* ***in this unit****, which will help* ***us*** *to efficiently introduce the theory*		
	6a. thematized place adverbial 7a. 1st person singular structure	6b. place adverbial clause-finally 7b. 1st person plural structure		
5	**Με την πρώτη ματιά**, φαίνεται ίσως αδύνατο να διατυπώσουμε αξιόλογα συμπεράσματα για τέτοια τυχαία γεγονότα, **αλλά** δεν είναι έτσι.	Φαίνεται ίσως αδύνατο να διατυπώσουμε αξιόλογα συμπεράσματα για τέτοια τυχαία γεγονότα, **με την πρώτη ματιά**, **όμως** δεν είναι έτσι.	8a 9a	8b 9b
	At first glance*, it seems impossible to for us to come up with sound conclusions about random events,* ***but*** *this is not the case*	*It seems impossible to for us to come up with sound conclusions about random events* ***at first glance****,* ***however*** *this is not the case*		
	7a. thematized place adverbial 8a. short-distance contrastive connective	7b. place adverbial clause-finally 8b. long-distance contrastive connective		

6	Στο προηγούμενο παράδειγμά **μας**, το Ω είχε πεπερασμένο πλήθος σημείων. Εδώ, **όμως**, το Ω έχει μη αριθμήσιμο άπειρο πλήθος σημείων *In **our** previous example, Ω [...]Here, **however**, Ω has an uncountable infinite....*	Στο προηγούμενο παράδειγμά **μου**, το Ω είχε πεπερασμένο πλήθος σημείων. **Όμως** εδώ, το Ω έχει μη αριθμήσιμο άπειρο πλήθος σημείων *In **my** previous example, Ω [...]**However**, here Ω has an uncountable infinite....*	10a 11a	10b 11b
	10a. 1st person plural possessive adjective 11b. place adverbial following contrastive connective	10b. 1st person singular possessive adjective 11a. place adverbial preceding contrastive connective		
7	Ποσοτικά δεδομένα είναι εκείνα που παίρνουν μια αριθμητική τιμή. Μπορ**ούμε** να αναλύσ**ουμε** τα ποσοτικά δεδομένα σε δύο είδη. *Quantitative data are those that can be quantified.* ***We can analyze** quantitative data in two parts*	Ποσοτικά δεδομένα είναι εκείνα που παίρνουν μια αριθμητική τιμή. Μπορ**ούν** να αναλυ**θούν** τα ποσοτικά δεδομένα σε δύο είδη. *Quantitative data are those that can be quantified. Quantitative data **can be analyzed** in two parts*	12a	12b
	12a. inclusive *we*	12b. impersonal structure		

The twelve points of variation in the questionnaire received the following scores on the part of the eight informants, which are summarized in Table 3.1. The questionnaire results suggest that there seem to be certain features which appear to be non-negotiable at times, like for instance,

- The inclusive-*we* structure (12b of the questionnaire, preferred by 100%), see also the inclusive-*we* feature (4b) which wins over the impersonal structure (4a), by 5 to 3 respectively,
- An inclusive-*us* option (10a, versus an exclusive-*me* option in 10b)
- An overwhelming preference for the explicit contrastive connection (in 2b, versus an implicit one in 2a) which suggests that students valued explicit contrastiveness highly in processing the information the text conveys. See also the long-distance (and stronger) connector *όμως* (however) winning over the shorter-distance connective *αλλά* (but) by 5 to 3, respectively, and
- The adverbial thematization transformation (8a, preferred by 6 to 2). Place adverbial thematization seems to win over the post verbal position of the adverbial (8b). It seems to even win over the thematized contrastive connector (11a, versus

Table 3.1 Variation in im/polite (politic) academic author behaviour

A/B	Version A	Version B
8/0	12a. Inclusive *we*	12b. Impersonal structure
8/0	10a. 1st person plural possessive adjective	10b. 1st person singular possessive adjective
8/0	8a. Thematized adverbial	8b. Adverbial clause-finally
8/0	2a. Implicit logical connection	2b. Explicit logical connection
8/0	7a. 1st person singular structure	7b. Inclusive *we*
3/5	9a. Short-distance contrastive connective	9b. Long-distance contrastive connective
6/2	11a. Place adverbial preceding contrastive connective	11b. Place adverbial following contrastive connective
6/2	6a. Thematized place adverbial	6b. Postposed place adverbial
5/3	5a. Passive	5b. Active
5/3	3a. *According to* adverbial thematized	3b. SVO structure
3/5	4a. Impersonal structure	4b. Inclusive *we*
4/4	1a. Verbal structure	1b. Nominalization

the second position it takes in 11b). Thematizing adverbials adds clarity to the interaction and raises the level of certainty with which the S addresses the H, because the expert distinguishes between old/given and new information.

– There seems to be a preference for adverbializing and thematizing parts of the sentence in order for the information to be presented as given, as in the case of the *σύμφωνα με* (according to) structure, which was favoured by 5 to 3 (in 3a).
– The passive voice option (5a) seems preferable over the active (5b) by 5 to 3, while this set of data did not allow any suggestion as to the potential value of a nominalization (1b) over a *we*-inclusive verbal structure. Table 3.1 summarizes the findings.

A collective perception of the communicative situation is manifested through the inclusive *we* and *us* options (variation points 1, 2) which overwhelmingly win over impersonal structures, although compromized in variation point 11. The reason why the preference is not as strong, in variation point 11, may be that the inclusive-*we* appears in the context of the *according to* marker, which is a kind of speaker disclaimer potentially incompatible with the collective perception of the communicative situation (manifested through the *we*-inclusive option).

I do not pretend to be presenting an accurate measure of the preferable features in Greek academic discourse, but rather that the group of eight Greek respondents do have a taste of which discoursal options may generate the implicature that an author of academic discourse is more or less efficient in communicating the information to be conveyed. Table 3.1 shows Greek respondents' view on non-negotiable versus compromizable options in Greek academic discourse.

The next questions would be

- Whether translation practice in academia would favour shifts like the ones the above findings suggest they would be preferable in Greek.
- Whether academic subgenre is a variable impacting the mediators' concern to do justice to a local preference in academic discourse make up.

If this is the case, then Blitvich and Sifianou (2017) may be right in arguing that genre is a variable which affects the use of im/politeness. Another question would be

- Which of the above transformations, which the questionnaire shows may be favoured in Greek, actually make it in the translated Greek academic production.

For instance, the passive is preferable in Greek translated scientific popular discourse, although its frequency may be diminishing over the years, as a result of a code-copying mechanism (Malamatidou 2016). Translation of political science texts into Greek also shows a set of features preferred over others (Sidiropoulou 2017, 2019).

3.3 Translating Im/politeness in Academia

Academia is another context (like press, advertising etc.) where im/politeness is practiced publicly and the addressee is a collective entity. The Greek universities frequently make use of translated academic bestsellers and reference books. In addition to academic publications written originally in Greek. The type of im/politeness may be expected in translated academic discourses is of the politic type. Non-politic im/politeness (Watts 2003), in the sense of aggression, is rather unlikely to occur in printed academic discourses, because academic ethos and editorial advice would eliminate signs of aggressive authorial behaviour. For instance, lack of author concern for transmitting knowledge may be considered as a manifestation of impoliteness and distancing from the audience, with the author concern for transmitting knowledge to the audience being a manifestation of politeness.

Some im/politeness strategies surfacing in academic texts may relate to

(a) A speaker intention to "[d]isassociate, distance from H", to "[d]eny in-groups", to "[b]elittle or diminish the importance of H and H's things, action, values and opinions" etc. (positive face aggravating strategies), (García-Pastor (2008, as mentioned in 2.6 above), or
(b) To "[i]ncrease imposition weight" and "[r]efer to rights, duties and rules not respected, fulfilled or complied with respectively" (negative face aggravating strategies, 2008: 108).

Phenomena which disassociate the speaker from the hearer(s) may be the passive voice or nominalizations, which raise the level of formality (Brown and Levinson 1978), versus active voice and verbal structures respectively, which rather minimize distance. Other structures dis/associating the speaker from/with hearer(s) may be

the impersonal structures (versus the *we*-inclusive option) or topicalizing adverbials (versus placing adverbials at sentence final position, to name only a few.

Distancing or minimizing distance between interlocutors echoes an im/politeness intention and the question arises as to whether and how impoliteness is manifested in translated practice in Greek academia. A more extensive parallel sample would show a more representative set of features which pertain to the (appropriate) interpersonal distance between interlocutors, across academic cultures.

3.3.1 Compiling the Data Set

The section reports on the compilation of a parallel English-Greek mini-corpus of academic discourse, from books of various disciplines. They were books used in courses of Greek universities, in the academic year 2018–2019, in the humanities and in the sciences. The study juxtaposed a 50,687-word English data set with its parallel Greek version and focused on shifts in the discoursal features which the translators favoured to make the discourses operative in the target environment. The study selected a dozen translated Greek publications, from the 'Eudoxus' platform for electronic management of Greek university book resources currently available, which were originally published in English. It then traced the source versions of these books and randomly selected parallel chapters of about 3,000–5,000 words. The intention was to contrast the source and target versions of the randomly selected set of parallel data in order to identify shifts which professional translators introduced into the target Greek version as a manifestation of their perception of what is appropriate in Greek academic discourse, on the basis of their expertise.

The process of contrasting the parallel samples occurred in the context of the MA 'English Language, Linguistics and Translation', Department of English Language and Literature, NKUA, which was examining to what extent translators are entitled to interfere with target versions to achieve appropriateness. The study takes the translation shifts in a target version of academic discourse to be a manifestation of the potential for resistance which translation practice may display in defending local textual norms.

Not all shifts were manifestations of im/politeness in the data sample. Several shifts relating to 'im/polite' authorial behaviour were identified in the process of contrasting ST and TT fragments during a 'Research Methodology in TS' MA course. The Appendix shows the sources the parallel data set derives from, namely, books used by the Greek universities, at the time of the research.

The course analyzed two entries of the list of parallel versions of chapters, in the appendix, confirming the author-reader distance/closeness implicature which certain devices generate in the translated versions. They contrasted the effect a literal translation of the extract would have generated in Greek to the effect the translation shifts generated. It then registered the shifts which were relevant to the interpersonal dynamics between interlocutors (author, readers).

3.3.2 Operationalizing

The features which seemed to be relevant to a politic im/politeness zone were the use of pronouns versus recurrence, adverbial connection versus independent clauses, thematizing, hedging versus heightening certainty, passivizing versus active structures, impersonal structures versus we-inclusive ones and surface versus concealed negation. Example 1 shows the heading and the beginning of a subsection on quantitative data in medical statistics. The translator avoids the English pronoun *these* and uses recurrence to improve clarity (in addition to the English term in parenthesis).

3.3.2.1 Pronouns

Pronoun expansion versus *entity omission (through referencing*—Greek is a pro-drop language: verb suffixes have a pronominal use). Pronoun expansion was assumed to be the polite (politic) option because the text producer intends to save the reader some processing effort by making the referential link explicit.

ST1 Numerical (quantitative) data.
These occur when the variable takes some numerical value.
(*Medical Statistics at a Glance* 2000/2005: 8).

TT1 Ποσοτικά δεδομένα.
Ποσοτικά (numerical ή quantitative) δεδομένα είναι εκείνα που παίρνουν κάποια αριθμητική τιμή.
(*Ιατρική στατιστική με μια ματιά* 2008/2015: 16)
BT. Quantitative data.
Quantitative (numerical or quantitative [the terms in English]) data are those that take a numerical value.

The data set showed 119 instances of pronoun expansion (politic, polite) and 40 instances of entity omission (impolite, because the text producer does not favour clarity as recurrence would do).

3.3.2.2 Adverbial Connection

Adverbial connections may be manifested implicitly or explicitly in discourse. *Enforcing an adverbial link* (as in TT2 which highlights the contrastive force of the *and* connective) points to a polite author intention because S contributes to the H to facilitate processing. *Weakening an adverbial connection* rather points to impoliteness because the S lets the Hs to do the processing on their own. On a par, *adding adverbial links* in a target version (as in TT3), which do not appear in the source fragment, also points to politeness. By contrast, *omissions of adverbial connectives* (e.g. causal, contrastive, additive etc.) suggest that readers will do the processing on their own and thus the shift would point to impoliteness.

ST2 The conservatives believe it [the way history is taught] is too multicultural **and** multiculturalists think it's too conservative.
(*Teaching History for the Common Good* 2004: 1)

TT2 Οι συντηρητικοί πιστεύουν ότι παραείναι πολυπολιτισμικός, **ενώ** οι οπαδοί της πολυπολιτισμικότητας πιστεύουν ότι παραείναι συντηρητικός.
(*Διδάσκοντας ιστορία για το κοινωνικό αγαθό* 2008: 17)
BT. The conservatives believe it [the way history is taught] is too multicultural **while** *the followers of multiculturalism think it's too conservative.*

ST3 **[Ø]**The distance traveled by the particle along the circumference Δs is proportional to the angular displacement $\Delta\theta$ from the relation $s = r\theta$, therefore we have that $\Delta s/\Delta t = r\ \Delta\theta/\Delta t$ so that …
(*Physics of the Life Sciences* 2008: 163)

TT3 **Επειδή όμως** η απόσταση που διανύει ένα σωματίδιο κατά μήκος της περιφέρειας είναι ανάλογη με τη γωνιακή μετατόπιση $\Delta\theta$, σύμφωνα με τη σχέση $\Delta s = r.\ \Delta\theta$, προκύπτει ότι $\Delta s/\Delta t = r\ \Delta\theta/\Delta t$ επομένως: …
(*Φυσική για τις Επιστήμες Ζωής* 2013: 191)
BT. **Because however** *the distance traveled by the particle along the circumference Δs is proportional to the angular displacement Δθ from the relation s = rθ, therefore we have that Δs/Δt = r Δθ/Δt so that …*

Measurement suggests that the translated version displayed 169 added adverbial connective and 52 omitted. The enforced connectives were 193, the weakened 32.

3.3.2.3 Thematizing

Thematizing adverbials points to a polite authorial intention because the S is contributing information in the mind of the H by suggesting what is assumed to be old (theme) and new (rheme) information (Halliday in Kress 1976). Postposing or preposing adverbials may also be associated to im/politeness, respectively. Students agreed that postposing adverbials points to a distancing authorial practice, implying that there is no need for the speaker to assist addressees with processing. In a previous experiment (Sidiropoulou 2004) respondents agreed that thematizing an adverbial raises the level of formality. In example 4, the adverbial has been thematized in the target version, in example 5 the adverbial connective (*however*) has been slightly postposed.

ST4 They have also been, **from roughly the same period**, primarily institutions of the visible in which objects of various kinds have been exhibited to be looked at. (*A Companion to Museum Studies* 2006: 263).

TT4 **Από την ίδια περίπου περίοδο**, τα μουσεία υπήρξαν, επίσης, χώροι προπάντων του ορατού, στους οποίους αντικείμενα διαφόρων ειδών εκτίθεντο προκειμένου να ειδωθούν. (*Μουσείο και Μουσειακές Σπουδές* 2012: 371).

BT. **From roughly the same period,** *museums have also been institutions primarily of the visible in which objects of various kinds have been exhibited in order to be looked at*

ST5 **However**, history is not simply the private obsession of history educators and other scholars…
(*Teaching History for the Common Good* 2004: 2)

TT5 Η ιστορία, **ωστόσο**, δεν αποτελεί ειδική μονομανία των ανθρώπων που τη διδάσκουν και τη μελετούν, …
(*Διδάσκοντας ιστορία για το κοινωνικό αγαθό* 2008: 18)
BT. History, ***however*** *is not simply a special obsession of people who teach it [the history] and study it…*

The overall data set did not show any difference in thematizing adverbials: 40 were preposed and 40 postposed.

3.3.2.4 Hedging

Another shift which pointed to im/politeness, in the process of operationalizing, was hedging (Brown and Levinson 1978) or highlighting speaker certainty (as in TT6, which raises the speaker's level of certainty through the *καθόλου* (not at all) item and as in TT7 through addition of *πράγματι* [indeed], see also Sidiropoulou 2015) where the source version did not show any such marker. Adding or omitting certainty markers in a target version may point to a direct/indirect authorial practice respectively (Grainger and Mills 2016), and the same holds with enhancing or weakening certainty markers (for instance, see omission of *very* in TT8).

ST6 At first glance, it might seem impossible *[Ø]* to make any worthwhile statements about such random phenomena, but this is not *[Ø]* so.
(*Introduction to Probability Theory* 1971: 1)

TT6 Με την πρώτη ματιά, φαίνεται ίσως αδύνατο να διατυπώσ*ουμε* αξιόλογα συμπεράσματα για τέτοια τυχαία φαινόμενα, όμως δεν είναι **καθόλου** έτσι.
(*Εισαγωγή στη θεωρία των πιθανοτήτων* 2002/2015: 1)
BT. At first glance, it seems perhaps impossible *for us* to make any worthwhile statements about such random phenomena, but this is not **at all** so.

ST7 Their perception of themselves and their position as a nation was vested in part in a particular group of objects, namely, eleven nineteenth-century Canadian Iroquois cut and polished clamshell belts, called *wampum.*
(*A Companion to Museum Studies* 2006: 154)

TT7 Ο τρόπος που αντιλαμβάνονταν οι Ιροκέζοι (ή Ιροκουά) τους εαυτούς τους και τη θέση τους ως έθνος αντανακλάτο, μέχρις ενός βαθμού, σε μια ιδιαίτερη ομάδα αντικειμένων. **Πράγματι,** κατά τον 19ο αιώνα, έντεκα Ιροκέζοι από τον Καναδά δημιούργησαν ζώνες από όστρακα, οι οποίες ονομάζονταν *wampum.*
(*Μουσείο και Μουσειακές Σπουδές* 2012: 231).
BT. Iroquois' perception of themselves and their position as a nation was reflected to a certain extent in a particular group of objects. Indeed, during

the nineteenth-century eleven Iroquois from Canada created clamshell belts, called wampum.

ST8 We often use **very** different statistical methods depending on whether the data are categorical or numerical.
(*Medical Statistics at a Glance* 2000/2005: 8)

TT8 Συχνά χρησιμοποιούμε **[Ø]** διαφορετικές στατιστικές μεθόδους και αυτό εξαρτάται από το αν τα δεδομένα είναι κατηγορικά ή ποσοτικά.
(*Ιατρική στατιστική με μια ματιά* 2008/2015: 16)
*BT. We often use **[Ø]** different statistical methods and this depends on whether the data are categorical or numerical.*

24 certainty markers were added to the target version versus 9 osmitted and 61 certainty markers were strengthened versus 21 weakened.

3.3.2.5 Passivizing

The passive/active binary pointed to im/politeness, respectively, because the passive (as in TT9) raises the level of formality and makes the speaker sound distanced hierarchically or otherwise. TT10 shows the opposite shift, namely a passive turned into active voice in the Greek translated version.

ST9 The main rivals to Popper in philosophy of science in the early to mid twentieth century advocated sophisticated versions of inductivism (often **involving** mathematical theories of statistics and probability).
(*Understanding the Philosophy of Science* 2002: 94)

TT9 Οι κυριότεροι αντίπαλοι του Πόπερ στη φιλοσοφία της επιστήμης, έως τα μέσα του 20ού αιώνα, υποστήριζαν εκλεπτυσμένες εκδοχές του επαγωγισμού που συχνά **συνυφαίνονταν** με μαθηματικές θεωρίες στατιστικής και πιθανοτήτων). (*Τι είναι η Φιλοσοφία της Επιστήμης* 2015: 174).
*BT. The main rivals to Popper in philosophy of science up to the mid twentieth century advocated sophisticated versions of inductivism (often **intertwined** with mathematical theories of statistics and probability).*

ST10 *To say* that scientific knowledge is objective *means* that it is not the product of individual whim, and it deserves to **be believed** by everyone, regardless of their other beliefs and values.
(*Understanding the Philosophy of Science* 2002: 93)

TT10 Όταν λέμε ότι η επιστημονική γνώση είναι αντικειμενική εννοούμε πως δεν είναι προϊόν ατομικής ιδιοτροπίας και ότι αξίζει να **την πιστεύουν** όλοι, ανεξάρτητα από τις άλλες πίστεις και αξίες τους.
(*Τι είναι η Φιλοσοφία της Επιστήμης* 2015: 173).
BT. When we *say that scientific knowledge is objective* we *mean that it is not the product of individual whim, and it deserves everybody to **believe it**, regardless of their other beliefs and values.*

Measurement showed that 132 passives were added to the target version versus 12 omitted.

3.3.2.6 *We*-Inclusive Reference

The *we*-inclusive personalization shift also points to a polite authorial practice because the author politely considers the reader a cooperator in the communicative situation. By contrast, impersonalized structures (like passivizations and nominalizations) hide agents and discourage readers from considering themselves as participants in the communicative situation. A *we*-inclusive shift appears in TT10 and TT11.

ST11 "Nation" **is defined** here as a state, a centralized authority, *and* political entity that governs within a named physical space;
(*A Companion to Museum Studies* 2006: 152)

TT11 Ως "έθνος" εννο**ούμε** εδώ ένα κράτος, μια κεντρική εξουσία, *αλλά και* μια πολιτική οντότητα η οποία κυβερνά μέσα σε ένα προσδιορισμένο φυσικό χώρο. (*Μουσείο και Μουσειακές Σπουδές* 2012: 230).
BT. By "nation" **we** *mean here a state, a centralized authority, but also a political entity that governs within a named physical space;*

106 *we*-inclusive structures were added to the Greek target version of the data versus 28 items which were impersonalized.

3.3.2.7 Surfacing Negation

Surfacing negation versus *concealing surface* negation instances may be another manifestation of a polite/impolite (politic) authorial practice respectively, in that surfacing negation may point to explicitly favouring specificity and clarity (S contributing to H, positive politeness). Concealing surface negation may assume some vagueness intention and rather tallies with impoliteness). The feature of surfacing/concealing negation is not included in the final measurement of findings, because postgraduate analysts disagreed over the polite or impolite valence of the features.

ST12 For this reason, the context of discovery **is outside** the domain of rationality… (*Understanding the Philosophy of Science* 2002: 93).

TT12 Για τον λόγο αυτόν, το πλαίσιο της ανακάλυψης **δεν εμπίπτει** στο πεδίο της ορθολογικότητας… (*Τι είναι η Φιλοσοφία της Επιστήμης* 2015:174).
BT. For this reason, the context of discovery ***does not fall in*** *the domain of rationality…*

Measurement showed that 36 negation surfacing transformations occurred versus 6 negation concealing ones. The feature may relate to directness or specificity, in that it clearly manifests some negative option.

The section suggests that certain discourse features, e.g. pronoun expansion (versus entity omission through referencing, Hatim and Mason 1990), additions or enhancement of adverbial connectives (versus omission and weakening adverbial connectives), adverbial movement transformations, high levels of certainty (versus hedging) and *we*-inclusive active verb phrases (versus passives or impersonal expressions, Baker 1992) pertain to some polite (versus impolite) politic authorial practice which is acknowledged by native speakers of the target language.

The question arises as to whether there is an identifiable fairly systematic tendency in the two versions of the sample and what the frequency of these shifts might be, in the Greek version of the 50,687-word English sample of academic discourses.

3.3.3 The Findings

After identifying the relevant features in the target version of one entry on the appendix list, ten postgraduate analysts examined another parallel chapter of academic discourse (the same one for everybody), as to the proximity/distancing authorial practice it displayed. The group checked and discussed their performance in class to ensure they all agreed on the valence of the shifts. Then the ten postgraduate analysts were assigned a different fragment-pair each, to analyze and measure manifestations of its authorial proximal or distancing practice. They had to register all the 'politeness' and 'impoliteness' shifts of the fragment pair they were assigned. The findings are summarized in Table 3.2.

The measurement of shift instances, in I-a, means that pronoun expansion appeared 119 times in the Greek target sample data and that entities disappeared through referencing 40 times. The measurement, in I-b, suggests that 169 adverbial connectives were added to the Greek target data sample versus 52 which were omitted. Likewise, I-c suggests that adverbial connection was enhanced 193 times and weakened 32 times. It is rather safe for us to assume that the inflow of the expanded pronouns and the enforced adverbial connection manifest the professional translators' tendency to enhance a perceived polite (politic) value of the text.

The preposing/postposing transformation did not show any overwhelming tendency of the target version to favour preposings (as, I must admit, I was expecting). The measurement, in I-e/f, shows that the preferred level of certainty is higher in Greek and that hedging was less frequent in the target Greek version. Passives were fairly more frequent in the target Greek version and *we*-inclusive verbal options overwhelmingly outnumbered impersonalizing. The surfacing negation shifts were numerous, six times more than the concealing negation shifts. These findings do not come as a surprise, Koutsantoni *has* identified some of these features (2007) in Greek academic discourse and positive politeness *has* been previously associated with Greek (Sifianou 1992).

Table 3.3 shows Watts' (2003) non-/politic zones of im/politeness and two pairs of variables which, the data showed, are used differently across English and Greek academic discourse, namely, certainty/hedging and high/low tenor. High tenor and

Table 3.2 Discoursal tendencies through shifting phenomena in translation

		I				II	
		All sets		Humanities		Sciences	
Phenomena		instances	ratio	instances	ratio	instance	ratio
a	Pronoun expansion (+)/entity omission (−)	119+/40−	2.97	101+/33−	3.06	18+/7−	2.57
b	Connective added (+)/omitted (−)	169+/52−	3.25	132+/33−	4	37+/19−	1.94
c	Connective enforced (+) /weakened (−)	193+/32−	6.03	136+/16−	8.5	57+/16−	3.56
d	Adverbial preposed (<)/postposed (>)	40</40>	1	29</20>	1	15</16>	0.93
e	Certainty marker added (+)/omitted (−)	24+/9−	2.66	18+/5−	3.6	7+/1−	7
f	Certainty marker enhanced (+)/weakened (−)	61+/21−	2.90	27+/13−	2.07	34+/8−	4.25
g	Passive added (+)/omitted (−)	132+/70−	1.88	50+/50	1	82+/20−	4.1
h	*We*-inclusive personalizing(+)/impersonalizing (−)	106+/28−	3.78	31+/9−	3.44	71+/20−	3.55
i	Surfacing (+)/concealing (−) negation	36+/6−	6	32+/6−	5.33	4+/3−	1.33

Table 3.3 The politic zone and the placement of devices

		English		Greek	
Impolite	(Negatively marked, inappropriate/non-politic)				
Non-polite	(Unmarked, appropriate/politic)	Certainty	High-tenor		
Polite	(Positively marked, appropriate/politic)	Hedging	Low-tenor	Certainty	High-tenor
				Hedging	Low-tenor
Over-polite	(Negatively marked, inappropriate/ non-politic)				

high-power distance favours formatity and may be realized through passivization and impersonalization, among other devices. Table 3.3 shows that the 'sedimented knowledge' in certain communities of practice across-cultures (e.g. in academic communities) may place different sets of devices on the politic zone. The data showed that, in English, hedging and low tenor are positively marked values; in Greek, the positively marked values are certainty and high-tenor, with hedging and low-tenor taking a rather over-polite gloss. The study shows that the use of im/politeness may be fruitfully explored through translation data which translators unintentionally produce on the basis of their socio-cultural awareness and their linguistic expertise.

What is more of a surprise is that certain features seem to be enhanced in the humanities or in the sciences. For instance, certainty is higher in the sciences, see Part II (e–f), and adverbial connectivity is higher in the humanities, see Part II (b–c). The findings suggest that generic conventions may favour a different balance of im/politeness features within a local cultural context and cross-culturally, which is manifested through translated discourses. The cross-cultural preference for im/polite shifts is manifested through the overwhelming inflow of pronoun expansion, higher level of adverbial connectivity and certainty, in addition to the *we*-inclusive preference over impersonalizing. The cross-disciplinary preference for im/polite shifts is manifested in that the ratio of incoming and outgoing features in and from the translated version is different per feature across genres: the ratio of incoming adverbial connectivity markers (rows d-c) is twice as high in the humanities than in the sciences. On a par, the ratio of the incoming and outgoing certainty markers is twice as high in the sciences than in the humanities (rows e–f), while the genres which favour the passive, in the Greek translated discourses, are the sciences rather than the humanities.

The finding tallies with Malamatidou (2016) who found that, in popular scientific magazine discourse, the passive is more frequent than the active voice and that the frequency of the passive diminished over the years and passed into Greek original production through translation. On a par, in examining discoursal features in parallel versions of political science discourses, Sidiropoulou (2017) traced rendition of three politeness devices which are claimed (Spencer-Oatey 2007) to realize

'quality face', 'social identity' face and 'relational aspects' of facework, in two Greek versions (1990, 2005) of John Locke's *The Second Treatise*. Findings show that certain features which have been prioritized by native Greek informants in their assessing discourse texture through a questionnaire, have been 'degenerating' over the years (connectivity, passivizing etc).

The assumption is that these shifting tendencies over the years, with reference to the features associated with im/politeness, are a result of Bennett's (2014) centripetal forces in the semiperiphery, in the context of academic discourse. I would assume that these points of variation are the ones which Bennett (2014) would acknowledge as features of the semiperiphery gravitating towards the centre. The assumptions highlight the strategic role of the translators' linguistic insight, when translating into their mother tongue, who should be sensitive to their local insight and break free from the distorting influence of centripetal forces or globalizing tendencies.

In examining the frequency in the use of phenomena associated with im/politeness, the study takes a cross-cultural pragmatic view in addition to a post-modern approach to im/politeness, because it emphasizes and analyzes "the evaluation of individual hearers" (Ogiermann 2009: 18) and considers cultures as inherently heterogeneous. The latter is manifested in that it acknowledges that humanities and sciences may display a different balance of im/polite discoursal devices. The cross-cultural view and the measurement of discoursal features across cultures rather assumes an etic approach and makes generalizations and predictions that cultures may assess social variables differently. The approach in this section rather merges etic and emic perspectives, and I would assume the translation perspective is one of the 'new ways' Mills and Kádár (2011) suggest im/politeness scholars should be developing in discussing behaviours of cultures as a whole:

> [P]oliteness theorists who analyze the politeness and impoliteness norms of particular cultures and who discuss inter- or intra-cultural politeness and impoliteness *should develop new ways of discussing the language behaviours of cultures* as a whole (2011: 21, emphasis added).

Following Pan (2011) who emphasizes the importance of analyzing the interactional situation and its power structure in the study of im/politeness, the next section heightens awareness of the specifics of interaction in the Greek academic context:

> [A] more systematic way to study politeness across cultures should start with the analysis of the interactional situation and bring in different perspectives. This analysis should include identifying some fundamental and *underlying cultural norms* for polite behaviour, including expectations for polite behaviour in a given situation, followed by the analysis of the *power structure*, the source of power and interactional conventions in that situation (2011: 96, emphasis added).

3.3.4 *Interactional Conventions and Im/politeness in Academia*

It has been widely acknowledged in the literature that extralinguistic variables may affect the way we use language. Brown and Levinson (1978) highlighted the importance of social power (P), distance (D) and imposition (R) of a speech act in Ss' managing enactment of facework. Wx = D(S,H) + P(H,S) + Rx is a formula which determines the weightiness of an im/polite speech act. Interactional conventions in a communication situation are a result of the perceived power distance between interlocutors. Likewise, the interactional conventions in Greek academia are determined by the perceived power distance between, say, professors and students, or experts and trainees.

The interactional context in Greek academia assumes a higher power distance relative to the English educational contexts. This is manifested by the fact that students do not address professors by their first names, as in English educational contexts, in face-to-face interaction or in mediated interaction (e.g. e-mailing); the default option is their using the professors' surname and the polite plural verb-suffixes (Greek has a *tu*/*vous* distinction), rather than a singular-you verb suffix. For instance, when I receive an e-mail addressing me as 'dear Maria', I can almost safely infer that the sender is either a colleague or a student with a foreign educational background, where the power distance between professors and students is smaller by convention. It is a convention a speaker may feel comfortable with, when addressing hearers of 'higher rank'.

The findings of the parallel English-Greek data measurement confirm the higher power distance (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005) in the Greek academic discourse, relative to English. The higher certainty (Sidiropoulou 2015) in the Greek translated academic texts (higher in the sciences, as the findings show) is a manifestation of the high-power distance between the interactional dyad expert-trainee, professor-student. Readers may be aware of the value of hedging and the implication of academic modesty it generates, but it seems appropriate for the authors' expertise and authority to favour a higher certainty with which conclusions may be drawn in the Greek academic interactional context, for the sake of clarity.

In the same vein, the higher connectivity (Sidiropoulou 2004) of the Greek translated academic data (higher in the humanities as the findings show) are also a manifestation of the power of the author to be concerned about whether the readers can follow the line of argument. The high inflow of passives, in the sciences, is in agreement with Malamatidou's findings (2016) with respect to the translation of English popular scientific discourse in Greek magazines. The higher inflow of surfacing negation shifts in the humanities may point to a higher need in the humanities for clarity.

The findings of the academic parallel data measurement of im/polite shifts in the use of certain devices dovetails with the preliminary investigation the study set up, prior to the measurement, through the questionnaire addressing the eight

respondents: the inflow of the *we*-inclusive shifts, the explicit logical connection and higher certainty are some of the features which prevailed.

As Holtgraves (2002) suggests, "[p]articularly important is the contribution that politeness can make to our understanding of the effectiveness of communication patterns in small group interactions" (2002: 62). Likewise, the chapter points to the important contribution politeness can make to our understanding of the effectiveness of communication patterns in academic mediated communication. Politeness becomes a multilayered theoretical framework for explaining the specifics of social action across communities of practice.

3.4 Conclusion

The chapter examined the use of im/politeness in the context of academic translation. It first examined whether Greek participants have an insight as to how academic discourse in Greek should be like, in terms of the interpersonal dynamics between expert and reader. Results showed that the power distance (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005; Koutsantoni 2007) between informed author and reader is higher than in English educational contexts, which is an ideological issue (Kienpointner and Stopfner 2017) involving the power of the expert on the reader (Spencer-Oatey and Žegarac.2017) and points to the context-dependency of im/politeness (Kecskes 2017). As impolite discourse (non-politiic) is not generally expected in the context of academic writing (it would have been eliminated on editorial advice), the study identified translation shifts introduced to the target Greek version of the academic data-chapters randomly selected from a parallel mini-corpus of English scientific publications (in the Humanities and in the Sciences) and their Greek translations, used in the Greek universities. The shifting phenomena between the source and target versions were measured in the 50,687-word English version of the data fragments and their Greek target version. The analysis showed a clear positive politeness orientation in the Greek target version, reshaping the dynamics between the interactional dyad of expert and reader. The chapter assumes that the positive/negative valence distinction should not be dismissed (in agreement with Grainger 2011), in the light of discursive bottom-up developments in im/politeness (Haugh 2007; Kadar 2011, 2017; Mills 2011; Kádár and Bargiela-Chiappini 2011), and Eelen's critique of the theory (2001), because *inter alia* it captures generalizations manifested in academic translation practice.

The finding that certainty was higher in the sciences and connectivity in the humanities highlights the importance of sub/genre for discourse construction in translation (Trosborg 1997) and supports the view that genre is a important variable in the study of im/politeness (Blitvich 2013; Blitvich and Sifianou 2017).

The chapter assumes that, if globalization in the semi-peripheries (Bennett 2014) make texts gravitate towards the hegemonic centre and affect local insight into local scientific traditions, translation is a (global) practice which can safeguard and regulate

local preference and guide translator behaviour, in academic discourses, in the name of linguistic relativity.

As mentioned, Chap. 2 and this chapter explored im/politeness through translation in genres where the reader is the addressee and the dominant im/politeness option is the politic one; non-politic options are problematic, if/when they occur at all. The book now turns to fiction genres where the reader/hearer is an overhearer, in the presence of fictional addressees. Interpersonal dynamics in the next part is to be calculated at two levels, between fictional characters and between author and audience.

Appendix

Sources of the parallel data fragments (English sample:50,687 words)

	English ST	Greek TT
1	Rhiannon Mason. 2006. "Cultural Theory and Museum Studies" in Sharon Macdonald (ed) *A Companion to Museum Studies.* 17–32. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. [word count 4640]	Rhiannon Mason. 2012. "2. Πολιτισμική θεωρία και μουσειακές σπουδές"στο Sharon Macdonald (επιμ.) *Μουσείο και Μουσειακές Σπουδές* Μετφ. Δήμητρα Παπαβασιλείου. Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Ομίλου Πειραιώς
2	Eric B. Shiraev and David A. Levy. 2004/2007/2010. *Cross-Cultural Psychology—Critical thinking and contemporary applications.* 27–52. Boston: Allyn and Bacon. [word count 4639]	Eric B. Shiraev and David A. Levy. 2018. Διαπολιτισμική Ψυχολογία—Κριτική σκέψη και εφαρμογές. Μετφ. Βασίλης Β. Παυλόπουλος. Αθήνα: Πεδίο
3	Barton Keith C. and Linda S. Levstik, 2004/2008 *Teaching History for the Common Good*. (Teacher education and the purposes of history) London/Mahwah, New Jersey: LAWRENCE ERLBAUM ASSOCIATES. [word count 2888]	Barton Keith C. and Linda S. Levstik. 2008. *Διδάσκοντας ιστορία για το κοινωνικό αγαθό.* (Η εκπαίδευση των εκπαιδευτικών και οι σκοποί της ιστορίας) Μετφ. Αφροδίτη Θεοδωρακάκου. Αθήνα:Μεταίχμιο
4	Thomas Hylland Eriksen. 1995/2001. *Small Places Large Issues—An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology.* (18. The politics of identities: Nationalism and minorities) London: Pluto Press. [word count 4255]	Thomas Hylland Eriksen. 2007. *Μικροί τόποι, μεγάλα ζητήματα—Μια εισαγωγή στην κοινωνική και πολιτισμική ανθρωπολογία.* Μετφ. Αθανάσιος Κατσίκερος. Αθήνα: Κριτική
5	Teifion Davies and Tom Craig. 1998/2009. "Mental Health Assessment" in Teifion Davies and Tom Craig (eds) *ABC of Mental Health.* Oxford: Blackwell. [word count: 3752]	Teifion Davies and Tom Craig. 2014. "Εκτίμηση ψυχικής υγείας" στο *ABC στην Ψυχική Υγεία* Μετφ. Απόστολος Ιακωβίδης κ.α. Αττική: Παρισιανου

(continued)

(continued)

	English ST	Greek TT
6	Aviva Petrie and Caroline Sabin. 2005. *Medical Statistics at a Glance*. Massachusetts: Blackwell [word count: 4554]	Aviva Petrie and Caroline Sabin. 2008/2015. *Ιατρική Στατιστική με μια ματιά.* Μετφ. Αναστασία Τζώνου. Αττική: Παρισιανου
7	Jay Newman. 2008. *Physics of the Life Sciences.* New York: Springer. word count: 4338]	Jay Newman. 2013. *ΦΥΣΙΚΗ για τις Επιστήμες Ζωής*. Μετφ. Κώστας Μπεθάνης κ.α. Αθήνα: Δίαυλος
8	Paul G. Hloel, Sidney C. Port and Charles J. Stone. 1971. Introduction to Probability Theory. Boston: HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY [word count: 4500]	Paul G. Hloel, Sidney C. Port and Charles J. Stone. 2002/2015. *Εισαγωγή στη Θεωρία των Πιθανοτήτων*. Μετφ. Απόστολος Γιαννόπουλος. Αθήνα: ΠΕΚ
9	James Ladyman. 2002. Understanding Philosophy of Science. London: Routledge. [word count: 4482]	James Ladyman. 2015. Τι είναι η Φιλοσοφία της Επιστήμης. Μετφ. Γιώργος Μαραγκός. Αθήνα: ΠΕΚ
10	Flora Edouwaye S. Kaplan. 2006. "Making and Remaking National Identities" in Sharon Macdonald (ed) *A Companion to Museum Studies.* 112–163. Oxford: Blackwell. [word count: 3893]	Flora Edouwaye S. Kaplan. 2012. "10. Κατασκευάζοντας και ανασκευάζοντας εθνικές ταυτότητες"στο Sharon Macdonald (επιμ.) *Μουσείο και Μουσειακές Σπουδές* Μετφ. Δήμητρα Παπαβασιλείου. Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Ομίλου Πειραιώς
11	Tony Bennett. 2006. "Civic Seeing: Museums and the Organization of Vision" in Sharon Macdonald (ed) *A Companion to Museum Studies.* 263–271. Oxford: Blackwell. [word count: 4163]	Tony Bennett. 2012. "16. Πολιτική Θέαση: Τα μουσεία και η οργάνωση της όρασης" στο Sharon Macdonald (επιμ) *Μουσείο και Μουσειακές Σπουδές* Μετφ. Δήμητρα Παπαβασιλείου. Πολιτιστικό Ίδρυμα Ομίλου Πειραιώς
12	Barton Keith C. and Linda S. Levstik, 2004/2008 *Teaching History for the Common Good*. (A Sociocultural Perspective on History Education. London/ Mahwah, New Jersey: LAWRENCE ERLBAUM [word count: 4583]	Barton Keith C. and Linda S. Levstik. 2008. *Διδάσκοντας ιστορία για το κοινωνικό αγαθό.* (Μια κοινωνιολογική προσέγγιση στην ιστορική εκπαίδευση) Μετφ. Αφροδίτη Θεοδωρακάκου. Αθήνα: Μεταίχμιο

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Part II
Im/politeness in Translated Fiction

Chapter 4
Translation, Im/Politeness and Fiction



The chapter explores the interconnection between studying im/politeness through fiction in monolingual contexts and the potential which the research on translation of fiction offers to researchers of im/politeness. It unveils different mediating intentions in reconstructing the relational work of fictional addressees in translation contexts. The study draws on im/politeness research and the pragmatics of fiction to identify parameters which have been claimed to shape relational work in fiction; it shows how such parameters have purposefully been renegotiated at a different space or point in time to reshape relational work of fictional addressees according to intended agendas in a target context. The chapter draws on scholarly translation research conducted in the context of the META-FRASEIS translation programme of NKUA (*Interlingual Perspectives* translation e-volume, English Department, 2010–2017) which examined shifting manifestations of phenomena in different Greek target texts of the same source texts, to create an awareness of the translators' potential to reshape the readers/audiences' perception of the reality of the source text. The translation paradigm is claimed to be offering im/politeness researchers an acute understanding of potentially unsuspected operating variables, which may be affecting construction of relational work in discourse. The translation perspective is assumed to advance understanding of the workings of the phenomenon for im/politeness scholars. It also aims at enhancing understanding of translator freedom and heightening awareness of how multiple versions of fictional texts may assist with understanding a whole range of other pragmatic phenomena, beyond im/politeness.

4.1 Fiction Variables Impacting Im/Politeness

The whole of Part II in this book focuses on fiction as interaction generated by an author, whether novelist, playwright or screen writer. Fiction has often been a key platform for understanding the workings of linguistic phenomena and im/politeness scholarship has often used fiction to explore the specifics of the phenomenon (Weber

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Advances in (Im)politeness Studies, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-63530-5_4

1998; Culpeper and Terkourafi 2017; Jucker 2016; Kizelbach 2017; Planchenault 2017; Valdeón 2017, 2018). McIntyre and Bousfield (2017) highlight the mutual benefit of the merging research in im/politeness and fiction. They suggest that stylisticians may fruitfully use models of im/politeness as a tool for understanding interactions between characters in fictional texts and that the fictional interaction is productive for im/politeness research: "fiction also has characteristics that make it special and that can, in some cases, offer insights that cannot be obtained through the analysis of natural occurring linguistic data" (2017: 762).

There are variables connected to power and distance (Brown and Levinson 1978; Brown and Gillman 1989; Bousfield 2008) which affect the implementation of im/politeness and may not be as evident or operative, in the cross-cultural transfer of academic discourse (discussed in Chap. 3). For instance, power can be based on "ethnic identity, situation-based authority, expertise or gender" (Holtgraves 2002: 49) and I would add age, religion, class, political positioning etc. In fact, a speaker's level of politeness "reveals her view of the interpersonal context" (2002: 62).

The chapter draws a parallel between (a) im/politeness scholars who analyze a communicative situation by assessing im/polite behaviour and (b) translators who also assess im/polite relational work to determine an appropriate level of im/politeness in rendering a particular role relationship in a target version. The latter shows how translated and retranslated versions of literary source texts may be revealing the interpersonal tension between figurative interactants (e.g. of the non-politic type), which impacts the manifestation of im/politeness.

I use Culpeper's broad definition of impoliteness to accommodate instances where translators (as mediators) take a critical stance towards beliefs or behaviours which may cause offence. Fiction translation is an (asynchronous) communicative situation where participants (figurative addressees and the audience) are receivers of the translator's im/politeness evaluation. Offence is the un/intended negative effect of impoliteness on the hearer, bystander or overhearer.

> Impoliteness is a negative view towards specific behaviours occurring in specific contexts. It is sustained by expectations, desires and/or beliefs about social organization, including, in particular, how one person's or a group's identities are *mediated* by others in interaction.[…] Such behaviours always have or are presumed to have emotional consequences for at least one participant (Culpeper 2011, in Culpeper and Hardaker 2017: 204, emphasis added).

Culpeper's definition of impoliteness has such a level of abstraction that can also describe the translators' role, in translation practice: translation can offer manifestations of the *mediator's* negative attitude towards behaviours occurring in specific contexts, when the translator (as mediator) disagrees with beliefs and narratives circulating about social organizations (e.g. the beat culture, the penal system, the colonizers/colonized) as they have been mediated by others (the author, another translator).

Translation practice has also been viewed from a pragmatic point of view (Hatim and Mason 1990, 1997; Baker and Saldanha 2009) and like im/politeness, it has spilled into other disciplines like socio-cognitive studies (Sidiropoulou 2003, 2012), ethics (Inghilleri 1998) etc. Translators may renarrate ethnic identities, situation-based authority, gender, age identities, by shifting the power relation they assign to

figurative interactants, when they shape and reshape their identities in translation practice. They may do so by assuming a different level of im/polite behaviour with respect to characters, which may reveal a different perception of the interpersonal context. This makes retranslation of literary texts an excellent resource for drawing conclusions about how variation in perceived power im/balance between interactants may impact the manifestation of im/politeness in discourse.

In discussing effects of intercultural variables in interaction, Holtgraves (2002) reports on empirical tests, based on Brown and Levinson's model, which manipulate one or more of the model's variables, for examining their impact on the use of im/politeness. They asked respondents what they would say in various situations both in the field and in the laboratory. He reports that "relatively consistent effects have been found for the power variable, with increasing levels of politeness associated with increasing levels of hearer power" (2002: 53). By contrast, he suggests that results related to the manipulation of interpersonal distance were more problematic among researchers.

In what follows, the chapter draws on translation studies contributions which examined the reshaping of identities in retranslations of literary texts taking a constructionist bottom-up approach. The original intention was to advance understanding of how translators reconstruct narratives and reshape identities in target versions of texts. In the present context, these contributions are used to show the interconnectedness between im/politeness and identity, following im/politeness scholars (Locher and Watts 2008; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou 2017: 231), who acknowledge a strong interconnection between face and identity:

> [P]oliteness scholars started to concern themselves with the relationship between face and identity by progressively introducing matters of identity in definitions of (im)politeness, as well as in analyses of (im)politeness phenomena.

The chapter highlights manifestations of the im/politeness-identity interconnection drawing attention to translation theoretical scholarly work. It shows, the crucial role of im/politeness matters in the analysis of identity reconstruction in translated versions of texts. This is because translation scholars in their analysis-of-identity task often tackle relational work between figurative interactants heightening awareness of what translators have been involved in, in reshaping, adjusting and reconstructing intended narratives in retranslations.

The validity of translated data derives from the translators' expertise and agonizing effort to creatively reconstruct aspects of the source version by redesigning contextual variables. They construct intended versions of target realities which meet or challenge target audience expectations at different times. The 'agonizing' effort of translators to meet audience needs parallels a speaker's concern for paying attention to other people's face (Spencer-Oatey and Žegarac 2017) when enacting relational work. Protecting or attacking the spectators' face is another aspect interconnecting relational work enacted in im/politeness contexts through translation practice.

There seems to be a parallel between facework enacted in monolingual contexts and the translator's re-enacting facework on the part of fictional addressees in translational contexts. Following Langlotz (2017) the study assumes that translators, like

fiction authors, aim at sustaining or enhancing the emotional engagement of fiction readers.

4.1.1 Gender Through Translating Fiction

Chapter 3 focused on the power of academic authors over readers, which derived from the acknowledgement/self-awareness of their expertise in the eyes of the audience or the readers. This section will discuss aspects of the interconnection between im/politeness and identity construction in translation by bringing up different types of power (P) as discussed in French and Raven (1959, in Spencer-Oatey and Žegarac 2017: 121), namely a model which distinguishes among the following types of power:

(a) Legitimate P, which is a function of the formally institutionalised social roles of the participants in relation to each other.
(b) Referent P, the power a person has, due to the qualities they are perceived as having by others.
(c) Expert P, the power a person has, in virtue of their knowledge and skills.
(d) Reward P is determined by the extent and ways in which a person is in a position to reward others for acting in ways that person regards as desirable.
(e) Coersive P involves the use of pressure on others to comply.

The analysis draws on the work of translation scholars, whose work appeared in the *Interlingual Perspectives translation e-volume* of the META-FRASEIS Programme, Department of English, NKUA. The e-volume, which comprised occasional papers by translation scholars between 2010–2017, intended to highlight the type of linguistic variation through which translators have reshaped identities in different target versions of the same source novel or play. Translation scholars have intuitively analyzed the translators' re-assessing the relational work enacted in the retranslations, in terms of - inter alia - the im/politeness options translators suggested in rendering English source texts into their Greek target versions.

The example below is from Tennessee Williams' play *A Streetcar Named Desire* and two Greek translations, by translator Marios Ploritis (1998) and an unpublished stage translation for a performance by Angela Brouskou and Olia Lazaridou (2008).

ST Stella: How much longer is this game going to continue? Stanley: Till we get ready to quit
TT1 Στέλλα: Πόσο θα κρατήσει αυτό το παιχνίδι;
Στάνλεϋ: Όσο κρατήσει!
BT. Stella: How much will this game continue?
Stanley: As much as it will!
TT2 Στέλλα: Θα παίζετε για πολύ ακόμα;
Στάνλεϋ: Για όσο γουστάρουμε.
BT. Stella: Will you be playing for long?
Stanley: For as long as we are f…up for it. (Tsiakalou 2012)

Stanley's reply is aggressive in TT2, indifferent in TT1. Reshaping gender identities through translation is a rather typical process in translation practice.

For instance, Antonopoulou (2010) contrasted a 1715 English version of Homer's *Iliad*, by Alexander Pope (interlingual translation), to a twentieth century Greek version by literary author Nikos Kazantzakis and classical scholar Ioannis Kakridis (intralingual translation). Antonopoulou argues that female figures were perceived differently in the context of eighteenth century England and twentieth century Greece, at a time when females had just gained the right to vote, to access the public sector and the legal profession:

> A figure with remarkably human characteristics, and very much defined by her relationship to a man is Juno. […] her position as the wife of Jove is varied in the two contexts. In the Greek version she is powerful enough to be accusing her husband and the rest of the Gods of conspiracy […]. In Pope's version, the rhyming couplets and the avoidance of every-day expressions […] make her seem more *submitted to a powerful husband*. At the same time, her discourse is more *dignified and detached* (2010: 14, emphasis added).

In analyzing Juno's identity shift between the two parallel versions, the study focused on the representation of the relational work she enacted with her fellow gods and goddesses: the speech act of accusation was performed differently across the inter-lingual context (as in the case of Pope's translation) and the intra-lingual context (as in the case of Kazantzakis and Kakridis' translation). The analysis of identity unavoidably made use of im/politeness vocabulary, namely, *dignified and detached* (reference to the distance variable) and *submitted to a powerful husband* (reference to the power variable). The assumption is that the eighteenth century translation favoured the representation of Juno's 'legitimate' power, whereas the 20th c. translation rather activated a different power type, the 'referent' one or the 'coercive' (French and Raven 1959, in Spencer-Oatey and Žegarac 2017: 121). Spencer-Oatey and Žegarac (ibid) argue that such conceptualizations of power are "important for explaining and describing its [the im/politeness] role in (interpersonal) communication". The same holds for the power translators acknowledge in target figurative contexts, as they reshape the relational work between figurative addressees.

Kienpointner and Stopfner (2017) analyze ideological views (class, gender, age etc.) which may affect im/politeness manifestations, and report that evidence for "lay opinions/folk theories about (im)politeness can be found in metalinguistic comments made by members of a community of practice in naturally occurring conversation" (2017: 69). This chapter suggests that translators' perspectives are another source of *lay evidence* that the "traditional differences of the treatment of men and women have become contested and controversial, due to the feminist critique and social changes, but also because they contradict the egalitarian norms and principles of fairness" (2017: 72).

Another contributor to the *Interlingual Perspectives translation e-volume*, of the META-FRASEIS Programme, Tzanakari (2012), contrasted two Greek translations of Jack Kerouac's novella *Tristessa* which are twenty-four years apart (1985, 2009). The intention was for the author to trace the way the beat representation played out, in the two versions, manifesting how the Greek society received the beat culture. Tzanakari found power im/balance in the way Tristessa's weak social position, as

a female drug-addict, was constructed in the first version, vs. the more neutral and canonical way in which the theme of drug addiction played out in the second version. Translation, Tzanakari argues, highlights the weakness of a marginalized social group in one target version and inscribes societal transformation in another which has reshaped Tristessa's power dynamics and her interaction with others. Translation has been a platform which has re-conceptualized the power dynamics and her relational potential with interlocutors:

> [a]s orientations and power relations in a society change, representations in target discourses are likely to register the signs of societal transformation in socio-political values, allowing translation to function as a legitimizing tool for establishing (or resisting) political correctness (2012: 62).

In the same vein, Papadopoulou (2012) examined two Greek versions (1987, 2007) of Allen Ginsberg's poem *Howl* to also show shifts in the representation of the beat culture in the Greek context. She found that the first version favoured an in-group drug culture vocabulary for references to drugs, which "signal exclusion of the drug addict from canonical social norms" (2012: 71). By contrast, the second translation tended to "demystify drug use" (ibid) setting up a different representation of the social phenomenon and other social habits, like alcohol drinking, wealth accumulation, sexuality and other manifestations of culture. Like power (P), distance (D) is also important in interaction and is often interconnected with power. For instance, in one version of both works (Jack Kerouac's *Tristessa* and Allen Ginsberg's *Howl*), the female figures were social outcasts, in the other version they were more of an 'insider' (solidarity) highlighting the significance of the interpersonal dynamics in reshaping the discourse of these characters. Im/politeness research has anticipated shifts in the representation of the group dynamics which affects the use of im/politeness. In discussing classist ideologies underlying the use of impoliteness patterns, Kienpointner and Stopfner (2017) point to class bias. Approaches to im/politeness, they suggest, may "imply generalised negative assumptions about the habits, manners and living standards of the social groups referred to" (2017: 69–70). The assumption is, thus, that translation practice may offer a rich set of varied contexts where class or group dynamics may be re-conceptualized and reshape the relational conduct of characters.

Polykreti (2014) highlighted how two Greek versions of Emily Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1954, 1997) represent Jane's gender roles differently. The first version constructed Jane's gender identity in agreement with social roles which the feminist ideology has challenged, whereas the second version avoided overemphasizing gender differences and maintained a more neutral perspective, avoiding sexism as a manifestation of gender equality. Gender studies, in the context of translation, have highlighted the potential of gender as a parameter affecting the construction of identities (Butler 1990, Simon 1996, von Flotow 1997), and so have im/politeness studies (Mills 2002, Mullany 2010) with reference to relational work which informs identity construction. For instance, Mullany (2010: 225) argues that the "crucial role that gender plays within the negotiation of identities has figured heavily in interpersonal pragmatics research".

More contributions to the *Interlingual Perspectives translation e-volume* highlighted the role of distance in the relational work characters enact in the public or private sphere. On a par, they explore the significance of the translators' point of view in relaying the identities of social minorities (e.g. prisoners) through im/politeness options. Group identities, like the medieval knightly system (chivalry) or of prisoners, have also been portrayed differently, across translated versions, through the translators' re-assessment of figurative addressees' im/polite role relationship. For instance, Georgakopoulos (2013) examined two Greek versions of Alexandre Dumas' *The Three Musketeers* (1972, 1998) to identify how chivalry was constructed in the two versions; he found different patterns of noble conduct manifested through manipulation of the distance variable in public and private encounters. The first version "privileges interpersonal distance in public sphere interaction, with interpersonal proximity in private sphere interaction" (2013: 162). By contrast, the second version favoured interpersonal closeness in the public sphere and when females were addressed in private, it favoured interpersonal distance. Once again, the analysis involves im/politeness contexts (public, private) and variables (distance, proximity) impacting relational work.

Stefanakou (2015) examined "representation of the prisoners in two Greek translations of Oscar Wilde's *The Ballad of Reading Gaol*" (2015: 260). Results showed that the two versions (1917, 1995) differ in the attitude they maintain towards the penal system and in the expression of religious sentiment - and all this was manifested through im/politeness and the representation of the characters' enactment of face-work. The first takes a more legally-aware perspective to the penal system, the second enhances religious awareness in reshaping fictional interactants' im/polite behaviour. This contribution brings in the concept of narrative or point of view (e.g. the penal system narrative or the religious narrative in relation to prisons) favoured across target versions. Favouring different narratives in translation through manipulation of the relational work potentially alludes to Georgakopoulou's 'small stories' concept (2013) in the study of im/politeness, which, she argues, may fruitfully contribute to a discursive account of the phenomenon.

Translational contexts seem to bring into the research field a highly rich set of contexts and tools for a discursive approach to the manifestation of im/politeness and opens up the potential of emic judgements in target environments (see Desilla 2012, 2014).

4.1.2 Race and Point of View Through Translating Fiction

The section also draws on the *Interlingual Perspectives translation e-volume* to confirm that racial identities (as group identities) may differ across versions on the basis of the im/polite behaviour attributed to social actors. Translation research has also revealed aspects of the power relations between interactants engaged in fictional role relationships, as these are reflected in the translated versions.

Olympiou (2015) examined Nadine Gordimer's *The Conservationist* into two Greek versions (1992, 2010) of the novel, which bring to the fore conflictive situations, in the context of the aparheid. Olympiou suggests that the second translation heightens awareness of power and inequality, years after the fall of the aparheid in South Africa and Mandela's release from prison. The power and inequality in TT2 is manifested in rendition of *man* as *εργάτης* (lay worker)

ST how could the **man** know already he is wanted?
TT1 είναι δυνατόν ο **άντρας** να έχει κιόλας πληροφορηθεί;
*BT. how is it possible that the **man** has already been informed*?
TT2 πώς είναι δυνατόν να ξέρει ο ***εργάτης;***
*BT. how is it possible that the **worker*** knows? (Olympiou 2015: 287)

It is as if target versions register a kind of metalinguistic perception which assumes that im/politeness has to be implemented differently, as anticipated in monolingual contexts in Kienpointner and Stopfner: "[r]acist/ethnocentric views of (im)politeness assume that members of the ethnic group (especially minorities/outsiders) tend to be impolite" (2017: 72), a positioning which the second Greek version of *The Conservationist* challenges.

Mangina (2013) examined the representation of European colonizers and the colonized natives in two Greek target versions (1990, 1999) of Joseph Conrad's novella *Heart of Darkness* (1899). She traces shifts in the texts' thematic focus, in agreement with different perceptions of the socio-political context on the part of translators. The 1990 version neutralized racist implications about the natives and interfered with the representation of European colonizers by making their representation pragmatically transparent. The 1999 version, by contrast, highlighted racist implications with reference to the natives and assigned the theme of European colonizers pragmatic opaqueness. The study confirmed that target versions draw on the narratives circulating in a target environment (e.g. the narrative of Europe as 'self' or 'other', of racism etc.). Mangina (2013: 185) argues that "supposing there is a continuum with the colonized-native at one end of the continuum and the colonizer-European at the other, in the second translation the focus of attention has been moved towards the 'colonized' end", thus shaping the audience's perception of the distance assumed between readers and the colonized space. The finding dovetails with Culpeper's suggestion that impoliteness may be manifested in a continuum rather than a dichotomy.

Planchenault (2017: 265) suggests that, in performance genres, there are orality features which "index social, regional and ethnic traits as well as associated values." One of the parameters Mangina argues to be reshaping the image of the natives, in the novel, is the representation of their performance in English. The natives' English was more favourably presented in the second translation (assuming psychological proximity to the colonized). The former translation, by contrast, foregrounds a rather unfavourable (impolite) image, in that the natives are presented as not having any potential with English; e.g. their incorrect English are rendered in the Greek translations in terms of incorrect Greek, but the second translator painted a more favourable

image of their skill to handle the language of the colonizers. This opens up the discussion of mitigating strategies in interpersonal pragmatics as discussed in Schneider (2010). The assumption in this chapter has been that translation may show additional mitigating devices to enrich understanding of mitigators cross-culturally. The representation of the natives' incorrect English also evokes the question of how multiculturalism plays out, in translated texts and how a translator may activate positive emic response and engagement in target readers. In discussing multilingualism in fiction, Locher (2017) refers to strategies which bring about "potential pragmatic effects that the texts can achieve, such as scene creation/enrichment, character creation, the creation of humor, the display of social criticism, realism and ideological debates of difference and belonging" (2017: 297).

Furthermore, Kozatzanidi (2011) contrasted two German translations of Aesop's fable *The wolf and the lamb* suggesting that their focus is different, in that they elaborate on a different 'point of view' (as suggested in Culpeper 1998). She argues that:

> [w]hile TT1 focuses on the positive symbol (the lamb) and the inadequacy of reasoning as a strategy against oppressors, TT2 focuses on the negative symbol of the duality (the wolf) and majors on the intricacies of authoritative manipulation and strategies of oppression" (2011: 30).

The main context variable, in Kozatzanidi's contribution, is power imbalance in both Aesop's fable versions between the young and innocent lamb and the grown up bad wolf, with the two versions highlighting a different pole of the duality: one paints a favourable representation of the lamb through im/politeness options, the other rather justifies the wolf. This latter interpretation seems to draw on ageism, namely, the bias that "old people are often portrayed as rude, misanthropic" (Kienpointner and Stopfner 2017: 74), etc. whereas young ones are nice and innocent.

Representations of authority, gender, age and race seem to draw on a core system of im/polite moves (often non-politic), which are constructed through discourse and may be reshaped in translated discourses. Representations are reshaped through the connectedness/separateness continuum and may be theoretically accounted for in terms of an im/politeness model.

The explanatory potential of a translated im/politeness model needs to be able to account for different relational work, potentially suggested by translators into the same target language, in different parallel versions of the same fictional text. For instance, translator A may reconstruct a particular role relationship in another cultural context by using different impoliteness super-strategies to construct an aggressive behaviour. It may be the case that translator A makes use of positive impoliteness moves to construct the same role relationship for which translator B would use negative or off-record impoliteness, thus heightening aggression in representing the same role relationship. The intention for a translator, as with authors of original fiction, is to ensure the emotional engagement of target readers (a positive emic judgement about translated relational work between target fictional characters). This is in agreement with Langlotz and Locher's view that emotions "play an important

part in arriving at emic judgements on relational work so that they have a clear place in the theoretical arguments of interpersonal pragmatics" (2017: 315).

4.2 Loci of 'Lay Evidence'

Im/politeness is one of the 'iceberg' phenomena (Toolan 1988) in fictional characterization i.e. it generates the "observable part of a character impression, and beyond them lies the unobservable but inferable and larger part" (Culpeper and Fernandez-Quintanilla 2017: 99). This is one of the reasons why rendition of im/politeness is so important in translating fiction; it allows target readers to infer the unobservable part of fictional characterization.

The discursive perspective to im/politeness challenges the view that face management can be a universal force motivating im/politeness (Xie 2007). The assumption is that the identities implemented through facework enactment between figurative addressees cannot be motivated by a face management intention, because figurative addressees, e.g. on stage, follow instructions rather than act on their own.

Shifting or reshaping character identities through translated facework enactment may be motivated by the translators' intention to engage a target audience, with a view to implementing the source author's intention, in another context.

The book has referred to the theoretical distinction between first-order/emic judgements of im/politeness (by lay people) and the rationally-oriented etic/second-order perception (by the researcher). The monolingual model assumes that lay people who listen to im/politeness enactment instances, as addressees, bystanders or eavesdroppers, may make intuitive judgements about in/appropriate im/polite behaviours.

The Tim/po (Translated im/politeness) model rather assumes two loci of emic judgements on the part of receivers, in the communicative situation. The first instance occurs when the translators, as primary recipients of the source text respond to it, through their discursive choices in a target language. They relay their intuitive expert response in the target language.

Section 4.1.1 has already suggested that the translators render their emic judgements in their interpretation of the source version; their emic response generates the target version by taking into consideration local conventions available to them through their 'sedimented' socio-cultural awareness. The act of translation initiates a new interactional dyad in the target context, whose receivers, the target audience, may also make their own value judgements about the mediators' response to the source text; or their judgements about other translations of the source text in the same target language or other target languages. The target recipients' intuition and emic judgements is a rich resource for drawing research conclusions about the potential of the suggested target im/politeness markers to function as 'iceberg' tips, allowing recipients to infer the concealed unobservable part of the character make up. Figure 4.1 shows the loci of lay responses motivated by emic judgements of receivers. The first locus produces the mediators' emic response in their roles as receivers of the source

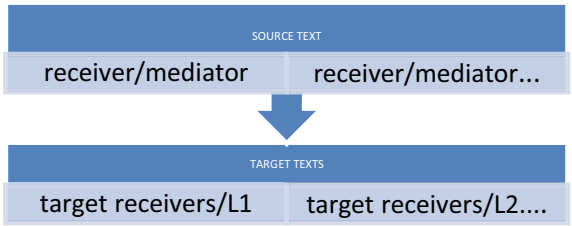


Fig. 4.1 Loci of lay evidence: Translation as lay evidence of mediators' emic judgements in their roles as ST receivers and target addressees' emic judgements

text, the second is the target receivers' emic value judgements. Translation seems to be produced as lay evidence of the mediators' value judgements.

Mediators may thus provide a rich set of interview data on the nature of their emic response and how it is transformed into a target text. The data mediators unintentionally produce, in rendering their emic judgements into target discourses, may speak volumes about the discourse phenomena they handle.

4.3 Conclusion

The chapter drew on im/politeness research, in the context of the pragmatics of fiction and on translational theoretical perspectives to show the potential translation practice is offering to the study of im/politeness, cross-culturally and intra-culturally. The study made use of translation scholarly work to highlight how the mediator's multi-faceted bilingual perception of reality and their audience engagement intention may reshape understanding of the variables operating in the target fictional world. Translation practice is an asynchronous communicative situation, which can produce an unintentional, unelicited, powerful, multilingual paradigm of data, parallel to that of a source text. It has registered the translators' lay judgements about how socio-cultural variables may regulate the use of pragmatic phenomena, in discourse, and allow conclusions about cross-cultural realizations of face-work (Sifianou and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2017) in translated versions of fictional texts.

In impoliteness research, Spencer-Oatey and Žegarac (2017: 137) bring up the issue of mediator reliability (in monolingual research). They argue that "[t]he researchers' perceptions may not be reliable (and as pointed out earlier, the different researchers have in the past made different assessments of the same role relationship)". The translator paradigm (and the Tim/po model) can accommodate the potential of unreliable emic judgements of the mediators. They may produce poor translations, which target receivers may not enjoy or prioritize over others, on the basis of their own value judgements about the communicative potential of target versions. Translator reliability and critical perspective may differentiate a good translation of a fictional text, from a less successful one.

The chapter also assumed a strong interconnection between face and identity through translation, following monolingual estimations by Georgakopoulou (2013, who suggests that im/politeness and identity construction are interwoven at the small stories level). Likewise, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou (2017) argue in favour of the interconnection and suggest that differences or similarities between face and identity "need to be supported by ample empirical research" (2017: 238). I would assume that translational contexts have the potential to fruitfully contribute to enlightening aspects of the overlap.

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Chapter 5
Im/Politeness and Translated Drama



The chapter first addresses issues specific to communication on stage, accounting for the presence of the translator in the context of reception. It then considers authorial intention in some plays of Pinter translated into Greek and shows how genre (in particular sub-genre) may affect rendition of im/politeness on stage, namely, relative to the type of sub-genre in translation. The chapter refers to studies which examined pragmatic issues and interpersonal distance *inter alia*, in two renditions of the same playtext for the Greek stage to show that multiple versions of a playtext are eloquent in displaying variation in the representation of im/politeness phenomena and face enactment on stage. The study presents the results of a questionnaire which asked respondents to assess scalar values of closeness/distance, intimacy/aggression and directness/indirectness in three Greek versions of Arthur Miller's play *Death of a Salesman*, assisted by literary critics' views, in judging the appropriateness of their choice. The questionnaire confirmed that respondents agreed that the preferable option was the one which displayed greater directness, in exchanges realizing fifteen speech acts. The findings confirm that there *is* cross-cultural preference in enacting relational work, which partially defies the assumption that cultures are totally heterogeneous. The chapter highlights the significance of translation data in our understanding the use of im/politeness in context and suggests the mutual benefit the two disciplines, translation and im/politeness studies, can enjoy through an interdisciplinary perspective. Translators may come up with an operative model of an otherwise abstract and elusive phenomenon, which facilitates translation practice; im/politeness scholars may benefit from the potential translation practice opens up, in terms of researching the phenomenon, in favour of the linguistic relativity point of view which translation practice advances.

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5.1 Im/Politeness in the Context of Playtexts

Linguists and im/politeness scholars (Brown and Gillman 1989; Mullany 2008) have highlighted the potential of fiction and drama to contribute to the analysis of discourse, and im/politeness in particular. Plays, like fiction, have characteristics that can significantly contribute to the study of im/politeness (Cooper 1998). McIntyre and Bousfield (2017) enumerate the advantages of studying im/politeness through plays, by pointing to the assisting role of stage directions, the potential for access to the characters' thoughts, which is not the case with real life.

> [I]mportantly, what fiction does often give us is access to a character's thoughts, either directly or filtered through a narrator. This can then have bearing on how we interpret that character's utterances. In real life access to the motivations and intentions behind a particular utterance, or to the understandings of addressees and other participants is usually not possible. But in fiction it can be… (2017: 763)

Im/politeness scholars have been concerned with politeness in pragmatics (Locher and Watts 2008; Culpeper and Terkourafi 2017; Kádár 2017), to mention only a few. Culpeper (1998) suggests that our interpretation of impoliteness, in real life, differs from that encountered in drama, in that we know we have a complete set of behaviours in drama and we are aware that the impolite incident is not "determined by the fictional personality that gave rise to it, but it is also the *motivated choice* of the writer" (1998: 87, emphasis in original). Playwrights nowadays exploit the whole range of im/politeness options for literary purposes; this is because "[c]onflict in dialogue not only has the general potential to be entertaining, but, more importantly, can play a key role in furthering characterization and plot" (ibid: 93). The question arises as to how the tension plays out in the translated versions of performances.

Another feature of the communication on stage (and screen) is that there are two layers of discourse understanding: one between fictional interlocutors and another one between author and audience, which is not the case in real life. McIntyre (2006: 6, drawing on Short 1996) diagrammatically represented the two layers of discourse as follows:

In drama, McIntyre suggests, the reader/audience is a sanctioned overhearer of the conversations that all the characters engage in. The diversification of hearer types is instrumental in discursive approaches; Genette (1983) uses the terms *extra-diegetic* and *intra-diegetic* level of literary texts and Dynel (2012) calls them 'recipient' level and 'inter-character' level, respectively, when referring to the two layers of discourse. Jucker (2016) also assumes that "a discursive politeness analysis of plays can pay attention to the communicative act between the author and the audience (readers or theatre goers) and the communicative acts depicted in the play" (Fig. 5.1).

In translated drama performances, there is a layer of mediation between the two layers of discourse (it appears on a grey background below). The source author and source addressers are backgrounded and replaced by the 'translator' and the 'target addressees'. The interesting point about mediation is that the mediator may wish to project a different gloss of the source text, a different deictic centre (McIntyre 2006) in the play, which controls how we interpret meaning. I assume that an instance of

Playwright (addresser)	Message →	Source audience (addressees)
Stage character1 (fictional addresser)	Message ↔	Stage character2 (fictional addressee)

Fig. 5.1 Layers of discourse in (source) communication on stage

Playwright (addresser)	Message →	Source audience (addressees)
TRANLATOR	MESSAGE →	TARGET AUDIENCE
Stage character1 (fictional addresser)	Message ↔	Stage character2… (fictional addressee)

Fig. 5.2 Layers of discourse in *translated* communication on stage

different deictic centres of a play text may be a different interpretation of the source story, e.g. a medieval versus a modern interpretation of *Hamlet*, or one highlighting an incest or an Oedipus interpretation of the play. Such different deictic centres may motivate re/translations of play texts, backgrounding an original intention (Fig. 5.2).

Weber (1998) discusses levels of power in David Mamet's *Oleanna* and rightfully suggests that understanding a play is not just understanding a text, "but also understanding the social context (power relations) and cognitive context (background schemata) and the extent to which the two are enmeshed" (1998: 125). The observation seems to be highly relevant when im/politeness is assessed.

- *interculturally* (between "interactants with different cultural backgrounds" (Haugh and Kádár 2017: 601) and
- *cross-culturally* (analysis of impoliteness interculturally first and comparing "such cases with different cultural backgrounds" (ibid)).

A stage translator operates at both of these layers of discourse. Stage translation is an asynchronous intercultural communication type, between a playwright and an un/ratified participant, the translator, who has a different cultural background. It is just that, in translation, we have a record of what the mediator perceives the playwright to be saying, when they transfer discourse across cultures and then look for similar speech acts and how they could be performed in a target cultural environment. The fact that im/polite utterances may not be addressed at hearers, in impoliteness research (Dynel 2012), facilitates our perception of a translator as being one of the un/ratified participants in the communicative situation, the one who undertakes the task of transfer.

> What is also of central importance is that a (ratified or unratified) hearer need not always be the target of an impolite utterance. Moreover, an utterance may involve different face-threatening acts, as viewed by different hearers, and not all of such acts must be speaker-intended, thus coinciding with rudeness, rather than impoliteness (2012: 187).

The chapter first presents how im/politeness patterns may be shifting across translated versions of an author's production, relative to authorial intention, translatorial intention and the play sub-type. It then presents instances of plays which have been translated twice for the Greek stage and highlights their potential to reveal points of scholarly interest for both the im/politeness and translation scholarship. The audience's assessment of the appropriateness of options is often a fruitful, methodologically balanced tool and is used to highlight the validity of certain options in the target environment.

5.2 Im/Politeness and Authorial Intention in Translation

The study assumes a 'scalar', rather than a 'dichotomous', perception of the universalistic versus discursive turn in im/politness theory, and it intends to support Sifianou's claim (1992: 48, in Sifianou and Blitvitch 2017: 582) "namely that individuals draw on their *culturally available* repository the (im)politeness strategies which better express their ideology, age and gender and even the mood of the moment" (emphasis added).

The inflow of culturally preferred patterns of im/politeness in play texts is never evenly distributed, but rather relative to the translated text type. In a Pinter translation project, Sidiropoulou (2012) asked translation respondents of the English Department, NKUA, to contrast source and target Greek versions of Harold Pinter's plays, *The Birthday Party*, *The Caretaker*, *Old Times* and *Moonlight* in order to count the incoming positive and negative politeness devices in the Greek translations of the plays. Results showed that the ratio of the incoming positive politeness devices versus the negative ones (Brown and Levinson (1978/1987), in the Greek target texts, differed significantly and the question was what motivated the difference. Findings showed that the play type made all the difference with reference to the development of the use of impoliteness in the target versions.

Pinter's plays have been distinguished into 'struggle-for-power' plays and in 'memory plays'. In the former category, there is at least one character who struggles to gain power over an addressee and the argumentation is more intense. In the latter category, people reminisce about the past, while the audience feels that there is tension and aggression in the subtext.

The following table summarizes the preference for positive politeness in Greek (Sidiropoulou 2012: 62) vs the incoming negative politeness inflow. The incoming positive politeness devices are always more than the incoming negative politeness ones and they are relatively more in the struggle-for-power plays. The inflow of the im/politeness devices in the target version of *The Birthday Party* are eight to nine positive versus one negative throughout. In *The Caretaker*, it started with eight positive versus one negative politeness items at the beginning of the play and ended up as five positive versus one negative. The difference in the ratio was attributed to the Caretaker's hope (at the beginning) and his disillusionment (towards the end) that he will achieve his goal of staying with the two brothers. By contrast, in the memory plays where argumentation was less important, the inflow of the positive politeness devices was diminished considerably but it was still higher (Table 5.1). These findings answer the third question the book addresses, namely, whether translation practice may give a signal about the homogeneity or heterogeneity of culture. The higher systematic inflow of positive politeness devices in the Greek translations suggests some regularity which, if observed across genres in the target context, would suggest some homogeneity of culture, namely, that certain genres may consistently prioritize one of the two tendencies for politeness valence, no matter the play type or even the direction of translation.

Findings show that the Greek versions of play texts do exhibit a taste for positive politeness valence, no matter the play type. The difference in ratio between the struggle-for-power plays and the memory plays suggests the interplay of genre with im/politeness use as Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2010) suggests. Target struggle-for-power play versions made use of enforced positive politeness devices, whereas memory plays did not favour positive valence as much. The shifting ratio at the beginning versus the end of the target version in *The Caretaker* potentially elucidates the importance of human emotions based on the analysis of language (Wierzbicka 1999) and im/politeness (Langlotz and Locher 2017). Moreover, Sidiropoulou conducted an experiment with Greek translated playtext data to test native respondents' taste as to whether they would appreciate a dialogue with enforced positively polite devices, as members of the Greek audience, or one with enforced negatively polite valence.

Table 5.1 Ratio of incoming positive versus negative politeness in Greek TTs per play type

Play type	*Play text*	*Year of translation, translator, theatre*	*Incoming p/n politeness markers*
Struggle-	The Birthday Party	1969, Pavlos Matesis, Theatro Technis	8–9/1
for-power	The Caretaker	1965, Kostas Stamatiou, Theatro Technis	8/1–5/1
	Old Times	1973, Maya Lymperopoulou, Th. eatro Technis	3,4/1
Memory	Moonlight	1995, Marlena Georgiadi, Aplo Theatro	2,7/1

I produced a different version of target play exchanges, of the play whose target version exhibited the lowest inflow of negative politeness devices, namely the target Greek version of the *Moonlight* (a memory play). I enforced the positive politeness devices in the modified exchanges and asked respondents which members of the fragment pairs they would appreciate to hear on stage. Respondents preferred the fragments with the enforced positive politeness valence.

Findings seem to confirm Sifianou's claim that individuals draw on their *culturally available* repository of im/politeness strategies, which better tally with their perception of the communicative situation. The view assumes a rather homogeneous notion of culture partly contradicting the emphasis which the discursive turn put on culture heterogeneity. I have appreciated Haugh and Kádár's 'bathwater' metaphor, namely that "despite ongoing critiques of the notion of culture, to ignore encounters which participants themselves construe as intercultural would amount to throwing out the baby with the bathwater" (2017: 625). Translated performances are such intercultural instances of communication, which are worth exploring for the intercultural pieces of information they reveal contributing to the study of im/politeness.

5.3 Im/Politeness and Gender Construction

Mills (2002) suggested that a theatrical play can provide a Community of Practice (CofP) context, encouraging more 'nuanced statements' about certain men and women, in particular circumstances, and discouraging reliance on universalistic accounts of how all men and women use im/politeness. Retranslations of play texts for the stage may provide multiple versions of the play text, for different communities of practice, thus heightening awareness of the importance, not only of intercultural, but also of intra-cultural variation in the use of im/politeness as registered in target versions of play texts.

The following two examples report on scholarly work produced in the context of the *Interlingual Perspectives translation e-volume* of the META-FRASEIS Programme (2010–2017) to suggest that translated plays may heighten awareness of how instrumental facework enactment can be in showing intra-cultural variation, in the construction of gender identities.

For example, Tsiakalou (2012) contrasted gender performativity patterns (Butler 2006) in two Greek performance translations (2003, 2008) of Tennessee Williams' *A Streetcar Named Desire.* She identified—among other things—im/politeness contexts which constructed a different role relationship between familial positions. Tsiakalou suggests that the second version (2008) portrayed more submissive, weaker female positions by making use of more polite requests and honorifics (politeness here is associated with weakness and contrasts with male aggressive discourse). The mediator assumed interpersonal distance of female characters from more aggressive male characters, which heightened the tension between gendered interaction and made the performance captivating. This was an instance of how the use of im/politeness regulated the impact of texts on audiences.

In the same vein, Kasi (2013) explored rendition of social identities on the Greek stage, in two Greek performance translations (1946, 2005) of George Bernard Show's play *Mrs. Warren's Profession.* Kasi set out to trace how translators portrayed 'male privilege' and 'objectification of women'. The play's intention is to suggest that "the responsibility for the phenomenon of prostitution is not personal, but social" (2013: 133). The second translation portrays a much more favourable image of Mrs. Warren, as a victim of society: Kasi showed that TT2 paints a more considerate, vulnerable, religiously-conscious gender identity of Mrs. Warren (than TT1 does), who always seeks common ground with interlocutors and has a closer relationship with her ever-complaining daughter. While TT1 is a more source-oriented stage version, TT2 uses the conceptual system of its time and more im/polite options, than TT1 does, as symbolic practices of signification. At the 'recipient' level (how the text impacts the audience, 'extradiegesis' in McIntyre 2006), the second translator paints a more favourable picture of Mrs. Warren to heighten awareness of the victimization reading of the story. At the 'inter-character' level (how the text impacts figurative addressees, 'intradiegesis' in McIntyre 2006), the second translation discursively constructs a favourable image of Mrs. Warren, in terms of references to God, tender words of the mother towards her daughter etc.

Im/politeness is "among the most abstract aspects of communication" (Kádár and Bargiela-Chiappini 2011: 2) and is worth examining in multiple contexts for the operation of the phenomenon to be fully explored. Translation practice, I would argue, is one of the multiple contexts which advance understanding of the workings of im/politeness. The following section highlights aspects of the phenomenon of im/politeness as manifested in three Greek translations of Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman* (1949). The purpose of the section is to show that the reception of the play may be improved by shifts rendering (a) aspects of face (b) gender-related honorifics and (c) other im/polite instances of behaviour, in the three Greek translated versions.

5.4 Conceptualizations of Face on Stage

In Arthur Miller's play *Death of a Salesman*, Biff Loman has an aggressive relationship with his father, Willy Loman, as he found his father in a Boston hotel with his mistress. This is not apparent at the beginning of the play, it is rather revealed at some later stage, when Willy remembers the scene and "can understand why his son later wandered from job to job and why he thwarted his career prospects by stealing: he wanted to punish his father" (Szondi 2007: 11). The play "is a tragedy, for in Willy Loman's drama of frustration, anguish and alienation, we see a human struggle that is rooted in metaphysical as well as social and psychological concerns" (Centola 2007: 26). Biff Loman and Willy's friend Charlie "belong to the immediate and concrete reality which is being dramatized" (Hadomi 2007: 16), as all "the principal characters of *Death of a Salesman* share the same condition of being torn between the conflicting claims of ideality and actuality" (2007: 19).

The play was used in Sidiropoulou (2015b) to show that, as lay respondents of a questionnaire were becoming aware of the plot dynamics in the play, they were increasingly appreciating the communicative effect produced by heightened intimacy and heightened offensiveness in the family context of the play. Evidently, this was what made Willy Loman's 'drama of frustration, anguish and alienation' more emotionally felt in the target environment. The third Greek version of the play was the one which displayed the translator's drive to widen the gap between connectedness (intimacy) and separateness (distance) among the characters in the family context.

The analysis of the play, in the present context, goes beyond the claim that awareness of the escalating tension, in the plot, made lay people appreciate intimacy and aggression in the target environment. What follows rather displays more aspects of the three Greek translations of Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*, which justify the audience's varied assessment of the three versions and enlightens scholars' views on politeness related concepts.

O'Driscoll (2011) attempts to highlight issues to be investigated, which are relevant to the concept of face, namely what elements it is constituted of, its mutability potential, in what way it may be different from self-image and self-worth etc.

> To capture the notion of faces being constructed from several elements (their composite nature), the relation between the elements and the construction, the mutability of faces and the fact that face is essentially a surface phenomenon (and thus different from self-image, self-esteem and other inner feelings of self-worth), I would like to advance the cosmetic metaphor of 'face make-up' as a way of describing a person's face at any one time (2011: 37).

In a similar vein, Sifianou (2011) drew attention to Greek conceptualizations of face, in terms of *prósopo* or lay item *mútra*. Stage translation data seem to be rich in assumptions about the concept of face, as constructed in source and target cultures. The translated material may exploit the translators' intercultural expertise to align aspects of face with other concepts and aspects of experience, thus advancing understanding of the notion cross-culturally. For instance, example 1 may suggest aspects of the meaning and construction of face and impoliteness in Greek, namely, its meaning and mutability. Unlike the first two versions, the third target version, by translator Errikos Belies, makes use of the lay item *eho mútra* (*έχω μούτρα* [*being cross with sb*]); the first and second versions make use of different options which may reveal aspects of face construction in a target environment, for instance aspects of their mutability.

After Biff's homecoming, his brother Happy asks him if he is still cross with their dad. Being cross with someone seems to be a mutable condition which is expected to fade away over time as all versions suggest. Translation practice may be an alternative resource to the monolingual data Sifianou (2011) used for deciphering aspects of face.

ST1 HAPPY. You're not still **sour** on dada, are you, Biff?

TT1a ΧΑΠΠΥ. Δεν πιστεύω να **κρατάς** ακόμα **κακία** του πατέρα, Μπίφφ (1963: 159)

*BT. I don't assume you still **have hard feelings** for dad, Biff.*

TT1b ΧΑΠΥ. Δεν πιστεύω να **είσαι** ακόμη **θυμωμένος** με τον μπαμπά, έτσι Μπίφ; (1986: 25)
BT. I don't assume you are *still **angry** with dad, Biff.*

TT1c ΧΑΠΠΥ. Μη μου πεις ότι του **έχεις** ακόμα **μούτρα**…(2002: 23)
*BT. Don't tell me you **are** still **cross** [with dad]*

Pragmatically speaking, translation contexts may reveal which one of the three options may be assumed to be more mutable by target lay people. It may be the case, that the item *έχω μούτρα* (being cross) assumes higher mutability than options TT1a and TT1b.

Sifianou (2011) examined seventy-eight instances of *mútra* expressions from Greek daily interactions, TV, newspapers and popular magazines to suggest that, in Greek, face is conceptualized as a person's property which is taken for granted and should be maintained in interaction:

> face is not simply an image co-constructed in specific encounters. In Greek, at least, face is understood as an individual's property, which may be modified in interaction, much like Goffman's (1972) and Levinson's (1978, 1987) conceptualisations (2011: 49).

Translation practice seems to offer another data paradigm where face-related conceptualizations may be manifested and potentially contribute to the appropriateness of certain target items.

In example 2, ST2 item *criticise* is rendered as TT2a *encroach* (*θίγω*), TT2b *insult* (*προσβάλλω*) and TT2c *catch sb by the face* (*αρπάζω από τα μούτρα*, attack one's face), which is a relatively newly-coined lay expression for 'immediate attack', connoting aggression. The TT2a-c items convey increasingly aggressive implications as lay people (personal communication) suggest. Face (*mútra μούτρα*), in TT2c, seems to be a fairly permanent and *fixed* aspect of an individual's body, as suggested in Sifianou (2011), so that if one is 'caught by the face', it is quite unpleasant, because it does not get off like a mask. In evoking the metaphor of the stage in discussions of face, Locher (2011) did equate face with a mask or a role, an image persons negotiate for themselves, but she does "not wish to imply that a person can take off such a mask to reveal an underlying 'true' identity" (2011: 188) as there is no faceless communication.

ST2 LINDA. You shouldn't have **criticised** him, Willy, especially after he got off the train.

TT2a ΛΙΝΤΑ. Δεν έπρεπε να τον **θίξεις** Ουίλλυ κι μάλιστα μόλις κατέβηκε από το τραίνο. (1963: 154)
*BT. You shouldn't **encroach** on him Willy especially as soon as he got off the train.*

TT2b ΛΙΝΤΑ. Δεν έπρεπε να τον **προσβάλλεις** [sic], Γουίλυ, προπάντων μόλις βγήκε από το τρένο. (1986: 19)
*BT. You shouldn't **insult** him Willy especially as soon as he got off the train.*

TT2c ΛΙΝΤΑ. Δεν ήτανε σωστό, Γουίλλ. Μόλις κατέβηκε από το τρένο, **τον άρπαξες από τα μούτρα**. (2002: 15)

BT. It wasn't right, Willy. As soon as he got off the train, you ***caught him by the face.***

Example 3 is another instance of the use of *mútra* in stage versions of the plays and shows the predominance of the value of directness in the target environment. All three target versions favour TT3a-c item *κατάμουτρα* (*straight to my face*), rendering ST *to my face*, although a close equivalent would have been perfectly acceptable. It also heightens aggression. Example 3 shows that a straightforward way of resolving conflict is preferable in all three Greek versions: the evaluative item 'straight' (the *κατά-* prefix) prioritizes directness in conflict resolution.

ST3 WILLY. *(offstage)* What are you walking away for? Don't walk away! If you're going to say something, say it **to my face!**

TT3a ΟΥΙΛΛΥ. *(από μέσα)* Μη φεύγεις! Γιατί φεύγεις; Αν έχεις να πεις κάτι για μένα, πες το μου **κατάμουτρα!** (1963: 236)
BT. Don't go! Why are you leaving? If you have something to say about me, say it ***straight to my face.***

TT3b ΓΟΥΙΛΥ. *(από τα παρασκήνια)* Γιατί φεύγεις; Μην φεύγεις! Αν έχεις να πεις κάτι, πες το μου **κατάμουτρα!** (1986: 116)
BT. Why are you leaving? Don't go! If you have something to say, say it ***straight to my face.***

TT3c ΓΟΥΙΛΛΥ.*([…]εκτός σκηνής)* Γιατί φεύγεις; Μη φεύγεις! Αν έχεις κάτι να πεις, πες μου το **κατάμουτρα!** (2002: 135)
BT. Why are you leaving? Don't go! If you have something to say, say it ***straight to my face.***

The assumption is that multiple translations of the same original can advance understanding of im/politeness in interaction (Bousfield 2008a/2008b) for both the im/politeness and translation scholarship. The value of the data lies in (a) the alternative solutions the multiple versions provide in real translation practice situations, (b) the fact that they originate from 'ratified' auditors (Bell 1984), the translators, who employ their linguistic insight to render challenging items and (c) the potential for respondent assessment of the suggestions. Translators can be of great help to im/politeness scholars, because they (unintentionally) develop a resource which may enhance understanding of the phenomenon. On the other hand, im/politeness scholars can significantly contribute to the work of translators and translator-trainees, because im/politeness scholarship can enhance awareness of the abstract and fluid phenomenon of im/politeness.

5.5 In/Directness

In Brown and Levinson's model (1978/1987), indirectness is the *polite* style of communication and directness is the *impolite* one. However, the connection between in/directness and im/politeness is never a straightforward one, especially when

assessed by interactants and discourse participants. Grainger and Mills suggest that the request "Could you possibly give me a lift?" (2016: 5), a polite one in Brown and Levinson's model, may be assessed as impolite in a context where interlocutors have an intimate relationship between them. It may carry the implication that the speaker assumes the hearer is not willing to give that lift or that the distance between the interlocutors has been maximized.

The picture becomes more complicated when considering im/politeness and in/directness across cultures. There are cross-cultural contexts where indirectness may be considered impolite, when directness is a norm in a community of practice. Grainger and Mill report on Kerkam's work (2017) which "has shown that in Arabic, indirectness is rarely used for the purposes of being polite, as directness is seen as the more expected and appropriate form for requests and excuses" (2016: 7).

The traditional assumption has been that there are language groups which pertain to one or another politeness orientation. The discursive approach to politeness favours the conceptualization of a cline, rather than of a binary, and questions

> whether it is possible to argue that cultures can be so easily fitted onto one of these binary pairs and suggest instead that these terms can only be used as a consideration of cultures and languages on a cline, and then only in relation to ideologies of elite culture (2016: 4).

5.5.1 Re-Constructing the Drama

Translation for the stage is a highly rich resource of im/politeness data because it may reveal contexts where an event or an utterance may receive a different interpretation or judgement, in the same situation. Comparable texts (both cross-cultural versions are originally produced) may fruitfully highlight shifts in impoliteness tendencies, but parallel data (an original and its translations) may register the different interpretation an utterance may receive in various cultural contexts, with the translated version encoding the translators' interpretation of an utterance or speech act, *in the same situation*. The multiple interpretations of an utterance which may be manifested in multiple target versions of a playtext do justice to the discursive approach to im/politeness research which "focuses on the diversity within any particular large group" (2016: 11).

Translation data, however, may also heighten awareness of the homogeneous nature of languages, which the discursive approach questions. This is because the systematic shifts in the manifestations of im/politeness can point to preferred im/politeness orientations across cultures, on a par with intercultural theorists' view (Gudykunst and Ting-Toomey 1988; Lustig and Koester 1999) who distinguish taxonomies of cultural patterns in verbal communication, e.g. direct (explicit) or indirect (implicit) communication style dimensions, in revealing the speakers' intentions and desires in communication.

Example 4 is from Oscar Wilde's play text *The Importance of Being Earnest* and shows in/directness shifts in translation data (Sidiropoulou 2012). Algernon asks Jack to dine with him and Jack agrees. Below are two Greek translations of the

play text: the 1989 translation is very close to the original preserving the hedges of the source text (*may*, *I suppose*, *if you want to*). The 2006 version is more creative, pragmatically transparent and highly direct.

ST4 ALGERNON: ...May I dine with you tonight at Willis's?
JACK: I suppose so, if you want to. [*Eng. Lit*. 2, NY: Norton 1962: 1634]

TT4a ΑΛΤΖΕΡΝΟΝ: …θα μπορέσω να δειπνήσω μαζί σου στου Ουίλις;
ΤΖΑΚ: Νομίζω ναι, αν το θέλεις.
(*Τι σημασία έχει να είναι κανείς σοβαρός,* Αθήνα: Γκοβόστης, 1989: 15)
BT. ALGERNON: …*Can I dine with you tonight at Willis'*?
JACK: *I suppose so, if you want to*

TT4b ΑΛΤΖΕΡΝΟΝ: …Και βέβαια με τον όρο ότι θα με πας σε κοσμικό ρεστοράν.
ΤΖΑΚ: Κανόνισέ το εσύ και το κέρασμα δικό μου
(*Η Σημασία να είσαι Σοβαρός,* Αθήνα: Ηριδανός, 2006: 25)
BT.
ALGERNON: … *of course, on the condition that you will take me to a high-class restaurant*
JACK: *You arrange it, my treat*

As "indirectness is relative" (Grainger and Mills 2016: 20) to the prevailing patterns of another culture (expression x may be more indirect in relation to culture y, but more direct in relation to culture z), translation data offer another language context where the in/directness of the same speech act in the same context may be relatively assessed—which produces the scalar values Grainger and Mills refer to. It is a type of data "which can capture the contextual nature of the evaluation of (in)directness" (2016: 33).

Algernon's TTb request to go out with Jack, in example 4, highlights the translator's intention to paint a more direct version of Algernon, perhaps for humorous purposes, in agreement with Oscar Wilde's intention. This confirms the discursive view that individuals (here the translators) may intend to manipulate patterns of im/politeness for contextual reasons. However, Jack's directness may also pertain to the positive orientation of Greek (Sifianou 1992, preference for interpersonal closeness), in the target cultural context. The assumption is that translation data could triangulate data collection methods like recordings of role plays and interviews with bilingual speakers.

The section sets out to explore an audience's assessment (Eelen 2001; Tuominen 2018) of im/polite behaviour in situations arising from the play *Death of a Salesman.* It presents the results of a questionnaire (2018) which addresses third year translator trainees of the English Department, NKUA, and raises awareness of the fact that matching linguistic variation with contexts of situations is of paramount importance for producing a good translation, one which does justice to contextual variation and target culture specificities. The questionnaire used the emic potential of respondents, as native speakers of Greek, to intuitively judge the relative appropriateness of options and prioritize one, according to personal taste in the use of impoliteness, in specific fictional situations. Respondents had analyzed the play in terms of its literary quality, its dramatic character and assumed author intention. They were aware that the drama

"deals with the tension between the protagonist's private inner world and external reality" (Hadomi 2007: 14) and that it has been claimed to be blaming the capitalist world for Willy Loman's self-delusion:

> Willy Loman's self-delusion and moral confusion in relation to Miller's indictment of the competitive, capitalistic society that is responsible for dehumanizing the individual and transforming the once promising agrarian American dream into an urban nightmare (Centola 2007: 24).

Scholars have often identified the conflict between the salesman's optimism with "his frustration and keen sense of failure" (Centola 2007: 26), which give rise to an aggressive behaviour, acknowledging that "the only meaning of Willy Loman is the pain he suffers" (Hadomi 2007: 3), which "further intensifies Willy's guilt and hastens his decline", as he sees "his failure reflected in the lives of his sons" (Centola 2007: 32).

5.5.2 The Auditors' Views

The questionnaire asked respondents to read three translation options of particular extracts, derived from real-life translation practice, and implicitly assess values of closeness/distance, intimacy/aggression and directness/indirectness, and then suggest which one of the three options they would prioritize, if they were to produce their own version of the play for a present-day Greek audience.

Respondents were guided in making a decision through critics' views into the context of the play. As the respondents were bilinguals with a keen sense of norms in a culture, the questionnaire did *not* include the ST extracts of the multiple translations, for fear of affecting the respondents' target language insight. The intension was for them to use their insight into Greek (target language) to assess the appropriateness of the suggested options.

The commentary, after each exchange, summarizes percentages and scores of the preferred options. Seventy-six respondents answered the questionnaire in Spring 2018. Information which appeared in the questionnaire is shown below:

QUESTIONNAIRE (NKUA 2018) IDENTIFYING APPROPRIATE LINGUISTIC VARIETY IN TARGET SITUATIONS

In an interview with Kullman (2007), Arthur Miller intuitively identified the problem of different manifestations of im/politeness: he wondered how cultures may differ, what really the cultural differences are among people and went on to acknowledge differences in cultural behaviour:

> Some of the etiquette is different. People don't *address parents* quite the way Americans do, and there is also *a question of intimacy*. Americans make a play at being very

> *intimate* very quickly, which seems *disrespectful* sometimes to people who aren't used to instant *emotional closeness* (Kullman (2007: 68–69, emphasis added).

Ardolino suggests that "Miller's poetic use of demotic English, the level of language which characters speak and which describes their actions and environment, creates the play's tragic dimension" (2007: 77). The question arises as to what the language is which may create the tragic dimension in the portrayal of characters in the translations and how the interpersonal relations may be constructed to this end. Translators who transferred the play into Greek, e.g. N. Ekonomopoulos and Dimitris Berahas (1963), Eleni Kalkani (1986), and Errikos Belies (2002) evidently had to make adjustments to the im/politeness conduct of the characters to weave the tragic gloss in the play.

Below are three versions of the same exchanges, as appearing in the Greek translations of Arthur Miller's play *Death of a Salesman.* Please, consider the three versions, of each exchange, to answer the questions on the communicative potential of the suggested target options, making use of your insight into Greek and the context of situation as presented below for each one of the exchanges.

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1.

"The conflicting inner selves that make up Willy Loman's many-sided persona represent his experience of the outer world refracted through the distorting medium of his fantasies" (Hadomi 2007: 14). Willy manifests this conflict-induced irritation throughout the play. The following exchange appears at the very beginning of the play. Please, read the target versions for each exchange and choose (a), (b) or (c).

QUESTIONS

– Which of the following versions may most directly heighten awareness that Willy may be upset because of a 'conflicting inner self'?
– Which version you would prioritize in your own translation of the play?

[ST (not provided with the questionnaire)

WILLY: Why do you get American when I like Swiss?]

LINDA: I just thought you'd like a change…

WILLY: I don't want a change! I want Swiss cheese. Why am I always being contradicted?

LINDA (with a covering laugh): I thought it would be a surprise.

WILLY: Why don't you open a window in here, for God's sake?

TT a	b	c
ΟΥΙΛΛΥ. Γιατί αγοράζεις αμερικάνικό [τυρί] αφού μ'αρέσει το ελβετικό; ΛΙΝΤΑ. Σκέφτηκα πως ίσως σου άρεσε μια αλλαγή… ΟΥΙΛΛΥ. Δε θέλω αλλαγές. Θέλω τυρί ελβετικό. Γιατί να μου πηγαίνουν συνεχώς κόντρα; ΛΙΝΤΑ (*Γελάει για να σκεπάσει τα πράγματα*) Ήθελα να σου κάνω έκπληξη. ΟΥΙΛΛΥ. Για όνομα του θεού, *γιατί δεν ανοίγεις κάνα παράθυρο*; (156)	ΓΟΥΙΛΥ. Γιατί παίρνεις Αμερικανικά τυριά, αφού μου αρέσουν τα Ελβετικά; ΛΙΝΤΑ Νόμιζα ότι θα σου άρεσε κάτι αλλιώτικο… ΓΟΥΙΛΛΥ. Δεν μου χρειάζονται αλλαγές! Θέλω Ελβετικό τυρί. Γιατί μου εναντιώνεσαι πάντα; ΛΙΝΤΑ. (*Γελώντας για να καλύψει την ένταση*) Νόμιζα ότι θα σου έκανα έκπληξη. ΓΟΥΙΛΥ. *Γιατί δεν ανοίγεις ένα παράθυρο εδώ μέσα*, για όνομα του Θεού; (21)	ΓΟΥΙΛΛΥ. Γιατί παίρνεις αμερικάνικο [τυρί], αφού ξέρεις ότι μου αρέσει το ελβετικό; ΛΙΝΤΑ. Είπα θα σ΄άρεσε μια αλλαγή - ΓΟΥΙΛΛΥ. Δεν θέλω αλλαγές. Θέλω ελβετικό. Γιατί όλοι μου πάνε κόντρα συνέχεια; ΛΙΝΤΑ. (*Γελάει για να δώσει τέρμα στον εκνευρισμό*). Είπα να σου κάνω έκπληξη. ΓΟΥΙΛΛΥ. Για όνομα του Θεού, άνοιξε κάνα παράθυρο. (17)

BT.	*BT.*	*BT*
WILLY: Why do you buy American [cheese] since I like Swiss? *LINDA: I thought you might like a change…* *WILLY: I don't want changes! I want Swiss cheese. Why do people contradict me?* *LINDA (she laughs for covering up things): I wanted to make a surprise for you.* *WILLY: For God's sake*, why don't you open a window?	*WILLY: Why do you get American cheese since I like Swiss?* *LINDA: I just thought you'd like something different…* *WILLY: I don't need changes! I want Swiss cheese. Why do you always contradict me?* *LINDA (laughing to cover the tension): I thought I would make a surprise to you.* *WILLY:* Why don't you open a window in here*, for God's sake?*	*WILLY: Why do you get American [cheese] since you know I like Swiss?* *LINDA: I thought you'd like a change.* *WILLY: I don't want changes! I want Swiss. Why does everybody constantly contradict me?* *LINDA (she laughs to stop the irritation): I thought I could make a surprise for you.* *WILLY: For God's sake*, open a window

Commentary: Out of the 76 respondents, 56 (73,6%) preferred version (c). They thought the TTc item "Open a window' was a more authoritative request on the part of Willy for Linda to open the window, than the TTa/b items "Why don't you open a window" which entailed some kind of synergy and negotiation between them. Those who preferred TTb suggested that the TTb item "Why do you always contradict me?" was more aggressive than TTa/c "Why does everybody contradicts me?".

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2.

Linda is a loving wife who "has sustained her commitment to him [Willy], despite all his evident failings" (Quigley 2007: 133). In an interview, Arthur Miller suggested that Linda treats him like a sick person:

> [s]he regards Willy as being very brittle, very easily destroyed; and she's got to prop him up or he'll collapse. In a way it's like someone who is dealing with a sick person. She's trying to keep bad news away from him lest he be destroyed by it (Kullman 2007: 72).

Linda "most often takes the part of his conscience" (Centola 2007: 30) and attempts to ease the conflict between Willy and Biff, their son. Below, Linda reassures Willy that things will be better in the future between them, and Willy will not quarrel with his returning son, Biff, any more.

QUESTIONS

- Which version renders Linda as more direct and reassuring?
- Which version you would prioritize in your own translation of the play?

[ST (not provided with the questionnaire)

LINDA: He was crestfallen, Willy. You know how he admires you. I think if he finds himself, then you'll both be happier and not fight any more.]

TT a	b	c
ΛΙΝΤΑ. Ήταν ένα ράκος Ουίλλυ. Σε θαυμάζει τόσο πολύ! *Νομίζω πως* άμα βρει τον εαυτό του θάσαστε κι οι δύο πιό χαρούμενοι και δε θα μαλώνετε πιά. (154)	ΛΙΝΤΑ. Ένιωθε ντροπιασμένος Γουίλυ. Ξέρεις πόσο σε θαυμάζει. *Νομίζω ότι* μόλις βρει ποιός είναι και τι θέλει, τότε και οι δύο θα είστε πιο ευτυχισμένοι και θα πάψετε να τσακώνεστε. (19)	ΛΙΝΤΑ. Έχει γίνει ράκος. Ξέρεις πόσο σε θαυμάζει. *Είμαι σίγουρη* πως άμα βρει τον εαυτό του, θα τα πάτε μια χαρά οι δυό σας και δεν θα ξαναμαλώσετε (16)

BT.	*BT.*	*BT.*
LINDA: He was crestfallen, Willy. He admires you, so much! I think *that if he finds himself, you'll both be happier and not fight any more*	*LINDA: He was ashamed, Willy. You know how he admires you.* I think *as soon as he finds who he is and what he wants, then you'll both be happier and not fight any more*	*LINDA: He was crestfallen, Willy. You know how he admires you.* I am sure *that if he finds himself, you'll both be on good terms and not fight any more*

Commentary: All respondents (100%) suggested that the version which made Linda's discourse more reassuring and direct was version (c), which has eliminated the 'I think' hedge and favoured instead "I'm sure, if he finds himself, you'll be fine and won't quarrel any more". All respondents would use version (c) in their own translation of the play.

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3.

Hadomi (2007: 13) highlights the "deep and disturbing relationship between father and returning son", Biff, since the time Biff found his father 'cheating' at a Boston hotel. In fact, "Biff becomes enraged at his father's adultery in part because Willy gives stockings to Miss Francis while Linda must darn her own stockings to save money" (Sterling 2008: 9–10). Below the boys talk about their father.

QUESTIONS

– Which one of the three versions reflects the 'disturbing relationship' of the boys with their father and portrays a more enraged version of Happy?
– Which version you would prioritize in your own translation of the play? Please explain why.

[ST (not provided with the questionnaire)

HAPPY (to Biff): Jesus, maybe he smashed up the car again!]

TT a	b	c
ΧΑΠΠΥ (Στο Μπίφφ). Ω Θεέ μου, μπορεί νάσπασε το αυτοκίνητο (158)	ΧΑΠΠΥ (στον Μπιφ). Χριστέ μου, έχει γούστο να χτύπησε το αυτοκίνητο πάλι! (24)	ΧΑΠΥ (στον Μπιφ). Ω γαμώτο, θα τράκαρε πάλι. (21)

BT. *HAPPY (to Biff): Oh my God, he may have broken the car*	*BT.* *HAPPY (to Biff): Jesus, I hope he hasn't hit the car again!*	*BT.* *HAPPY (to Biff): Fuck, he must have smashed up the car again*

Commentary: 70 out of the 76 respondents (92%) agreed that the most enraged version of Happy appears in version (c) which uses an offensive item (*f…k*) for rendering *Jesus*, and eliminates the *may* hedge, in favour of *he must have smashed the car again.* Likewise, the offensive item and the higher certainty (through the elimination of *may*) was highly appreciated as a realistic option, for realizing an enraged version of Happy.

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4.

Biff reminisces the past when Happy used to be shy, especially with women. Happy suggests that he has not overcome that shyness and Biff doubts that.

QUESTIONS

– Which of the three versions realistically shapes boys' talk and reflects a close relationship between them?
– Which version you would prioritize in your own translation of the play?

[ST. (not provided with the questionnaire)

BIFF: I bet you forgot how bashful you used to be. Especially with girls.

HAPPY: Oh, I still am, Biff.

BIFF: Oh, go on.]

TT a	b	c
ΜΠΙΦΦ. Βάζω στοίχημα πως θα ξέχασες πόσο ντροπαλός ήσουνα—άσε πια με τα *κορίτσια* ΧΑΠΠΥ. Και είμαι ακόμα, Μπίφφ. ΜΠΙΦΦ. Έλα τώρα, ας τ' αφήσουμε αυτά.(160)	ΜΠΙΦ. Βάζω στοίχημα ότι ξέχασες τι ντροπαλός που ήσουν. Προπάντων με τις *κοπέλες*. ΧΑΠΥ. Ω, και τώρα ακόμα είμαι Μπιφ. ΜΠΙΦ. Ω, μην μου πεις. (26)	ΜΠΙΦ. Να μην ξεχνάμε και πόσο ντροπαλός ήσουνα. Κυρίως με τις *γκόμενες*. ΧΑΠΠΥ. Κι ακόμα είμαι, Μπιφ. ΜΠΙΦ. Άντε ρε! (24)

BT. *BIFF: I bet you forgot how shy you used to be. Let alone with* girls. *HAPPY: Oh, I still am, Biff.* *BIFF: Oh, come on. Let us leave these!*	*BT.* *BIFF: I bet you have forgotten how shy you used to be. Especially with* girls. *HAPPY: Oh, I still am, Biff.* *BIFF: Oh, don't tell me!*	*BT.* *BIFF: We shouldn't forget how shy you were. Especially with the* tails *HAPPY: Oh, I still am, Biff.* *BIFF: Oh, come on. Let us leave these!*

Commentary: 62 (81,5%) of the 76 respondents suggested that version (c) most realistically represents boys' talk, for the offensive item rendering *girls* (*γκόμενες*) and Biff's informal reply to Happy. The particle *ρε* from Ancient Greek *μωρέ* 'stupid') has more than one functions: when accompanying swearwords, it indicates frustration and indignation, but it can also indicate closeness with the hearer" (Vergis and Terkourafi 2015: 41), which is the case here. TTa/b do not make use of offensive items, they use neutral items for ST *girls*. About the same number of respondents would prefer option (c), rather than (a) or (b) in their own version of the play.

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5.

Below is another exchange between the boys which may highlight the boys' view of women. Sterling (2008) suggests that Biff exploits women sexually "in order to exact vengeance on men who climb ahead of him on the corporate ladder" (2008: 2).

> Willy manifests his disregard for women not only by committing adultery but also by throwing Miss Francis out of his hotel room, leaving her to walk naked through the hallway. He tosses her around as if she is a football [...] This (mis)conduct toward women is, not surprisingly, passed on to Willy's children, as Happy treats Miss Forsythe and Letta as sexual objects and even asks the former if she sells (herself) (101). Happy also refers to the first woman he slept with, Betty, as a pig (21), and it is clear that he uses women as weapons for revenge (2008: 2).

QUESTIONS

- Which version facilitates the exploitation-of-women reading?
- Which version paints a more intimate relationship between the boys?
- Which version would you prioritize in your own translation of the play? Why?

[ST (not provided with the questionnaire)

HAPPY: …. But take those two we had tonight. Now weren't they gorgeous creatures?]

TT a	b	c
ΧΑΠΠΥ….Να, για κοίταξ' αυτές τις δυό πούχαμ' απόψε. Μη μου πεις πως δεν είναι φίνες (164)	ΧΑΠΥ….Αλλά για κοίτα αυτές τις δύο που ήταν μαζί μας απόψε. Δεν ήταν υπέροχα πλάσματα; (32)	ΧΑΠΠΥ….Αλλά για σκέψου αυτές τις δύο που είχαμε απόψε—γκομενάρες, ε; (30)

BT. *HAPPY: …. Look at those two we had tonight. Don't tell me they are not delicate*	*BT.* *HAPPY: …. But look at those two who were with us tonight. Weren't they gorgeous creatures?*	*BT.* *HAPPY:….But think of those two we had tonight. Birds, right?*

Commentary: 72 out of the 76 (94,7%) respondents suggested that the 'exploitation-of-women' implication most easily may emerge from version (c), namely, from the offensive item which renders ST item *gorgeous creatures*. Versions (a) and (b) favour neutral equivalents. Version (c) also more clearly assumes intimacy between the brothers for the offensive item it employs. The reason why respondents would prefer version (c) in their own translation version is the implication of intimacy which follows from the offensive item.

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6.

The boys think of work opportunities in the future. "Biff speaks about buying a ranch where he and Happy can become independent and self-employed, fully knowing that this is a non-attainable fantasy" (Meyer 2008: 125).

QUESTIONS

– Which version most directly suggests that Biff is in conflict with the world around him and longing for their independence?
– Which version would you prioritize in your own translation of the play?

[ST (not provided with the questionnaire)
BIFF: No, with a ranch I could do the work I like and still be something]

TT a	b	c
ΜΠΙΦΦ. …Μ' ένα χτήμα θα μπορούσα να κάνω αυτό που θέλω εγώ και να γίνω κάτι. (166)	ΜΠΙΦ. ..με ένα αγρόκτημα θα μπορούσα να κάνω τη δουλειά που μου αρέσει και μάλιστα να γίνω και κάτι. (34)	ΜΠΙΦ….μ' ένα ράντζο, και θα κάνω αυτό που γουστάρω, και θα γίνω κάποιος. (32)

BT. *BIFF: With a ranch I could do what I want and become something*	*BT.* *BIFF: ..with a ranch I could do the work I like and even become something*	*BT.* *BIFF: .. with a ranch I will both do what I am raring to and still become someone*

Commentary: 64 out of the 76 (82.8%) respondents suggested that the version which most directly suggests that Biff is in conflict with the world around him is version (c) for the low tenor item it uses for rendering ST item *I like*, namely *γουστάρω*, which connotes that the speaker likes something without considering anybody else's view. Most respondents would use version (c) because Biff is a type of person who has followed his own drive regardless of other people's view.

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7.

Bloom suggests that "[p]resumably, Willy's sense of failure, his belief that he has no right to his wife, despite Linda's love for him, is what motivates Willy's deceptions, and those of his sons after him" (2007: 5). Below, Willy sees Linda to be darning her stockings and reacts, which is another manifestation of the tension between his inner world an external reality.

QUESTIONS

– Which version most directly depicts the "tension between the protagonist's private inner world and external reality" Hadomi (2007: 14), in which Willy cannot offer his wife a new pair of stockings?
– Which version would you prioritize in your own translation of the play? Why?

[ST (not provided with the questionnaire)

LINDA: Just mending my stockings. They're so expensive…

WILLY (angrily, taking them from her): I won't have you mending stockings in this house! Now throw them out! (Linda puts the stockings in her pocket.)]

TT a	b	c
ΛΙΝΤΑ. Μαντάρω τις κάλτσες μου είναι τόσο ακριβές ΟΥΙΛΛΥ *(τις παίρνει θυμωμένα) Δεν θέλω να σε βλέπω να μαντάρεις κάλτσες!* Πέταξέ τες! (180)	ΛΙΝΤΑ. Καρικώνω τις κάλτσες μου. Είναι πολύ ακριβές ΓΟΥΙΛΥ*(θυμωμένος τις παίρνει από τα χέρια της).* Δεν σε έχω για να καρικώνεις κάλτσες σ' αυτό το σπίτι! Να τις πετάξεις! (51)	ΛΙΝΤΑ. Μαντάρω τις κάλτσες μου. Είναι τόσο ακριβές … ΓΟΥΙΛΛΥ *(της αρπάζει θυμωμένος τις κάλτσες).* Δεν ανέχομαι να μαντάρεις! Πέταξέ τες! (53)

(continued)

(continued)

TT a	b	c
BT. *LINDA: Just mending my stockings. They're so expensive…* *WILLY (angrily, taking them from her):* I don't want to see you mending stockings! in this house! *Throw them out!*	*BT.* *LINDA: Just mending my stockings. They're very expensive…* *WILLY (angrily, taking them from her): I don't have you for mending stockings in this house! Throw them out!*	*BT.* *LINDA: Just mending my stockings. They're so expensive…* *WILLY (angrily, taking them from her): I can't take it for you to mend stockings! Throw them out!*

Commentary: Respondents were almost divided among these options; the expectation was that they would favour option (c) [I cannot stand to be seeing you mending stockings], but findings showed that option (a) I don't want to be seeing you mending stockings] and version (b) [I do not have you in this house to mend stockings] sounded equally irritating and tension-creating. Most respondents would use the version they thought that most clearly connoted the highest tension in order to manifest the conflict assumed in Willy's mind.

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8.

Charley is always there for the family. Willy is jealous of him and gets easily offended when they converse. Charley asks him to relax.

QUESTIONS
- Which version shapes Charlie's suggestion most successfully to overtly reflect Willy's conflict between them?
- Which version would you prioritize in your own translation of the play? Why?

[ST (not provided with the questionnaire)
CHARLEY: Don't get insulted.
WILLY: Don't insult me.
CHARLEY: I don't see no sense in it. You don't have to go on this way.]

TT a	b	c
ΤΣΑΡΛΥ. Δεν ήθελα να σε θίξω, Ουίλλυ. ΟΥΙΛΛΥ. Όμως τα καταφέρνεις. ΤΣΑΡΛΥ. Μα δεν βλέπω τίποτα το παράλογο σε αυτό που λέω. Δεν πρέπει να θίγεσαι έτσι εύκολα. (184)	ΤΣΑΡΛΥ. Δεν ήθελα να σε θίξω, Γουίλυ. ΓΟΥΙΛΥ. Τότε, μην με προσβάλλεις. ΤΣΑΡΛΥ. Δεν σου λέω τίποτα κακό. Γιατί αρπάζεσαι με το παραμικρό; (56)	ΤΣΑΡΛΙ. Δεν ήθελα να σε θίξω. ΓΟΥΙΛΛΥ. Ε τότε, μη με θίγεις! ΤΣΑΡΛΙ. Δεν βλέπω τίποτα το παράλογο σε αυτό που σου λέω. Μην αρπάζεσαι με το παραμικρό. (59)

BT. *CHARLEY:* *I did not intend to insult you.* *WILLY: You managed to though.* *CHARLEY: I don't see any nonsense in it. You shouldn't get insulted that easily*	*BT.* *CHARLEY: Don't get insulted.* *WILLY: Don't insult me.* *CHARLEY: I don't see any sense in it. You don't have to go on this way*	*BT.* *CHARLEY:* *I did not intend to insult you.* *WILLY: then, don't* *CHARLEY: I don't see any nonsense in it. You shouldn't pick on every detail*

Commentary: 45 of the 76 (59,2%) respondents suggested that they would prioritize version (c) in their own translation, because Charley's *Don't get insulted* option sounded more provoking than TTa *You should not get insulted* or TTb *Why do you get insulted?*

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9.

Ben, Willy's brother, playfully invites Biff to box with him. Biff is reluctant for a moment and his father, Willy, encourages him to fight. Symbolically, Ben acts as a Charon figure to bring him [Willy] to port in the land of the dead (Ardolino 2007: 83), which may justify aggression on the part of Willy.

QUESTIONS
- -Which version presents a most encouraging and aggressive Willy?
- Which version would you prioritize in your own translation of the play? Why?

[ST (not provided with the questionnaire)
BEN (taking boxing stance): Come on, get to me! (He laughs)
WILLY: Go to it, Biff! Go ahead, show him!]

TT a	b	c
ΜΠΕΝ. (*Παίρνει στάση σαν να παίζει μποξ*) Εμπρός! Έλα χτύπα! (*Γελάει*) ΟΥΙΛΛΥ. Απάνω του Μπίφφ, απάνω του. Δείχτου τι ξέρεις να κάνεις! (190)	ΜΠΕΝ. (*Παίρνοντας στάση πυγμάχου*) Έλα, έλα χτύπα λοιπόν! (Γελάει) ΓΟΥΙΛΥ. Εμπρός Μπίφ! Άντε, δείξτου! (63)	ΜΠΕΝ. (*Παίρνοντας θέση μποξέρ*) Έλα, έλα, χτύπα! (*Γελάει*) ΓΟΥΙΛΛΥ. Απάνω του, Μπιφ! Όρμα, δώσ' του να καταλάβει! (69)

BT. *BEN (taking a boxing stance): Come on, come hit! (he laughs)* *WILLY: Go to him, Biff! Go. Show him what you can do!*	*BT.* *BEN (taking the stance of a boxer): Come on, do come! (He laughs)* *WILLY: Go ahead, Biff! Come on, show him!*	*BT.* *BEN (taking the stance of a boxer): Come on, come on, hit! (He laughs)* *WILLY: Go ahead, Biff! Rush, make him understand!*

Commentary: 56 of the 76 (73,6%) respondents suggested that version (c) realizes a most encouraging and aggressive Willy for the additional *rush* (όρμα) item it carries. Most respondents would favour version (c) in their own translation.

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10.

Linda tells the boys that Willy is happy when Biff is about to come home after a long absence but as the time approaches, he usually becomes irritated. This presumably is a manifestation of "the gap between adherence to ideals and the ability to function successfully in real life" (Hadomi 2007: 13).

QUESTIONS
- Which one of the three versions portrays Linda's description of a most irritated Willy, on Biff's arrival?
- Which version most clearly describes Willy Loman's suffering?

[ST (not provided with the questionnaire)

LINDA: When you write you're coming, he's all smiles, and talks about the future, … by the time you get here, he's arguing, and he seems angry at you.]

TT a	b	c
ΛΙΝΤΑ….σαν γράφεις ότι πρόκειται νάρθεις, είναι όλο χαμόγελα και κάνει σχέδια για το μέλλον… Σαν φτάνεις πια εδώ, τότε αρχίζει τους θυμούς και τις γκρίνιες και δείχνει πως τάχει μαζί σου… (196)	ΛΙΝΤΑ. Όταν γράφεις ότι θα έρθεις, χαμογελάει συνεχώς και μιλάει για το μέλλον… και μόλις έρχεσαι πια, γίνεται νευρικός και φαίνεται θυμωμένος μαζί σου.. (70).	ΛΙΝΤΑ. Κάθε φορά που λες ότι έρχεσαι, είναι μες τα χαμόγελα και τα σχέδια για το μέλλον …και από την ώρα που θα φθάσεις γίνεται επιθετικός και δείχνει θυμωμένος μαζί σου… (78)

BT. *LINDA: When [dialectal] you write you're coming, he's all smiles, and makes plans about the future, … When [dialectal] you get here, he's arguing, and grumbling and seems angry at you*	*BT.* *LINDA: When you write you're coming, he's all smiles, and talks about the future, … and as soon as you get here, he becomes and seems angry at you*	*BT.* *LINDA: Every time you write you're coming, he's all smiles, and plans about the future, … and from the time you get here, he becomes aggressive and seems angry at you.*

Commentary: 69 respondents out of 76 (90,7%) suggested that version (c) is the one which implements Linda's portrayal of a most irritated Willy and the version which more clearly suggests that he is suffering, because it carries an additional item *επιθετικός* (aggressive) which enhances the connotations of suffering.

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11.

In the following exchange, Linda says that her hair is grey because she has not dyed it and Biff suggests that she should dye it again.

QUESTIONS
- Please say which version most appropriately adjusts the interpersonal distance between mother and son, in Biff's part of the dialogue.
- Which version enables the dramatic gloss of the play? Why?

[ST (not provided with the questionnaire)

LINDA: Oh, it's been gray since you were in high school. I just stopped dyeing it, that's all.

BIFF: Dye it again, will ya? I don't want my pal looking old. (He smiles.)]

TT a	b	c
ΛΙΝΤΑ. Ω, ήταν γκρίζα απ' τον καιρό που πήγαινες στο γυμνάσιο. Μόνο που δεν τα βάφω πια. ΜΠΙΦΦ. Βάψτα πάλι μητέρα. Μου το υπόσχεσε; Δε θέλω ο φίλος μου να φαίνεται γέρος (196)	ΛΙΝΤΑ. Ω, ήταν γκρίζα απ' τότε που πήγαινες στο γυμνάσιο. Απλά, έπαψα να τα βάφω, αυτό είναι όλο. ΜΠΙΦ. Θέλω να τα ξαναβάψεις, μητέρα, θα τα ξαναβάψεις; Δεν θέλω η καλή μου φιλενάδα να φαίνεται γριά. (71)	ΛΙΝΤΑ. Είχαν αρχίσει να γκριζάρουν από τότε που ήσουνα στο γυμνάσιο. Απλώς τώρα σταμάτησα να τα βάφω. ΜΠΙΦ. Ξαναβάψ'τα—κάνε το για μένα! Δεν θέλω το κορίτσι μου να φαίνεται γερασμένο. (79)

BT. *LINDA: Oh, it's been gray since you were in high school. It's just that I don't dye it any more.* *BIFF: Dye it again, mother. Do you promise? I don't want* my pal *[male] to look old. (He smiles).*	*BT.* *LINDA: Oh, it's been gray since you were in high school. I simply stopped dyeing it, that's all.* *BIFF: I want you to dye it again, mother? I don't want* my good pal *[female] to look old. (He smiles.)*	*BT.* *LINDA: It's had started turning gray since you were in high school. I simply stopped dyeing it. BIFF: Dye it again, Do it for me I don't want* my girl *looking old. (He smiles.)*

Commentary: The difference in the three versions arises from rendition of the ST item *my pal*. 67 out of the 76 (88,15%) respondents agreed that the version which most appropriately adjusts the interpersonal distance between mother and son is (c) with TT item *my girl* (*το κορίτσι μου*) translating ST item *my pal.* A close and tender relationship with (mother) Linda highlights the contrasts in Biff"s character and enhances the dramatic gloss.

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12.

Ardolino (2007: 83) suggests that Linda who "pities Willy and understands him as a man who has failings, … asks Biff to be "sweet" and "loving" to him".

QUESTIONS

- Which version does justice to Linda's concern in regard to her husband's condition?
- Which version would you prioritize in your own translation of the play? Why?

[ST (not provided with the questionnaire)

LINDA: No, a lot of people think he's lost his — balance. But you don't have to be very smart to know what his trouble is. The man is exhausted.]

TT a	b	c
ΛΙΝΤΑ. …Πολύς κόσμος νομίζει πώς τάχει—χαμένα. Όμως δεν πρέπει νάναι κανείς και πολύ έξυπνος για να μαντέψει ποιό είναι το κακό. Κουράστηκε πια ο άνθρωπος. (198)	ΛΙΝΤΑ. …πολλοί νομίζουν ότι έχει χάσει…τα μυαλά του. Αλλά δεν χρειάζεται να είσαι πολύ έξυπνος για να καταλάβεις ποιό είναι το πρόβλημά του. Ο άνθρωπος έχει εξαντληθεί. (82)	ΛΙΝΤΑ. …πολύς κόσμος νομίζει πως είναι ανισόρροπος. Αλλά δεν χρειάζεται ιδιαίτερο μυαλό να το καταλάβεις: ο άνθρωπος κουράστηκε—εξοντώθηκε. (80)

BT. *LINDA: A lot of people think he's lost his mind. But one doesn't have to be very smart to guess what the trouble is. The man is tired*	*BT.* *LINDA: …a lot of people think he's lost his mind. But you don't have to be very smart to know what his trouble is. The man has been exhausted*	*BT.* *LINDA: … a lot of people think he's lost his — balance [offensive]. But you don't need to be very smart to realize: The man has been exterminated.*

Commentary: 70 out of the 76 respondents (92,10%) suggested that the version which does justice to Linda's concern for Willy is version (c) because it shows Linda heightening others' awareness that the man is tired (*κουράστηκε*) and exhausted (*εξαντλήθηκε*). Versions (a) and (b) use one of these options which makes Linda's observation less engaging. Version (c) is the one which respondents would favour in their own translation version.

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13.

"Biff has broken the pattern set by Happy and Willy by moving out west to live his dream, but he still has felt the familial and societal pull back to a world of money, competition, and success" (Nass 2008: 56). Please read the exchange below to suggest

QUESTIONS

– Which version most directly shows Bill's inner conflict between his dream and the 'familial and societal pull back to a world of money, competition, and success'?
– Which version would you prioritize to communicate Biff's inner conflict to the audience? Why?

[ST (not provided with the questionnaire)

HAPPY: … in the business world some of them think you're crazy.

BIFF (angered): Screw the business world!

HAPPY: All right, screw it! Great, but cover yourself!

LINDA: Hap, Hap.

BIFF: I don't care what they think!]

TT a	b	c
ΧΑΠΠΥ..Στον κύκλο των εμπόρων υπάρχουν πολλοί που σ΄έχουν για τρελλό. ΜΠΙΦΦ. (*θυμωμένα*) Στο διάολο να παν κι αυτοί και το εμπόριό τους! ΧΑΠΠΥ. Σύμφωνοι, στο διάολο! Όμως φυλάξου! ΛΙΝΤΑ. Χαπ! Χάπ! ΜΠΙΦΦ. Δεν δίνω φράγκο για το τι λένε για μένα. … (204)	ΧΑΠΥ…στον εμπορικό κόσμο μερικοί λένε ότι είσαι τρελός. ΜΠΙΦ. (*θυμωμένος*). Δεν πάει να πηδηχθεί ο εμπορικός κόσμος! ΧΑΠΥ. Εντάξει, ας πάει να πηδηχτεί! Πολύ καλά, αλλά να προσέχεις! ΛΙΝΤΑ. Χαπ, Χάπ! ΜΠΙΦ. Δεν με νοιάζει τι λένε για μένα!… (79)	ΧΑΠΠΥ…στον κόσμο των εμπόρων υπάρχουν πολλοί που σε νομίζουμε τρελό. ΜΠΙΦ. (*θυμωμένος*). Μωρέ, δε γαμιούνται κι οι έμποροι και οι κύκλοι τους! ΧΑΠΠΥ. Και να γαμιούνται αυτοί, εγώ ένα ξέρω: ότι εσύ δεν φυλάγεσαι! ΛΙΝΤΑ. Χάππυ! ΜΠΙΦ. Χέστηκα αν με νομίζουνε τρελό… (90)

BT.	*BT.*	*BT.*
HAPPY: … in the business world there are a lot who think you're crazy. *BIFF (angered): to the devil [I don't care about] with the business world!* *HAPPY: All right, .to the devil! Great, but cover yourself!* *LINDA: Hap, Hap.* *BIFF: I don't give a damn what they say about me!*	*HAPPY: … in the business world some say you're crazy.* *BIFF (angered): Screw the business world!* *HAPPY: All right, screw it! Great, but be careful!* *LINDA: Hap, Hap.* *BIFF: I don't care what they about me!*	*HAPPY: … in the business world there are many who think you're crazy.* *BIFF (angered): Screw the businessmen and their world!* *HAPPY: All right, screw them! Great, but cover yourself!* *LINDA: Hap, Hap.* *BIFF: I don't give a shit if they think I am crazy!*

Commentary: 65 out of 76 (85,5%) respondents suggested that the target version which most appropriately reflects Biff"s conflict between his dream and his familial bonds is version (c) because it renders ST item *I don't care what they think* in terms of the offensive TTc item (*I don't give a shit if they think I am crazy*) which heightens awareness that Biff is highly distressed.

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14.

"Willy might be considered a composite tragic hero in that his divided nature and tragic fate are inexplicably bound to his two sons, who represent the poles in the dialectic" (Otten 2007: 100). Below is an exchange between the characters which realize 'the poles of the dialectic', Willy and his son Biff.

QUESTIONS
- Which version most clearly outlines the conflict?
- Which version points a more intimate version of Biff?

– Which version would you prioritize in your version of the play for the Greek stage? Why?

[ST (not provided with the questionnaire)
WILLY: … And who in the business world thinks I'm crazy?
BIFF: I didn't mean it like that, Pop. Now don't make a whole thing out of it, will ya?
WILLY: Go back to the West! Be a carpenter, a cowboy, enjoy yourself!]

TT a	b	c
ΟΥΙΛΛΥ. .. Ωστε νομίζεις ότι στον κύκλο των εμπόρων μ' έχουν για τρελλό, ε; ΜΠΙΦΦ. Δεν ήθελα να πω αυτό ακριβώς, πατέρα. Και σε παρακαλώ μη γίνει ολόκληρη ιστορία γι αυτό, έτσι; ΟΥΙΛΛΥ. Τότε γύρνα πίσω στο Τέξας σου. Γίνε μαραγκός κάου-μπόϋ, κάνε το κέφι σου! (205)	ΓΟΥΙΛΥ….Και κάποιοι με περιγελούσαν στον κόσμο των εμπόρων; ΜΠΙΦ. Δεν εννοούσα αυτό ακριβώς, πατέρα. Έλα, τώρα, μην το κάνεις θέμα. ΓΟΥΙΛΥ. Δεν πηγαίνεις καλύτερα πίσω στο Τέξας; Να γίνεις ξυλουργός, κάουμπόϋ, ό,τι τραβάει η ψυχή σου; (80)	ΓΟΥΙΛΛΥ. ..Και ποιοί από τον κύκλο των εμπόρων με λένε "ιδιόρυθμο"; ΜΠΙΦ. Άλλο ήθελα να πω, μπαμπά. 'Ελα τώρα μην το κάνεις θέμα. ΓΟΥΙΛΛΥ. Άντε τράβα στο Τέξας σου, να γίνεις μαραγκός, κάου μπόης ό,τι τραβάει η ψυχή σου! (91)

BT. *WILLY: … So, you think in the business world they think I'm crazy, right?* *BIFF: I didn't exactly want to say this, father. And please let us not make a fuss out of it.* *WILLY: Go back to your Texas! Be a carpenter, a cowboy, do as you like!*	*BT.* *WILLY: … And some were making fun of me in the business world?* *BIFF: I didn't exactly want to say this, father. Come on, don't make a fuss out of it.* *WILLY: Don't you better return to Texas! Be a carpenter, a cowboy, do what your soul desires!*	*BT.* *WILLY: … And who in the business world say I am 'strange'?* *BIFF: I wanted to say something else, dad. Come on, don't make a fuss out of it.* *WILLY: Go get your Texas to be a carpenter, a cowboy, do what your soul desires!*

Commentary: 61 of the 76 respondents (80,2%) suggested that the version which most clearly outlines the conflict between Biff and his father Willy is version (c), in that the ST item *Go back to the West* is rendered more aggressively in TTc than through the mere imperative of TTa. Respondents also overwhelmingly agreed that they would prefer TTc in their own translation of the play as most operative in highlighting the dramatic gloss of the play.

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15.

Hadomi suggests that " [i]t is to Biff, the returning son, to whom Willy relates most affectively" (2007: 14)

QUESTIONS
– Which one of the three versions paints a most affectionate Willy?
– Which version would you prioritize in your version of the play for the Greek stage? Why?

[ST (not provided with the questionnaire)
WILLY: No kiddin', Biff, you got a date? Wonderful!]

TT a	b	c
ΟΥΙΛΛΥ. Ώστε σοβαρά Μπίφφ, έχεις ραντεβού; Μ"αυτό είναι θαύμα!	ΓΟΥΙΛΥ. Αλήθεια το λες, Μπιφ, έχεις ραντεβού; Θαυμάσια!	ΓΟΥΙΛΛΥ. Σοβαρά, Μπιφ; Έχεις ραντεβού; Μπράβο, αγόρι μου!

BT. *WILLY: Seriously, Biff, you got a date? This is wonderful!*	*BT.* *WILLY: Is it true, Biff, you got a date? Excellent!*	*BT.* *WILLY: Seriously, Biff? You got a date? Well done, my boy!*

Commentary: 61 respondents out of 76 (80,2%) suggested that version (c) paints a more affectionate version of Willy, through the honorific *αγόρι μου* (my boy!). Highlighting affectionate aspects of Willy heightens contrasts in his multi-faceted persona, which sustains the dramatic effect in the play. Version (c) was the one to be favoured in the respondents' own translation. Like extract 14, the next extract shows an aggressive aspect of him.

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16.

Despite Willy's affectionate moments, he often has fights with Biff, as Biff does not stand up to his ideals. Hadomi (2007: 15) highlights this inconsistency in Willy's character:

> Rather than consisting of a single coherent self, it is compacted of a number of contradictory selves, each of which might alone have formed the core of an integrated personality relatively free of tension, but which together make up an unstable persona that ultimately costs the protagonist his life.

QUESTION

– Which one of the three versions heightens the tension between father and son?

[ST (not provided with the questionnaire)
WILLY (calling after him): Don't curse in this house!
BIFF (turning): Since when did you get so clean?]

TT a	b	c
ΟΥΙΛΛΥ (*Του φωνάζει*) Πάψε να βλαστημάς μέσα σ' αυτό το σπίτι! ΜΠΙΦΦ (*Γυρίζοντας*) Από πότε μου γίνηκες τόσο μυγιάγγιχτος; (206-207)	ΓΟΥΙΛΥ *(φωνάζοντας πίσω του*) Μην βλαστημάς σε τούτο το σπίτι! ΜΠΙΦ (*γυρνώντας*) Από πότε έγινες τόσο τέλειος; (82)	ΓΟΥΙΛΛΥ (*Φωνάζει πίσω του*) Σου απαγορεύω να βλαστημάς μέσα στο σπίτι μου! ΜΠΙΦ (*στρέφει*) Από πότε μας έγινες και ηθικολόγος;

BT. *WILLY (calling after him): Stop cursing in this house!* *BIFF (turning): Since when did you get so thin-skinned?*	*BT.* *WILLY (calling after him): Don't curse in this house!* *BIFF (turning): Since when did you get so perfect?*	*BT.* *WILLY (calling after him): I forbid you to curse in my house!* *BIFF (turning): Since when did you get so moralistic?*

Commentary: 60 of the 76 respondents (78,9%) that version (c) is the one which heightens the tension between father and son: TTc item *I forbid you to curse*, is a more authoritative than TTa *πάψε να βλαστημάς* (stop cursing) and TTb *μην βλαστημάς* (don't curse).

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The analysis examined shifts in the three translation versions of Arthur Miller's play *Death of a Salesman* with reference to how speech acts are performed in cultures (Mills and Kádár 2011; Kádár and Bargiela-Chiappini 2011) and affect characterization (Culpeper 2001). Respondents were asked to evaluate the appropriateness of the way speech acts were performed, in regards to the context of situation and their personal taste in language, as native speakers of Greek and potential audience members.

Results showed an overwhelming preference of the Greek respondents for more direct speech acts, for signalling interpersonal closeness through eliminating hedges, enhancing offensiveness, use of appropriate honorifics etc. Findings suggest that there is a norm favouring directness over indirectness on stage.

Methodologically, the questionnaire did justice to the distinction between (a) first order politeness1 (Watts 2003), namely the evaluations speakers, hearers or overhearers make of each other's utterances and (b) second order politeness2, which

Table 5.2 Speech acts whose rendition was focused upon in the questionnaire

	Speech acts		
1	Request	9	Encouraging
2	Prediction	10	Reporting
3	Inference drawing	11	Naming
4	Disagreeing intimately	12	Explaining
5	Seeking agreement	13	Declaring uninterested in sth.
6	Contemplating about the future	14	Giving advice
7	Forbidding	15	Adjusting interpersonal distance
8	Giving advice	16	Forbidding

considers choices from a scholarly point of view. The politeness1/2 perspectives was partly fabricated by the respondent's explanations about why they opted for one or another language suggestion in the target texts and my own reporting on respondents' meta-pragmatic comments, as indicated in the 'Commentary' section of each exchange item in the questionnaire. This is an eclectic methodological perspective to the phenomenon of im/politeness in that it borrows from the toolkit of both politeness1 and politeness2.

It extends beyond the speech act of requests in considering im/polite and in/direct options, as the traditional approach often did. Grainger and Mills (2016: 40) draw attention to different aspects and "different types of utterances and speech acts" (for example, expression of and contradiction of opinions, suggestions for future actions, tentative promises and so on) and suggest that they should not only be considered with reference to requests. Table 5.2 summarizes the speech act contexts in the questionnaire, where the relevant shifts occurred.

5.6 The Significance of Questionnaire Findings

Multiple versions of play texts may highlight instances of in/directness on a scale showing that in/directness is a relative rather than absolute notion. For instance, Charley's TTc item *Don't get insulted* sounded more provocative than TTa *You should not get insulted* or TTb *Why do you get insulted?* Data from multiple versions of play texts may also show how in/directness can be used for identity construction purposes, for instance for constructing the sweet and enraged aspects of Willy's character, the reassuring aspects of Linda's personality, the boys' drive to sexually exploit their mates, Biff's independence.

5.6.1 Face Wants and Identity Construction

The three translations represent face enhancing/maintaining/aggravating tendencies different from those of the original, and a target audience may agree on which one of the three translations render the characters' face wants more appropriately. The identity which the various critics attributed to the characters (e.g. the affectionate side of Willy, the inconsistencies of his character, his tragic identity) have all been renegotiated through juxtaposition of face-enhancing and face-aggravating techniques which construct Willy's (and his son's) inconsistencies of character. If the character's identities are re-shaped through modified representations of the characters' face needs in the translations, the concepts of face and identity seem to be highly interdependent and im/politeness scholars are right in believing that research in im/politeness and relational work need to merge with research in identity construction (Locher 2011; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich and Sifianou 2017).

Aligning the translation and im/politeness paradigms has benefits for both translation scholars and im/politeness scholars. The translators renegotiate the characters' face (their non-permanent face needs, Spencer-Oatey 2002) and identity throughout the play as cumulatively portrayed in the exchange situations. Willy Loman for instance is shown to have various contradictory face needs (e.g. being tender and enraged with Biff) and a vulnerable identity, in contrast to Linda, who mostly appears as a facilitator of harmony in the family (a face need), but her identity is strong and enduring. The renegotiation of face and identity in a translated version of a play helps im/politeness scholars consolidate the face-identity ensemble in practice, and vice versa, translators are enlightened by the face-identity distinction and come up with deftly articulated character identities.

5.6.2 Directness Evaluated Positively

The questionnaire confirms the view that directness may be evaluated positively in Greek, as in some other cultures. Grainger and Mills refer to a number of languages and cultures which value directness for the social closeness it entails:

> In many languages, such as Arabic (Kerkam, forthcoming), Zulu (De Kadt, 1995), the southern African language of Sepedi (Kasanga, 2003), the West African language of Igbo (Nwoye, 1992), Greek (Sifianou, 1993 /2008) and Polish (Wierzbicka, 2003) directness is often viewed as the norm for requests, since the use of direct statements signals a social closeness that indirectness does not (2016: 59).

This is in agreement with Sifianou and Tzanne (2010) who notice that in Greek politeness is "hardly associated with keeping social distance. The attributes seen as related to politeness mostly reflect approaching the other" (2010: 669).

As anticipated in Brown and Levinson (1978/1987), power is a high level variable, whose potential was fully exploited in 16c of the questionnaire, where Willy was made to use his power to contradict his son: *WILLY (calling after him): I forbid you*

to curse in my house! and was highly appreciated by the audience. As Holtgraves and Bonnefon suggest "the possibility that high-level variables, such as (perceived) power and distance, can explain politeness variability (as a function of mood, personality traits, culture, gender and so on) should continue to be pursued" (2017: 395).

The questionnaire also shows that age can be a crucial factor affecting evaluation of im/politeness. Mills (2017) confirms that "older people tend to behave according to a set of beliefs about politeness norms which are not shared by younger people" (2017: 91), while Willy, the father, was not made to use four-letter words. Respondents of the present questionnaire were not at all discouraged by offensive or taboo items used by the sons, Biff and Happy; by contrast, they overwhelmingly preferred them for the intimacy they connote.

The questionnaire allows the conclusion that directness and indirectness can only contextually be understood, in combination to the repertoire of strategies which may be prevailing in a cultural situation, namely, the norms which entail a particular ideology of politeness. The interplay of variables in im/politeness research is key in translation training situations where trainees need to have a full grasp of the effect of variables on im/politeness use.

5.6.3 Cross-and Inter-Culturally

Im/politeness scholars differentiate between cross-cultural and intercultural contexts where im/politeness may be negotiated. The cross-cultural context involves comparison of languages. The intercultural one involves communication between people of different languages and cultures, where misunderstandings may occur because the interlocutors may have different interpretation frames. The assumption is that the data culled from multiple translations of play texts are an instance of cross-cultural transfer where im/politeness patterns of two languages may need to be adjusted across cultures. The cross-cultural methodology compares final products, e.g. the ST and the TTs.

However, the act of translation seems to have an intercultural aspect to it—in the sense used in im/politeness theory: the translator over/hears the source author (through the characters) and comes up with an interpretation of the characters' utterances. In taking a discursive approach to eighteenth century drama, Jucker (2016) pays attention to the communicative act between the "(real) author and the actual readers of this text, even if the act of writing and the act of reading may lie centuries apart and even if the author cannot possibly have had any clear idea of who would read his or her text in the centuries to come" (2016: 95-96). If the translator has a different 'frame of interpretation', misunderstandings may occur, which may result in less successful transfer. The assumption is that the less successful renditions, in cases of multiple translations of a play text, may rather be considered as instances of misunderstandings on the intercultural plane, as in the case of Zimbabwean English and British English (Grainger 2011), where in/directness may have functions and meanings inaccessible by one of the interlocutors.

5.6.4 Translator, an Intuitive Moralist-Overhearer

Kádár and Haugh (2013) have drawn attention to that judging an utterance as impolite assumes a moralist and emotional attitude. I would assume that translators are not simply hearers or overhearers involved in a communication with an author; they also intuitively analyze concepts and situations. The claim originates from the observation that one of the three translation versions of the extract in question 16 of the questionnaire, intuitively confirms Kádár and Haugh's (2013) suggestion that judging an utterance or behaviour as impolite assumes a moralistic stance. Below, is the source exchange and the three backtranslations of the Greek translation versions, repeated here for convenience. Willy, the father, is shouting at his son, and the son's ironic reply in version c (by translator Errikos Belies) assumes awareness of moralist attitude of the over-/hearer.

[ST
WILLY (calling after him): Don't curse in this house!
BIFF (turning): Since when did you get so clean?]

TT a	b	c
WILLY (calling after him): Stop cursing in this house! *BIFF (turning): Since when did you get so* thin-skinned*?*	*WILLY (calling after him): Don't curse in this house!* *BIFF (turning): Since when did you get so* perfect*?*	*WILLY (calling after him): I forbid you to curse in my house!* *BIFF (turning): Since when did you get so* moralistic*?*

Translators, that is, are more than over/hearers in a translation situation. They are realizing their value judgements through their discourse options.

5.6.5 The Positive/Negative Politeness Distinction

The chapter also assumes that the positive/negative politeness distinction is a helpful one in im/politeness research and should not be dismissed, because it may predict a cultural group tendency, as the present questionnaire reveals. This agrees with Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2010) who argues that the distinction better be preserved than dropped altogether:

> Whereas the distinction between positive/negative face in interaction is not always clear cut and has been problematized, the dropping altogether of this category would seem to merit a bit more discussion (2010: 542).

Blitvitch goes on to suggest either reconceptualization or adopting O'Driscoll's view that we may think of the positive/negative face distinction on a cline:

> The option to solve the positive/negative face problem, which would allow us to maintain a distinction that seems to be at the core of many extant approaches would be conceptualizing

> or seeing approach/withdrawal positive/negative face not in absolute terms, but as a cline (O'Driscoll 1996) (ibid).

Seeing positive/negative politeness valence in a scalar manner nicely accounts for stage translation data, e.g. when multiple versions of play texts which may display scalar variation away from the source version with respect to im/politeness patterns. As this chapter has shown, there may be exchanges, in the translated versions, which may not be as positive (or as negative) as the option a target hearer would appreciate, and yet they may be operative in a target cultural group context.

5.7 An Im/Politeness Metaphor in Translation Practice

Culpeper and Hardaker (2017) report that im/politeness has attracted the attention of other disciplines and point to notions which mark this interdisciplinary perception. For instance, disciplines use terms like *hostile interpersonal communication* (communication studies), *verbal aggression* (social psychology) *verbal abuse* (sociology), *verbal conflict* (conflict studies).

Translation studies is another discipline where translators or interpreters do justice to author intentions (they are being 'polite') or to inferences following from source texts, or alternatively, translators may distance themselves from the author intentions to reshape target texts conforming to intended agendas (they are being impolite). If in im/politeness research the focal point is 'behaviour', in the same vein, translation studies have been concerned with the behaviour of translators: e.g. the postcolonial trend (Bassnett and Trivedi 1999) in translation studies is about some unfavourable or unfair representation of non-hegemonic spaces in the hegemonic world, through translation, which may be paralleled to impolite behaviour. The metaphor seems to be able to accommodate the relational work translators enact or the 'face' of translators, who interact with authors and/or intended addressees and through the interaction, they save face for their good work, otherwise face damage may occur. The discursive approach to im/politeness (Haugh 2007; Kadar 2011; Mills 2011) may be paralleled to the constructionist approach in translation studies (Munday 2001).

This was the theme of a symposium entitled *Textual Identities through Translation*, hosted by NKUA, in February 2019. The participants used recent developments in im/politeness scholarship to account for rendition of im/politeness enactment in target versions of texts suggesting that im/politeness and facework enactment in monolingual, intercultural and cross-cultural contexts have a lot in common, and that participants appreciated instances of rendition where the gap between politeness and impoliteness was widened (Sidiropoulou 2020a).

The interdisciplinary nature of the endeavour seems to be beneficial to both the translation and im/politeness scholarship.

On the one hand, translation practitioners realize that there are im/politeness models accounting for their intuitive or intended approach to the data, which explain and justify the linguistic choices they may be opting for, in target texts. This is also

particularly helpful in translation-training. Translation scholars acquire a tool which may account for and theorize the practitioners' approach to source texts.

On the other hand, im/politeness scholarship may expand the range of data types the phenomenon of im/politeness may be researched through, as the present study attempts to do. Im/politeness scholars may want to become aware of the potential translation practice may display. Not only are im/polite exchanges in plays transferred into another language and adjusted to variables cross-culturally, but retranslations of play texts offer intra-cultural variation of im/polite exchanges manifesting the impact different variables may have on language (gender, age, race, ethnic group or other social minorities).

The *Textual Identities through Translation* symposium, for instance, tackled a wide variety of contexts, from

- the public sphere (as in the analysis of Brutus' speech in translations of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*) to
- the private sphere (as in the mediations of familial context, like the one of the *Glass Menagerie* by Tennessee Williams). It also tackled rendition of patriarchal voices in translated Greek versions of Eugene O'Neill's play *Desire under the Elms* and how im/politeness interacts with gender in translated Greek versions of Oscar Wilde's *Lady Windermere's Fan.* Translational contexts may even display how awareness of ancient Greek theatre conventions may affect a lay person's assessment of appropriateness with respect to im/polite options, as in Eugene O'Neill's play *Mourning becomes Electra.* Translation practice may show how im/politeness options vary, in the same context, relative to the 'point of view' of the narrative, which the translators may be assuming with respect to a central theme in the play, as in the human-animal relationship in the context of Edward Albee's *The Zoo Story*. Im/politeness may be examined through translation in the context of multimodal environments, e.g. in film adaptations of plays, like for instance the film adaptation of Edward Albee's *Who's Afraid of Virginia Wolf*. It allows impoliteness researchers to take into consideration features like body language in researching the lay persons' assessment of im/politeness. Film dubbing may also enlighten the use of im/politeness by taking into consideration the contribution of variables in the use of im/politeness cross-culturally. This is the theme of the next chapter.

The potential of fiction has been highlighted as a valuable source for the analysis of im/politeness (Kizelbach 2017) and im/politeness scholars have long ago used translated plays (but not juxtaposition of source and target texts) to confirm one or another im/politeness tendency across cultures (Sifianou 1992; Hickey 2000). The research methodology this book advocates the benefit of, is juxtaposing source and target versions (translated and re-translated) of stage translation practice where potential shifts in impoliteness are claimed to offer another platform for analyzing the phenomenon of im/politeness (Fig. 5.3).

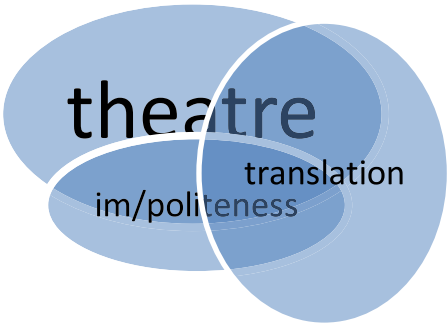


Fig. 5.3 Im/politeness studied through stage translation data

5.8 Conclusion

The chapter first addressed the specifics of communication on stage, accounting for the presence of the translator in the context of reception. It then considered authorial intention in some of Pinter's plays translated for the Greek stage and showed that (sub-)/genre may affect rendition of im/politeness on stage. The chapter referred to studies which examined pragmatic issues and interpersonal distance *inter alia*, in two renditions of the same playtext, for the Greek stage, to show that multiple versions of a play text may display variation in the representation of im/politeness phenomena and face enactment on stage. The study presented the results of a questionnaire which asked respondents to assess scalar values of closeness/distance, intimacy/aggression and directness/indirectness in three Greek versions of Arthur Miller's play *Death of a Salesman.* Respondents were assisted by literary critics' views in judging the appropriateness of the three translators' choice. The questionnaire confirmed that the preferable option was the one which displayed greater directness in exchanges realizing fifteen speech acts. The findings confirmed that there *is* cross-cultural preference in enacting relational work, on stage.

The study highlights the significance of translation data in understanding the use of im/politeness in context and pointed to the mutual benefit the two disciplines may enjoy through an interdisciplinary perspective. Translators may come up with an operative intuitive rendition of an otherwise abstract and elusive phenomenon, which facilitates translation practice. On a par, im/politeness scholars may benefit from the potential translation practice opens up, in terms of methodologies and the linguistic relativity point of view which translation studies entrenches.

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Chapter 6
Im/Politeness, Fiction and AVT



The chapter aims at exploring im/politeness in the context of audiovisual translation (AVT, hereafter). It deals with translation of films addressing an ambivalent audience, namely children and parents, and explores both dubbed and subtitled data (childen's films regularly appear in both AVT modalities in Greece). In addition, it focuses on one community of telecinematic practice (CofP), rather than a wider audience, although the chapter does draw attention to non-fictional AVT products and pragmatically oriented AVT challenges and aspects of experience. The study first reviews issues in pragmatics relevant to AVT and reception studies and then it explores a mini corpus of twenty-one pairs of English source film trailers and their dubbed or subtitled versions, for tracing manifestations of im/politeness and audience reception of them. Extra-textual data elicited through a questionnaire (in part a and part b) show that respondents appreciated im/politeness rendition as realized in the dubbed version, rather than through the subtitles, and explained why dubbing enforced their engagement with the trailer narration, in the multimodal viewing experience. Findings show that dubbing favoured more honorifics (which were specifying the interpersonal relations between fictional interlocutors), adjusted culture-specific items more deftly, did justice to humorous points by allowing implicatures to reach the audience, had the potential to exploit accents and language variation (unless no equivalent phenomenon was available in the target viewing context) and used orality features to reshape the interpersonal dimension between fictional addressees. The chapter shows that shifts in the verbal message do not only affect the representation of the interpersonal relation between fictional addressees but also the interpersonal relationship between filmmakers and audience. This is another level abundantly manifesting the workings of im/politeness.

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6.1 Pragmatics, Translation and Reception Studies

Scholars have focused on the pragmatics of fiction (McIntyre 1975; Culpeper 1996, 1998, 2011; Mullany 2008; Jucker 2016; Locher 2013; Jucker and Locher 2017; Messerli 2017) in relation to im/politeness and relational work (Spencer-Oatey and Wenying 2003; Watts 2003; Spencer-Oatey 2007, 2013; Grainger and Mills 2016; Spencer-Oatey and Žegarac 2017; McIntyre and Bousfield 2017) between fictional addressees, and between author and audience. Kizelbach (2017: 446) summarizes research perspectives on im/politeness and fiction as follows:

> (Im)politeness in the novel and in drama works not only as a method for characterising the broadly understood presented world with its plot and characters (Bousfield 2007; Culpeper 1996, 2001; Kizelbach 2014; Rudanko 2006, 2007), but it can shed new light on the communication between the author and the reader (Jucker 2016; McIntyre and Bousfield 2017).

Current research has acknowledged the usefulness of interconnecting fiction, im/politeness and screen translation (Guillot 2010, 2017; Gambier 2018; Valdeón 2018) researchwise. Dynel (2017: 476) points to trends in im/politeness research and considers the contribution of translation to them.

> Film talk may serve as a basis for inter-cultural and cross-cultural pragmatic studies, a strand of research which has already been followed in research on reality television (Culpeper and Holmes 2013; Lorenzo-Dus, Bou-Franch and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013). Comparisons may be made concerning the chosen manifestations/forms of (im)politeness in films from different countries, whether or not English-speaking. Similar studies can be conducted with respect to film translation.

In the meantime, in translation studies (Baker 1992; Baker and Saldanha 2009), audiovisual translation has been gaining momentum over the past twenty years and so has scholars' interest in theoretical aspects of it (Díaz Cintas, Jorge and Pablo Muñoz Sánchez 2006; Diaz Cintas et al. 2010; Taylor 2016). The message is highly contextualized in AVT, accompanied by paralinguistic information and the semiotic redundancy of film. The focus of interest in this chapter is the verbal message in the context of the whole of multimodal communication complex. A full-fledged multimodal approach to audiovisual translation would require consideration of aspects of multimodality and film semiotics, in addition to focusing on the verbal message. It all seems to have started with Hatim and Mason's (1997) study of interpersonal meaning retrieval between characters in screen translation contexts (with subtitles), which were argued to offer a rather poor representation of characters' face wants, in contrast to dubbing which allowed more naturalness.

Attention has lately been focused on audiences' filmic experience, drawing a parallel with the discursive paradigm in im/politeness research, which also focuses on the hearers' view (rather than the scholars') as to whether an utterance is im/polite. Reception scholars in the area of AVT, similarly, have focused on how audiences perceive the AV product:

> if we want to understand the reception of audiovisual translations, it is crucial to explore the reception experiences of these individuals in real situations in which translated materials are being consumed (Tuominen 2018: 84).

Scholars have been concerned with exploring the dynamic nature of audiovisual projects, namely whether the verbal or non-verbal message may improve or impede audience engagement during the filmic experience. Translation of an audiovisual product is important in this context, in that it affects the interpretation of the story in the multimodal setting and the inference mechanisms which give way to enjoyment and pleasure in viewing. Pérez González (2007, 2012) has looked into the features audiovisual film dialogues may display vis-à-vis naturally occurring interactions and questioned that audiovisual translation has taken the corpus linguistic perspective on board. These features may involve the frequency of occurrence of linguistic phenomena in the two types of corpora, how features of orality may be represented in filmic dialogue, etc. More research has looked into comparable studies in the reception of audiovisual products, namely, of the original and translated versions (subtitled or dubbed) of an audiovisual product, how audiences may react to the pragmatics of multimodal texts, to what extent translation may resemble screenwriting and what assumptions screen writers make about audience expectations (Gambier 2018). Research methods in context-oriented reception studies primarily make use of questionnaires and interviews, measuring audiences' understanding and offering a quantitative account of audiences' appreciation of the AV product (film, video clip, trailer etc.) on a scale. As viewing a film can also be an emotional and affective experience, audiovisual scholars have occasionally focused on such aspects of experiences. For instance, researchers have asked respondents to measure their satisfaction with the AV product on a scale of 10 or 7 points.

Gambier (2018) suggests that other sources of data involving reception of AVT products might be fan literature and movie magazines; they may take both a top-down approach to the institutional translation strategies favoured and a bottom-up one, by exploring the viewing experience and memory of audience members. Table 6.1 suggests an outline of the various interacting codes which Gambier (2018: 50) assumes are involved in AV meaning-making.

Table 6.1 Interacting codes in AV meaning-making (Gambier 2018: 50 adapted)

	Audio channel	Visual channel
VERBAL ELEMENTS	*linguistic code* *paralinguistic code* *literary and theatre codes*	*graphic code*
NON-VERBAL ELEMENTS	*sound arrangement code* *musical code* *paralinguistic code*	*iconographic code* *photographic code* *scenographic code* *film code, kinesic code* *proxemic code, dress code*

As "[t]ranslation alone does not produce the reception experience" (Tuominen 2018: 69), reception scholars deal with the verbal message, in the context of the *whole* reception experience, whether focusing on the viewer, the translator or the output. In discussing subtitling and dubbing in telecinematic discourse, Guillot (2017) highlights pragmatic issues which arise in the transfer of AV fictional texts:

> Research in the pragmatics of telecinematic discourse requires a multimodal multi-semiotic approach which pays heed to co-occurring modes of expression that trigger pragmatic inference. One component in this interaction is verbal language, with its own pragmatic specificities and narratively-driven representations of naturally occurring speech in dialogues. With foreign films subtitled or dubbed into other languages, there is an added level of complexity that makes interplays of meaning-making resources and their collective pragmatic import even more intricate (2017: 397).

The pragmatic issue the chapter tackles is im/politeness in English film/animation trailers and their subtitled/dubbed versions for the Greek audience. It scrutinizes the pragmatic specificities of the verbal message in the trailers to explore the intricacies of meaning-making. The next section deals with AVT 'modalities' and introduces their potential.

6.2 Subtitling, Dubbing, Voice Over

Subtitling is a highly restricted type of audiovisual translation in that there are spatial and temporal constraints imposed on the verbal message. Subtitles drastically condense verbal messages to the extent that important aspects of im/polite behaviour and other pragmatic issues may be suppressed. However, Foerster (2010) reports that there have been attempts in subtitling which divert from the conventional pattern, to introduce more creative elements. She argues that "[t]here have always been films which have defied the dogma of invisibility in subtitling and have used the added dimension that subtitling provides in an unconventional manner, becoming a diegetic element of the plot" (2010: 84). Foerster calls this unconventional type of subtitling an 'aesthetic' one. It is an attempt at exploring the semiotic potential of subtitling, when, for instance, subtitles appear in red to subtitle the voice of a vampire talking to a boy swimming in a pool. Subtitles do not necessarily appear at the bottom, but everywhere on the screen, and the red colour of the subtitles, in the particular subtitling technique, is connected to the bleeding nose of the boy and the redness of the water around him. With the advent of digital TV, the potential for creativity in subtitling has multiplied.

Creative subtitling options may be relevant to subtitling the im/politeness gloss of film exchanges affecting ways in which the connectedness/separateness potential may be signified on screen.

Dubbing creates a different creative potential. Ranzato (2010) has highlighted the potential of dubbing to allow "the exoticism of another language and culture to surface in a translated text" (2010: 112). The author provides an example of Almodóvar's film *La mala educación*, where the "adapters into Italian have chosen to let one

of the main characters keep his Spanish accent" (2010: 111). This was on Almodóvar's suggestion, who was acting as dubbing director. Such creative interventions in dubbing are relevant to the im/politeness context, in that they may affect the representation of 'othering' and the *us* versus *them* distinction. Translating dialects in film with a political or social orientation may also affect representations relevant to face enactment and identity construction.

Chmiel (2010) explores postmodern networks of cultural associations in the Polish dubbed version of *Shrek* (2001) which appealed to Polish viewers because of the "jocular allusions to Polish reality and culture" (2010: 123), in a context which previously favoured voice over in audiovisual practice. Evidently, domesticating cultural allusions does make a difference in building up the interpersonal distance of audience to the film (extradiegetic level) and the interpersonal distance between interlocutors on screen (intradiegetic level).

A question arises as to which one of the AVT modalities (subtitling/dubbing, into Greek) are more easily received and favouring receivers' engagement with the plot. The following example is an instance of variation, between subtitling and dubbing, in the rendition of a cultural element which affects the representation of the interpersonal relationship between fictional addressees. It is a joking incident from Bill Condon's film *Beauty and the Beast* (2017), which needs a creative solution. It is the scene when the Beast takes Belle to the library room of the castle. Example 1 presents the source, subtitled and dubbed messages, which are backtranslated. The dubbing option *Some of them are in Chinese* carries the implication, in the Greek target environment, that some of the books are way too difficult for the Beast to read, because conventionally, in Greek, Chinese is assumed to be *the* unintelligible language.

ST1	Subtitling	Dubbing
BEAUTY: Have you really read everyone of these books? BEAST: No, some of them are in Greek…	ΠΕΝΤΑΜΟΡΦΗ: Ειλικρινά, τα έχεις διαβάσει όλα αυτά; ΤΕΡΑΣ: Όχι. Κάποια είναι στα ελληνικά. *BT. No. Some of them are in Greek.*	ΠΕΝΤΑΜΟΡΦΗ: Τάχεις διαβάσει όλα αυτά τα βιβλία; ΤΕΡΑΣ: Όχι. Κάποια είναι στα κινέζικα. *BT. No. Some of them are in Chinese.*
Beauty and the Beast – US Official Final Trailer	*Η Πεντάμορφη και το Τέρας* (Beauty and the Beast)—New trailer (Greek subs)	*Η Πεντάμορφη και το Τέρας* (Beauty and the Beast)—New trailer (Μεταγλ.)

The option *Some of them are in Greek* in the subtitles does not make it straightforward for the viewers to conclude that the Beast could not have possibly read all of those books, because he would not understand the language, in the first place. However, this solution does not very much tally with Belle's amused non-verbal reaction, which is communicated to the audience through a facial expression. By contrast, the dubbed option *It's all Chinese to me* does carry (in the Greek context) the speaker's

overwhelming (humorous) reassurance that it is way beyond his/her potential to have read all these books, which tallies with Belle's amused facial expression.

The assumption is that the shared knowledge AVT activates in readers is a criterion for good subtitles. Chmiel (2010) suggests that some of the Polish translators' decision-making, in film adaptations, generate even richer and funnier allusions than those of the original script, creating different networks of postmodern associations and shared knowledge.

Pavesi et al (2014: 8), who have taken the audiovisual corpus methodology on board with the *Pavia corpus of film dialogue*, suggest that "[a]mong the various translation modalities, dubbing is the one that most closely reproduces the goals and nature of the original dialogue". In support of this argument, one may observe, in the example below, how certain aspects of communication may survive in the dubbed version, rather than in the subtitled one, which is closer to the English source text (Sidiropoulou 2012). It is from Gary Trousdale and Kirk Wise's animation *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* (1996) when Phoebus is coming back from the war to report for duty and addresses Frolo.

The dubbed message may register hierarchical relations (see e.g. the plural form of address *σας* [your] showing respect and the vocative *sir*). It also enhances interpersonal awareness (*the two of us can be very successful* and the use of *please*, which is another politeness item). The absence of *please* in the Greek dubbed version, does not seem to be a problem at all, alluding to the preference for directness in Greek.

ST	Subtitling	Dubbing
Reporting for duty as ordered, sir.	*Ήρθα ν' αναλάβω υπηρεσία.* *BT. I came to report for duty*	Στις υπηρεσίες σας, κύριε, διατάξτε. *BT. At your service, sir. (Please) order.*
I expect nothing but the best of a war hero of your rank.	Περιμένω το καλύτερο από έναν ήρωα πολέμου σαν εσένα *BT. I expect the best from a hero like you*	Αν εκτελείς τις διαταγές μου θα πετύχουμε πολλά εμείς οι δύο. *BT. If you obey my orders, the two of us will be very successful*
The Hunchback of Notre Dame 1996 Walt Disney Pictures	*Η Παναγία των Παρισίων* Audio Visual Enterprises	*Η Παναγία των Παρισίων* Audio Visual Enterprises

As mentioned, audiovisual scholars have often made use of audiovisual corpora in linguistically-oriented studies of the dubbed message. Cinematic discourse is not quite as spontaneous speech. Formentelli and Monti (2014) explore the strategies of dubbing into Italian, in a corpus-based study of British and American films and suggest that the language of dubbing employs three strategies: equivalence (46%, omission (39%) and downgrading (15%). Dubbing may be closer to naturally occurring discourse, than subtitles are, but it does not display identical features. Ghia (2014) suggests that there are relatively more questions, which have a narrative role in dubbing, more vocatives (*darling, Mr. President*), lower frequency of vague

markers and general extenders, which are strategically used to simulate spontaneous speech. Pavesi (2014a: 42) also observed that while "insults can be important features of alignment and male camaraderie in friendly banter in films and real life alike, in fictive orality they mostly express verbal abuse".

Greece is a subtitling country; dubbing is not a frequent type of film translation. The only genre available in subtitled *and* dubbed versions of the same AV product is children's films. The chapter investigates a mini corpus of dubbed and subtitled versions of film trailers for children, to explore the reception of AVT products into Greek. The intention is to tease out strategies of im/politeness in AVT within the target speech community, namely children and parents.

Among the types of telecinematic discourse, scholars (Dynel 2017) have often explored not only fictional telecinematic discourse but also non-fiction genres like "televised quiz shows and news broadcasts, or documentaries screened in cinemas, all of which may be scripted (at least partly), but are not inherently fictional" (2017: 459).

AV advertisements may also need creative audiovisual decision-making in translation. I have always wondered how a TV advertisement of a Greek beer brand could be rendered in English, in case the company wanted to use the advertisement to promote the product abroad. The challenging point arises from an implicature following from a source Greek item, which the English version would not reproduce. The screen shows the back of two men sitting at the opposite sides of a table at a seaside coffee shop with a bottle of the advertised beer brand on the table. Speaker A asks *Για πες μου, νιώθεις Ευρωπαίος*; (Tell me, do you feel European?), Speaker B provides an emphatic positive answer *Ντιπ για ντιπ!* (Absolutely!) which is a low tenor Turkish loan item in Greek. Loan items survive in languages along with the standard terms, for the additional meaning layers they carry. Then the clip goes on to advertise the product. I have always wondered how a translator could render the exchange in English, without cancelling the negative implications following from the emphatic positive answer *Ντιπ για ντιπ!* (Absolutely!). The difficulty lies in that the emphatic 'yes' reply of Speaker B may be cancelled by the Turkish loan expression he uses to mean 'absolutely', which assumes influence of the East on the cultural context, rather than the West (while the European character entails affinities to the West). This is a discrepancy which creates humour and AV translators may need all their creative powers to preserve the assumed contradiction and allow the humorous implication to survive in a translated version.

Part of the difficulty in AVT artefacts lies in the two layers of communication in AV translation practice, namely, what Guillot (2017) calls a tension between horizontal meaning-making (the dynamics of communication between fictional addressees) and vertical meaning-making (the dynamics of communication between film-makers and audience, which Chmiel (2010) has called intra-diegetic and extra-diegetic levels of communication, respectively. This indeed is a crucial aspect of the workings of im/politeness in film.

Another difficulty in the calculation of implicatures arises from the fact that they are not conveyed by the film dialogue alone but rather with the contribution of the non-verbal code as the instance with the Beauty and the Beast showed. Desilla (2012) has combined pragmatics and film translation to examine the cinematic signifiers that co-convey humour, intimacy between the protagonists and the plot per se. Desilla

has drawn on films to explore how British and Greek audiences understand implicatures intended by filmmakers, through viewing the original version (for the British audience) or the subtitled version (for Greek audiences) of the same telecinematic discourse.

6.3 Im/Politeness and Audiovisual Translation

As suggested, the study has assumed a double level of communication im/politeness is operating at, the intradiegetic (between fictional interlocutors and the extradiegetic (between translator and target audience). Minimizing distance at the extradiegetic level may be assumed to be a polite behaviour towards an audience. The opposite, which may carry an odd effect, is taken as impolite behaviour towards an audience.

The focus on reception studies in the context of translation research came in as a theoretical paradigm and methodological strand from various disciplines such as cultural studies, cognitive psychology, media studies etc. (Gambier 2018). The strands of research seem to evolve around three sub-areas of reception studies (how products are consumed, appreciated, interpreted or remembered by audiences). Gambier (2018) suggests that the sub-areas are

(a) 'response' (a psychologically oriented concern, e.g. how attention is distributed between images and subtitles),
(b) 'reaction' (a psycho-cognitive concern, e.g. what shared knowledge should be assumed for the audiences to successfully receive the product) and
(c) 'repercussion' (what attitudinal issue the translated AV product may entrench in audiences, e.g. values and ideologies). What follows will take into consideration aspects from all three sub-areas of reception.

On a par, Culpeper and Fernandez-Quintanilla (2017) point to methodologies studying recipients' experiences of characters, as follows: first researchers may focus on the linguistic message and then proceed with collecting extra-textual data from receivers.

> (1) we can start from the linguistic analysis of the textual data and from hypotheses about possible reader reactions, (2) we can empirically examine actual readers' experiences of characters by collecting and analysing extra-textual data, and (3) we can combine both types of analysis to test previous hypotheses from the linguistic analysis against recepients' actual responses (2017: 116).

The section intends to explore the reception experience of nine Greek bilingual viewers who were asked to report on how they receive the phenomenon of im/politeness (as auditors, rather than addressees, in the viewing situation) through viewing two trailer-pairs of children's films, subtitled and dubbed, and nineteen dubbed animations versus the original trailers in English. As mentioned, the reason why the study selected children's films is that Greece is a subtitling country, and the only AV genres which appear in both subtitled and dubbed form, are children's films. Besides, children's films address a community of practice comprising both children and parents and conforms to specific criteria.

Guillot (2010) suggests that subtitles are affected by features of the source and target languages, for instance, greater or lesser directness, the (non-)use of mitigating features in face threatening acts, the choice of modals or of modes of address, sequential aspects, the use of which differs compared to dubbing. The subtitled and dubbed data in this study also seem to show variation in directness, non-/use of mitigating features in face threatening acts, modality and interpersonal address forms.

Nine bilingual respondents, between twenty and twenty five years of age, were asked to use their linguistic insight into Greek, in order to answer questions intended to explore how the phenomenon of im/politeness is received by an adult target Greek audience (e.g. parents), in subtitling and dubbing. The questionnaire had two parts, 'A' contrasting subtitled to dubbed film trailers into Greek and 'B' contrasting source animation trailers to their dubbed versions into Greek. The intension in Part B was to further investigate the viewers' assessment of the quality of dubbing in the rendition of im/politeness and potentially of other pragmatic elements.

The set of trailer-pairs appears in Appendix 6.1, with a short introduction to the plot of the film. The questionnaire asked questions relevant to the reception of the AVT products and if they had a better option to suggest—this was an indirect evaluation.

NKUA 2-19-2019_QUESTIONNAIRE AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION_Im/politeness in film trailers

PART A

Please view the following film trailers in their dubbed and subtitled version and answer the questions

Trailer-pair 1

ΣΤΑΧΤΟΠΟΥΤΑ (CINDERELLA)—TRAILER (GREEK SUBS) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e_bGANeTTPQ
ΣΤΑΧΤΟΠΟΥΤΑ (CINDERELLA)—TRAILER (ΜΕΤΑΓΛ.) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FLdM8ry4yiw

1. Which of the two versions of the *Cinderella* trailer engages you in the viewing as more appropriately portraying im/polite relationships between the characters? For instance,	Please	circle
- the kind relationship of the mother to the little girl, at the opening of the *Cinderella* trailer,	sub	dub
- the unfulfilling relationship with the step mother and the sisters,	dub	sub
- the kind approach of the god fairy disguised as an old lady,	sub	dub
- the determination of the prince to protect Cinderella from her fast horseback riding. Please explain.	dub	sub

Please explain why. ……

Trailer-pair 2

Η ΠΕΝΤΑΜΟΡΦΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΕΡΑΣ (BEAUTY AND THE BEAST)—NEW TRAILER (ΜΕΤΑΓΛ.) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l9PuPHDNX80
Η ΠΕΝΤΑΜΟΡΦΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΕΡΑΣ (BEAUTY AND THE BEAST)—NEW TRAILER (GREEK SUBS) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nvylf0A64yk

2. Which of the two trailer versions of *Beauty and the Beast* more appropriately portrays closeness or separateness relationships between the characters? For instance	Please	Circle
- Beth's close relationship with her father	sub	dub
- Where is the beast's aggression scarier?	dub	sub
-Which version portrays a closer relationship with the object-creatures living in the castle?	sub	dub
- Can you spot anything you could have done better? Please explain	dub	sub

Please explain why. ……

PART B

Please, view the two trailer-pairs you have been assigned to spot differences (for the better or worse) between the English and the Greek dubbed trailer, especially with regards to im/politeness. What features do you see which you consider a successful rendition of im/politeness? What could you have done better?

Please answer the questions and explain why.

……

6.3.1 Subtitling Versus Dubbing

The nine respondents overwhelmingly favoured the dubbing option (over the subtitles) as more appropriately displaying im/politeness relationships between the fictional characters and more actively engaging the audience in the viewing situation. This is probably because the subtitles have encompassed the additional shift of transforming the oral code to the written.

Table 6.2 summarizes the results of Part A of the questionnaire. Results show how many respondents prioritized the subtitled versus the dubbed option for each one of the questions. The table shows that there is an overwhelming preference for

Table 6.2 Reception of im/politeness patterns in subtitled or dubbed versions of children's film trailers: assessment of appropriateness

	Sub	Dub
- The kind relationship of the lady to the little girl, at the opening of the trailer,	1	8
- The unfulfilling relationship with the stepmother and the sisters,	2	7
- The kind approach of the god fairy disguised as an old lady,	1	8
- The determination of the prince to protect Cinderella from her fast horseback riding.	1	8
- Beth's close relationship with her father	0	9
- Where is the beast's aggression is more scary?	0	9
- Which version portrays a closer relationship with the object-creatures living in the castle?	0	9
- Can you spot anything you could have done better? Please explain	3	6
Total	6	64

the dubbed version as more appropriately representing interpersonal relationships between characters.

Table 6.2 shows that there is an overwhelming preference for the dubbed version as more appropriately representing interpersonal relationships between characters. The question arises as to how respondents justified their view. They made the following meta-pragmatic comments, which stemmed from intuitive assessment and close observation of the subtitled and dubbed trailers.

6.3.1.1 Cinderella

A respondent suggested that the lady at the beginning of the trailer (Cinderella's mother), in the dubbed version, advises the little girl in a confident and reassuring manner, which implies a more direct relationship with the girl. The mother claims that her advice will help the little girl with any difficulty life may bring her. The dubbed version, another respondent suggested, portrays their interpersonal proximity more clearly: *θα σε βοηθήσει σε οποιαδήποτε δυσκολία σου φέρει η ζωή* (it will help you with whatever difficulty life may bring *you*). The subtitle reads *θα σε βοηθήσει σε όλες τις δοκιμασίες που μπορεί να προσφέρει η ζωή Ø* (it will help you with all the trials life may bring Ø). *Whatever* (*οποιαδήποτε*) versus *all* (*όλες*) carries higher certainty on the part of Cinderella's mother, which is a positive politeness feature. It is as if the subtitled and dubbed versions diverge in the use of some politeness features. Besides, *δοκιμασίες* (trials), in the subtitles, implies suffering and assumes a more pessimistic view of life which is rather incompatible with the mother's affectionate smile and it is too threatening for the young age of the addressees. Another respondent suggested that the mother-daughter relationship in the dubbed version indicates closeness and tenderness as the mother uses more intimate terms and simple words. This is also evident in the sweet and reassuring voice of the mother, which also creates connotations of interpersonal proximity.

As Cinderella's father prepares to go away, he tells his daughter that he leaves her in good hands, with her stepmother and her lovely sisters. The dubbed version renders *stepmother* as θετή μητέρα which is a neutral legal term, so that nothing in the father's discourse anticipates the unfulfilling relationship with the stepmother. Holding implications back, on the part of the dubber, makes narration more interesting in that the developments come as a surprise. By contrast, the subtitled version uses the lower tenor item μητριά which carries negative connotations of distancing and conflict between them. In addition, the diminutive for *sisters*, αδελφούλες, in the dubbed version, in the father's discourse, assumes a closer relationship between daughter and father. The unfulfilling relationship between the stepmother and Cinderella also manifests itself in that the stepmother assumes that the housework is Cinderella's responsibility: όταν θα έχεις τελειώσει τις δουλειές **σου** (when you will have finished *your* work), despite the fact that the housework is actually done for the whole family. When Cinderella calls her *stepmother*, she suggests that Cinderella may call her *Madam*: the subtitled version opts for **ένα 'κυρία' είναι** αρκετό ('Madam' will do). By contrast, the dubbed option Κυρία να **με** λες (Call *me* Madam) heightens awareness of the interpersonal dimension between them and makes the stepmother sound more authoritative. Further down, the stepmother does not want to take Cinderella to the ball: the dubbed version opts for θα ήταν προσβολή να **σε** πάρω στο χορό (it would be offensive for *me* to take *you* to the ball) which, once again, portrays a more authoritative stepmother figure and enforces the interpersonal dimension in terms of the *me* and *you* pronouns. The authoritative stance is manifested through the first-person *singular* verbal suffix, versus the first-person *plural* suffix in the subtitle, ντροπή να σε πάρο**υμε** στο χορό (it is a shame for *us* to take you to the ball), which rather hides the authoritative gloss. Evidently, the respondents thought that making intentions and implications clearer was preferable.

When Cinderella sees the old lady and realizes that she is her *fairy god mother*, she identifies her as η νεραϊδονονά μου (the subtitles translate *fairy god mother* literally) which is less conventional than the dubbed option η **καλή** μου νεράιδα (my good fairy), which shows more intimacy and affection towards the fairy god mother.

In the same vein, when Cinderella meets the Prince in the woods and he tries to slow her down from riding her horse too fast, he apologizes for taking the liberty to interfere, Cinderella says *It's not your doing* and he replies *Nor yours either*. The dubbed version is more natural, respondents claimed, in terms of the level of certainty/doubt assumed in the exchange. Dubbing opts for Δε φταίτε εσείς (It's not your fault [plural 2nd peson verb suffix and pronoun]), with the Prince replying Ούτε εσείς, **είμαι σίγουρος** (Nor yours either, *I am sure*). The respondents felt that the certainty ensuing from the Prince's words, in the dubbed version, is preferable over the hedge *I suppose* which he uses in the subtitles: Ούτε εσείς [φταίτε] **να υποθέσω** (Nor yours [fault] either, *I suppose*). Respondents overwhelmingly agreed that the interpersonal relationship is more appropriately shaped in the dubbed version of the utterance through the liberties the dubber takes.

6.3.1.2 Beauty and the Beast

As Table 6.2 shows, in the *Beauty and the Beast* trailer, respondents also favoured the dubbed version as more operative in shaping affection between Belle and her father (see honorifics like *[α]γαπημένη μου Μπεθ* [dubbed] versus καλή μου *Μπεθ* [subtitled]). The dubbing option *[ε]ίσαι* ***τόσο*** *μπροστά από την επoχή σου* [you are *so* ahead of your time] makes the father's praise more earnestly felt versus *είσαι μπροστά* (you are ahead) in the subtitles. The dubbed version uses additional honorifics of affection, *καλή μου* (my dear) that did not appear in the original version or in the subtitles, alluding to Ghia's view that vocatives are more frequent in dubbing than in natural discourse. When Belle reaches the castle and says *[ή]ρθα για* ***να πάρω*** *τον πατέρα μου* (I came *to take* by father), she sounds more determined to fight for him, rather than in the subtitles when she says *ήρθα για τον πατέρα μου* (I came for my father). Also, her promise to him, ***[σ]****το υπόσχομαι* (I promise *you*), in the dubbed version versus *[τ]ο υπόσχομαι* (I promise) in the subtitles, also shapes a closer interpersonal relationship with the father.

Some of the human-like objects of the castle have a French accent in the dubbed version, which influences the characterization of the figures and the distance of the audience to them. In fiction, Planchenault (2017) suggests, "dialect variation is a favoured practice in the depiction of the Other" (2017: 288) and this seems to be the case with scripted fictional dialogues, as in dubbing.

The reason why a few respondents preferred the subtitled version was because they spotted some features which affected their decision making, for instance, the fact that Cinderella addresses her god fairy by using plural verb suffixes in Greek showing respect (who are *you*? she uses the *vous* option, in the subtitles, of the *tu*/*vous* binary), which they preferred over the *tu* option.

Other respondents suggested that the beast's aggression is scarier, more hostile and threatening in the dubbed version which more elaborately portrays the beast's anger (for instance, by using additional colloquial expressions for *Go!* like *Δρόμο!*).

The creatures living in the castle sound friendlier in the dubbed version when compared to the subtitled ones. They seem to like the girl and wish to make her feel comfortable (by using honorifics or diminutives: *γλυκιά μου, να σου κάνω ένα κολπάκι*). For example, when the Teapot meets Belle, it uses honorifics like *πόσο χαίρομαι που σε γνωρίζω,* γλυκιά μου (how nice to meet you, *my dear*) in dubbing versus *πόσο χαίρομαι για τη γνωριμία* (I am so glad for the acquaintance) in subtitling, which also has a distancing effect between them.

Respondents' meta-pragmatic comments overwhelmingly prioritized the dubbed version of both film trailers, for the preferred interpersonal distance it was shaping between fictional addressees and the higher certainty.

The question then arises as to what other features a dubbed version may employ in shaping more aspects of interaction and how this affects the extra-diegetic level, namely, the relationship between filmmakers and audience. To this end, each respondent was assigned a couple of source English and dubbed Greek trailer pairs of animation films and were asked to trace shifts between the dubbed Greek version and the source English trailer. They also had to evaluate rendition and say what they

could have done better. In examining devices allowing audience engagement with the translation of telecinematic discourse, Guillot (2017) points to culture-specific items, humour, language variation and orality. All of these issues came up in the respondents' meta-pragmatic comments.

6.3.2 Original Versus Dubbed Messages

In Part B of the questionnaire, respondents examined the source versus the dubbed versions of pairs of computer-animated musical comedy trailers, to identify more features which shaped the relationship between fictional addressees more appropriately. The questionnaire also asked if there was something they would have done better in the dubbed version. Some of their comments appear below.

6.3.2.1 Smallfoot (2018)

Respondents suggested that the Greek dubbed version uses low tenor items which minimize distance with the Greek audience (κόψε τις σαχλαμάρες [stop this nonsense], την έκανε [s/he left/escaped], άλλο και τούτο [I'm surprised/I couldn't have expected this]). A change the respondent would prioritize is to spend more effort on or compensate for humorous effects at points, so that they make more sense in Greek: for instance, the pun *this fall*—at a point where Bigfoot is falling. All in all, the respondents assumed that most of the dubbing strategies were quite successful and that the only changes they would make is to adjust puns and jokes.

6.3.2.2 Leo Da Vinci: Mission Mona Lisa (2018)

The respondent suggested that the Greek dubbed version attempted to highlight implications, at certain points, which make the connectedness between the main characters more prominent, especially Leo and Mona Liza. For instance, ST item *[b]ut when disaster strikes* translates into a rhyming couplet

[μ]α μια καταστροφή,
θα τους φέρει σε μοίρα <u>κοινή</u>
(but a disaster will bring them a <u>common</u> fate).

Making the collective implication explicit through the verbal message (*common* fate) is a politeness device which the respondents appreciated. Another instance where the dubbed version highlights connectedness and togetherness is when Leo says to Mona *[f]inding that treasure would help **you*** which translates into *[π]ρέπει να βρούμε τον θησαυρό* (*we* must find the treasure), implying group work. The

respondent also liked the low tenor items, which the dubber used to represent the discourse of the captain pirate of the ship, in an effort to enhance his aggressiveness. This appears in an instance when the English item *Now, go capture Leo* translates into *Πηγαίνετε μαζέψτε τον, μαζέψτε τον* (a low tenor item for *arrest*, way more diminishing towards Leo and more authoritative on the part of the captain).

6.3.2.3 Charming (2018)

There are some shifts which modify the polite behaviour of characters. For example, in the opening scene the three princesses walk into a store in a very confident manner, saying *[h]ello… [i]s anyone here?* which sounds slightly impolite and impatient. By contrast, *γειά σας* (hello to *you* [plural/polite]) makes the princesses sound more polite and more of a victim of the prince's vanity. When the Prince addresses the lady who is going to help him, he says *kiss me now to save my soul*, the Greek version presents the Prince to be aware of their shared potential: *Φίλα με για να σωθούμε* (Kiss me for *us* to save *ourselves*) which sounds much less selfish and again projects the image of someone who cares about others, rather than himself alone. The same effect is created when the lady asks the Prince *what is your plan?* translated as *Ποιό είναι το σχέδιο;* (what is *the* plan?). The shift implies that she is more willing to participate, thus heightening the collective implication.

The collective perception of a communicative situation as manifested in the dubbed version of the film trailers *Leo Da Vinci: Mission Mona Lisa*, *Charming* and *The boss baby* (below) is a politeness feature which may be quantitatively examined through AVT corpora and in relation to naturally occurring discourse. Pavesi (2014) has used a mini corpus of Italian dubbing corpora of film dialogue to examine another feature which is associated with politeness, namely, the use of demonstratives as 'a joint focus of attention' across languages. She found that the demonstratives used in the Italian dubbed corpus were relatively less than those used in the English version of the dialogue, but closer to the language of non-translated Italian film discourse.

> Demonstratives play a central role in spoken language, and in the present study, they have been interpreted as the major, prototypical means that verbally convey a joint focus of attention in both English and Italian. The two languages, however, meaningfully differ in the syntactic and pragmatic uses of these deictic structures. The results of the target-oriented and source-oriented explorations of a small parallel corpus of original and dubbed film dialogues, the *Pavia corpus of film dialogue*, have converged in identifying relatively few demonstratives in Italian dubbed from English. The more limited occurrence of these features in dubbed Italian distances it from available corpus data of spoken language, although placing it closer to the language of non-translated Italian films (Pavesi 2014b: 127).

Such findings may suggest that the preference for the collective perception of the communicative situation, in the dubbed versions of the trailers, which differ from the English version of the script, may draw on the positive politeness orientation of Greek in this film genre, although frequency of occurrence may differ from original Greek production.

6.3.2.4 Tall Tales (2018)

The two trailers are quite different, in that, at points, they present a different sequence of scenes. The trailer starts with the cricket gathering the creatures of the garden and the dubber's interference is rather generous: the ST item *Ladies and gentlemen* becomes TT *Γλυκά πλάσματα του κήπου* (sweet creatures of the garden), foregrounding an evaluative suggestion that the garden community should be seen positively. Further down, the dubbed trailer helps the audience with interpreting the film message by highlighting its potential ideological significance, which is missing from the source version. In-between the scenes there appears a question (written and audio) like the following: *Θα μπορέσει έναςξένος να τους βοηθήσει να βρουν τη δύναμη που κρύβουν μέσα τους;* (Will a stranger be able to help them trace the power they have inside them?). Nowhere in the dubbed version is there a hint about the positive role an 'other' may play in a local community, thus shaping the representation of the 'other'.

If the subtitles are claimed to bring the viewers to the text and translated performance to bring the text to the audience, dubbing seems to be pairing with the theatre, in that it brings the text closer to the audience. These shifts modify the distance of the audience to the AV product (at the extra-diegetic level) and help with meaning-making on the 'vertical communication plane' (Guillot 2017) between filmmakers and audience. They also allude to Guillot's concern about the need for researchers to understand the differences in the presentation practice of AV products in their respective environments:

> There has been a growing interest in dealing with AVT from the cross-cultural pragmatics perspective that is called for to develop an understanding of the relationship between source and target in the AVT representation of communicative practices within the multimodal film context. The picture is still far from clear. Film dialogues arguably provide us with insights in the way communities of language users perceive their own communicative practices. *What story do they give when mediated through AVT*? (emphasis added, 2017: 409)

The Greek dubber seems to be concerned with combating xenophobia in young audiences. This points to Gambier's second sub-area of reception studies, namely, the psycho-cognitive perspective, e.g. what shared knowledge should be assumed for the audiences to receive the AVT product.

6.3.2.5 The Boss Baby (2017)

The dubbed film trailer also highlighted the collective perspective of the communicative situation. A respondent suggested that in the source English trailer, some messages are rather vague, for instance the baby, who complains that puppies receive more love than babies, says several times *there is not that much love anymore*, which the dubbed version translates into *δεν μας αγαπάνε πια* (they do not love *us* any more), heightening awareness of a collective social perspective. The same goes for items like *έχουμε πόλεμο* (*we* are in war) translating the English ST item *this is war*. Similarly, ST item *that's the problem* turns into TT *αυτό το πρόβλημα*

έχουμε (this is the problem *we* have) which also favours solidarity and connectedness. The only alteration the respondents would make in the dubbed version is how cultural references may be transferred: when the baby fancies some sushi and tuna rolls, the respondent suggested another expensive dish (salmon fillets).

6.3.2.6 Despicable Me 3 (2017)

The respondent suggested that the dubbed version uses lower tenor items for characters which are meant to be presented humorously: e.g. the mitigator 'καλέ' as in *Καλέ, δείτε τον* (just look at him). The respondents also pointed to an element in the dubbed version which does not appear in the original, namely, Dru's American accent in Greek. This facilitates generation of non-integration implicatures and portrayal of a humorous identity: the assumption seems to be that where abundance prevails (e.g. US), people may sound out of place, to others in less wealthy contexts, like that of Dru's twin brother Gru.

Culpeper and Fernandez-Quintanilla (2017: 99) suggest that these are social schemata which "explain the basis of knowledge-based inferences about characters, inferences which can fill out an impression of character and be manipulated for particular effects". As suggested above, in discussing Aldomóvar's dubbing direction of his last film *La mala educación*, where a Spanish accent was used to dub the voice of a character, such creative dubbing solutions are relevant to im/politeness in that they affect the interpretation of 'othering' and the representation of the 'us' versus 'them' distinction. Planchenault (2017) suggests that "most scholars who adopt a sociolinguistic approach in their study of cinematic discourse seem to agree on the far-reaching implications of dialect representations in fiction" (2017: 284).

Locher (2017) explores the potential of multilingualism in fiction to suggest that it is a feature whose pragmatic potential is worth examining for the implications of indexicality it may carry, contextual embeddedness and interpretation. In the context of the trailer, the American accent signals non-belonging and 'othering'. In performance translation, multilingualism may also enforce the pragmatic potential to the target text. Translators may want to add tones of multiculturalism to the performance of a character, which may not appear in the source version. For instance, Pavlos Matessis, translator of some of Pinter's works, made use of French loan expressions in Greek, which he added to the target text, for shaping characters who struggle for power and want to create the impression of a wealthy and cosmopolitan background (Sidiropoulou 2012). Evidently, manipulation of accents in children's films, rather addresses the adult part of the audience.

6.3.2.7 Sheep and Wolves (2016)

The respondents suggested that the Greek dubbed version is very close to the English original and that not many differences are traced. There are a few parts missing from the Greek version. The original trailer foregrounds the names of the actors involved

in the dubbing, while the Greek trailer the plot of the movie, as the actors may not be widely known among members of the target audience. The former relies on the reputation of the actors, the latter on the interesting plot. The Greek trailer keeps the simple and plain language and syntax of the original and uses equally funny and up-to-date phrases familiar to young people *(It rocks → Τα σπάει!)*.

6.3.2.8 Elena of Avalor (2016)

Elena of Avalor, who saved her kingdom and had to learn to rule it, did not display considerable shifts. The respondent suggested that some points are translated word-for-word in the Greek dubbed trailer, which makes them sound a bit unnatural; they may even make the audience wonder what they mean. The respondent suggested options which she thought were more appropriate and said that the Greek lyrics were absolutely amazing and very amusing.

6.3.2.9 The Bells of Notre Dame (1996)

The respondents suggested that, at the beginning of the fragment where the story of Quasimodo is introduced by the jester, the verbal message in English shapes the profile of a creature, rather than a human being, as the case is with the Greek dubbed version. In the English version the questions which the jester asks (*What is he?* and *How did he come to be there?*) rather create an implication of aversion towards Quasimodo and indirectly anticipate some inhuman creature (which is also deeply impolite, considering Quasimodo's weak subject position and social status). Evidently, the purpose of the jester's words is to create suspense and attract the audience's attention to the figure of Quasimodo, which is to appear further down. In the Greek version, questions such as *Πώς είναι;* (What is [he] like?) and *Τι κάνει τάχα εκεί επάνω;* (What might he be doing up there?) allow the audience to imply a more human-like, rather than a creature-like, profile. It is as if the Greek version creates a more polite, positive identity of Quasimodo.

6.3.2.10 Aladdin (1992)

The respondent suggested that Jafar, is more direct in the dubbed trailer, than he is in the original, when telling Aladdin what to do for him to become rich. He almost orders him by saying *Πήγαινε στο Σπήλαιο των Θαυμάτων και φέρε μου το λυχνάρι* (*Go* to the Cave of Wonders and bring me the lamp) versus the original suggestion *There is a Cave of Wonders. Bring me the lamp*, which is less imposing. This makes it seem as if it was Aladdin's choice in the end, whereas in the dubbed version the order strips some of the power from Aladdin, who seems like he has to obey.

6.3.2.11 The Aristocats: Thomas O'Malley (1970)

All nine of the twenty-two-year-old respondents claimed that they are a generation which grew up with the dubbed songs of Thomas O'Malley and that when they viewed the English version, they did not think it was as enjoyable. Respondents reported that the Greek dubber competely changed the lyrics and reshaped the character of *Thomas O'Maley* as *Θέμος* (Themos), a cat of lower class in comparison to *Lady* and the kittens who come from a wealthy family. Thomas O'Malley becomes *[τ]σίφτης γάτος, γάτος μουστακάτος, μάγκας και γυναικάς* (a clever cat, and a womanizer, with a moustache, thus highlighting his macho identity) which conforms to the Greek stereotype of the working-class male in the 1950s and later, a classic persona in black-and-white Greek films of the time. The discourse of the working-class street cat is renegotiated in terms of a highly successful shift of lyrics. Another respondent noticed that the dubbed lyrics refer to cities (Caracas and Bonn rhymed nicely) which do not appear in the original version, to shape a cosmopolitan identity of *Thomas O'Maley*. Respondents suggested that they would not change or add anything to the Greek version because it sounds natural, as if it were written originally in Greek. Activating associations (of a target audience) adjusts the distance of the audience to the final product. The shifts respondents spotted in the dubbed version were of a pragmatic nature, which confirms Culpeper and Fernandez-Quintamilla's claim that "[p]ragmatics lie at the heart of characterization" (2017: 118).

The level of conventionality seems to be higher in the dubbed version and this alludes to Gambier's suggestion that it is important for scholars to explore the shared background knowledge necessary for the audiences to achieve understanding.

The data show that the dubber occasionally takes the role of the literary critic, as in literary pragmatics (for instance in the case when they bring up the issue of the cricket-stranger in *Tall Tales* by asking *Will a stranger be able to help them trace the power they have inside them?*), to heighten the audience's awareness to the social profile of the protagonist who falls in love with the Queen-bee. Literary pragmatics, Messerli (2017: 49) claimed, "more generally base their understanding of fictional participation on a dyadic model of dialogue", whereas in the viewing situation there is a collective sender (in that the film is a product of multiple authors) and an audience, rather than an individual viewer. Findings seem to agree that a "notion of the mediating critic has the semblance of a translator between two interlocutors from different socio-cultural backgrounds (ibid). I would also agree with Messerli's suggestion that "a trend towards a fine-grained look at film and television viewers and by extension at theatre goers and readers" (2017: 50) may be a future research direction.

The assumption in this chapter has been that the various types of interference on the part of the dubbers may be motivated by the audience itself, who may lack a holistic view of the world to interpret the fictional reality of the AV product. It is a case where recipients co-create the narratives through their engagement with the story and its characters (Bednarek 2017).

The results show that rendition of im/politeness may fluctuate in target versions of AV film products, relative to cross-cultural pragmatic tendencies in the use of

im/politeness and in relation to the community of practice the film is addressing. AVT is a highly creative task in that it conforms to im/politeness (and other pragmatic phenomena) across cultural contexts, assumptions the filmmakers make about audience expectations etc. In this sense AVT is like screenwriting, as Gambier suggests. Adjustments in the use of phenomena seem to impact both the intradiegetic level of communication (between fictional addressees) and the extradiegetic level (between filmmaker and audience). AVT products addressing children are a genre of its own, because of the crucial role of the AVT industry assumes of itself in order to compensate for inadequacies of young addressees. It is also an AVT genre which addresses an ambivalent audience comprising both children and parents.

6.4 Conclusion

The chapter examined manifestations of im/politeness in translated fictional cinematic discourse from the point of view of receivers. It elicited lay people's views on how a set of film/animation trailers was received in the target viewing environment. It examined extra-textual data, i.e. receivers' opinions on the impact the subtitled versus the dubbed versions of trailers have had on them as viewers, in a natural viewing situation. The primary intention was for the study to elicit data on the appropriateness of the rendition of im/politeness, which one of the two AV modalities appealed to the receivers, why they appealed to them, etc.

The questionnaire brought up a spectrum of wider-range pragmatic shifts in the context of AVT which also affected the interpersonal distance between the collective sender and the audience, in addition to variation in the representation of interpersonal relations between fictional addressees. In alignment with corpus based AVT studies, the present data set of trailers showed shifts observed in AVT corpora in other languages. It provided signs that dubbing favoured more vocatives, adjusted culture-specific items, humour, language variation and orality. This raises the question of which shifts are motivated by 'universals' of AVT and how many of the shifts are motivated by linguistic variation per se, or by the AVT policy, with respect to the AVT modality to be favoured in a target environment. On the extra-diegetic plane, respondents appreciated the AVT practitioners' positive (Sifianou 1992) politeness intention to function as literary critics who are keen on highlighting their own inference making for the sake of audiences. Figure 6.1 shows how im/politeness is assumed in this chapter to interact with cinematic discourse contexts and translation practice.

AVT is a rich resource which allows pragmatic approaches to im/politeness to thrive (Culpeper and Terkourafi 2017; Culpeper and Hardaker 2017), in a viewing context where viewers may be understood as audirors (Bell 1984). The implicatures (Desilla 2012, 2014) which audiences may calculate in a telecinematic viewing context or a simply multimodal one, whether fictional (Díaz Cintas, Matamala and Neves 2010; Dynel 2012, 2017; Sidiropoulou 2012; Fermenteli and Monti 2014; Ghia 2014; Kizelbach 2014; Sifianou and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2017) or non-fictional

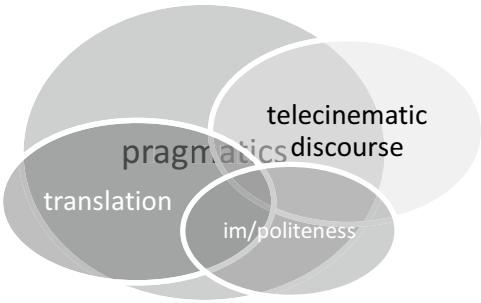


Fig. 6.1 Im/politeness interacting with cinematic discourse and translation

(Sidiropoulou 1998a/b, 2015a; García-Pastor 2008; Mullany 2008; Grainger 2011; Harris 2011; Davies 2011; Kontos and Sidiropoulou 2012; Lorenzo-Dus, Bou-Franch and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013; Culpeper and Holmes 2013) can take the discursive challenge (Watts 2003; Haugh 2007; Kádár 2011; Mills 2011) in im/politeness research a step further with the contribution of translation. Instances of cross-cultural variation in the use of im/politeness (Rudanko 2006; Kádár and Bargiella-Chiappini 2011; Sidiropoulou 2015b; Kerkam 2017), of intercultural variation (Locher and Watts 2008; Kecskes 2017), the interplay of im/politeness and ideology (McIntyre 1975/2006; Kienpointner and Stopfner 2017) may all be fruitfully explored further on the multimodal plane.

The interplay of emotion (Wierzbicka 1999) and im/politeness (Bousfield 2007, 2008a/b; Garcés-Conejos 2010, 2013; Culpeper 2011; Langlotz and Locker 2017; Haugh and Kádár 2017) may also be explored in the context of dubbed telecinematic discourse as the visual and the acoustic material in the film viewing situation can orchestrate a rich repertoire of emotions to be further investigated through intercultural transfer. Respondents of the questionnaire, in this chapter, highly appreciated the elaborated expression of the Beast's anger in the dubbed version of the *Beauty and the Beast* trailer, rather than a straightforward rendition of the source, which would have been perfectly acceptable.

Dialects (Ranzato 2010), multiculturalism (Locker 2017) and multimodality (Taylor 2016; Valdeón 2018) are highly interesting areas to research in cross-cultural contexts as manifested through translation. The dubbers' intercultural insight and creativity and their awareness of norms operating in a target environment may point to cross-cultural differences which may be hard to access otherwise. The American accent of the homecoming twin brother in the *Despicable Me 3* trailer appears in the original trailer and is transferred in the Greek dubbed version, but the Spanish accent of the male character, in the *Elena of Avalor* trailer, is not transferred, it is created in the dubbed version.

No gender identity shifts (Butler 1990; Simon 1996; von Flotow 1997; Mills 2002) came up in the respondents' answers, but a dubbed version is expected to bring up interesting shifts which may draw the attention of scholars who are concerned with identity construction across cultures (Mills and Kádár 2011).

It seems that researchers will live happily, because technological advances, the multimodal perspective and cross-cultural variation will keep the research interest alive and kicking for many years to come.

Appendix Children's Film Trailers Used as Data (Accessed April 2, 2019)

Part A—Films	
1	Disney's Cinderella Official US Trailer https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=20DF6U1HcGQ
	ΣΤΑΧΤΟΠΟΥΤΑ (CINDERELLA)—TRAILER (ΜΕΤΑΓΛ.) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FLdM8ry4yiw
	ΣΤΑΧΤΟΠΟΥΤΑ (CINDERELLA)—TRAILER (GREEK SUBS) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e_bGANeTTPQ Young Ella has just lost her mother but supports her father in his decision to remarry. She welcomes her stepmother and stepsisters at their place, but after her father's death she is downgraded to a servant. On her late mother's advice, she has a polite and courageous attitude. She meets a fascinating, kind stranger in the woods, ignoring that he is the prince. She wants to go to the palace ball hoping to meet the kind stranger, bur her stepmother does not allow her to go. A good-hearted beggar helps her to go by means of a pumpkin and a few mice.
2	Beauty and the Beast – US Official Final Trailer https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=e3Nl_TCQXuw
	Η ΠΕΝΤΑΜΟΡΦΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΕΡΑΣ (BEAUTY AND THE BEAST)—NEW TRAILER (ΜΕΤΑΓΛ.) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=l9PuPHDNX80
	Η ΠΕΝΤΑΜΟΡΦΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΤΕΡΑΣ (BEAUTY AND THE BEAST)—NEW TRAILER (GREEK SUBS) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Nvylf0A64yk This Disney's *Beautty and the Beast* which reshapes the old tale to address for a contemporary audience. It is about the fantastic journey of Belle, a bright beautiful and independent young woman who is taken prisoner by the beast in his castle. Despite her fears, she befriends the castles enchanted staff and learns to look beyond the Beast's hideous exterior and realize the kind heart and soul of the true Prince within.
Part B—Computer-animated musical comedies	
3	Ferdinand| Official Trailer [HD]| Fox Family Entertainment https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HBXVM7oUPVk
	ΦΕΡΔΙΝΑΝΔΟΣ (FERDINAND)—NEW TRAILER (ΜΕΤΑΓΛ.) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oXC6x-V5YFw The animated film tells the story of Ferdinand, a giant bull with a great heart. He was mistaken for a dangerous beast and captured and taken away from his family. However, determined to go back to his family, he rallies a misfit team on an ultimate adventure. The story is set in Spain and suggests that one cannot judge the bull by its cover.
4	SMALLFOOT—Official Trailer 1 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=34cHO5_LX9g

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Part A—Films	
	Ο ΜΙΚΡΟΠΟΔΑΡΟΣ (SMALLFOOT)—OFFICIAL TRAILER (ΜΕΤΑΓΛ.) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kaaU3-rBXk0 "'Smallfoot' turns the Bigfoot legend upside down when a bright young Yeti finds something he thought didn't exist—a human. News of this 'smallfoot' throws the simple Yeti community into an uproar over what else might be out there in the big world beyond their snowy village, in an all new story about friendship, courage and the joy of discovery." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y1yMGxIF9VI
5	Barbie Episode 51 Mayor of Malibu https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9-WeYAuaobs
	Δήμαρχος του Μαλιμπού https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3rLtqgCJCOA The five-member city council of Malibu elected to serve a four-year term. The Mayor's office is rotated annually among council members. Who will become Mayor of Malibu when Chelsea and Raquelle both run for office?
6	Film Clip from The Princess and The Frog https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CvUJka2jkSA
	The Princess and the Frog—Tiana meets Naveen—Greek fandub https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HbgIKii55uU It is the story of a waitress and restaurant owner, set on a journey to turn a frog prince back to a human being, but she has to face the same problem after she kisses him. A Walt-Disney fairytale set in Jazz Age-era New Orleans about young Princess Tiana who desperately wants to be human again. A fateful kiss that leads them both on an adventure through the bayous of Louisianna.
7	[HoND] 1 The bells of notre dame 1080 p [HD] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LK7S32JIaFU&list=PL6j7uN34Q1w7PBTosuVnzzMq5ibKuT9nL
	Η Παναγία των Παρισίων (part 1) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cuHyO6-sUZE
8	Disney's Aladdin Official Trailer—In Theaters May 24! https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=foyufD52aog
	ΑΛΑΝΤΙΝ—Νέο μεταγλωττισμένο Trailer https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=VquLrKrmqqg The "kind-hearted street urchin and a power-hungry Grand Vizier vie for a magic lamp that has the power to make their deepest wishes come true." https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0103639/
9	THE STOLEN PRINCESS| Official trailer#1 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RDOPiR5IAaI

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Part A—Films	
	Η ΚΛΕΜΜΕΝΗ ΠΡΙΓΚΙΠΙΣΣΑ (THE STOLEN PRINCESS)—TRAILER (ΜΕΤΑΓΛ.) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7903MBZOR6k "A story from the age of valiant knights, beautiful princesses, and evil sorcerers. Ruslan, an artist who dreams of becoming a knight, meets and falls in love with the beautiful Mila, without realizing that she is the King's daughter. But the evil sorcerer Chernomor appears and uses his dark magic to steal Mila. Ruslan must rescue the stolen princess and prove that true love is stronger than evil" https://play.google.com/store/movies/details/The_Stolen_Princess?id=GY7a0-sUang&hl=en_US
10	Leo Da Vinci: Mission Mona Lisa—Official Trailer https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3vzfSqCIZZg
	ΛΕΟ ΝΤΑ ΒΙΝΤΣΙ: ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΗ MONA ΛΙΖΑ (LEO DA VINCI: MISSION MONA LISA)—TRAILER (ΜΕΤΑΓΛ.) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_LfSMJg6OMM "[G]enius inventor Leonardo Da Vinci and his best friends Lorenzo and Lisa … embark on a wild and exciting adventure" with flying cars, treasure maps, pirates and sailing ships. https://el.y8.com/animation/leo_davinci_mission_mona_lisa_official_trailer
11	CHARMING| Official Trailer| 2018 [HD] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sRykPQQ7QF0
	Ο ΜΑΓΕΜΕΝΟΣ ΠΡΙΓΚΙΠΑΣ (CHARMING)—TRAILER (ΜΕΤΑΓΛ.) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cEuDXoaAlRI "An animated comedy about a young Prince with an irresistible appeal … Cursed as a child, Prince Charming proposes to every woman he encounters, leaving a trail of lovesick ladies and scorned lovers to wreak vengeful havoc on the Kingdom. Ultimately, Charming's exasperated father gives the young Prince an ultimatum… Find his true love before his 21st birthday or lose all claim to the throne." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7HJkxpZLt8o
12	Sheep and Wolves—Final Trailer (2016) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mHimvUy7ZQk
	ΠΡΟΒΑΤΑ ΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΝ ΛΥΚΩΝ (SHEEP & WOLVES)—TRAILER (ΜΕΤΑΓΛ.) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0-Vu0OmuSec "A united village of sheep and wolves are suddenly thrown into chaos after an unexpected guest arrives with the aim of destroying their peaceful and quiet life. The towns new leader, Grey, embarks on a heroic mission to prove that team work really does make the best work as he unites his tribe." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zWjltqLOC3g
13	Elena of Avalor| Don't Look Now| Song| Official Disney Channel Africa https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fT8tesMmcgU

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Part A—Films	
	Η Έλενα του Άβαλορ—Μην Κοιτάς Τώρα| Elena of Avalor—Don't Look Now Song https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yMXRfJ6UQz0 "Teen princess Elena Castillo Flores[1] has saved her magical kingdom of Avalor from an evil sorceress and must now learn to rule as its crowned princess. Elena's adventures will lead her to understand that her new role requires thoughtfulness, resilience, and compassion, the traits of all truly great leaders. Since she is only 16 years old, she must follow the guidance of a Grand Council, composed of her grandparents, older cousin Chancellor Esteban, and a new friend, Naomi Turner. Elena also looks to her younger sister, Isabel, her friends, wizard Mateo, and Royal Guard lieutenant, Gabe, a spirit animal named Zuzo, and a trio of magical flying creatures called Jaquins for guidance and support." https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Elena_of_Avalor#:~:text…
14	THE BOSS BABY—TRAILER https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=euz-KBBfAAo
	ΑΡΧΗΓΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΚΟΥΝΙΑ (THE BOSS BABY)—TRAILER (ΜΕΤΑΓΛ.) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wx-6UaE-DHQ A broadly appealing comedy, "about how a new baby's arrival impacts a family, told from the point of view of a delightfully unreliable narrator, a wildly imaginative 7 year old named Tim." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ud8j5GaqH3c
15	Despicable Me 3—In Theaters June 30—Official Trailer#2 (HD) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=euz-KBBfAAo
	ΕΓΩ, Ο ΑΠΑΙΣΙΟΤΑΤΟΣ 3 (DESPICABLE ME 3)—TRAILER (ΜΕΤΑΓΛ.) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z_xwpkwwvSM "The mischievous Minions hope that Gru will return to a life of crime after the new boss of the Anti-Villain League fires him. Instead, Gru decides to remain retired and travel to Freedonia to meet his long-lost twin brother for the first time. The reunited siblings soon find themselves in an uneasy alliance to take down the elusive Balthazar Bratt, a former 1980s child star who seeks revenge against the world." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m9Gg_VQP2zw
16	Tad The Lost Explorer Official Trailer https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=R7cyLH52N8A
	TAD THE LOST EXPLORER (TAD Ο ΧΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΕΞΕΡΕΥΝΗΤΗΣ)—TRAILER (GR) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fUwTsHKT-qk "Tad is a bored construction worker dreaming of a life of adventure until one day he is mistaken for a famous archeologist and that dream comes true. Whisked to Peru holding a sacred key, Tad helps Professor lavrof and his beautiful daughter Sara as they race against evil treasure hunters in search of the Lost City of Paititi." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AeegNmbFR3w

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Part A—Films	
17	Tall Tales Trailer #1 (2018)| Fandango Family https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2NSv8gQFqLc
	Ο ΜΑΓΙΚΟΣ ΚΗΠΟΣ (TALL TALES)—TRAILER (ΜΕΤΑΓΛ.) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hyitGI6OYzs "When Apollo, a cricket saltimbanque the big heart, arrives at the village of small animals, he does not delay to disrupt the life of the Kingdom, on the eve of the jubilee of the Queen. Resulted in a conspiracy fomented by Huguette …" https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2NSv8gQFqLc
18	The Nut Job Official Trailer #1 (2014)—Will Arnett Animated Movie HD https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fq4qP2oSpIA
	THE NUT JOB (ΕΝΑΣ ΣΚΙΟΥΡΟΣ ΣΟΥΠΕΡ-ΗΡΩΑΣ)—TRAILER (GR) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rt6PSufNuVM "Surly, a curmudgeon, independent squirrel is banished from his park and forced to survive in the city. Lucky for him, he stumbles on the one thing that may be able to save his life, and the rest of park community, as they gear up for winter—Maury's Nut Store." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iXFOEItiry8
19	The House of Magic—Trailer https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1jDON-zH3As HOUSE OF MAGIC (ΤΟ ΜΑΓΙΚΟ ΣΠΙΤΙ)—TRAILER (ΜΕΤΑΓΛ.) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=llUHXXfLcys "Thunder is a young cat who has been abandoned by his family. Alone and lost, he finds refuge in a mysterious house that belongs to Lawrence, a retired magician. Thunder feels at home in this haunted house, filled with strange characters who are a lot of fun. But when his host Lawrence is sent to hospital, his nephew does his utmost to sell the house behind his uncle's back. Then Thunder has an amazing idea—to transform the home into a haunted house! He forms a resistance movement with the help of his little companions." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-tSWhbJGFeM
20	Mr. Peabody & Sherman Official International Trailer (2014) HD https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Kf-SwZfRd4U Ο ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΠΙΜΠΟΝΤΙ & Ο ΣΕΡΜΑΝ—TRAILER https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5homYy7HEbs
	"Using his most ingenious invention, the WABAC machine, Mr. Peabody and his adopted boy Sherman hurtle back in time to experience world-changing events first-hand and interact with some of the greatest characters of all time. They find themselves in a race to repair history and save the future." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hy6oD7BZw50
21	The Aristocats: Thomas O'Malley https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yRET1vsfiJM
	Aristocats—Tsifths gatos moustakatos (Greek) https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zH7f5RPRxpA

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Part A—Films	
	Thomas O'Malley is the male protagonist in Disney's 1970 animated feature film The Aristocats. Thomas comes off as a smooth-talking, streetwise cat who relishes his life of freedom out in the open with no rules and no responsibilities, all of this changes when he meets Duchess for the first time. https://search.yahoo.com/search;_ylt=A0geJaASEEBfQqMAlA

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Chapter 7
Im/Politeness and Translation: Concluding Remarks



This chapter presents a summary of the aims, goals, methodologies and findings of the book chapters and summarizes the research questions of the study. It presents translation practice as a laboratory context manifesting the workings of im/politeness across languages and cultures, where different values of variables may reshape the manifestations of im/politeness. The chapter revisits the genres discussed in the book, in search of features which may affect discourse make-up and the manifestation of relational work. The chapter highlights that the book extends the interactional dyad, which impoliteness scholarship has occasionally focused on, and draws attention to communication instances with an audience/readership. It first takes into consideration whether a (potential) offence may be addressed to the hearer or overhearer, whether the hearer/overhearer divide is clear enough in the respective genre, etc. These features are claimed to motivate translation norms which affect the use of im/politeness. The chapter confirms that culture is heterogeneous, however it relativizes the claim marginally, because the translational data in this book often display relatively strong tendencies towards directness, intimacy and closeness (except in the academic genre, which favours a different balance of features). The chapter examines further variables which may shape generic conventions in the use of im/politeness, namely, audience co-presence, audience position in the communicative situation, transmission ethics. Genre seems to be key in understanding the workings of im/politeness.

7.1 On Im/Politeness in Press, Academic and Fictional Discourse

The motivation for this book has been an awareness that translation studies can offer an additional layer of understanding to the study of im/politeness, allowing a different cross-cultural view to the phenomenon. The book started with presenting im/politeness and translation studies as two parallel paradigms which conform to

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tenets of the discursive approach. They share methodologies (i.e. self-reporting, observational and experimental methods), and place emphasis on receivers' meta-pragmatic comments. Besides, the three approaches of intercultural communication (the cognitive, the interpretive and the critical) are to be found in both paradigms.

Chapter 2 shows that translators, as mediators, interfere with relational work source authors enact with their audience in regards to various discourse entities in the text. The book used naturally occurring researcher-unelicited data from the English-Greek press, academia, novel, theatre and film to show how mediators interfere in addressing a target audience. It took etic and emic perspectives to the data, with relational work to be highlighting an interaction of variables like power and gender with im/politeness. The analysis claimed that the relational work the mediator enacts with the target audience in the press situation involves renegotiating the discourse entities' identities, which pointed towards merging the study of face with the study of identity. The book has at points used Locher and Watts' (2008) scale of first-order im/polite behaviour to account for the mediation of im/politeness behaviour e.g. when translators confine themselves within the appropriateness zone of the scale and when (in other genres) they exceed the politic boundary, into the non-politic zone.

In Chap. 3, the book examined translated academic discourse with respect to the target receivers' perception of the interpersonal dynamics between academic text producers and readers in the cross-cultural context. The study first confirmed target readers' taste for academic style in Greek, through a questionnaire which asked respondents to distinguish between alternative structures of the same Greek extract. It then identified textual features which carried a positive or negative politeness valence and measured their frequency in the source and target versions of randomly selected chapters from parallel academic book data, in the sciences and the humanities. The balance of positive/negative politeness features in the target Greek version was different from that of the source text. The chapter claimed—via translation data—that the positive/negative politeness distinction is a useful one, as it captures generalizations which manifest cross-cultural tendencies in the use of im/politeness.

Another finding was that the balance between the inflowing discourse features in the target versions was different in the sciences and in the humanities, with *certainty* prevailing in the sciences and *discourse connectivity* prevailing in the humanities. The findings showed a different manner in the way the authors' relation to the audience is represented in the target version, a more positively oriented one, which points to the validity of the positive/negative politeness distinction in im/politeness research.

In Chap. 4, the book explored the potential of the translation of fiction to reshape rapport management (Spencer-Oatey 2002, 2007) between fictional addressees in translational contexts. It showed how certain parameters have purposefully been renegotiated at different spaces or times to reshape relational work of fictional addressees according to intended agendas. The book then drew on scholarly translation research conducted in the context of the META-FRASEIS translation programme of NKUA (Department of English 2010–2017) which examined shifting manifestations of phenomena in different Greek translations of the same source texts, to create an awareness of the translators' potential to reshape the readers/audiences' perception of the reality of the source text. In the fictional genres (Part II) there is a clearer

distinction between hearers (fictional addressees) and overhearers (the audience), so relational work may be examined at both of these levels.

In Chap. 5, the book addressed issues specific to communication on stage; it examined authorial intention in Pinter's plays translated for the Greek stage and showed how sub-genre affected rendition of im/politeness on stage. Then it drew on scholarly translation research (from the META-FRASEIS programme, NKUA) which examined two translation versions of the same play texts to show how eloquent multiple versions of the same original can be in representing face enactment variation on stage. The book presented the results of a questionnaire which asked respondents to assess scalar values in closeness/distance, intimacy/aggression and directness/indirectness, in three Greek versions of Arthur Miller's play *Death of a Salesman*, assisting respondents with literary critics' views in their assessment of the data. The questionnaire confirmed that respondents preferred the options which displayed greater directness in exchanges realizing fifteen speech acts. The findings confirmed that there *is* cross-cultural preference in enacting relational work, which partially defies the assumption that cultures are totally heterogeneous. Over the years, translators display operative (or less operative) discursive representations of an abstract and elusive phenomenon, and im/politeness scholars are expected to benefit from the potential of translation practice to heighten awareness of linguistic relativity and audience response to it.

In Chap. 6, the book aimed at exploring im/politeness in the context of audiovisual translation. It collected dubbed and subtitled trailers of children's films, it reviewed issues in pragmatics relevant to AVT and reception studies and then explored a mini-corpus of twenty-one pairs of English source film trailers and their dubbed or subtitled versions, for tracing manifestations of im/politeness and audience reception of them. Results of the questionnaire showed that respondents appreciated im/politeness as realized in the dubbed version and explained why dubbing enforced their engagement with the trailer narration, in the multimodal viewing experience. The study showed that dubbing favoured more honorifics specifying the interpersonal relations between fictional interlocutors, adjusted culture-specific items more deftly, did justice to humorous intentions by allowing implicatures to reach the audience and exploited orality features to reshape the interpersonal dimension between fictional addressees. The book showed that meaning-making heavily relied on acoustic and visual stimuli, while shifts in the verbal message do not only affect the relation between fictional addressees but also the relationship between filmmakers and audience. The latter also manifested the workings of im/politeness. The book originally asked the following questions with respect to the study of im/politeness in translational contexts:

(a) what is the role of translation in understanding im/politeness and facework enactment in the press, academic texts and fiction? Does translation practice offer another level of signification enlightening the study of im/politeness?
(b) Is genre a category which enlightens the study of im/politeness? Does it offer insights about the im/politeness scholarship's focus on the interactional dyad?
(c) can translation practice shed light on the homogeneity or heterogeneity of culture?

Table 7.1 Genres reordered

	Mass receiver	Collective sender	Appeal to emotion	Overhearer assumed
Academic	+	+	–	–
Press	+	+	±	+
Fiction	+	+	+	+

7.2 A Laboratory Context

The book highlighted the contribution translation practice can make to the study of im/politeness in fictional and non/fictional texts. Translation practice is a kind of a laboratory context where the workings of im/politeness can be manifested interculturally, with the author's message renegotiated and reshaped to adjust to the reality of a different audience and a different mediated intention, communicated to an over/hearer in another language.

Translators assess the authors' relational work with the source audience and adjust it in order for the product to be consumed by a target audience. The adjustment process is highly valuable researchwise, because it reveals the workings of im/politeness and relational work enactment, interacting with societal and cognitive variables different from those of the source environment. Such variables may be the different

- ideological assumptions or narratives circulating in a target context,
- power differentials between source author and audience, or perhaps discourse entities (which the translators may reshape through discourse to avoid offending the sensibilities of a target audience or to enhance their sensibilities),
- assumptions about the appropriate interpersonal distance between interlocutors (or overhearers) taking into consideration aspects of their identity (age, gender, class, race etc.)

The section would reorder the genres presented in Table 1.1 above. The following Table 7.1 shifts the position of the press and academic genres, giving the press genre a second position. This is because it seems closer to the fictional genres because it appeals to emotion and it occasionally uses aestheticizing techniques in narrating suffering, which media theorists disagree with, for the demobilizing effect it may have on audiences in the mediation of suffering (Chouliaraki 2008). The academic genre in this revised version of Table 1.1 is given first position, because it is non-fiction and does not normally appeal to the readers' emotion. Overhearers, if they exist, may display the weakest presence.

7.3 Im/Politeness Through the Intercultural Filter

All genres discussed in this book extend the notion of interaction beyond the interactional dyad, by assuming a mass audience and bystanders/overhearers. In the press, a translated version of a news article addressees a target audience and the whole

world as overhearers. The same goes for academic discourse translation, where the target version of an English academic work addresses a target audience (but the presence of overhearers or eavesdroppers is not as prominent). All three fiction genres in the book, novel, play, filmscript, enact relational work at two levels of communication, namely, between fictional addressees and between mediator and audience (as overhearers).

7.3.1 Im/Politeness and Genre

Genre seems to be a category which does enlighten the study of im/politeness.

In the press, offence may be veiled, but it is intentional and is rather targeted to overhearers than to addressees. In the academic context, offence is not normally an option; it would have been eliminated on editorial advice. In fiction, offence is rather addressed to (fictional) addressees and not to overhearers (the audience) although quite a few authors, through the ages, have suffered from intended or unintended offence overhearers and auditors perceived in their work. Table 7.2 summarizes the options.

Translation shifts, in the academic genre, were changes which affected the persuasion strategy of the text producer and their power distance from the audience, namely, it shifted the power dynamics between interlocutors. This is a context where no offence is normally intended.

Translation shifts in the press genre may affect the relationship with the addressee (e.g. through strengthening cohesion shifts in Greek target texts) but offence may be caused through the way the text producer shapes reality, by interfering with the representation of power differentials, and painting un/fair representations of overhearers' identities, for instance, through reshaping othering.

Translation shifts in fiction reshape the relational work between fictional addressees (e.g. by heightening intimacy and aggression, as in the preferred third translation of *Death of a Salesman*) for the emotional impact of drama to reach the overhearers (audience).

The higher power distance, between expert and reader in the translated versions of academic texts, appears in the translation of other genres (like, for instance, in EU texts) and is manifested through similar devices (e.g. passivization, enforced cohesion etc.) Conversely, translated advertisements may display a different manifestation of facework enactment between advertiser and consumer depending on the advertised product (Sidiropoulou 1998, 2008a/b, 2018). For instance, the translation of cosmetics advertisements required a different type of relational work with

Table 7.2 Offence potentially addressed to addressees or overhearers

	Academic	Press	Fiction
Addressee	–	–	+
Overhearer	–	+	–

potential consumers than advertisements who address professionals (e.g. advertisements of xerox machines). Mapson (2019: 43) draws attention to im/politeness in interpreting, and highlights several recurring themes which are specific to it:

> Several recurring themes emerge from the research on interpreting and im/politeness. First, the observation that interpreters frequently tone-down FTAs, with some studies perceiving this more negatively than others. Second, that unfamiliarity and temporal constraints can negatively impact interpreters' capacity to focus on rapport.

Likewise, facework enactment varied in Greek translations of Pinter's plays, with respect to play-subtypes, namely, between the 'struggles-for-power' and the 'memory' plays. So genre, does seem to affect relational work and the workings of im/politeness as suggested in Garcés-Conejos Blitvich (2013). In translation studies, Trosborg (1997) drew attention to text type, as a variable affecting the translation strategies used in various genres.

7.3.2 Im/Politeness and Culture

I would assume that *no* translation scholar would doubt the heterogeneity of culture, because heterogeneity is clearly manifested through translation practice, and is arising from the interaction of several variables across and within cultural contexts. Drawing attention to cross-cultural variation does not override the importance of situation (Economidou-Kogetsidis 2010) or the communities of practice advocated by the discursive approach to im/politeness.

The retranslation of play texts and superdiversity in societies (Blommaert 2010, 2013; Sifianou 2011, 2013) testify to the view: play texts are retranslated not least because the audiences' identities change over time, within the same culture, but also because a theatrical institution may want to approach the play from a different angle, addressing a different layer of a target audience. The assumption is that the heterogeneity of culture is another factor motivating retranslations of playtexts, which reflects itself in the various manifestations of im/politeness in discourse.

The translation approach in this book, resists the monolithic conception of culture, but suggests that there *is* a culture-specific repertoire of im/politeness options (Sifianou and Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2017) which interlocutors (in intercultural interaction) and translators choose from, in enhancing the persuasive force or the naturalness of target versions. For instance, the tendencies manifested in the exploration of academic translation are ubiquitous in other genres, and this is not intended to diminish the significance of communities of practice.

7.3.3 More Variables Per Genre

As suggested, genre is key in our understanding of the workings of im/politeness. The section tackles variables which shape discourses across genres and may affect the rendition of im/politeness in a target environment. These may be variables like whether co-presence of the sender and the audience is required in the communicative situation, whether audience engagement is required or simply encouraged and desired, whether the audience position is central or peripheral in the communicative event (Willems 1997).

Audience co-presence in the communicative situation, as the case is in theatre halls, is expected to trigger intense mediation on the part of the translator with respect to im/politeness rendition, because the perlocutionary effect of the various speech acts has to be immediate and facework readily perceived as intended, otherwise the translation is not communicative enough to fulfill its goal.

Another feature affecting the mediation intensity is whether the audiences' engagement is required or simply encouraged. It is required in the theatre because audiences' emotions should be affected on site and while the communicative event lasts. This is again the case with the theatre and explains why stage translation yields valuable im/politeness shifts in the verbal message. In film subtitling, the audiences' engagement is simply encouraged and hoped for, as in the press and academic discourses.

A third feature is whether the audience's position is central or peripheral in the communicative event. The assumption is that the hearer's position is central in the theatre and peripheral in subtitling (except perhaps in dubbing). In the theatre situation, the audience's position is central and the text is brought to the audience by interfering with all three meaning-making signification levels (verbal, acoustic, visual codes). In the subtitling situation, the audience position is peripheral in that 'the audience is brought to the text' and the only interference option is with the verbal code - the acoustic and visual layers of signification are fixed in subtitling. In dubbing, 'the text is brought closer to the audience' and this dovetails with the fact that certain regimes favoured dubbing over subtitling for preserving local audiences' identities.

In the press, the audience position may also be peripheral in that the mediators (and original authors) construct reality for their audiences, attempting to eliminate or enforce offence, probably on institutional advice, so the ethics of transmission is one of service (to the institution), rather than communication (with the audience). In fiction, the audiences' position may be peripheral but the ethics of transmission may be that of communication, intended to encourage audience involvement.

In the context of these variables, which may heavily influence generic conventions, the mediator undertakes the task of

- reshaping the interpersonal relationship of text producer and readers, in academic discourse, in order for the mediator to reshape the persuasive force of the arguments put forward,
- reshaping the reality of the news in the press in agreement with intended agendas, by interfering with othering and the relationship with the addressee,

– compensating for the peripheral position of the audience in fiction (by adjusting the text to ideological and other considerations relevant to communities of practice) in order to encourage audience involvement through translated fiction.

The same goes for the theatre, where co-presence of collective sender and audience favours intense mediation with respect to im/politeness phenomena,

– reshaping rapport management between fictional addressees to affect the emotional experience of the audience.
– The mediating force is weak in subtitling because the original acoustic and visual levels of signification remain intact and the subtitler attempts to encourage the involvement of the audience, only through the verbal message, with considerable spatial and temporal constraints.
– The mediating force is stronger in dubbing because the original acoustic experience is modified together with the verbal message, thus target relational work may be more clearly outlined.

Table 7.3 summarizes the features pertinent to the genres discussed, which are expected to affect the relational work assumed in the respective contexts of situations. The ± symbol in the film column, is + for dubbing, −for subtitling.

The data have shown that all translated genres in this book have an immense potential to contribute to the study of cross-cultural manifestations of im/politeness.

As shown, cross-cultural variation in the use of im/politeness is an elusive topic (House 1998, 2005, 2010) which may be manifested through translational contexts in a fruitful manner. It is motivated by a different perception of socio-cognitive norms in communities of practice, across languages (e.g. power differentials between interlocutors, gender roles, ideological positionings, etc.).

A humorously exaggerated projection of intercultural variation between American and Greek family traditions appears in the film *My Big Fat Greek Wedding*, where an Anglo-Saxon Protestant and a Greek-American lady fell in love and had a (humorously presented) hard time to reconcile their family traditions for the wedding. Although exaggerated in the film, collectivism, interpersonal proximity and power differentials manifested through familial roles are reflected in the film, in the same way the book has shown that rapport management is renegotiated in translation along these values.

Table 7.3 Additional variables shaping generic conventions in TTs

	Academic	Press	Novel	Theatre	Film
Appeal to emotion	–	±	+	+	+
Audience-sender co-presence	–	–	–	+	–
Audience engagement: required (+)/encouraged (-)	–	–	–	+	±
Audience position: central (+)/peripheral (-)	–	+	–	+	±

7.4 A Final Word

The validity of translational data for im/politeness research (and other pragmatic phenomena) lies in that the parallel version is produced for communication with a different readership or an audience and is valuable for the communicative force the mediator has vested it with.

Translation is a context where scalar im/polite values may be tested and assessed by respondents, via naturally occurring unelicited data, namely various retranslations of the same text at different times and/or from different points of view.

Translational data can be useful in language learning (for English-Greek Sidiropoulou 2015), let alone translation training. Im/politeness manifested through translation can be a rich resource where an elusive and abstract phenomenon can be discursively explored, in student-centered teaching approaches, rather than taught. Juxtapozing parallel corpora can manifest concrete and visible variation in the way im/politeness is realized across-cultures.

Translation practice is like a fill-in-the-blanks activity for the mediators, who have to fill in their individual/creative input, in agreement with their socio-cultural awareness and expertise in the context of a target language.

How a speaker may implement a speech act through (source) discourse is an open-ended task (Sifianou and Antonopoulou 2005), so retranslations of texts may open-endedly yield other options implementing the same speech act in an analogous situation in another language, which language users of a target language may assess for their appropriateness or pragmatic failure (Economidou-Kogetsidis 2011; Bella and Sifianou 2012).

As mentioned, the study left the manipulation of visuals outside the scope of the book, although this is a highly interesting area which involves pragmatics and relational work with an audience. How visual information shifts in translated novels and in press news articles (Sidiropoulou 2020b) when rendered into another language is an open research problem which is worth examining. It displays its own proximal and distancing devices which is an im/politeness issue (politic or non-politic). Translation practice is a context which allows pragmaticists and im/politeness researchers to observe and account for the significance of multimodality in transfer contexts, which may have gone unnoticed.

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