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Politeness shifts in English-Greek political science discourse: translation as a language change situation

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Abstract: Translation practice is a code interaction situation (Schäffner and Adab 1997; Cronin 2003; Heine and Kuteva 2005; House 2006), which can bring about change in target linguistic systems through the cumulative effect of hegemonic donor languages on reception ones.

The study traces development of politeness-related features in English-Greek samples of translated political science discourse. A pilot study first identifies a set of shift types between the English and Greek versions of John Stuart Mill's essay *On Liberty* (1869,1983) tracing a prevailing set of positive politeness shifts in the Greek target version, often balanced with some negative politeness ones. An experiment follows, examining a rendition of three politeness devices which are claimed to realize quality, social identity and relational aspects of facework (Spencer-Oatey 2007), in samples from two Greek versions (1990, 2005) of John Locke's *The Second Treatise*. Results show that there is variation between retranslations in the treatment of these devices over the years. The study further examines a set of six parallel samples from different political science works and their translations into Greek, with a view to quantitatively verifying the hypothesis that Greek academic discourse is changing under the influence of English academic discourse. Results show that features are 'degenerating' as manifested through the translated versions of these works. Finally an experiment was conducted with translator-trainees, hoping to show the relative importance of these features (and aspects of facework) from an emic perspective. The study concludes that the relational aspect of facework, which is prioritized by native Greek informants, undergoes some 'degeneration' over the years, which seems to suppress the local balance of positive/negative politeness patterns in political science discourse. The finding is assumed to be an effect of globalization suppressing locally prioritized aspects of facework.

Keywords: politeness, face aspects, translation, English-Greek, political science discourse

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1 Politeness, genre and translation

Sociolinguistic research has focused on shifts in preferred politeness patterns as manifested in original/monolingual production, in various cultural groups and subgroups, within and across cultures. Scholars seem to be highly interested in examining shifting norms of politeness and have attempted to account for external and internal forces, which may be triggering variation. For instance, Kádár and Mills (2011: 23) refer to “campaigning groups which try to draw attention to the ‘decline’ of politeness and courtesy” in the UK, assuming that the phenomenon can be addressed through legislation.

Languages seem to display instances of ‘conflicting’ tendencies in the use of politeness phenomena, manifested intra-culturally, let alone across cultures. For instance, contrary to the negatively-oriented preference of English for politeness strategies and the concern for saving face (Brown and Levinson 1987 [1978]), English has been claimed to occasionally display informalization and conversationalization tendencies (Fairclough 1995, in Sifianou 2013: 89), which assume a positive politeness orientation and interpersonal proximity). Likewise, contrary to the positively-oriented preference of Greek in politeness patterns (Sifianou 1992), research has traced a preference for formality in Greek in certain genres, which assumes a negative politeness orientation, e.g., in the classroom (Pavlidou 2001), in academic discourse (Koutsantoni 2005), in Athens metro station announcements (Sifianou 2010) and in student e-mail messages addressing lecturers (Economidou-Kogetsidis 2011; Bella and Sifianou 2012), etc). In other words, formality, which has been claimed to be a negatively oriented device, is occasionally favoured, in certain contexts, by language codes which have been claimed to favour a positive orientation.

I would like to focus attention on translation contexts and on what evidence translation practice can potentially contribute to im/politeness research questions. English-Greek translation practice seems to provide ample evidence of shifts in formality, with formality often preferred in the Greek version of parallel data, in the advertising genre (Sidiropoulou 1998, 2008a, 2008b), in the press (Kontos and Sidiropoulou 2012), in the EU context (Sidiropoulou 2012) and in academic writing, realizing a culture-/genre-specific perspective of the relational dynamics between translator and target audience. In the English-Greek academic context, raising tenor is among the shifts traced across versions of data (Koutsantoni 2005).

A question arises as to whether and how the relational dynamics between discourse producer and audience are reshaped diachronically in particular genres to cumulatively enforce language change. Kádár and Mills (2011: 32) highlight the significance of “exploring diachronic change” of seemingly stable

norms of im/politeness, like for instance genre-related norms. Understanding the emergence of new grammatical patterns or patterns of usage in discourse is the focus of historical pragmatics:

Historical pragmatics brings to diachronic studies elements of discourse analysis and an interest in issues that are generally associated with pragmatic principles [...]: the evolution of politeness patterns, speech acts, discourse markers and the like” (Fried 2010: 3, emphasis added).

Fried also assumes that “[l]inguists’ attention must be directed to the *social factors* that play a role in contact-induced developments, such as the social status of discourse participants, the nature and intensity of cultural contact, etc.” (Fried 2010: 12, emphasis added). Translation may assume intense language contact. May translation be an instigator of these changes triggering language change in the use of politeness?

2 Language change, academic tradition and translation

Linguists have been concerned with changes languages undergo as a result of language contact (Johanson 2002). Contact may bring about shifts as a result of extra linguistic factors and translation may be assumed to be a language contact scenario, a code interaction situation (Schäffner 1997, 2000; Cronin 2003; House 2006) not only in actual translation sites, but also implicitly, in the mind of non-native English scholars who produce their scholarly work in English by conforming to conventions of the receptor environment. Translation studies seem to be able to contribute to the analysis of language change through a diachronic exploration of shifts.

In the English-Greek context, attention has been directed to diachronic research and the role of translation as a change accelerator with reference to certain features. For instance, in examining Greek translated popular science articles, Malamatidou has claimed that translation can act as a ‘propagator of change’ because certain “syntactic features are first identified in Modern Greek translated popular science articles *before* they are introduced in non-translated articles” (Malamatidou 2013: 9, emphasis added) in popular-science magazines. Translation is thus claimed to be registering and contributing to change in the use of linguistic features.

Scientific discourse has attracted the attention of scholars internationally (Halliday and Martin 1993; Duszak 1997; Atkinson 1991; Hyland 2006; Baum-

garten; DuBois and House 2012; Bennett 2012, 2014) and in the Greek context (Sidiropoulou 1995; Parianou 2009, 2010; Vladimirova 2014). Politeness features seem to be a matter of writing conventions which permeate academic discourse and may vary in various communities of practice.

Translation scholars have noticed that various epistemological traditions prevalent in various academic contexts worldwide may be subjected to a process of linguistic imperialism, whereby English writing style norms tend to suppress discourse norms favoured by other academic traditions. There seems to be evidence that calquing in translation has created new hybrid discourses in reception environments. For instance, Bennett (2012) distinguishes a traditional and a more modern writing style in Portuguese historiographical discourse, with the former tradition presenting factual information indirectly, highlighting the interpersonal dimension of the writer/reader relationship, favouring interpersonal framing devices and the historical present. These discourse norms are claimed to be suppressed by English academic writing conventions either through academic text translation practice or through “authorial self-censorship systematically practiced by Portuguese academics in the pursuit of international recognition” (Bennett 2012: 285). Portuguese historiographical discourse thus, Bennett claims, undergoes a process of change which habitualizes and conventionalizes English academic writing norms into Portuguese academic writing and this process is facilitated through translation.¹

This study attempts to trace change in politeness patterns as manifested through translation shifts in English-Greek translations of political science discourse. The aim is to reveal tendencies in the treatment of im/politeness phenomena diachronically, and to potentially examine what contribution translation practice can make to shifting politeness patterns as time passes by.

3 Academic political science discourse in translation

The study has been motivated by the observation that an academic political text translated in 1983 treated positive/negative politeness discursual features

¹ The theme of epistemological traditions seems to have been a productive one in the academic writing field. For instance, in the Greek context, there seems to be a distinct set of moves in abstracts written in English by researchers from English-speaking countries and Greece, for the *9th World Congress of Applied Linguistics* held at Thessaloniki-Halkidiki, in 1990 (Sidiropoulou 1995).

very differently from political academic texts translated in the first decade of the 21st millennium. The first text is a 1983 rendition of John Stuart Mill's essay *On Liberty*, into Greek. The second text is a 2006 translation of an academic bestseller, Heywood's *Politics*, which has been used as a coursebook in political science undergraduate courses of the Faculty of Economics and Political Science of the University of Athens. If it is shown that this variation between target versions is systematic between these decades, it may be safe to conclude that some language change has occurred, which is manifested through translation data.

Im/politeness is associated here with characteristics that are in/appropriate textual genre conventions as manifested by native Greek informants. Generic conventions affecting academic style across versions are assumed to be inherently im/polite. 'Impolite' as 'inappropriate' however does not assume emotional reactions (anger, sadness) as Culpeper (2011) would assume.

Section 3.1 shows a pilot empirical investigation (Biber 1993) manifesting systematic differences in the way text producers (author and translator) handled positive/negative politeness devices in the source and target versions of Mill's essay (transl. 1983).

Section 3.2 traces the occurrence of three of these features in retranslated samples of political science discourse (John Locke's *The Second Treatise*) and elicits translator-trainees' value judgements as to the appropriateness of these features in Greek target academic discourse.

Section 3.3 traces the occurrence of the same feature set in political science translations which appeared at later times, to trace developments in the use of these features.

3.1 A pilot empirical investigation: a 1983 transfer situation

Mill's essay *On Liberty* celebrates the liberal notion of negative liberty of non-interference, as opposed to the concept of positive liberty, which emphasizes self-mastery. Findings showed that the approach in the target version manifests awareness of sociolinguistic values which are appreciated in positive politeness environments.

Below is a set of shifts introduced into the Greek translation of John Stuart Mill's essay *On Liberty* showing aspects of the 'liberties' translators assume in their attempt to shape the relational dynamics between text producer and target audience. The examples manifest instances of a 'positive' self-mastery conception of translator freedom which seems to have currency in the reception environment. There are more instances of positive politeness devices in the target

version of Mill's essay, but a set of three was selected due to space limitations, in order to show change through translation.

3.1.1 Rationality and objectivity

Example 1 shows a feature which has a positive politeness prosody, instances of enforced cohesion, namely, the concern of the Greek version to highlight cause-and-effect or contrastive relationships, although the language does have a readily available option for the source text (ST) items. The shift is assumed to represent “a kind of metaphorical expression of intimacy to imply common ground or sharing of wants” (Brown and Levinson 1987: 103).

In example 1, ST *accordingly* is both thematized and receives a stronger cause-and-effect interpretation through the target text (TT) item *consequently*.

Example 1

ST1 Men's opinions, **accordingly**, on what is laudable or blamable, are affected by the multifarious causes, ... (§6)

TT1 **Συνεπώς**, οι γνώμες των ανθρώπων για το τι είναι αξιόπαινο ή αξιόμειμπο, επηρεάζονται από τις πολυποίκιλες αιτίες, ...(1983: 27)

*Back-translation: **Consequently**, people's opinions on what is laudable or blamable, are affected by the multifarious causes, ...*

In example 2, the TT2 contrastive connective *however* is added to enforce an adversative perspective, and in example 3, TT3 *while* renders ST implicit contrast as explicit.

Example 2

ST2 Apart [**X**] from the peculiar tenets of individual thinkers, there is ... (§15)

TT2 Εκτός, **όμως**, από τις επιμέρους θεωρίες των μεμονωμένων στοχαστών, παρατηρείται ... (1983: 37)

*Back-translation: Apart **however** from the peculiar tenets of individual thinkers, [x] is observed, ...*

Example 3

ST3 The only part of the conduct of any one, for which he is amenable to society, is that which concerns others. [**X**] In the part which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute. ... (§9)

TT3 Η μόνη συμπεριφορά για την οποία ο άνθρωπος είναι υπόλογος στην κοινωνία, είναι αυτή που αφορά τους άλλους. **Ενώ** ως προς τη συμπεριφο-

ρά που αφορά τον εαυτό του, η ανεξαρτησία του είναι δικαιωματικά απόλυτη. ... (1983: 31)

Back-translation: The only part of the conduct, for which any person is amenable to society, is that which concerns others. **While** as for the conduct which merely concerns himself, his independence is, of right, absolute.

The translator's concern for rationality and objectivity may also be manifested through rendition of the item *practical controversies* as *αντικειμενικές διενέξεις* (§1). The study does not suggest that English does not use connectives. Even within the same language, some genres may be more conjunctive than others, let alone across languages. The study simply suggests that there seems to be a clear preference for enhanced cohesion in the Greek version of English-Greek translated data manifested in political science discourse transfer into Greek. The case seems to be that, no matter the direction of translation, enhanced cohesion seems to appear in the Greek version of data. This extends beyond political science discourse transfer. For instance when native English speakers translate Greek plays into English, they cut down on causal/contrastive connectives, and translators in the Greek press, who transfer discourses from the English press, tend to highlight logical connections, or reshuffle discourses in order to present information contrastively (Sidiropoulou 2004).

In terms of aspects of self-representation and face (Spencer-Oatey 2007, in section 3.3), the tendency seems to manifest (target) speakers' concern for enhancing their individual quality of being rational or aware of contrastive and explanatory relations between parts of discourse. The assumption is that readers would enjoy an explicit connection as it facilitates understanding and anticipates answers to potential objections.

Similarly, Christman (1991) has claimed that positive liberty concerns the ways in which desires are formed – whether as a result of *rational reflection on all the options available* or as a result of pressure, manipulation or ignorance. The Greek translator's concern to highlight reasons (a positive politeness device in Brown and Levinson's framework 1987 [1978]) through placing cause-and-effect markers at clause-initial position, or through repetition of causal markers, alludes to the positive liberty concern for highlighting rational reflection rather than ignorance or manipulation.

3.1.2 Collective awareness

The *interpersonal* dimension anticipated above is manifested in the Greek target version of Mill's essay in example 4, where Mill refers to the Liberty of the Will.

The Greek translator adds the hedge *we can say*; it is the inclusive-we reading of the verb suffix which ensures social proximity between mediator-readership.

Example 4

ST4 It is so far from being new, that, [X] in a certain sense, it has divided mankind, almost from the remotest ages; (§1)

TT4 Υπάρχει μάλιστα από τόσο παλιά, ώστε **μπορούμε να πούμε ότι**, κατά κάποιον τρόπο έχει διχάσει την ανθρωπότητα από αρχαιστάτων χρόνων (1983: 19)

Back-translation: It has even been so old, that we can say that, in a sense it has divided mankind since most ancient times.

It is as if when a hedge is introduced in the Greek target versions, it often seems to be paired with awareness of the collective dimension in the communicative situation. Another manifestation of the translator's privileging the collective/ interpersonal dimension is rendition of ST5 *feeling* as TT *public feeling* (*του δημόσιου αισθήματος* [1983: 24]) and of ST6 *opinion* as TT *public opinion* (*της κοινής γνώμης* [1983: 28]).

Example 5

ST5 there needs protection also against the tyranny of the prevailing opinion and **feeling** ... (§5)

Example 6

ST6 Another grand determining principle of the rules of conduct, both in act and in forbearance, which have been enforced by law or **opinion**, has been the servility of mankind ... (§7)

More shifts which highlight the collective dimension may be assumed to be the ST7 definite articles (e.g., *the argument*) which are rendered in terms of the possessive adjective *our argument* (*του επιχειρήματός μας* [1983: 39] etc.) and the ST8 item *superiority* rendered as TT *class superiority* (*την ταξική της ανωτερότητα* [1983: 28]).

Example 7

ST7 It will be convenient for **the** argument, if, instead of at once entering upon **the** general thesis, we confine ourselves in the first instance to a single branch of it, on which the principle here stated is, if not fully, yet to a certain point, recognized by **the** current opinions. (§15)

Example 8

ST8 [...] the prevailing moral sentiments frequently bear the impress of impatient dislike of **superiority**. (§6)

In terms of aspects of self-representation and face (Spencer-Oatey 2007, in section 3.3), the tendency seems to manifest (target) speakers' social identity concern for presenting themselves as being part of the group and for highlighting the public dimension in the communicative situation. If a lower frequency of this pattern is observed in translated academic discourse, it may be hypothesized that this public awareness feature is declining in view of the hybridity and multiplicity induced by "some scales of global interdependencies" (Coup-land 2010: 4).

3.1.3 Collective/hierarchy awareness

Another positive/negative politeness shift, which assumes a relational perspective, has been manifested through an awareness of assumed social hierarchies. ST9 item *existing* is not rendered as *υπαρχουσών* (the readily available equivalent) but as *predominant*. Likewise, ST9 item *να επιβάλλουν* (*to impose*), rendering ST9 item *to practice*, carries a connotation of social hierarchy.

Example 9

ST9 The ancient commonwealths thought themselves entitled to **practice** [...] directly opposed to the general tendency of **existing** opinion and practice. (§14)

TT9 Οι αρχαίες πολιτείες θεώρησαν ότι είχαν δικαίωμα να **επιβάλλουν** [...] αντιτίθεται πιο άμεσα στη γενική τάση των **κυρίαρχων** δομών και συνηθειών. (1983: 37)

*Back-translation: The ancient commonwealths thought themselves entitled to **impose** [...] directly opposed to the general tendency of **predominant** opinion and practice*

In the same vein, ST item *churches* is rendered as *official churches* (*επίσημες εκκλησίες* [1983: 21]).

Example 10

ST10 Some of those former reformers [...] have been noway behind either **churches** or sects ... (§14)

The feature may be claimed to assume a collective perception of the communicative situation, with an interest in making hierarchies explicit in the public sphere. In this sense, it seems to be a type of interim category manifesting both a collective and a relational concern, as it makes relations between entities in the target environment explicit.

3.1.4 Passivization

As mentioned, positive politeness devices are occasionally balanced by negative ones in the target version. Example 11 carries a manifestation of a negative politeness strategy, a passivization.

Example 11

ST11 [...] the age which the law may **fix** as that of manhood or womanhood (§9)

TT11 [...] το όριο ενηλικίωσης, το οποίο **ορίζεται** από το νόμο (1983: 32)

Back-translation: [...] *below the age which is fixed by the law*

Other passivization transformations appear in examples 2 and 3: ST2 item *there is* is rendered as TT2 *is observed*, and ST3 item *which the law may fix* is turned into TT3 item *which is fixed by the law*. Nominalizations also occur as negative politeness devices in the TT and raise the level of formality (Brown and Levinson 1987 [1978]).

Example 12

ST12 *They preferred endeavouring to alter the feelings of mankind* (§7)

TT12 *Προτίμησαν να αγωνιστούν για την αλλαγή των πεποιθήσεων των ανθρώπων* (1983: 28)

Back-translation: *They preferred struggle for the alteration of the feelings of mankind.*

In terms of aspects of self-representation and face (Spencer-Oatey 2007, in section 3.3), the tendency seems to manifest (target) speakers' relational concern for heightening formality, assuming a diversified relational concern manifested through passivization and nominalization.

Frequent passivizations and nominalizations seem to be a convention in Greek academic discourse. Postgraduate students write their dissertations in English, in the English Faculty of the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, and frequently need feedback for eliminating passivizations from their

texts (a negative politeness device), or *we*-inclusive structures (a positive politeness device). Thus, they are often advised to use structures like “the study examines...”, “the paper suggests...” because they tend to transfer into English the bulk of passive and *we*-inclusive structures they are familiar with through their exposure to generic Greek conventions. Enforced rationality is more difficult to trace as inappropriate in Greek students’ production in English. However, in discussing thematic preferences cross-culturally, Baker (2011) suggests that native teachers of English complain that Greek students overuse structures like ‘as far as *x* is concerned, *y*’ and ‘as for *x*, *y*’, which is a device enhancing connectivity.

The Greek version of Mill’s essay showed a rather broad set of positive politeness devices, which are occasionally balanced by the use of passivizations/nominalizations. These features seem to have currency among present day readers, as the next section shows.

By contrast, the target version of Heywood’s bestseller had a much narrower set of shifts with lower frequency. There have been instances of adverbial left-branching, which raise the level of formality (but also some right branching ones), occasional instances of evaluation and intensification, nominalizations, etc. The question arises as to what general principles may be at work, which would assume a critical reflection of significant changes in the way academic discourse is constructed in the Greek context. It is all about what it is that leads scholars to “neglect their traditional discourses of knowledge” (Bennett 2012: 267). Could the hegemonic status of English be assumed to produce source text oriented translation “which would greatly increase the likelihood of “calquing””? (Bennett 2012: 268).

I would like to report on an experiment conducted with translation students of the Faculty of English, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens (spring 2015), on the degree of in/appropriateness they acknowledge with reference to different target versions of a couple of political science samples. Inappropriateness is equated to impoliteness, in this study, as “a specific domain of negatively evaluated behaviours” (Culpeper 2011: 24), although inappropriateness is occasionally claimed to be “a much broader notion than impoliteness” (Culpeper 2011: 99); the correlation between in/appropriateness and im/politeness is further justified in this study on the grounds that the phenomena focused upon in the experiment are assumed to relate to aspects of facework (Spencer-Oatey 2002, 2007).

3.2 Positive/negative politeness as in/appropriateness through retranslation contexts

The experiment examines value judgements of translator trainees and does justice to the interactional perspective in pragmatic research and the focus on “the hearer’s evaluation of behaviour” (Haugh 2011: 253) where lay understandings of phenomena are taken into account. As Kádár and Mills argue, “[p]oliteness and impoliteness at the level of the individual can be largely analyzed through examination of the types of judgement which are made about appropriateness, within community-of-practice norms” (2011: 24).

A random 1000-word sample from John Locke’s *The Second Treatise* is contrasted to the 1990 and 2005 translated versions of it. In im/politeness research, the diachronic perspective is highly valued, especially with respect to the effect of speech acts and the “evaluation of their producers” (Davies 2011: 215). The more recent translation of *The Second Treatise* (Chapter II: The State of Nature) seems to display a number of shifts which show that the local is renegotiated in the encounter with the global.

Logical adverbial connection is enforced or occasionally enriched with givenness in the more recent Greek version. The collective awareness intention is occasionally toned down. Nominalizations/passivizations may appear in version a, and occasionally in version b.

Table 1 summarizes shifts traced in two translations of John Locke’s *The Second Treatise* fragments. * shows ‘added feature of the relevant type’ while • shows enforced link, either through a different connective of the same category or through preposing the relevant adverbial, which enforces its functional perspective.

The text fragments were scrutinized in class and students agreed on the pragmatic reading of certain connectives, for instance the fact that givenness was enforced in the recent version of *The Second Treatise* sample (as manifested

Table 1: Shifts in the two Greek versions of a 1000-word sample from John Locke’s *The Second Treatise*.

	1990	2005
Objectivity/rationality	•• **	•••••••• ***
Collective awareness	*	*
Nominalization/Passivization	**	*
	Nominalization	Passivization

by *δεδομένου ότι*). They also agreed on the communicative potential of the second version through a questionnaire.

Two undergraduate groups of 1st-year students were given a different fragment of a ST/TT sample pair to say which version they would appreciate, according to their linguistic insight. Pragmatic appropriacy was actually sought after, but the term was avoided in the instruction section for fear of theoretical confusion. Students were made aware of their native intuition potential through their translation courses and were asked to identify a preferable option in Greek. Both groups preferred the recent version of the text by a comparable percentage, 81 % (81.09 % for the recent version of text fragment A and 81.49 % for the recent version of text fragment B). Informants overwhelmingly preferred the version which enforces the positive orientation and occasionally balances the negative one, verifying that the positivization of certain politeness features does meet the expectations of Greek addressees (Sifianou 1992; Makri-Tsilipakou 2001; Pavlidou 2001; Terkourafi 2001; Tzanne 2001; Sifianou and Antonopoulou 2005). The fact that students overwhelmingly perceived the version with the enforced objectivity connotations as more appropriate, although both texts sound naturally Greek, is meaningful in that a version with more rationality connectives (a positive politeness shift) and more passivizations (a negative politeness shift) has currency among present-day academic readers. This seems to be an appropriate balance between positive/negative politeness devices in the Greek academic context. Bella and Sifianou (2012) highlight contexts where formality may be appreciated in the Greek context.

A crucial thing seems to be that the negative evaluation on the part of my informants rises out of a comparison of two target versions; the first sample alone may have achieved a higher degree of acceptability if it were evaluated on its own. Thus, translation data seem to be offering an opportunity for eliciting value judgements on appropriateness, which may not have been elicited otherwise.

The study further traces the treatment of the three phenomena in two sets of source/target pairs of political science discourse, published between 1983–1990 and 2006–2011, with a view to examining aspects of the development of these features in target versions of political science discourse. Findings show that impoliteness markers display homogenization tendencies across time. The hybridity produced in target texts is assumed to be motivated by a ‘bilingual mode’ the mind of the translator is set into, under the influence of English. Findings seem to assume facework-enacting priorities in translation-induced change situations.

3.3 More facts on realizing facework enactment through translation diachronically

Kádár and Mills (2011: 40) argue that “it is intriguing to briefly explore whether politeness can diachronically decrease or degenerate in a certain society”. Thus, the study further examines a set of six parallel samples from different political science works and their translation into Greek, with reference to the same set of features (objectivity/rationality, collective awareness, passivization/nominalization), which are claimed to correspond to aspects of facework. Three of these translations appeared before 1990 and the final three appeared after 2006 (with a sixteen-year period in-between).

The choice of the phenomena whose development the study traced in the two sets of target data has not been random. On a face theoretical level, they are claimed to correspond to three aspects of self-representation and face, which Spencer-Oatey borrows from Brewer and Gardner (1996, in Spencer-Oatey 2007: 641) for her identity theory and analysis of face, namely, “quality face”, “social identity face” (Spencer-Oatey 2002: 540) and the “relational” one (Spencer-Oatey 2007).

Quality Face (individual level) satisfies our fundamental desire for people “to evaluate us positively, in terms of our personal qualities; our competence, abilities, appearance etc.” (Spencer-Oatey 2002: 540). The assumption is that the use of the objectivity/rationality connectives seem to allow speakers to enhance their personal quality of being rational and objective and may thus be categorized as a Quality Face enhancement marker, although the feature may be interpreted as displaying affinity with the social identity face aspect, in the sense that speakers are contributing clarification (or ‘spoon-feeding’, in a negative politeness perspective) addressees to save them some processing effort. The feature is interpreted in this study as a quality face enhancement marker, but this potential ambiguity with respect to the face aspect the feature may be assumed to be a manifestation of, may be a reason why the questionnaire, presented in section 6, did not manage to suggest a clear hierarchy between ‘quality’ and ‘social identity’ face in the Greek academic context.

Social Identity Face (collective level) satisfies our fundamental desire for people “to acknowledge and uphold our social identities or roles, e.g., as group leader, valued customer, close friend” (ibid). The preservation or enhancement of the devices which activate the social collective awareness perspective in the target samples (e.g., the first person plural verb suffixes rendering a ‘we’-inclusive reading of the pronominal suffix) seem to realize our desire to uphold our social role of a member of the group in the communicative situation. This col-

lective aspect of face emerges through the speaker's awareness of their cooperation potential with the audience, a group membership awareness which is reflected in discourse.

Relational Face (interpersonal level) may realize the “relationship between the participants (e.g., distance–closeness, equality–inequality, perceptions of role rights and obligations), and the ways in which this relationship is managed or negotiated” (Spencer-Oatey 2007: 647); the use of passivizations/nominalizations is assumed to realize the relational perspective between participants, as manifested in the binary distance-closeness and equality-inequality, with decreasing of passivization entailing closeness, and increase entailing distance.

Table 2 summarizes shifts encountered in the six 1000-word samples from translated political science texts. They summarize additions/omissions and strengthening/weakening of the relevant phenomena, which realize this culture specific voicing of the relational dialectic between connectedness (interdependence, solidarity, association) and separateness (differentiation, independence, autonomy) (Arundale 2013: 112). The assumption is that all three phenomena have been implicating some kind of connectedness/separateness: the objectivity/rationality concern shows because the speakers' quality face aspect is renegotiated with target audiences, the collective awareness (social identity face) manifested through the *we*-inclusive feature also shows connectedness, while the passivization/nominalization feature is a manifestation of separateness in the Greek target version.

The table shows that the rationality concern seems to be weakened in the more recent translations (the shifts in the 2007 translation are simply slight preposings of the relevant connective), the collective awareness concern may have been weakened but shows a fairly narrow fluctuation and the higher formality manifested through the passivization-nominalization feature is also weakened marginally, as fewer passivizations/nominalizations have been

Table 2: Shifts in the Greek versions of six 1000-word political science samples.

Feature type	1983	1989	1990	2006	2007	2011
Objectivity, rationality	● **	* -	●● **	●- - -	●●●●	●●● **_ - -
Collective awareness	***	*	*		*	*
Passivization, nominalization	**	****	*	**_ - -	*	*

(*: added feature of the relevant type [+0.2], ●: enforced link through a different connective of the same category or through preposing of the relevant connective [+0.1 or +0.05], -: omission of feature or postposing of a connective [-0.2])

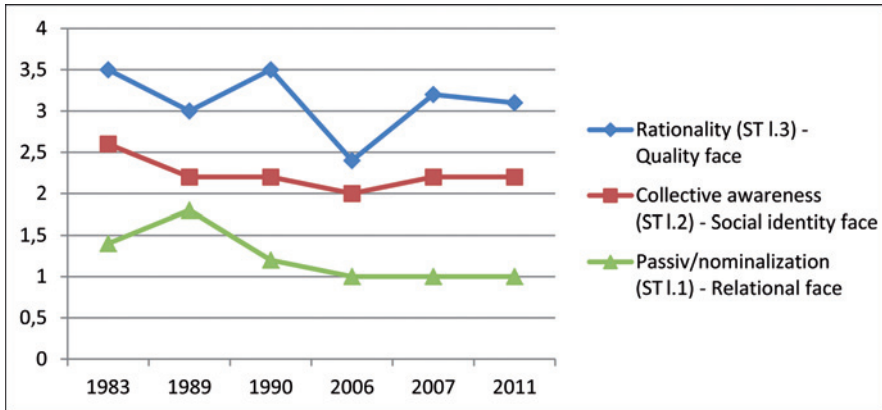


Figure 1: Degeneration of tendencies in the use of phenomena, across target samples.

traced in the recent texts, plus deletions. Elimination of certain features in the recent translations may seem insignificant, but as Hickey (2010: 171) assumes “the relevance of small changes observed in the present can be shown to hold for larger changes”.

Fig. 1 shows fluctuation of tendencies in the use of phenomena, across target samples.

Findings show that the renegotiation of the global, in the Greek academic context, tones down certain discursal features, which generally seem to be meeting the expectations of readers, as the test with the students revealed. In discussing sociolinguistic scales Blommaert (2010) refers to linguistic signs which seem to rise in the encounter with the global and signal delicate shifts in speaker positioning which seem to upscale meaning to “a higher level of relevance, truth and validity” (Blommaert 2010: 35). The three recent translations of the samples seem to manifest a shifting local perception of authenticity where local forces are shown to be *less* important than global ones. The finding that passivization devices are toned down in this set of data, is in agreement with research findings with popular science magazine discourse which shows that passivizations are toned down in translated production first, before they decrease in original production of popular science magazines (Malamatidou 2013). The study comes back to the interpretation of these findings in sections 5 and 6.

4 On pragmatic borrowing in specialized contact situations, like translation

This section draws a parallel between language acquisition and translation as specialized contact situations.

Kasper (2010) refers to the issue of transferability in a very specialized contact situation, namely, language acquisition. He discusses the transferability of linguistic features, including the transfer of pragmatic categories and patterns, in the interlanguage of learners, and assumes that future research “will have to focus on structural and non-structural factors that promote or depress cross-linguistic and cross-cultural influence in learners’ linguistic action” (Kasper 2010: 149). Translation seems to be another specialized contact situation, involving transfer opportunities for linguistic features, and translators seem to be in a similar position to that of the language learners, in that they are exposed to and mediate between two language codes which are in a particular power relationship. And, if the role of external factors has been assumed to be of paramount importance in language change situations (Thomason 2001), the same goes for change and pragmatic borrowing manifested through translation practice.

In discussing “effects on recipient-language structure” (Thomason 2001: 85) in contact-induced situations, Thomason refers to feature loss (among other mechanisms such as ‘replacement’ and ‘dichotomy’). The loosening of rationality cohesiveness and the lower frequency of the passivization/nominalization transformations may be assumed to be a manifestation of a process of feature loss. There seems to be a contact-induced change mechanism referred to as ‘passive familiarity’ which “involves partial activation of a foreign system” (Thomason 2001: 139). As Heine and Kuteva (2005: 14) suggest, “translation does in fact play an important role in situations of intense language contact” although it may be constrained in a number of ways. They also suggest that passive participants may, at times, be constrained by the presence of the other language in language-contact situations:

[i]n some of the literature on contact-induced change speakers are portrayed as fairly passive participants in linguistic discourse, exposed to challenges resulting from the presence of another language and being constrained by the linguistic “straightjacket” they are exposed to (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 14).

These are language-change phenomena raised in historical pragmatics, which is a “relatively young field [and] should be extended to other languages” (Jucker 2010: 118) beyond English. Translation, as a language contact scenario,

seems to be broadening the historical pragmatic scope, doing justice to pragmatic aspects of contact-induced change. As “[r]esearch into language change is becoming increasingly diversified” (Hickey 2010: 198), exploration of contact-induced language change through translation seems to be a recent addition to the methodologies employed so far.

A psycholinguistic perspective would parallel the translators’ state to a ‘bilingual language mode’ where the salience of certain features is toned down as a result of the contact situation. The change in the use of phenomena traced in this study is assumed to be a process suggestive of contact-induced influence. It is a kind of borrowing where speakers of the receiving language adopt features of the source language through the passive familiarity mechanism. Heine and Kuteva, following Lehmann ([1982] 1995), refer to a process of “obligatorification whereby categories whose use is optional come to be used more frequently and may turn into obligatory parts of words or word groups” (Heine and Kuteva 2005: 98). The process manifested in the present data is rather one of ‘optionalization’, whereby categories whose use was more salient, and are currently claimed to carry communicative potential in earlier Greek translated versions, are now becoming less obligatory.

5 Positive/negative politeness and face rapport management in translated scientific discourse

As mentioned, both structural and non-structural factors promoting or depressing cross-cultural influence are worth investigating in situations of contact. Rationality seems to be manifested through *structurally independent* items (connectives), whereas the *we*-suffix and passivisations are more *dependent structurally*. The question arises as to whether the structure in/dependency feature can be enlightened by facework enactment aspects, as a way of interpreting the findings. For instance, which one of these shifts manifesting the degeneration tendencies may be assumed to be more significant in terms of culture-specific facework enactment and identity traits?

It has been assumed that translation is a relational context (Sidiropoulou 2015) or a face enactment situation between translators and audience, where the translator renegotiates face aspects of text producer facework for the receiving environment. The data in this study have highlighted variation in the ease with which the Greek target version neglects and abandons enactment of face aspects, with certain face aspects being relatively invariant, in contrast to others. If these priorities can be further verified through an emic perspective to

academic (political discourse) data, it would signal a “culture-specific construal of connection and separation, [...] useful in examining other communities of practice” (Arundale 2013: 119).

In their attempt to make target academic discourse in line with local academic norms, translators allow into target discourses those features of discourse structure which may contrast with the norms of English academic writing. The frequency of some of these features seems to have declined in the more recent translations: there is a rather resistant taste for abandoning strengthened cohesion with reference to objectivity/rationality links, a taste for fewer passivizations and nominalizations and a fairly weakened taste for collective awareness (Figure 2). These findings are assumed to suggest a “growing openness to Anglophone textual connections” (Bennett 2012: 279) and perhaps a shifting culture-/genre-specific salience hierarchy among these aspects of facework, which possibly explains their different potential for resisting the influence of English.

Translation practice may be the “asynchronous communication” situation assuming “general public awareness” which Spencer-Oatey (2007: 653) has looked for, in her intention to consider situations which may broaden the concept of interaction.

6 An emic perspective to face-enacting hierarchies

Face researchers have highlighted the significance of first-order emic perspectives into face, in addition to second-order theoretical conceptualizations of it. The experiment is intended to capture the Greek academic “community’s emic practices and their emic conceptualization” (Arundale 2013: 114) of the hierarchical structures assumed in the interpretation of the dialectic of connectedness-separatedness. It draws on the assumption that

as interpretations [of our-connection-and-separation] evolve, they change in ways that *may be evaluated either negatively or positively* and that persons continually initiate actions that influence such changes, even though they cannot by themselves control the outcomes of such actions because those outcomes are emergent and non-summative (Arundale 2013: 116, emphasis added).

1st-year students in the Faculty of English, National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, are assumed to be the best emic users in the academic context, because they have been extensively exposed to Greek ‘academic’ discourse

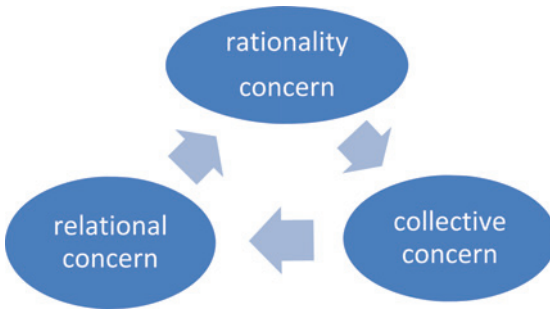


Figure 2: Binaries to be assessed for relative importance of their poles in facework enactment, in the Greek academic context.

through their secondary education and their tertiary education entrance exam reading. They may have a Proficiency in English, but they have been extensively exposed to Greek ‘academic’ discourse up to that point. Their insight into Greek academic discourse may deteriorate in subsequent years in tertiary education (four years overall), through their exposure to English coursebooks in various humanity subjects, in the Faculty of English.

I have wondered what hierarchies an emic perspective would suggest with reference to the three aspects of facework enacted by the three devices. This would allow an assessment of the relative importance of the diachronic shifts in the Greek academic community practice, as shaped in Figure 1, I conducted an experiment with translator-trainees to elicit positive/negative value judgments suggesting a hierarchy among these shifting aspects of facework, in the Greek academic context.

I selected six extracts from the target version of John Locke’s *The Second Treatise* and made two versions of each extract by manipulating certain features, with two pairs of versions, out of the six accommodating one of the binaries suggested in Figure 2. The intention was for me to trace the relative significance of these aspects of facework drawing on the insight of the Greek political science reader.

Ninety six translator-trainees were asked to function as translation editors and use their insights into Greek to say which version of each pair they would prioritize for its naturalness.

Two of the target fragment pairs varied in that they exclusively used the poles of the binary ‘collective vs. relational’ awareness, e.g., in the back-translation of the Greek sample extracts below, the left hand side version favours passive structures, the right hand side version cancels the passivization transformation and favours the *we*-inclusive verb suffixes.

[+passive, -we]

[The state of nature **is governed** by a natural law, which teaches **everyone** that since all **men are** equal and independent, one's freedom, health and property should not **be harmed**.]

[-passive, +we]

[A natural law **governs** the state of nature, and teaches **us** that since **we are** all equal and independent, **we** should not **harm** one's freedom, health and property.]

Another two of the fragment pairs differed in that they exclusively made use of the poles of the binary 'collective vs. rationality' concern, e.g., the left hand side back-translation version below favours *we*-inclusive verb suffixes and cancels the cause-and-effect connective, the right hand side version favours the connective and cancels the *we*- inclusive verb suffixes.

[-connective, +we]

[This natural equality of men is unquestionable. **[X]** It is the basis on which **we** build the obligations **we** owe **our** fellow people]

[+connective, -we]

[This natural equality of men is unquestionable, **so that** it is the basis on which one builds the obligations **one** owes **our** another]

The final two fragment pairs differed in that they exclusively made use of the poles of the binary 'relational vs. rationality' concern, e.g., the left hand side of the back-translated version below favours passive structures and no connective, the right hand side version, cancels the passivization transformation and favours the rationality connective.

[+passive, -connective]

[In order for the nature of political power **to be understood** correctly and its source to **be examined**, the state all men are naturally in must **be considered**. **[X]** Nothing is clearer that creatures of the same kind should be equal among themselves, without ... subjugation.]

[-passive, +connective]

[For a person **to understand** political power correctly and **examine** it from its source, s/he must **consider** what state all men are naturally in, **because** nothing is clearer that creatures of the same kind should be equal among themselves, without .. subjugation.]

Measurement of findings suggests that the relational concern (passive/nominalization) wins over quality face aspect (rationality connectives, fragment pairs 1+2) and over social identity face (collective, fragment pairs 5+6). Results are not very clear as to the hierarchy between quality face (rationality collectives) and social identity face (*we*-inclusive suffixes).

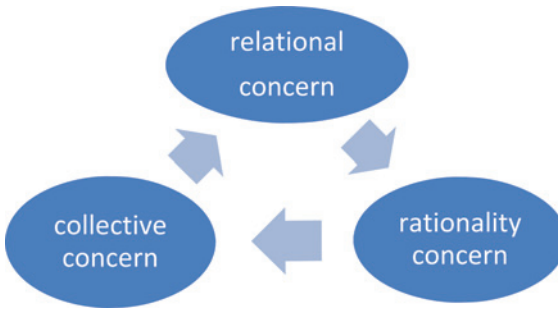


Figure 3: Aspects of facework assessed for their relative importance in the Greek political science academic context.

Table 3: Test results on facework enactment priorities in the Greek academic context.

Fragment pair 1	[+passive, –connective]	58,33 %	[–passive, +connective]	41,67 %
Fragment pair 2	(relational vs. quality face)	83,33 %		16,67 %
Fragment pair 3	[+connective, –we]	44,26 %	[–connective, +we]	56,74 %
Fragment pair 4	(quality vs. social identity)	72,16 %		27,84 %
Fragment pair 5	[+passive, –we]	61,46 %	[–passive, +we]	38,54 %
Fragment pair 6	(relational vs. social ident)	67,70 %		32,30 %

The hierarchy of face aspects suggested by the emic test are roughly summarized in Figure 3, with the relational concern given top priority. This finding seems to lend support to the relational perspective prioritized in facework research (Spencer-Oatey 2007).

If the relational is an aspect of facework which is currently prioritized in the mind of the Greek academic reader, then the fluctuation margin manifested by the third line in Figure 1, although relatively narrow, seems to be highly significant in that the diachronic change suppresses a face aspect which is currently privileged in academic face enacting situations. This is in agreement with what Blommaert (2010: 35) claims that, in the encounter with the global, there may be delicate shifts in speaker positioning which seem to upscale meaning to “a higher level of relevance, truth and validity”.

7 On globalization and politeness shifts

Aitchison (1991: 260) argues that “[m]inor variations [...] are unimportant but change which disrupts the mutual intelligibility of a community can be socially and politically undesirable”. I shall now move to perspectives on globalization as summarized by Hardt (2001) in his working paper *Globalization and Democracy*, to attempt an account of which perspective on globalization the findings in this study lend support to. In answering the question what the political consequences of globalization are – whether globalization fosters or hinders democracy – Hardt gives a grid of left and right oriented views on globalization. I’m adapting the grid for the purposes of this study.

The assumption has been that the diachronic degeneration of tendencies in the use of particular discourse phenomena is a manifestation of the effects of globalization on discourse as manifested through translation. These shifts become particularly crucial when they affect aspects of facework which are currently prioritized in locally enacted facework in academic situations.

It seems to me that the theory of globalization which does justice to the significance of these findings is of the top right quadrant of the grid in Table 4. It avoids the narrative of globalization as harmonization (the study has traced suppression of face enacting priorities) and highlights the need for protecting local identities in view of the globalization of culture.

Translation may be assumed to be one of the “networks of command” through which Empire (Hardt and Negri 2000) manages hybrid identities and flexible hierarchies. If Empire is assumed to bring both ‘forms of domination’ and at the same time ‘new potentials for liberation’, the data in this study has rather highlighted the domination potential.

Table 4: Hardt’s (2001) ‘Globalization and Democracy’ grid (adapted).

Globalization fosters democracy	Globalization inhibits democracy
<p>2. Liberal cosmopolitanism Global civil society ----- Cultural mixture promotes human understanding and harmony</p> <p>3. Capitalist Democracy Globalization of capital is itself the globalization of democracy US hegemony is itself the global triumph of democracy</p>	<p>1a. Social Democracy The myth of globalization takes power from the nation state – decline of national sovereignty has removed protections that previously guarded society...</p> <p>1b. Critique of Eurocentrism</p> <p>4. Traditional values conservatism Lack of state control leads to global anarchy and instability Cultural mixture leads to conflict -----</p>

Another notion I would like to draw attention to, drawing on Hardt and Negri (2000), is the notion of ‘multitude’ used to refer to active social agents, which contrasts with the notion of mass or mob. They address the empirical issue of what or who is the multitude and suggest that this has to be explored with reference to “contemporary forms and practices of labor” (Hardt 2001: 17). The degeneration of local discourse tendencies highlighted in this research calls for translators who are part of the ‘multitude’, namely, social agents fully aware of the networks of command, the ones which produce the hybridities favoured by Empire.

Discourses are abstract entities registering moments of social practice. They can represent globalization and contribute to the understanding of it (Fairclough 2006). Fairclough (2006: 144–145) argues that “[w]hat is missing from the existing literature on globalization is a systematic approach to theorizing and analysing *discourse* as a moment of globalization” (emphasis added). He assumes that “globalization can be seen as a matter of re-scaling” (Fairclough 2006: 31) of entities. The reorganization of face aspect priorities in target discourses highlighted in this study are assumed to be an instance of complex recontextualization and re-scaling processes which are underway, and reflect details within the bigger processes of change.

The complexity and unpredictability of globalization processes are also anticipated in Blommaert² (2010: 24) who claims that “[e]ven if similar features occur all over the globe, the local histories can be fundamentally different and so create very different events and functions”. Potentially in agreement with Hardt and Negri’s (2000) notion of ‘multitude’, Fairclough wonders to what extent internal agencies appropriate external strategies of globalization:

The general point is that people are social agents with capacities for acting and strategizing, not merely the passive objects of larger social processes and changes, and they can develop their own ways of acting in response to them and within them (Fairclough 2006: 106).

The assumption in this study has been that translation can make a considerable contribution to the study of globalization, in the same way discourse analysis is indispensable for the analysis of globalization.

Fairclough (2006) contests globalism, the neo-liberal view of globalization as harmonization, and the globalist notion of ‘transition’, which does not do justice to complex phenomena and processes inherent in globalization. In a

² Blommaert (2010: 19) refers to the various ways the hip-hop movement merged with local cultures and refers to some local forces which “are as important as global ones” in reshaping hip-hop locally.

similar vein, I would assume, Baker (2006) contests the ‘bridge’ metaphor in translation studies (namely that translation builds bridges between cultures) as too naive to capture the complexities of translation practice, and Tymoczko (2010) contests the centrality of Western European metaphors in translation studies (among which are the ‘transfer’, ‘friendship’, ‘footsteps’, and ‘reincarnation’ metaphors etc.). One question is what would an appropriate metaphor for translation be, which would do justice to the complex processes of re-scaling traced in this study. Perhaps the Trojan horse metaphor (as suggested by Apostolou-Panara 1997) might be more suitable.

Tomlinson (1999: 150) focuses on globalizing mediated communication and “the delivery of deterioralized cultural experience”. Hickey highlights the power of English to interact with other languages in contact situations which do not involve face-to-face interaction:

In contemporary societies this contact can be seen in the massive influence of English on other languages. It is more the result of a one-way exposure to English through the media, than of any contact in the sense of face-to-face interaction (Hickey 2010: 196)

The study attempted to highlight the relevance of the diachronic perspective to the process of understanding communicative aspects of textual structure and change, with reference to face enacting priorities. It traced shifts in im/politeness markers through English-Greek translated political science discourse and identified some ‘degeneration’ of im/politeness markers diachronically.

If translation contexts are assumed to be interactional contexts between text producer and readership (Sidiropoulou 2015), the present approach has methodologically addressed key issues in im/politeness research, namely, (1) focus on discourse data “(longer fragments of authentic interaction) as opposed to single utterances, that are often made up” (Haugh 2011: 523) and (2) emphasis on the hearers’ evaluation of behaviour (Gacés-Conehos Blitvitch [2013: 2] – this has been realized through translator trainees’ value judgements on appropriateness). Besides, retranslation data (multiple translations of the same original) may more naturally address the need for researching impoliteness, in the sense that contrasting target options for appropriateness is more easily assumed to be able to identify the odd option out (namely the impolite one), drawing on the insight of the lay person.

The study traced treatment of politeness features in English-Greek translated political science discourse. A pilot study first identified a set of shift types between the English and Greek versions of John Stuart Mill’s essay *On Liberty* (1869, 1983) tracing a prevailing set of positive politeness shifts in the Greek target version, often balanced with some negative politeness ones. An experiment followed, examining renditions of three politeness devices which are

claimed to realize aspects of facework (Spencer-Oatey 2007), in two Greek versions (1990, 2005) of John Locke's *The Second Treatise*. Results showed that there is variation between retranslations in the treatment of these devices, which may be associated with value judgements of present day academic readers. The study further examined a set of six parallel samples from different political science works and their translation into Greek, with a view to quantitatively verifying the hypothesis that Greek academic discourse is changing under the influence of English academic discourse. Results show that features are 'degenerating' in translations. Finally an experiment was conducted with translator-trainees, on the relative importance of these features (and aspects of facework) from an emic perspective. The study concluded that the relational aspect of facework, which is favoured by native Greek informants, undergoes some 'degeneration' over the years, which seems to suppress the local balance of positive/negative politeness patterns in political science discourse. The assumption has been that this is an effect of globalization suppressing locally favoured aspects of facework in academic discourse, through the inflow of translated material in the reception environment.

A limitation of the study seems to be the narrow set of data used for conclusions to be drawn about the evolution of the three phenomena in Greek, as manifested through translation. For instance the 1000-word samples in Section 3.3 were intended to show that even in short samples, tendencies may be noticeable. More extended data samples would have been preferable, and perhaps a wider set of positive/negative politeness shifts would have suggested a clearer picture of the potential of translation to manifest language change tendencies, through retranslations of the same original.

A limitation of the emic experiment in section 6 may be that when one takes out subordinating connectives (as I did in example fragments 1–4), the entire sample will revert to parataxis and it is hard to tell whether the evaluation is caused by parataxis or by the absence of connectives. This may be a reason why the binary 'quality vs. social identity' face aspects (example fragments 3 and 4, Table 3) yielded ambivalent results. By contrast the preference for passivization as a pole of the binaries, in example fragments 1–2 and 5–6 is rather clear, and seems clearer when the ambiguity between parataxis-subordinative connection does not occur (as in 5–6).

An open research problem is for researchers to trace what other language pairs in translation would bring into Greek, what other traces various communities of practice within academia may be allowing into Greek. My impression is that Greek academics who have studied in France and Spain tend to allow into their Greek academic production high levels of the *we*-inclusive reading of the Greek verb suffix (which have pronominal use), and perhaps more than this.

This might suggest a need for reshaping the change tendencies manifested in Figure 2 above. It echoes Kádár and Mills' view that researchers should perhaps approach im/politeness as a 'resource' and confine themselves to drawing conclusions with reference to particular communities of practice rather than "describing the politeness and impoliteness norm of a particular culture with great confidence" (Kádár and Mills 2011: 42):

For an adequate description of the politeness norms of a particular culture, we need to describe not just the dominant norms within the culture [...] but rather we need to describe the variation there is within the society and the contestation of norms. Not only do different groups use different resources in order to be polite or impolite, they also evaluate those resources differently. (Kádár and Mills 2011: 42)

An open research question which would make the three-fold perception of face an analytical tool for charting patterns of contact-induced language change is whether other language pairs tend to neglect different aspects of face. This would shed light on culturally – or generically – relevant socio-psychological aspects of face and identity.

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Appendix

Table 5: Sources of data: academic political science – parallel data.

ST	TT
1 Mill, John Stuart. <i>On Liberty</i> . (1869) Great books Online. http://www.bartleby.com/130/ (accessed 2, October, 2013)	Τζων Στούαρτ Μιλ. <i>Περί Ελευθερίας</i> . Μετάφρ. Νίκος Μπαλής. Αθήνα: Επίκουρος 1983
2 Hobbes, Thomas. <i>Leviathan</i> . (1651) Renaissance Editions 1999 The University of Oregon http://oregonstate.edu/instruct/phl302/texts/hobbes/leviathan-contents.html (accessed 21 March, 2015)	<i>Τομας Χομπς. Λεβιάθαν</i> . Μετάφρ. Γρηγόρης Πασχαλίδης, Αιμίλιος Μεταξόπουλος. Αθήνα: Γνώση 1989

Table 5 (continued)

ST	TT	
3	<p>Locke, John. <i>The Second Treatise of Civil Government</i> (1690) http://www.constitution.org/jl/2ndtreat.txt (accessed 21 March, 2015)</p>	<p>Τζων Λοκ. <i>Πραγματεία περί Κυβερνήσεως</i>. Μετάφρ. Πασχάλης Κιτρομηλίδης. Αθήνα: Γνώση 1990</p>
4	<p>Locke, John. <i>The Second Treatise of Civil Government</i> (1690) http://www.constitution.org/jl/2ndtreat.txt (accessed 21 March, 2015)</p>	<p>“John Lock. Δεύτερη πραγματεία για την Κυβέρνηση” στο <i>Θεωρίες της Πολιτικής και του κράτους, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Kant, Hegel</i>. Μετάφρ. Μανόλης Αγγελίδης, Θανάσης Γκιούρας. 119–150. Ίδρυμα Σάκη Καραγιωργα. Αθήνα: Σαββάλας 2005</p>
5	<p>Heywood, Andrew. 2007 [1997/2002]. <i>Politics</i>. New York: Palgrave MacMillan</p>	<p><i>Andrew Heywood Εισαγωγή στην Πολιτική</i>. Μετάφρ. Γιώργος Καραμπέλας. Αθήνα: Πόλις 2006</p>
6	<p>Lukes, Steven. 2005 [1974] <i>Power: A radical view</i>. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan</p>	<p>Steven Lukes. <i>Ε ξουσία: Μια ριζοσπαστική Θεώρηση</i>. Μετάφρ. Σοφία Καϊτατζή-Γουίτλοκ. Αθήνα: Σαββάλας 2007</p>
7	<p>Hay, Colin, Michael Lister and David Marsh (eds.) 2006. <i>The State. Theories and Issues</i>. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan</p>	<p>Colin Hay, Michael Lister and David Marsh (επιμ) 2011. <i>Το Κράτος: Θεωρίες και Προσεγγίσεις</i>. Μετάφρ. Γιώργος Αντωνίου, Αλέξανδρος Κουτσογιάννης. Αθήνα: Σαββάλας 2011</p>

Bionotes

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