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Translanguaging aspects of modality

Teaching perspectives through parallel data

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This article explores aspects of modal marker use in English and Greek and suggests that parallel data may significantly contribute to raising learners' intercultural sensitivity in the FL classroom, as an instance of TOLC (Translation in Other Language Contexts). Parallel data seem to assume a dynamic potential (privileging learner autonomy and developing self-study skills), which other traditional approaches to the use of the modal system lack, leaving important aspects of cross-cultural variation out of the perspective of the learner. The study focuses on two aspects of intercultural variation in the use of the modal systems of English and Greek, namely shifting degrees of possibility-certainty and the shift across epistemic-deontic, as manifested through a 2013–2014 sample of parallel data from newspapers. It offers a set of sample exercises highlighting the potential of translation to contribute valuable insights to L2/additional language learning (ALL) and syllabus design, assuming an ecological ethic in acknowledging the primacy of context, including L1, especially if L1 is a less widely spoken language.

Keywords: modal system, epistemic, deontic, intercultural sensitivity, parallel data, language teaching

1. On parallel data and intercultural education

“There is much to language learning than teaching that is not measurable by standards of proficiency and that cannot be taught directly, only modeled and reflected upon” (Kramsch 2008, 406).

Intercultural awareness is a principal goal in L2 learning (Takimoto and Hashimoto 2010, 88; Laviosa 2014). Learners are asked to ‘translate’ themselves into another language and culture. Teaching methods have often been concerned with enhancing learners’ intercultural sensitivity through cultural self-study. Learners are made

aware of the “power of culture through recognition” (Weigl 2009, 346), both cognitively and emotionally, of how learners may be “the vehicles for the expression of culture”. ‘Cognitive recognition’ would assume awareness of prevalent conceptualizations which pervade language and culture (Sidiropoulou and Hoidas 2014, 177; Sidiropoulou and Tsapaki 2014, 32) and would enhance learning processes if made conscious in either the mind of the learner or educator. ‘Emotional recognition’ may touch upon — among other things — varied degrees of in/directness or un/certainty, with which certain communication tasks are performed.

Intercultural education requires the construction of ‘intercultural imagination’ (Bash 2014, 77) “in association with reason, understanding and knowledge”. This article aims at highlighting the potential of parallel (translational) material to enhance intercultural imagination with reference to the use of the modal systems of English and Greek, in association with understanding and knowledge which emerges from observation of raw data. The paper assumes the dichotomy, mother tongue or nativeness vs. foreign language, although this dichotomy has been questioned in multicultural ecologies, especially where a third linguistic code is involved and “language creation is the result of a hybridization process” (Ansaldò 2010, 261). The assumption in this article is that, apart from features which may be approached critically, there are distinct, consolidated preferences in the use of phenomena across cultures, which need to be made conscious in the mind of the learner. One way for the educator to enhance intercultural awareness is through the use of parallel data.

If preparing “young people for constructive public participation as citizens” (Sleeter 2014, 85) is a goal in multicultural education, appropriate use of the system of modality assumes a central position in the expression of ‘citenry’, equity and human rights. This is likely to be achieved — among other things — by ensuring appropriate degrees of speaker un/certainty in discourse and manipulation of epistemic/deontic attitudes in communicative situations, in agreement with TL/L2 discourse conventions. In addition, the politically oriented data resources used in this article, namely pairs of English newspaper articles and their Greek versions (as they appeared in Greek broadsheet newspapers) may ensure awareness of what it means to use the phenomenon of modality to critically approach issues of equity and social justice, in paving the way towards ‘citizenship education’ (Gundara 2014, 114). Likewise, being concerned with building an intercultural ethos in teacher education, Tarozzi (2014, 128) claims that teacher education “can be effective if knowledge and competence acquisition are combined with emancipatory and empowering processes [...] and if political commitment pervades the pedagogical environment”. Parallel data from newspapers seem to meet these criteria, in that emancipatory and empowering processes are ubiquitous in this

type of data motivated by the text producers' intention to foreground views which may not be stated but implied.

A primary goal in L2 learning is to cultivate "community across difference" (Gibson and Grant 2012, 313). Awareness of difference in the use of a phenomenon is expected to boost 'community'. And if, despite good intentions, "most intercultural practice supports rather than challenges, dominant hegemony, prevailing social hierarchies of power and inequitable distributions of power and privilege" (Gorski 2008, 515), parallel journalistic data seem to be an excellent resource for tracing "not only subtle shifts in practice and personal relationships, but also important shifts of consciousness that prepare us to see and react to the socio-political contexts" (515).

Examining the use of modal systems across types of journalistic data is not a novel idea. Bonyadi (2011, 1) analysed editorials from the *New York Times* and the Persian English newspaper *Tehran Times*, suggesting that both newspapers preferred predictive auxiliary modal verbs, but the *New York Times* editorials focused most on what *would* happen in the future, while the *Tehran Times* was more concerned with what *should* be done. The press data set to be discussed in this article displays a similar tendency to highlight necessity (the deontic) on the Greek side, at points where possibility (the epistemic) is privileged on the English side. The article examines aspects of modal use in English and Greek parallel press data from 2013 and 2014 and highlights the significance of the results for FL learning.

2. Modality within and across languages

The term 'modality' has been used in various ways in the literature. In a very broad sense it refers to speaker attitude to the state of affairs. The English modal system has attracted researchers (Halliday 1976, 1978; Palmer 1979, 1986; Sweetser 1982; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004) who focused on the various lexico-grammatical exponents of the modal notions in discourse. The present article uses Halliday's model of modality for the high (certain) –median (probable) –low (possible) modal value scale it assumes (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004, 620). The model seems to adequately account for systematic variation observed in the two versions of the parallel data set, namely the tendency of one language version (English) to prefer low modal values and the other language (Greek) to favour higher values on that scale.

Table 1 shows a simplified version of Halliday's (1976) categorization of notions and options in the English modal system. 'Modality' (i.e. epistemic notions of probability, possibility, virtual certainty, certainty) realizes aspects of Halliday's (1976) interpersonal metafunction of language, while 'modulation' (i.e. inclination,

Table 1. The modal system (adapted from Halliday 1976, 190, 202)

| Modality (Interpersonal function) | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | PROBABLE | POSSIBLE-CERTAIN | VIRTUALLY CERTAIN | CERTAIN |
| neutral | probably <i>will</i> | possibly <i>may, can</i> | | certainly <i>must</i> |
| undertone/ tentative | presumably <i>would (will)</i> | perhaps <i>might, could</i> | assuredly <i>should ought to</i> | obviously <i>must</i> |
| overtone/ assertive | predictably <i>would</i> | conceivably <i>may, might, could</i> | surely <i>should, ought to</i> | surely <i>must</i> |
| Modulation (Ideational function) | | | | |
| | ACTIVE | PASSIVE | | |
| | INCLINATION | PERMISSION | NECESSITY | |
| neutral | willing, insistent <i>will</i> | allowed <i>can, may</i> | obliged, supposed | required <i>must</i> |
| oblique/ tentative | <i>would (will)</i> | <i>might, could</i> | <i>should ought to</i> | obviously <i>must</i> |
| | ABILITY | | | |
| neutral | able <i>can</i> | entitled <i>can</i> | desired, expected <i>shall</i> | designated, intended <i>is to</i> |
| oblique/ tentative | <i>could</i> | <i>could</i> | <i>should</i> | <i>was to</i> |

permission, necessity) realizes aspects of Halliday's ideational metafunction of language (190, 202). The model distinguishes between tentative and assertive options (adverbials or verb forms). This article will show instances of modal operator use in English and Greek, where the Greek text producer prefers to move rightwards along the possible-certain modality scale and occasionally downwards onto the modulation axis.

The assumption is that parallel data may boost learners' intercultural imagination, unveiling linguistic anthropological features of languages and/or emancipatory practices of the text producer.

Variation in the use of modal operators has been investigated:

- in monolingual research (Halliday 1976; Palmer 1979, 1986; de Haan 1999; Cuenca and Marín 2012; Rocci 2012; Garzone 2013),
- across languages (Fang, Song and Wu 2008; Mortelmans 2012),
- from a teaching perspective (Holmes 1988; Bella 2012),

- with reference to specific genres, like for instance news reporting (Bednarek 2007; Thompson 2012), informal letter writing (Efstathiadi 2010), scientific writing (Koutsantoni 2005), to mention only a few.

These studies have highlighted various aspects of differences in meaning in the use of L1 and L2 to enhance understanding of the issues involved in communication. Despite prolific research on the use of modals, learning to use an L2 modal system is occasionally (and naively) assumed to be a rather straightforward task, evidently because of distinct grammatical categories across languages realizing the system of modality, namely, those of ‘modal verbs’, ‘modal adverbs’, ‘modal inflections’ (moods). Straightforward rendition of modal operators from English into Greek has been confirmed by measurements in this data set (53.45% of the modal operators used in the subcorpora referred to in this article have been transferred intact in the Greek version, see Table 2).

Yet, Greek learners of English, even advanced ones, rarely reach a near-native command of the modal system in English. Manika (2006, v) suggests that Greek learners of English, in Greek state schools, seem to have difficulty in making the appropriate connection between the modal carriers and the notion they correspond to in real communication. For instance, “not the whole spectrum of certainty is presented” to students (Manika 2006, 3), certain degrees may be missing and thus aligning options across epistemic systems is often problematic. Besides, learners never seem to wonder about the interpersonal relation they establish with the L2 addressee through the modal system.

If epistemic notions establish a particular type of relationship between interlocutors, realizing Halliday’s interpersonal metafunction of language, learners of L2 tend to transfer the interpersonal relationship they establish in the L1 situation, into the L2: shorter interpersonal distance favoured in one language may trigger higher certainty modal operators. Likewise, traditional material designers never seem to favour a parallel data-driven approach to intercultural aspects of variation in the use of the modal system and usually help learners with aligning fundamental modal options instead, “explaining language structures through analyzing their function” (de Haan 2006, 27).¹

Material designers justifiably focus on correlating options to notions by simply aligning modal adverbs or modal verbs with modal notions in the mind of the learner. The problem is that the use of modal systems varies cross-culturally and

1. Lock, for instance, insightfully asks students to “identify expressions of likelihood” in examples (Lock 1996/2005, 194) and draws attention to high (*must*), mid (*ought to*), low (*may*) likelihood (495). Likewise, Hill et al. (1989/1990, 111) provide a set of modal verbs and a set of situations where modality is to be expressed, asking students to match modal verbs to appropriate situations.

students are tempted to transfer L1 habits to L2. Koutsantoni (2005, 121) shows that Greek scientific authors “appear a great deal more certain and committed to their claims than native English-speaking authors”. This is claimed to be a manifestation of the high uncertainty avoidance tendency of Greek, also evident in parallel advertising data (Sidiropoulou 2008, 345), which is assumed to impede Greek EFL learners’ achievement of near-native command of English.

The modal system contributes to realizing aspects of the systems of negative/positive politeness (Brown and Levinson 1978/1987; Sifianou 1992; Efstathiadi 2010), with Greek being on the ‘positive’ side and English on the ‘negative’ one. Negative and positive politeness systems exhibit preference for different linguistic devices, one of which is the preference for higher certainty and short interpersonal distance between interlocutors (positive politeness) vs. lower certainty and longer interpersonal distance (negative politeness). The assumption is that learners should be made aware of message construction preferences across cultures so that they can adjust their production to L2 modes of expression. The parallel data-driven evidence in the present article shows that a near-native command of the English modal system by learners of English would require awareness of variation with reference to issues beyond the task of associating modal notions to modal options. In addition, it requires an insight into intercultural pragmatics with reference to the use of the modal system. This would involve awareness of the preference of English for lower certainty (in comparison to Greek), rather than simply aligning modal notions to modal markers of L2.

This study intends to highlight the potential of parallel data to identify points of variation in the use of the modal system across L1 and L2, which instruction material for Greek learners of English seems to disregard, leaving the learner alone to cope with the intricacies of intercultural variation in discourse construction. For instance, Dean and Roe (1989, 56) ask students to rewrite certain sentences by using modals. This is an excellent exercise for learners to practise the modal inventory they should have available in their minds, but the disposition of the Greek learners to enforce epistemic values is *not* taken into account, although it is likely to affect L2 production.

Parallel data (English original and Greek translated production) are a rich resource for drawing conclusions about the use of phenomena across languages. They seem to encompass the ST producer’s insight into English (L2) and the TT producer’s insight into Greek (L1), providing a unique opportunity for teachers, material designers and learners to notice unsuspected points of variation between L2 and L1. This would ensure a cross-cultural perspective on modal phenomena and boost learners’ intercultural imagination. The term ‘imagination’ echoes the ‘openness’ to cosmopolitan values assumed by the term ‘cosmopolitan imagination’ in Delanty’s critical cosmopolitan model (2006, 40). The model anticipates

relativising cultural values in social behaviour through a process of internal cognitive transformation (41) in a cosmopolitan context. Parallel data can identify this transformative potential and boost learners' intercultural imagination. As James (1998, 256) claims, "grammar teaching should be less immediately concerned with accurate production, and more with helping learners to *notice* TL forms receptively" (original emphasis). The intercultural perspective in this study is concerned with providing 'practice' in translanguaging modality.

3. Press-data-driven evidence on the use of modal notions in English and Greek

We explore the representation in Greek press discourse of the notions indicated by English modal operators in English press discourse. We report on a student data observation activity (postgraduate course, Faculty of English, University of Athens, Spring 2014), focusing on the use of the modal system across English and Greek press data. A set of parallel press data from 2013 and 2014 was scrutinized for evidence of preferred patterns in the use of the modal system. The study draws on a sample of the T.E.G.MA. press corpus, namely ten English-Greek pairs of press articles (Greek version: 7.313 words) from *The Guardian* and *The New York Times*, which appeared in the Greek broadsheet newspapers *Η Αυγή*, *Το Βήμα*, *Έθνος*, *Η Καθημερινή*.² The rest of the corpus is much wider, as students examined sub-corpora of 20–24 article pairs each to perform their data observation tasks. Although the Greek modal system is complex, with moods interacting with modal verbs and adverbs, in the mind of the learner the modal verb *πρέπει* is rather straightforwardly associated with *must* and *μπορεί* with *can/may* (epistemic or deontic), with *could* and *might* rather corresponding to a tentative form of *μπορεί*, namely *θα μπορούσε*, and *should* assuming a tentative form of *πρέπει*, namely *θα έπρεπε*.

| | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|---------------|------------------|
| <i>can/may</i> | <i>could/might</i> | <i>must</i> | <i>should</i> |
| <i>μπορεί</i> | <i>θα μπορούσε</i> | <i>πρέπει</i> | <i>θα έπρεπε</i> |

A straightforward rendition of the tentative modal operator *should* as *θα έπρεπε* appears in the headlines of article pair 6. As mentioned earlier, measurements in the sub-corpora showed that 53.45% of modal operators have been rendered

2. Translated English-Greek Material, Faculty of English, University of Athens <http://en.metafraseis.enl.uoa.gr/t-e-g-ma-parallel-corpus-archive.html>

Table 2. T.E.G.MA. 2013–2014 sub-corpora: no-shift percentages in modal marker rendition

| Sub-corpus | A | B | C | D | E | F | G |
|-------------------------------------|--------|-----|-------|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| Intact rendition of modal operators | 46% | 59% | 59.2% | 51% | 58% | 36% | 65% |
| Average: | 53.45% | | | | | | |

intact, with the remaining 46.55% displaying shifts that range from addition/omission of modal operators to shifts in modal notions and degrees.

Observation of the remaining 46.55% shows a tendency in the Greek target text to omit rather than add modal markers. This mostly results in heightening the level of certainty with which propositions appear to be put forward. For instance, the ratio of inserted/omitted modal operators in ‘Sub-corpus A’ was 5% (addition) vs. 20% (omission), in ‘Sub-corpus B’ it was 4.5% vs. 15.5%, etc. Moreover, quite a few of the instances of what students called “other shifts” seem to enforce the level of certainty on the Greek side even further. Another interesting type of shift was a tendency of the Greek translator to favour the deontic aspect of meaning, in cases where the English journalist opts for the epistemic one. Modal exercises in EFL material never seem to warn students about the shift in the level of certainty across languages, nor about the tendency of a language version to favour deontic aspects of meaning-making when the other language version may privilege epistemic notions. In fact, if mother tongue structures are internalized and subconscious, English-speaking Greek educators may not be aware of this type of variation, except perhaps vaguely and unless noticed through corpora and intercultural pragmatic research. The following examples show instances of the tendency towards heightening certainty and focusing on the deontic.

3.1 Heightening certainty

In ST/TT1, the ST item *may be easy* becomes TT *είναι εύκολο* (is easy), erasing the modal operator *may* and heightening certainty.³

- (1) ST After all, for someone on a cool, tax-free \$500,000 salary, [...] reality **may be** easy to miss.

“Christine Lagarde thinks the troika got it wrong on Greece? If only she knew” *The Guardian*, 24 Feb. 2014

TT *Εκτός αυτού, για κάποιον που παίρνει αφορολόγητο μισθό 500.000 δολάρια, [...] είναι εύκολο να χάσει την πραγματικότητα», συνεχίζει.*

3. I would like to thank students for drawing my attention to some examples. They have been conscientious research companions.

“Πώς να αντιληφθεί την ελληνική τραγωδία η χλιδάτη Λαγκάρντ;”
Έθνος, 26 Feb. 2014

[In addition, for someone who gets a tax-free \$500,000 salary, [...] it is easy to miss reality].

The same goes for ST/TT2, where the modal operator *probably* disappears from the TT. The Greek version sounds more confident. The missing operator is marked with “[*]” in the Greek version.

- (2) ST By my rough count, about a third of the top 50 inherited large fortunes. Another third are 65 or older, so they **will probably** be leaving large fortunes to their heirs.

“America’s Taxation Tradition” *The New York Times*, 27 Mar. 2014

TT ...βλέπουμε πως περίπου το 1/3 των 50 πρώτων έχει κληρονομήσει μεγάλες περιουσίες. Ενα άλλο 1/3 είναι άνω των 65 ετών και [*] θα κληροδοτήσει μεγάλες περιουσίες στους απογόνους του.

“Κόντρα στην παράδοση η φορολογία των πλουσίων στις ΗΠΑ”, Η Καθημερινή, 29 Mar. 2014

[...we see that about a third of the top 50 inherited large fortunes. Another third are 65 or older, so they [*] will be leaving large fortunes to their heirs]

Likewise, the ST3 hedge *appeared to put tourists off* is deleted from the target version making the truth of what is said appear non-negotiable.

- (3) ST Media reports of unrest from hotspots in Cairo and northern Sinai **appeared to put tourists off** even the tranquil holiday resorts...

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

TT Οι ειδήσεις για ταραχές στο Κάιρο και στο βόρειο Σινά [*] αποθάρρυναν τους τουρίστες, ακόμη και από ήρεμα θέρετρα ...

“Ερημη από τουρίστες η Αίγυπτος λόγω των πολιτικών ταραχών”, Το Βήμα, 11 Feb. 2014

[Reports of unrest in Cairo and northern Sinai [*] put tourists off even the tranquil holiday resorts ...]

TT4 enhances certainty through the modal booster *σίγουρα* (surely). The addition may carry ideological implications, but reassuring additions are also positive politeness devices that enhance the interpersonal dimension between speaker and addressee.

- (4) ST 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*, 10 Sept. 2013

TT Έχω δει γενιές και γενιές παιδιών με τερατώδεις δυσμορφίες. Ο Κέρι με το προσωπικό του ρεκόρ πολέμων που έχουν πνιγεί στο αίμα θα τα θυμάται σίγουρα.

“*The Guardian*: Η Ουάσιγκτον κατελήφθη με ένα αθόρυβο πραξικόπημα”, Η Αυγή, 14 Sept 2013

[I have seen generations of children with monstrous deformities. Kerry, with his own blood-soaked war record, will **surely** remember them].

Greek EFL learners tend to transfer the same degree of certainty in their English language production, thus creating a rather odd effect in English, parallel to the odd effect an excessive use of hedges creates in Greek (my insight). For instance, in their ESP production they may prefer to adhere to the value of heightening certainty (which assumes contributing to the addressee and to the communicative situation), rather than adhering to the value of academic modesty (a value highly appreciated in English academic discourse) that would assume minimizing certainty. This is something that material designers should cater for to avoid leaving the learner alone in the intercultural encounter, as traditional exercises on the use of modals seem to do. The phenomenon is evident in postgraduate production (in English), where Greek students have to learn to use hedges more systematically. The high-power distance (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005, 57) between the researcher and addressee, which is favoured in Greek, would assume a more confident attitude on the part of the researcher.

3.2 Focus on the deontic

Another shift identified in my data is a fairly systematic shift from *may* (epistemic) to *πρέπει* (deontic) — see, for instance, *πρέπει, θα πρέπει* in the examples below. ST/TTs 5–7 display the tendency of shifting epistemic *may* into deontic *πρέπει* or *θα πρέπει*, rather than the readily available option *μπορεί*. It is probably the same high-power distance feature (Hofstede and Hofstede 2005, 57) between speaker and addressee which triggers this shift.

- (5) ST This is where external factors **may** come in. European partners will not be able to ignore the social impact of their economic policies for long. “Golden Dawn is growing- Europe must help curb the rise of the far right”, *The Guardian*, 19 Sept 2013

TT Εδώ είναι που **πρέπει** να επέμβει ο εξωτερικός παράγοντας. Οι ευρωπαίοι εταίροι δεν θα είναι εύκολο να αγνοήσουν για πολύ τον κοινωνικό αντίκτυπο της οικονομικής τους πολιτικής.

“*Guardian*: Διαφορά, λιτότητα, λαθρομετανάστευση, «φούντωσαν» τη Χρυσή Αυγή”, Έθνος, 20 Sept. 2013

[This is where an external factor **must** come in. European partners will not easily ignore the social impact of their economic policy for long.]

- (6) ST Putin **may** note, though, that his handling of the Ukraine crisis has reopened the Finnish and Swedish debates on Nato membership.

“Ukraine crisis: Putin should know we mess with Europe’s borders at our peril” *The Guardian* 20 Apr. 2014

TT Ο Πούτιν **πρέπει** να παραδεχθεί, όμως, ότι ο χειρισμός της ουκρανικής κρίσης επανέφερε στο προσκήνιο την ένταξη και των δύο αυτών σκανδιναβικών χωρών στην Ατλαντική Συμμαχία.

“*Guardian*: Ο Πούτιν θα έπρεπε να γνωρίζει ότι είναι επικίνδυνο να παίζει κανείς με τα σύνορα της Ευρώπης”, Η Καθημερινή, 22 Apr. 2014

[Putin **must** accept, though, that the handling of the Ukraine crisis has restaged the Nato membership (debate) of these two Scandinavian countries]

- (7) ST Le Pen **may** talk the talk, but she will not walk the walk. She may address the socio-economic issues that matter to the ordinary people, but her «autarchic capitalism» offers little to workers.

“This French result isn’t a triumph for Le Pen — but it is a drubbing for Hollande” *The Guardian* 31 Mar. 2014

TT Η Λεπέν **θα πρέπει** τώρα να περάσει από τα λόγια στα έργα. Μπορεί να συζητά για τα κοινωνικοοικονομικά ζητήματα που απασχολούν τους απλούς ανθρώπους, ωστόσο ο «αυτάρχης καπιταλισμός» της προσφέρει ελάχιστα στους εργαζόμενους.

“*The Guardian*: Συντριβή του Ολάντ, αλλά όχι θρίαμβος της Λεπέν”, Η Αυγή, 5 Apr. 2014

[Le Pen **should** move from words to action. She may address the socio-economic issues that matter to the ordinary people, however her «autarchic capitalism» offers little to workers]

ST/TT8 shifts ST item *any doubt was dispelled* to TT *δεν πρέπει να υπάρχει αμφιβολία* (there **mustn’t**^[deontic] be any doubt that...)

- (8) ST But any doubt that the EU’s effort to woo Ukraine is closely connected with western military strategy was dispelled today by Nato’s secretary general, Anders Fogh Rasmussen, [...]».

“In Ukraine, fascists, oligarchs and western expansion are at the heart of the crisis” *The Guardian* 29 Jan. 2014

TT Δεν πρέπει να υπάρχει αμφιβολία ότι η προσπάθεια της Ε.Ε. να δελεάσει την Ουκρανία συνδέεται με τις επιδιώξεις του ΝΑΤΟ, [...]».

“Η κρίση απειλεί την Ουκρανία με διχοτόμηση”, Η Καθημερινή, 2 Feb. 2014

[There mustn't be any doubt that the EU's effort to woo Ukraine is closely connected with Nato's intentions, [...]]»

This emphasis on deontic aspects of meaning on the Greek side is likely to prevent the Greek language learner from reaching a near-native command of the foreign language, as L1 and L2 differ in the values they favour with respect to certain communicative dimensions. Deontological approaches to decision-making, which the Greek version of the data seems to highlight, “justify an action on the basis of principles such as duty, loyalty or respect for human dignity” (Baker 2011, 276).

3.3 Counter examples

Counterexamples do appear in the data, namely instances where the level of certainty is toned down on the Greek side. ST/TTs 9–10 show instances of hedging, although in TT10 the interpersonal distance implied by the use of the tentative modal verb *θα μπορούσαμε* (a hedge) is balanced with the personal reference (*we could say*) which is favoured on the Greek side.

(9) ST Confirming inflation would mean that the universe we see,....
“Space Ripples Reveal Big Bang’s Smoking Gun” *The New York Times*, 17 Mar. 2014

TT *Αν πράγματι ισχύει αυτό που περιγράφεται στη θεωρία του κοσμολογικού πληθωρισμού, κάτι τέτοιο θα σήμαινε ότι το ορατό μας σύμπαν...*
“*Guardian*: το εξαφανισμένο Boeing και η ήττα της δημοσιογραφίας”, Το Βήμα, 18 Mar. 2014
[If what is described in the theory of cosmological inflation is **indeed the case**, it would mean that our visible universe...]

(10) ST However, the recent vicissitudes of Muslim fundamentalism can be said to confirm Walter Benjamin’s old insight that «every rise of fascism bears witness to a failed revolution».

“Anger in Bosnia, but this time the people can read their leaders’ ethnic lies” *The Guardian*, 10 Feb. 2014

TT *Οι πρόσφατες περιπέτειες του μουσουλμανικού φονταμενταλισμού επιβεβαιώνουν θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε τη ρήση του Βάλτερ Μπένγιαμιν πως «κάθε άνοδος του φασισμού μαρτυρεί μια αποτυχημένη επανάσταση».*
“*Οργή στη Βοσνία, αλλά αυτή τη φορά ο κόσμος αναγνωρίζει τα εθνικά ψέματα των ηγετών*”, Η Αυγή, 15 Feb 2014

[The recent adventures of Muslim fundamentalism verify, **we could say**, Walter Benjamin's saying that «every rise of fascism bears witness to a failed revolution»].

4. The significance of the results for language teaching

As mentioned earlier, the preference for enforcing certainty on the Greek side seems to be a manifestation of Hofstede and Hofstede's (2005) "uncertainty avoidance" tendency, which seems to be favoured in Greek. Greek scores high on the uncertainty avoidance/tolerance scale, in contrast with English-speaking countries, a finding that has been confirmed by research into scientific discourse (Koutsantoni 2005) and advertising (Sidiropoulou 2008).

Halliday (1978, 144) has claimed that there are some second-order social roles that manifest themselves through language and relate to certain impersonal options. One such social role is that of the contradicter or denier assumed of the addressee. The Greek version of the data seems to assume an addressee who is rather a denier or a contradicter, one who is likely to challenge the speaker's views — which accounts for the preference for the persuasive device of higher certainty and the focus on the deontic.

Linguistic anthropology assumes a rich inventory of features and communicative dimensions that are given a different value across cultures and are distinguishable through corpora, therefore should be adjusted to ensure appropriate language use. News reporting parallel data is a rich resource for heightening both linguistic-anthropological feature awareness and critical awareness, doing justice to mother tongue identities. Making language learners aware of issues in intercultural pragmatics is expected to enhance their intercultural competence and develop their intercultural sensitivity.

The approach is also assumed to ensure that 'deep shift in consciousness' which is required of intercultural educators. As Gorski (2008, 517) suggests, "transcending a colonizing intercultural education requires in educators deep shifts in consciousness rather than the simple pragmatic or programmatic shifts that too often are described as intercultural education". We contend that parallel press corpora can immensely contribute to implementing that shift of consciousness in educators, and syllabus design would benefit from encompassing "educational translation" (Laviosa 2014, 3) as an integral contributor to developing intercultural imagination.

Parallel data can enhance learning plurilingually (González-Davies 2014) in a context of additional language learning (ALL), as parallel corpora may assume various language versions, which may broaden learners' intercultural sensitivity

even further. If translation is one of the most important cross-linguistic and cross-cultural practices (House 2009, back cover), its use in FL teaching and other TOLC practices should be most welcome.

It may seem far-fetched to mention in a FL learning context or ALL context, but perhaps in TOLC, the question may arise as to whether translation has the potential to reveal linguistic aspects of convergence or divergence with trends manifested in other disciplines, e.g. in political ideology. In other words, apart from the (conscious or unconscious) ideological perspectives conveyed through discourses, which may assume a critical approach to discourse analysis, there seem to be those anthropological-linguistic choices that may manifest affinity with decision-making considerations in other disciplines. In analyzing the political ideology of conservatism, Heywood's (1997/2002/2007, 49, 50) bestselling coursebook identifies (among other features) the feature of pragmatism (limitation of human rationality), human imperfection (a pessimistic view of human nature), organism (society is an organic whole, a living organism,), hierarchy (gradations of social position and status are natural).

Questions to be addressed may be: Has this preference for highlighting the deontic, which is manifested in the present set of data, a parallel in decision-making tendencies as manifested in other disciplines such as political ideology? Could it possibly signal the conservative view of "human imperfection" (Heywood 2007, 49), which triggers the preference for the deontic? Does the preference of Greek for highlighting cause-and-effect relations in discourse (Sidiropoulou 2004, 37; Kontos and Sidiropoulou 2012, 215) echo a reservation towards conservative pragmatism, which emphasizes "the limitations of human rationality" (Heywood 2007, 49)? Is the *tu/vous* distinction in Greek echoing the hierarchy feature? Does the high-power distance feature assumed between speaker and addressee echo paternalistic conservatism (Heywood 2007, 50)? If Marmaridou (1994, 247) suggests that Greek financial discourse tolerates, less than English financial discourse does, the living organism conceptualization as manifested in metaphors employed for financial entities,⁴ is this a manifestation of a reservation towards conservative 'organism', which views "society as organic whole or living entity" (Heywood 2007,

4. Marmaridou (1994) examined comparable data (original production in both English and Greek). Examples of a weakened preference for the living organism conceptualization on the Greek side, in parallel data, are shown in ST and TT extracts from Heywood's book (1997/2002/2007) and its Greek translation (Heywood 2006/2009). The ST expression *in the heart of politics* is rendered as TT *στο επίκεντρο της πολιτικής* (*in the epicenter of politics*) in the Greek translation, thus avoiding the living organism conceptualization. Likewise, *embracing* in the following fragment is rendered as *περικλείει* (*includes*): *politics has narrowly been seen as embracing institutions and actors operating in a 'public' sphere*. A literal rendering of *embracing* would not be appropriate because it is informal and would emotionally overload the Greek text.

50)? Is the first person plural personal reference, in example 10 (TT *we could say* vs. ST *it can be said*) or in example 2 (TT *we see* vs. ST *by my rough estimate*), a manifestation of the socialist features of community, fraternity and social equality, which are intended to guarantee “social stability and cohesion” (Heywood 2007, 54)? Does the preference for highlighting contrasts on the Greek side of parallel corpora (Sidiropoulou 2004, 26) echo Marxist materialism, i.e. the “process of interaction between competing forces that result in a higher state of development” (Heywood 2007, 56)? If these features should not be attributed to languages, could they be attributed to conventions in specific genres within these languages? These are open research questions, addressing the quest for Gibson and Grant’s ‘paideia’ (2012, 313), which may potentially be answered through parallel corpora and inform educational material designing.⁵

In Section 5 we reproduce a set of sample exercises based on the parallel press data sample. Intercultural educators are expected to function as intercultural pragmaticists stimulating learners’ intercultural imagination. The following exercises focus on the ‘heightening certainty’ tendency of Greek and the ‘focus on the deontic’. Further research with parallel data may point to other points of intercultural variation within or outside the modal system.

5. Sample exercises

Effective multicultural relations are assumed to be promoted through enhancing learners’ intercultural sensitivity, i.e. their “ability to discriminate and experience relevant cultural differences” (Hammer et al, 2003, 422). The following set of exercises intends to enhance learners’ sensitivity by helping them to reflect on culture and on the potential of translation to register cultural traits focused upon in intercultural research.

Exercise 1

OBJECTIVE: To raise students’ awareness of inter-linguistic differences in the use of the set of options realizing the modal systems in different languages.

TASK: Please identify pairs of options across English-Greek realizing the modal system, in both or in either one of the text versions. Despite the fact that certain modal notions have a readily available counterpart across English-Greek, translation practice seems to systematically suggest otherwise.

5. Paideia is a Greek word for ‘broad education’ and is used by Gibson and Grant (2012) to point to “an educated, enlightened citizenry to shape a multicultural democratic education”.

| L2 | L1 |
|---|--|
| 1. For someone on a cool, tax-free \$500,000 salary, reality may be easy to miss. | Για κάποιον που παίρνει αφορολόγητο μισθό 500.000 δολάρια είναι εύκολο να χάσει την πραγματικότητα [Someone who gets a tax-free \$500,000 salary is easy to miss reality] |
| 2. Confirming inflation would mean that the universe we see,... | Αν πράγματι ισχύει αυτό που περιγράφεται στη θεωρία του κοσμολογικού πληθωρισμού, κάτι τέτοιο θα σήμαινε ότι το ορατό μας σύμπαν... [If what is described in the theory of cosmological inflation is indeed the case, it would mean that our visible universe...] |
| 3. Media reports of unrest in Cairo and northern Sinai appeared to put tourists off ... | Οι ειδήσεις για ταραχές στο Κάιρο και στο βόρειο Σινά αποθάρρυναν τους τουρίστες [Reports of unrest in Cairo and northern Sinai put tourists off] |
| 4. | |

This may be an odd way to phrase a task for a learner of language (even an advanced one). However, learners should be convinced of the potential of translation to reveal intercultural variation, as this would increase motivation for going through raw data and make them more receptive. Students are expected to identify readily recognizable modal markers and their rendition in Greek like *may be easy* → είναι εύκολο (*is easy* in 1, shift in the modal force), *would mean* → θα σήμαινε (*would mean*, in 2, no shift in the modal force), or less easily recognizable modal operators like *αν πράγματι ισχύει αυτό* (*If this is indeed the case* in TT2), or *appeared to* (in ST3).

Exercise 2

OBJECTIVE: The focus of attention shifts from form to meaning or to different functions across versions, i.e. to whether the modal operators are hedges or boosters. The L1 version is given first to assimilate the implicit translation taking place in the mind of the EFL learner

TASK: The Greek text fragments below include expressions which function as modal operators. Please observe the following set of press data and say whether you think these modal operators are toned down in English. Please enter 'T' for 'true' and 'F' for 'False' to answer this exercise and identify the language version that favours lower certainty in these real-life communicative situations.

| L1 | L2 | T/F |
|--|--|-----|
| 1. Ένα άλλο 1/3 είναι άνω των 65 ετών και θα κληροδοτήσει μεγάλες περιουσίες στους απογόνους του. [Another third are 65 or older, so they will be leaving large fortunes to their heirs] | Another third are 65 or older, so they will probably be leaving large fortunes to their heirs | |
| 2. Έχω δει γενιές και γενιές παιδιών με τερατώδεις δυσμορφίες. Ο Κέρι θα τα θυμάται σίγουρα. [I have seen generations of children with monstrous deformities. Kerry will surely remember them]. | I have seen generations of children with their familiar, monstrous deformities. John Kerry will remember them. | |
| 3. Οι πρόσφατες περιπέτειες του μουσουλμανικού φονταμενταλισμού επιβεβαιώνουν θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε τη ρήση του Βάλτερ Μπένγιαμιν ... [The recent adventures of Muslim fundamentalism verify, we could say, Walter Benjamin's saying ...]. | The recent vicissitudes of Muslim fundamentalism can be said to confirm Walter Benjamin's old insight ... | |
| 4. | | |

Students are expected to notice that certainty is toned down in English, through *probably* (a hedge) in 1, and the omission of *surely* (a booster) in 2. Some counter-examples can occasionally be used, like 3 (L1 *we could say* → can be said) to avoid the impression that enhancing certainty in Greek is a hundred percent preference.

Students are assumed to be well versed into the systems of modality. The potential of this exercise in making learners' aware of the significance of this preference may be enhanced if learners are presented with Table 1 and shown that while the English version seems to favour tentative modal options, the Greek text may favour overtones. In addition, when it comes to the expression of the possible-certain scale, the English version seems to privilege low modal values, whereas the Greek text privileges higher ones. The practical significance of this finding would be that appropriateness in English (L2) may be achieved through mitigating the force of their modal values, by moving leftwards on the possible-certain scale.

Exercise 3

OBJECTIVE: To make learners aware that in identifying an appropriate modal value, they may not only need to move horizontally (leftwards-rightwards) on the possible-certain scale, but also downwards-upwards across the epistemic-deontic systems.

TASK: Please, think of modal options which may mitigate that emphasis on the deontic occurring on the Greek side. Greek occasionally displays a tendency for highlighting deontic rather than epistemic notions as manifested in the example

below (e.g. the epistemic modal marker *may* is not rendered as epistemic *μπορεί* but as deontic *πρέπει*).

ST This is where external factors **may** come in. European partners will not be able to ignore the social impact of their economic policies for long.

TT Εδώ είναι που **πρέπει** να επέμβει ο εξωτερικός παράγοντας. Οι ευρωπαϊκοί εταίροι δεν θα είναι εύκολο να αγνοήσουν για πολύ τον κοινωνικό αντίκτυπο της οικονομικής τους πολιτικής.

*[This is where an external factor **must** come in. European partners will not easily ignore the social impact of their economic policy for long.]*

| L1 | L2 |
|---|---|
| 1. Ο Πούτιν πρέπει να παραδεχθεί, όμως, ότι ο χειρισμός της ουκρανικής κρίσης ... <i>[Putin must accept, though, that the handling of the Ukraine crisis ...]</i> | Putin ____ note, though, that his handling of the Ukraine crisis ... |
| 2. Η Λεπέν θα πρέπει τώρα να περάσει από τα λόγια στα έργα. <i>[Le Pen should move from words to action.]</i> | Le Pen ____ talk the talk, but she will not walk the walk. |
| 3. Δεν πρέπει να υπάρχει αμφιβολία ότι η προσπάθεια της Ε.Ε. να δελεάσει την Ουκρανία συνδέεται με τις επιδιώξεις του ΝΑΤΟ... <i>[There mustn't be any doubt that the EU's effort to woo Ukraine is closely connected with Nato's intentions]</i> | But any doubt that the EU's effort to woo Ukraine is closely connected with western military strategy ____ dispelled today by Nato's secretary general... |
| 4. | |

The focus is still on meaning rather than form, the L1 version is presented first, while answering the questions involves guided production, rather than simply recognition as was the case with the previous exercises. It is also marginally open-ended in that any tentative epistemic modal operator may be accepted (*may, might, could, possibly, perhaps* etc) [see Table 1]. For instance the *was dispelled* option of the ST version (in 3) may be rendered as *may have been dispelled* or *could have been dispelled*.

6. Concluding remarks

This article has attempted to show that parallel data may provide custom-made solutions to multicultural discrepancies stemming from native speaker intuition. As Tymoczko (1998, 3) suggests, “behind the establishment of corpora, as behind the design of any experiment or research program or survey, lie intuition and human judgement”. This is what the present article has attempted to exploit for teaching

purposes: native speaker intuition in two languages that come in contact through translation.

The approach has drawn on a number of suggestions made by Kramersch (2008). As meaning is 'relational', Kramersch suggests that educators should "open up the polarity between the language and culture of the students (L1/C1) and the foreign language and culture" (404). This article has attempted to exploit evidence provided by parallel corpora in order to highlight this relational aspect of meaning. The suggestion that meaning is 'mediated' is manifested through the focus on the deontic, on the Greek side, as analysed in Section 3.1. The notion of possibility is mediated and presented as deontic (necessity) in the parallel version. The suggestion that meaning is 'multiscalar' may be reflected in the tendency between English and Greek to use different modal value levels on the possibility-certainty scale.

The present work has drawn on the interdisciplinarity of translation studies, i.e. the relationship between linguistics and translation studies. We have adopted both approaches using "for example 'translation studies as a source of data for linguistics' and 'linguistics as a source of data for translation studies'" (Malmkjær 2005 in Gottlieb 2006, 757). Moreover, we have adopted an ecological perspective on language teaching and attempted to exploit the dynamism of the translanguaging situation emerging from the parallel data, viewing this " (rich) context as a source of learning or as a prominent resource of learning" (Järvinen 2009, 168).

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