

## **The translator as social scientist: the T.E.G.MA compilation project**

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A great deal of useful descriptive work has been undertaken through *monolingual* corpus investigation and a great number of data-driven reference works are now available to assist language-learning (Ghadessy, Henry and Roseberry 2001, Hunston 2002) and translation-training. Exploitation of monolingual corpora has been followed by an increasingly expanding interest in *parallel* corpora and their pedagogic value (Olohan 2004). These developments assume a social science perspective into Translation Studies.

The study explores the potential of an English-Greek specialized mini-corpus to empower translator-trainees (and EFL learners). The T.E.G.MA (*Translated English-Greek MAterial*) is a parallel mini-corpus, the result of a collaborative effort which involves postgraduate students assembling a varied corpus of material. The focus is on journalistic prose and on raising awareness of pragmatic appropriateness. T.E.G.MA is used as an awareness raising resource aiming at promoting proficiency beyond the most minimally utilitarian level – in either one of the languages involved in the information exchange. Cross-linguistic comparison in parallel corpora contexts encourages discussion which draws on students’ unconscious knowledge of how language works in their *own* social context, thus raising socio-cultural awareness.

Corpus linguistics and parallel corpora highlight a social science approach to language use and the significance of socio-cultural aspects of experience, in both translation training and language learning. Specialized parallel corpora are invaluable tools for LSP translation programmes.

### **1. Corpora in applied language studies**

Applied linguists work with corpora for their potential to allow access to authentic material which reflects social practices. Aston (1997) shows the usefulness of monolingual newspaper collection of texts, in the EFL context:

From a pedagogic perspective, any collection of homogeneously encoded texts can constitute a corpus, provided that the texts and contexts that are retrievable from it form a suitable basis for language learning. The inherent interest in newspaper collections, the fact that they belong to essentially familiar text types, and their relative homogeneity makes them seem a particularly appropriate source (ibid:63).

The present study shifts attention to *bilingual* parallel press corpora. Both translators and FL speakers (in adopting a cross-cultural perspective to language use) manipulate

discourse structures, in order to reach levels of ‘appropriateness in a target text’ or levels of ‘proficiency in a foreign language’. Bilingual corpora highlight aspects of intercultural difference: they can accelerate a sense of what sounds natural in another language and sharpen sense of what precisely it is in a language that makes it distinctive. Parallel corpora are extremely useful in translation training (and FL learning) contexts because trainees may not have declarative knowledge of how their mother tongue operates. Byram and Risager (1999) underline a tendency in FL teaching towards intercultural awareness:

An important tendency is that foreign language teaching...is moving in an intercultural direction. There is a growing awareness that through studies of cultures in foreign countries learners may be more aware of their own cultures...(ibid:156).

Parallel corpora favour an intercultural perspective into language-teaching.

Looking at examples of the same genre in the mother tongue encourages talk which draws on learners’ existing but largely unconscious knowledge of how language works in their own social context (Thompson 2001:331).

Corpora also assume a social science perspective into language use. Language users and translators ensure situational, contextual, generic appropriacy in retrieving information from data bases which reflect aspects of social practices in source and target environments. Researchers have focused attention on data-driven aspects of language use.

Attention has been directed to variation at the level of

- collocations,
- grammar (passivisation, modality),
- register (distance and personilization in interaction) and
- ideology and culture, where themes, images and motifs contribute to representational aspects of language use.

Corpus linguistics has shifted attention from isolated sentences towards exploration of “the ‘discourse value’ of lexical and structural items in context” (Flowerdew 2001: 374). This allows a more sophisticated look into discourse structure and reveals significant aspects of world representations promoted in discourses.

### **1.1. T.E.G.MA: a lexicographical potential**

An attempt has been made for T.E.G.MA to be put to various applications, educational, lexicographical or other. Hartmann, in discussing “the importance of so-called ‘parallel texts’ for establishing and codifying particular types and degrees of translation equivalence” (2006:7) for lexicographical purposes, foregrounds the potential of translation to contribute to bilingual lexicography through the use of parallel text corpora:

The idea of looking for (and finding) natural translation equivalents in functionally matching texts has been around some time ...but it has taken quite a long time to develop computational techniques to implement this idea on a large scale (ibid).

A realization of the lexicographical potential of TEGMA is a Greek-English dictionary of political discourse collocations. It was compiled by ‘Translation-Translatology’ postgraduate students (Interuniversity/Interdepartmental Programme, University of Athens) through information retrieval (and adaptation) from the two versions of the news material. This type of parallel data base ensures

- a *native* command of collocational patterning in English (the English texts have been *originally* written in English), and
- the Greek translators’ *insight* into mother tongue with respect to collocation rendering, ensuring *naturalness* in Greek in the news reporting genre.

The goal was to assist Greek EFL speakers with identifying equivalent expressions for a Greek collocation which would ensure a near-native command of the language in political discourse. For instance, if a typical collocation in English (in the *war* and *fighting* domain) is *heavy bombardment*, Greek EFL speakers should gain access to it, in some way, so that the collocation is made available for use. Greek EFL speakers would never come up with the *heavy bombardment* collocation *through* the native conceptualization of the world they have internalized, because *βαρύς βομβαρδισμός* (=heavy bombardment) is not a typical collocation in Greek and, thus, it is not a readily available conceptual structure. The intention was to enable Greek EFL learners arrive at *heavy bombardment* through, say, the native collocations *ανελέητος<sup>1</sup> βομβαρδισμός* or *καταιγιστικός κανονιοβολισμός*. Greek-English dictionaries do not provide *heavy* as an option under *ανελέητος*. Establishing equivalence between *heavy bombardment* and *ανελέητος βομβαρδισμός* or *καταιγιστικός κανονιοβολισμός* can only be achieved through parallel corpora, which combine the English native speakers’ insight into source lexical patterning and the Greek translators’ concern about producing a text which conforms to Greek preference in lexical patterning.

## 1.2. T.E.G.MA: a grammar consolidation potential

Another educational application of T.E.G.MA was implemented in the ‘English Studies’ MA Programme (Faculty of English, University of Athens). Postgraduate students exploited interlingual variation between English-Greek, manifested in T.E.G.MA, to produce teaching materials which would account for student errors in the FL classroom. One such error is the tendency of Greek speakers of English to overuse the past tense at points where English would require present perfect tense reference. Students selected contexts which differed with respect to the treatment of phenomena across English-Greek from T.E.G.MA. and conducted exercises which would consolidate intercultural difference in the learner’s mind<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> The set of options suggested under *ανελέητος* in the *Oxford Greek-English Dictionary* is *pitiless, merciless, relentless, ruthless, cruel, grim*.

<sup>2</sup> Some ST/TT text contrasts exploited to highlight the interlingual difference in the use of past and present perfect, across English-Greek, are shown below [course assignment by E. Bouzineki and Th. Nikaki, 2007]:

The present study extends beyond the lexicographical and grammar consolidation potential of T.E.G.MA: it explores the potential of a small *parallel* corpus to shed light to *variation in world representations* assumed in political discourse across English-Greek. In what follows, I shall present some basic theoretical assumptions with reference to the language of politics, which will be used to account for types of translation shifts traced in the data.

## 2. A theoretical approach to the language of newspapers

Political discourse is claimed to be highlighting genre-specific discourse patterns which favour culture-specific world views. Chilton (2004) examines the “deictic ‘signature’ for space, time and modality and relationships among them” (ibid: 138) to uncover presumptions (not verbalized but communicated) that the speaker takes for granted in international political discourses. A cross-cultural comparison of such presumptions in political discourse is expected to unravel varied world representations which would enlighten sensation of cross-cultural identities. The focus in Chilton’s work is on conceptual representations of geopolitical *space, time* and *rightness* invoked in international political discourses, towards a theory of language and politics. Some of the conclusions Chilton reaches regarding political discourse are adapted and listed below to account for aspects of the varied world representations favoured across English-Greek in political discourse.

CLAIM 1: “Political discourse operates indexically” (ibid: 201). It can implicitly signal political distinctions, it operates as interaction and *negotiates representations*. Political representations may be realized through sets of role-players and their relations (ibid: 203).

The present study shows that the indexical operation of political discourse across English-Greek points to different world representations. Another assumption is that

CLAIM 2: “Human individuals have to decouple the representations of the world that they have stored as ‘true’ or ‘real’ from those that they reckon other people have” (ibid: 202)

The study shows that language users would benefit from decoupling representations of the world assumed in texts, because these representations may allow them to shift from one world conceptualization to another most adequately.

CLAIM 3: “Binary conceptualizations are frequent in political discourse” (ibid: 202).

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*The conservative leader David Cameron has opened up the biggest opinion poll lead over Labour...The findings suggest that Mr Cameron has found new momentum after appearing to hit a plateau late last year. “Tories open up eight-point lead over Labour”,*  
THE INDEPENDENT, 3/4/2007

*Την πρώτη του σημαντική διαφορά από τα υπόλοιπα κόμματα απέσπασε το Συντηρητικό κόμμα στη Βρετανία υπό τον Ντέιβιντ Κάμερον...Τα αποτελέσματα δείχνουν ότι ο κ. Κάμερον απέκτησε μια νέα δυναμική, αν και στα τέλη του περασμένου έτους φαινόταν ότι το ποσοστό των συντηρητικών είχε σταθεροποιηθεί.*  
«Οι Τόρις άνοιξαν την ψαλίδα στη Βρετανία»,  
ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ, 8/4/2007

CLAIM 4: Modal properties of language (such as social obligation, degrees of certainty and ability) subserve political interaction. What is a real and hypothetical mental space has to be traced “for the sake of the various kinds of reasoning process” (ibid). Establishing ‘credibility’, claiming ‘rightness’ and legitimizing ‘truth’ claims are part of a political strategy manifested in terms of linguistic mechanisms.

The present study shows variation in the linguistic strategies used for establishing credibility, claiming rightness and legitimizing truth – which should be conformed to, if language appropriateness is to be reached.

CLAIM 5: Political discourse draws on spatial cognition, is anchored in multi-dimensional deixis and involves metaphorical reasoning, which makes identities available (ibid: 203-204).

The present study is intended to highlight aspects of cross-cultural identities that have to be pursued (or avoided) in educational applications:

- in the *translation-training context*, the study reveals aspects of cultural identities that have to be pursued in a target text.
- in the *foreign language context*, the study shows what internalized mother tongue aspects of experience have to be avoided, in search of a near-native command of the foreign language.

### **3. The T.E.G.MA.-news sample and varying world conceptualizations**

The assumption is that examination of a mini-corpus of English articles translated in Greek newspapers can reveal aspects of the representational assumptions made in the two contexts, along the parameters identified in Chilton’s monolingual approach to political discourse. The data in this study comes from twenty-one English-Greek article pairs (2005-2007, 29.288 words, 14.644 words per language version) from *To Vima* and *Imerisia* newspapers. *Imerisia* publishes articles from *Financial Times*, *To Vima* from *The New York Times*, *The Times* and *The Independent*. The themes are political and economic mainly, but environmental, health-diet and educational articles do come into play.

The first article pair is from *The New York Times* and appeared in *To Vima* in April 2007. It is about the detention of 15 British sailors and marines in Iran who were finally liberated on Holy Wednesday 2007. The issue, the article claims, has underlined a political split in Iran.

One of the basic theoretical assumptions referred to in Chilton (2004:202) is that “binary conceptualizations are frequent in political discourse”. The data shows that binary conceptualizations are enforced in the Greek version of the data. This is realized in terms of (a) interpretive comments added to the target text which underline a binary world construal and (b) a contrast-creating intention manifested through discourse connectors.

#### **3.1. Interpretive comments enforcing a binary conceptualization of the world**

In ex. 1, the Greek headline foregrounds a confrontational aspect of the situation, which enforces the binary conceptualization.

Ex.1	Seizure of Britons Underlines Iran's Political Split	THE NEW YORK TIMES, 4/4/2007 <sup>3</sup>
	Πόλεμος μετριοπαθών και σκληροπυρηνικών <i>War between moderates and hard-liners.</i> (headline <sup>4</sup> )	TO BHMA, 8/4/2007

In ex. 2, source and target versions are almost parallel, except that the target version offers an interpretive comment which underlines the binary nature of Iranian politics.

Ex.2	[ ] The capture of Britons initially showed the rising dominance of the president and his allies, specifically the Revolutionary Guards, whereas a move towards finding a diplomatic solution is a sign that the pragmatists are pushing back. “Seizure of Britons Underlines Iran's Political Split”, THE NEW YORK TIMES, 4/4/2007
	<b>Η υπόθεση έφερε στο φως την αμφίρροπη φύση της ιρανικής πολιτικής.</b> Η σύλληψη των Βρετανών υπογράμμισε αρχικά την αυξανόμενη κυριαρχία εκείνων που συντάσσονται με τον πρόεδρο, ιδίως των φρουρών της Επανάστασης. Πιο πρόσφατα, όμως, καθώς η κρίση φάνηκε ότι θα υπονόμει τη θέση του Ιράν παγκοσμίως, άρχισε να διαφαίνεται μια πιο μετριοπαθής στάση, προτού ακόμη η Τεχεράνη υπαναχωρήσει δημοσίως από τις θέσεις της. «Πόλεμος μετριοπαθών και σκληροπυρηνικών», TO BHMA, 8/4/2007
	<i>The case foregrounded the wavering nature of Iranian politics. The capture of Britons initially underlined the rising dominance of president's allies, specifically the Revolutionary Guards. More recently, though, as the crisis seemed to have the potential to undermine Iran's position internationally, a more moderate move started to show up before Tehran goes back on its positions.</i>

Ex. 3 also highlights the dual nature of Iranian politics, in terms of an interpretive comment added to the target text.

Ex.3	The difference between the sides may be a matter more of style than substance...The seesaw generally tips toward the side bringing the system its greater benefits. “Seizure of Britons Underlines Iran's Political Split”, THE NEW YORK TIMES, 4/4/2007
	Τελικά μπορεί να είναι θέμα περισσότερο στυλ παρά ουσίας ... <b>Αλλά σε ένα σύστημα που είναι συχνά πραγματιστικό όσο και ιδεολογικό, τα αποτελέσματα μετρούν πάνω απ' όλα, συνεπώς οι αμφιταλαντεύσεις κλίνουν γενικώς προς την πλευρά που φαίνεται ότι φέρνει τα μεγαλύτερα οφέλη στο σύστημα.</b> «Πόλεμος μετριοπαθών και σκληροπυρηνικών», TO BHMA, 8/4/2007
	<i>After all, it may be a matter of style, rather than substance...But in a system which often turns out to be both pragmaticist and ideological, results count more than anything else, so the seesaw generally tips toward the side bringing the system its greater benefits.</i>

In a single article (1008-words per language version), there are three attempts of the target text producer's to construct a stronger confrontational conceptualization of the situation.

### 3.2. A contrast-creating intention manifested through discourse connectors

Enforcement of the binary world conceptualization is also achieved in terms of contrastive discourse connection. The *αλλά* (*but*) connector, at the beginning of the

<sup>3</sup> 4/4/2007: day/month/year

<sup>4</sup> On Greek headline manipulation enforcing binary conceptualizations see also the following headline from the present T.E.G.MA sample:

*Coffee: The demon drink?* NEW SCIENTIST, 4/9/2005

*Καφεΐνη: τα υπέρ και τα κατά,* TO BHMA, 16/10/2005 (*Caffeine: the pros and cons*)

inserted interpretive comment in ex. 3, is an instance of this. Another four occurrences of the same intention appear in exs. 4-7. Ex. 4 shows a *while* subordinator allowed into the target version.

Ex.4 [] The divide over the current crisis with Britain also seems to expose divisions within each political approach. President Ahmadinejad...  
“Seizure of Britons Underlines Iran’s Political Split”, THE NEW YORK TIMES, 4/4/2007

Ενώ ο διχασμός για τον χειρισμό της κρίσης των ναυτών περιγράφηκε συχνά ως «οι σκληροπυρηνικοί εναντίον των μετριοπαθών», δεν είναι τόσο ξεκάθαρος...  
«Πόλεμος μετριοπαθών και σκληροπυρηνικών», ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ, 8/4/2007

*While the divide over the manipulation of the sailors’ crisis is often described as “the hard-liners vs. the moderates”, it [the divide] is not as clear...*

Ex. 5 shows a *however* connector employed in the target version. It is accompanied by a comment which highlights that the author is worried about the outcome of the situation (*analysts warn*), and elaborates on the disagreement issue (binary conceptualization).

Ex.5 It appears to be a conflict driven by so-called hard-liners within the Revolutionary Guards,...[]  
THE NEW YORK TIMES, 4/4/2007

Φαίνεται ότι πρόκειται περισσότερο για μια σύγκρουση της οποίας ηγούνται οι σκληροπυρηνικοί των φρουρών της Επανάστασης...Οι αναλυτές **όμως** προειδοποιούν ότι ακόμη κι αυτή η Φρουρά δεν θεωρείται μονολιθική και ότι εντός της υπήρχαν διαφωνίες για την τροπή που είχε πάρει η κρίση.  
“Seizure of Britons Underlines Iran’s Political Split”, ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ, 8/4/2007

*It appears to be a conflict where hard-liners have a leading role over Revolutionary Guards...Analysts, however, warn that even this body is not considered monolithic and that there is disagreement within it over the outcome of the crisis.*

In ex. 6, the ambiguous *and* source text connector is turned into a contrastive one in the target version (*but*), which foregrounds an antithetical representation of the situation. The reverse phenomenon (source contrastive connectives erased from or toned down in target version) is extremely rare in the data.

Ex.6 When direct challenges to the West did not produce retaliation, support for President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad was high. **And** when constant caustic remarks by Mr Ahmadinejad appeared to be undermining support...  
“Seizure of Britons Underlines Iran’s Political Split”, THE NEW YORK TIMES, 4/4/2007

Όταν φάνηκε ότι οι ευθείες προκλήσεις του προέδρου Μαχμούτ Αχμαντινετζάντ προς τη Δύση δεν πυροδοτούσαν αντίποινα, το σύστημα τον υποστήριξε. **Αλλά** όταν τα καυστικά σχόλια του προέδρου φάνηκε ότι υπονόμευσαν την υποστήριξη...  
«Πόλεμος μετριοπαθών και σκληροπυρηνικών», ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ, 8/4/2007

*When it appeared that direct challenges of president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad to the West did not produce retaliation, the system supported him. But when caustic remarks by Mr Ahmadinejad appeared to be undermining support...*

In addition the Greek summary at the beginning of the article relays information contrastively.

Ex.7 **Ενώ** η Βρετανία και το Ιράν έφθασαν στη διπλωματική λύση της κράτησης των 15 Βρετανών ναυτών και πεζοναυτών...έγινε εμφανής η ευρύτερη διαμάχη στο Ιράν...  
“Seizure of Britons Underlines Iran’s Political Split”, TO BHMA, 8/4/2007

*While Britain and Iran reached the diplomatic solution of the detention of 15 British sailors and marines... the wider conflict became obvious in Iran...*

This contrast-creating intention, on the Greek side, seems to be a prominent tendency both in the present T.E.G.MA sample and in other genres. No matter what the direction of translation is, the preference for contrastiveness appears on the Greek side. The trait has been assumed to be revealing appreciation for logical thinking (Sidiropoulou 2004). Contrastive connectives are also constantly creeping in, in students’ translation production in their attempt to increase naturalness of texts – which is evidently realising this tendency for a contrastive construal of world representations.

Another concern of political discourse, Chilton claims (2004:202), is establishing ‘credibility’, claiming ‘rightness’ and legitimizing ‘truth’. The following data shows shifts which make a culture-specific contribution to these discourse intentions. These are shifts (c) enforcing the reasoning mechanism, (d) enforcing the conclusion-drawing mechanism, and (e) claiming rightness (through modality).

### 3.3. Enforcing the reasoning mechanism

It appears that credibility is more felicitously established in Greek, if cause-and-effect links are made explicit and the line of reasoning more obvious. The following are some cause-and-effect junction explicitation instances. Ex. 8 shows a *because* connective which makes the causal relationship explicit between propositions. Ex. 9 shows an *as* connective in a similar function, and ex. 10 shows a causal adverbial to have been added to the target version. All three shifts are assumed to enforce credibility of messages on the basis of the reasons assumed to have caused the events referred to.

Ex.8 Street vendors say that that will ruin their business, **by making** them charge similar prices to restaurants – ... “Street food is curbed to beat Dehli belly”, THE TIMES, 12/4/2007

Οι πλανόδιοι όμως υποστηρίζουν ότι αυτό θα τους καταστρέψει **διότι** θα τους αναγκάσει να χρεώνουν τιμές παρόμοιες με εκείνες των εστιατορίων – ...

«Η πρόδος περνάει από το ‘στομάχι του Δελχί’», TO BHMA, 15/4/2007

*Street vendors however claim that that will ruin them **because** it will make them charge similar process to restaurants –*

Ex.9 The United States and Britain are believed to be in favour of such an alliance, **which** they believe could weaken the radical Islamic parties.

“Bhutto free to return after graft charges are dropped”, THE TIMES, 6/4/2007

Οι Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες και η Βρετανία φαίνεται να υποστηρίζουν αυτό το ενδεχόμενο, **καθώς** θα αποδυνάμωνε τα ριζοσπαστικά ισλαμικά κόμματα.

«Η επιστροφή της Μπούτο», TO BHMA, 29/4/2007

*The United States and Britain seem to support this potential, **as** it would weaken the radical Islamic parties.*



- Ex.10 The polar bear is one of the natural world’s most famous predators – the king of Arctic wastelands. But, like its vast Arctic home, the polar bear is under unprecedented threat []. “Melting Planet”, THE INDEPENDENT, 4/10/2005
- Η πολική αρκούδα είναι ένας από τους πιο γνωστούς θηρευτές του φυσικού περιβάλλοντος, ο βασιλιάς των πάγων που καλύπτουν την Αρκτική. Ένας βασιλιάς που χάνει όμως το βασίλειό του... Η πολική αρκούδα αντιμετωπίζει μια πρωτοφανή απειλή λόγω της υπερθέρμανσης του πλανήτη και της αλλαγής του κλίματος. «Ο πλανήτης λιώνει!», ΒΗΜΑΣCIENCE 9/10/2005
- The polar bear is one of the natural world’s most famous predators, the king of the ice that covers the Arctic. A king who loses his kingdom, though... The polar bear faces an unprecedented threat due to global warming and climate change.*

In ex. 11, the connective (*since*) may –in general– be ambiguous between its temporal and causal meaning, but the causal reading in this example is assumed to be fairly

- Ex.11 Last month’s deal between GM and the UAW, **which** pared back healthcare benefits that Detroit factory workers have enjoyed for more than a generation, is likely to have increased the angst of what Lawrence Summers, former Treasury secretary, has called the “anxious middle”. “The grab for the job: Democrats turn protectionist in a drift to the left”, FINANCIAL TIMES, 8/10/2007
- Η συμφωνία του περασμένου μήνα μεταξύ GM και UAW είναι πιθανό να ενέτεινε την ανησυχία εκείνων που ο πρώην υπουργός Οικονομικών, Λόρενς Σάμερ, αποκαλεί «αγχωμένη μεσαία τάξη», αφού κατήργησε ασφαλιστικές παροχές που οι εργάτες του Ντιτρόιτ είχαν κατοχυρώσει εδώ και πολλά χρόνια.  
«Οι Δημοκρατικοί υιοθετούν αριστερό προστατευτισμό», ΗΜΕΡΗΣΙΑ, 21/10/2007
- Last month’s deal between GM and the UAW, is likely to have increased the angst of what former Treasury secretary, Lawrence Summers, has called the “anxious middle”, since it pared back healthcare benefits that Detroit factory workers have enjoyed for many years.*

prominent.

### 3.4. Enforcing the conclusion-drawing mechanism

It is as if the argument gains in credibility if conclusions are signaled as such to be easily accessible for evaluation. This type of shift engages result-connectives (exs 12-13) and summing up words added to the target version (see also *telika* in ex. 3). In ex. 12, a consequence connective is inserted to signal the relation between “US and UK rebuffing Germany’s efforts’ and Mr Védrine’s expectation that ‘the Franco-German relationship will have beneficial effects’.

- Ex.12 Germany has been pushing for a code of conduct ...but its efforts have been rebuffed by the US and UK. [ ] Mr Védrine said joining forces with Germany ...would help reinvigorate the Franco-German relationship and give fresh impetus to the EU. “France maps path through globalization”, FINANCIAL TIMES, 5/9/2007
- Η Γερμανία προωθεί έναν κώδικα συμπεριφοράς..., αλλά οι προσπάθειές της βρίσκουν αντίθετες τη Βρετανία και τις Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες. **Ως εκ τούτου**, υπογράμμισε ο κ. Βεντρίν, η συμμαχία Γαλλίας-Γερμανίας ...θα βοηθήσει στη σύσφιγξη των σχέσεων των δύο χωρών και θα δώσει νέα ώθηση στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση.  
«Ο δρόμος της Γαλλίας προς την παγκοσμιοποίηση», ΗΜΕΡΗΣΙΑ, 8/9/2007
- Germany has been pushing for a code of conduct ...but its efforts have been rebuffed by the US and UK. As a consequence, Mr Védrine underlined joining forces with Germany ...would help reinvigorate the Franco-German alliance and give fresh impetus to the EU.*

The expression *it is not accidental that* (δεν είναι τυχαίο ότι) in ex. 13, also signals that there is a cause-and-effect relationship between the venue of the conference and its theme.

- Ex.13 The vast majority, ...are migratory animals...whose survival depends on the intricate web habitats, food supplies and weather conditions...Every link of that chain is slowly but perceptibly altering.  
[] Europe’s most senior ecologists and conservationists are meeting in Aviemore, in the Scottish Highlands, this week for a conference on the impact of climate change on migratory species, an event organised by the British government as part of its presidency of the European Union. “Melting Planet”, THE INDEPENDENT, 4/10/2005  
Η τεράστια πλειονότητα αυτών είναι μεταναστευτικά ζώα...των οποίων η επιβίωση εξαρτάται από ένα πολύπλοκο ιστό βιότοπων... Και πλέον κάθε κρίκος αυτής της ευαίσθητης αλυσίδας αλλάζει αργά μα σταθερά.  
**Δεν είναι τυχαίο ότι** συνέδριο με θέμα τις επιπτώσεις του κλίματος στα μεταναστευτικά είδη...υπό την αιγίδα της βρετανικής προεδρίας της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης διοργανώθηκε στο Αβιεμόρ, στα Χάιλαντς της Σκωτίας. «Ο πλανήτης λιώνει!», BHMASCIENCE 9/10/2005  
*The vast majority are migratory animals...whose survival depends on an intricate web habitat, ...Every link of that chain is slowly but slowly altering.*  
***It is not accidental that** a conference is organized by the British government as part of its presidency of the European Union on the impact of climate change on migratory species in Aviemore, in the Scottish Highlands.*

- Ex.14 [] It was fortunate that the United Auto Workers strike in late September at General Motors lasted only two days - ...“The grab for the job: Democrats turn protectionist in a drift to the left”, FINANCIAL TIMES, 8/10/2007  
**Εν τέλει** ήταν ευτυχές γεγονός ότι η απεργία του συνδικάτου United Auto Workers στην General Motors τον Σεπτέμβριο διήρκεσε μόλις δύο ημέρες – ...  
«Οι Δημοκρατικοί υιοθετούν αριστερό προστατευτισμό», ΗΜΕΡΗΣΙΑ, 21/10/2007  
*As a conclusion, it was fortunate that the United Auto Workers strike in September at General Motors lasted only two days - ...*

### 3.5. Claiming rightness

“At the heart of what we call ‘politics’ is the attempt to get others to ‘share a common view’ about what is useful-harmful, good-evil, just-unjust” (Chilton 2004: 199). The ‘claiming rightness’ intention in political discourse involves focus on modal spaces: the extent to which something is a moral obligation, or the extent to which something is plausible. In identifying what is useful-harmful, just-unjust, there is a fairly strong intention on the Greek side for raising certainty. In ex. 15, certainty is raised. This is a positive politeness tendency, frequent both in original (Sifianou 1992) and in translated Greek production (Sidiropoulou 2004). *Undoubtedly* (αναμφισβήτητα) translates *there is the fact that, of course* (βέβαια) translates *then, certainly* (σίγουρα) translates *odds are* and source items like *perhaps* and *probably* are not transferred at all.

- Ex.15 **There’s the fact** that it’s addictive. And **then** there are all the health fears. **Odds are** that you have heard the rumours. Don’t drink caffeine; it’ll give you a heart attack...  
**Perhaps** the most notorious study came in 1980 when Thomas Collins of the US Food and Drug Administration linked caffeine to birth defects in rats...  
... “Many people think of coffee as a caffeine delivery vehicle, but in coffee there are **probably** 2000 other chemicals.” “Coffee: The demon drink?”, NEW SCIENTIST, 4/9/2005

**Αναμφισβήτητα** η ουσία είναι εθιστική. Και **βέβαια** υπάρχουν όλοι αυτοί οι φόβοι για τυχόν κινδύνους που εμπεριέχει η λήψη καφεΐνης για την ανθρώπινη υγεία. **Σίγουρα** θα έχετε ακούσει κάποια φημολογία πάνω στο θέμα: Μην πίνεις καφεΐνη, θα πάθεις καρδιακή προσβολή. ...

[ ] Η πιο περίφημη έρευνα διεξήχθη το 1980, όταν ο Τόμας Κόλινς της αμερικανικής Υπηρεσίας τροφίμων και Φαρμάκων...συνέδεσε την καφεΐνη με γενετικές ανωμαλίες σε πειραματόζωα...

... «Αρκετοί νομίζουν ότι ο καφές είναι μόνο ένα όχημα μεταφοράς καφεΐνης αλλά στην πραγματικότητα στον καφέ υπάρχουν ως και [ ] 2000χημικές ουσίες.

«Καφεΐνη: τα υπέρ και τα κατά», ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ, 16/10/2005

*Undoubtedly, the substance is addictive. And of course there are all the health fears.*

*Certainly you have heard the rumours. Don't drink caffeine; it'll give you a heart attack.*

[ ] *The most notorious study came in 1980 when Thomas Collins of the US Food and Drug Administration linked caffeine to birth defects in rats...*

... *“Many people think of coffee as a caffeine delivery vehicle, but in coffee there are [ ] 2000 other chemicals.”*

Claiming rightness is often interfered with in terms of manipulation of the degree of certainty carried by verbs of ‘saying’: in ex. 16, *claim* is rendered as *reassure* (διαβεβαιώνουν). In example 12, *said* is rendered as *underlined* (υπογράμμισε), in ex. 8 *say* is rendered as *support-the-view* (υποστηρίζουν). All three renderings seem to raise certainty.

Ex.16 China’s leaders **claim** that the one-party state has long practiced democracy, in the sense of governing on behalf of the people...

“In China, Talk of Democracy Is Simply That”, THE NEW YORK TIMES, 21/4/2007

Οι κινέζοι ηγέτες **διαβεβαιώνουν** ότι το μονοκομματικό σύστημα εφαρμόζει προ πολλού τη δημοκρατία με την έννοια ότι κυβερνά για λογαριασμό του λαού...

«Η Κίνα ανακαλύπτει τη δημοκρατία», ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ, 6/5/2007

*China’s leaders reassure that the one-party state has long practiced democracy, in the sense of governing on behalf of the people...*

Another device introducing informed opinion is the *according to x* (σύμφωνα με x) adverbializers, which in the Greek version are given more prominent position: they are fairly frequent and appear either thematized or preposed in sentence construction

Ex.17 Saudi Arabia began privatising water resources after shortages sparked riots last November in Jeddah. Loay Bin Ahmed al Musallam, the deputy water minister said, the first contract to manage water supplies for Riyadh would be awarded this year. By 2010, private companies would provide water for half the population, he **added**.

“Water Companies Benefiting from Shortages”, FINANCIAL TIMES, 3/4/2007

Η Σαουδική Αραβία άρχισε να ιδιωτικοποιεί τις επιχειρήσεις ύδρευσης, όταν η έλλειψη νερού προκάλεσε έντονες αντιδράσεις τον περασμένο Νοέμβριο στην Τζέντα. **Σύμφωνα με τον** Λοάι Μπιν Αχμέτ αλ Μουσαλάμ, τον υφυπουργό Υδάτων της χώρας, μέχρι το 2010, οι ιδιωτικές εταιρείες θα καλύπτουν τις ανάγκες υδροδότησης του μισού πληθυσμού.

«Η λειψυδρία φέρνει μεγάλα κέρδη στον ιδιωτικό τομέα», ΗΜΕΡΗΣΙΑ, 14/4/2007

*Saudi Arabia began privatising water resources when water shortage caused reaction last November in Jeddah. According to Loay Bin Ahmed al Musallam, the deputy water minister, by 2010, private companies would provide water for half the population.*

in Greek – they are never postposed. This device implies caution with respect to signalling degrees of rightness or with establishing credibility. This is a device which balances the tendency for higher certainty in Greek. Ex.17 highlights the source of informed opinion in terms of the *according to* adverbializer. In ex. 18, the first occurrence of target *according to* adverbialiser is created, the second is proposed to sentence-initial position.

- Ex.18 [] Donald Rumsfeld famously divided the continent into ‘Old Europe’ – the big nations of Western Europe – and a ‘New Europe’ that includes the emerging nations of central and eastern Europe. ...  
Since 2000, **according to** Citigroup, emerging Europe’s economy has grown at 15 per cent per year, double that of developed Europe.  
“John Authers: Europe’s borders require some redefining”, FINANCIAL TIMES, 20/4/2007
- Σύμφωνα με** τον περίφημο διαχωρισμό που έκανε ο Ντόναλντ Ράμσφελντ, η Ευρωζώνη αποτελεί την «Παλαιά Ευρώπη» και οι χώρες του πρώην ανατολικού μπλοκ, τη «Νέα»  
**Σύμφωνα με** τη Citigroup, από το 2000 η οικονομία της αναδυόμενης Ευρώπης έχει αναπτυχθεί κατά 15%, ποσοστό διπλάσιο από το αντίστοιχο της αναπτυγμένης.  
«Ένας ορισμός», ΗΜΕΡΗΣΙΑ, 23/4/2007
- According to the famous division Donald Rumsfeld made, Eurozone is the ‘Old Europe’ and the countries of the former Eastern bloc the ‘New Europe’ ...*  
*According to Citigroup, since 2000, emerging Europe’s economy has grown at 15 per cent per year, double that of developed Europe.*

Political discourse, Chilton claims, “has specific connections to the emotional centres of the brain and is anchored in multi-dimensional deixis” (ibid: 204). I’m going to show traces of preference for (f) spatio-temporal anchoring of the situations described in the texts, which makes deictic entities of time and space more prominent in the Greek version. Ex. 19 shows an instance of a preference for spatial anchoring of a situation: *of this country* could have been avoided without grammaticality being affected. Opting for it makes the spatial entity more accessible in the speakers’ cognitive model.

- Ex.19 Around 150,000 premature deaths from heart attack, stroke and cancer could be avoided every year if more Brits ate the Mediterranean diet...  
“Change the Day you Die”, THE INDEPENDENT, 2/8/2005
- Για παράδειγμα, 150.000 πρόωμοι θάνατοι από εγκεφαλικά, καρδιοπάθειες και καρκίνους θα μπορούσαν να αποφευχθούν στη Βρετανία αν οι πολίτες **της χώρας αυτής** υιοθετούσαν τη μεσογειακή διαίτα...  
«Πώς θα μεταθέσετε την ημερομηνία του...θανάτου σας!», ΒΗΜΑΣCIENCE 28/8/2005
- For example, 150.000 premature deaths from heart attack, stroke and cancer could be avoided every year in Britain if nationals of this country ate the Mediterranean diet...*

Ex. 20 shows an instance of the preference for temporal anchoring.

- Ex.20 [] The president has travelled around the country ordering up local construction jobs, then giving the work to the engineering branch of the Guards.  
“Seizure of Britons Underlines Iran’s Political Split”, THE NEW YORK TIMES, 4/4/2007
- Αφού του** εξελέγη, ο πρόεδρος γυρίζει τη χώρα παραγγέλνοντας τοπικά οικοδομικά έργα, δίνοντάς τα στην πτέρυγα μηχανικών των Φρουρών.  
«Πόλεμος μετριοπαθών και σκληροπυρηνικών», ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ, 8/4/2007

*Once elected, the president has travelled around the country ordering up local construction jobs, giving them to the engineering branch of the Guards.*

Spatio-temporal anchoring, which favours spatio-temporal specificity, is accompanied by other types of anchoring: target discourse marker *for example* is another type of spatial anchoring, i.e. within the scope of the universe of discourse. Another type of anchoring is manifested in the manipulation of the source verb *say*. There is a tendency in the Greek version of the data for the illocutionary potential of the ‘say’ occurrences to be made explicit. A corpus search with multilingual concordancer LINGUA MULTICONCORD shows that one third of the seventy *say* items encountered in a 23.000-word parallel press sample<sup>5</sup> have been rendered in terms of a variety of target items like *state* (δηλώνω, 4 hits), *explain* (εξηγώ, 2 hits), *report* (αναφέρω, 2 hits), *agree* (συμφωνώ, 1 hit), *announce* (ανακοινώνω, 3 hits), *estimate* (εκτιμώ, 1 hit), *underline* (τονίζω, 1 hit), *according to* (σύμφωνα με, 2 hits) etc.

Most of the translation shifts which realize the varying representations appear in the political articles, rather than in the economic ones. Most probably the enforced argumentative quality of the text, which assumes readership involvement, triggers a clearer representation of target identity. However, the types of shifts described here have been encountered in other genres, in English-Greek translation. Spatio-temporal specificity, for example, was favoured in literary translation: place- and time-deictic adverbs were inserted in the Greek version of Virginia Woolf’s *The Mark on the Wall* (Sidiropoulou 2003:87) to make temporal and spatial entities more accessible to the reader.

#### 4. Varying world representations and pedagogical implications

The Greek version of the sample assumes a world representation where credibility, rightness and truth are negotiated differently: the data shows that

- binary conceptualizations of world representations are enforced,
- the higher degree of certainty preferred in Greek is balanced by explicitation of the reasoning mechanism assumed and by highlighting the source and function of informed opinion,
- spatio-temporal anchoring of situations is made more specific. It is as if ambiguity of deictic entities (such as time and space) in discourse impedes comprehension on the complex scene of international developments.

Ambiguity avoidance comes as no surprise: earlier studies on English-Greek press headlines (Sidiropoulou 1995) showed political article headlines to be avoiding ambiguity and allusive effects in favour of informativity<sup>6</sup>. A headline pair which

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<sup>5</sup> Lingua Multiconcord was developed by David Woolls. The sample is not the one examined in this study. It is 2005-2006 parallel press material from a wider range of Greek newspapers and their parallel text versions. The other two thirds of the seventy *say* items encountered in this sample are either rendered in terms of the equivalent target verb or ignored.

<sup>6</sup> The preference for avoiding allusive effects in translated Greek headlines should not be assumed to be canceling the intention of translators’ to create wordplay in Greek headlines. In the present T.E.G.MA sample, the rendering of the “Street food is curbed to beat Delhi belly” headline (see ex. 8) involves manipulation of the conventional expression “love passes from the stomach”. The target headline reads: “Advancement passes from Delhi’s stomach” («Η πρόοδος περνάει από το ‘στομάχι του Δελχί’», ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ, 15/4/2007.

avoids allusive effects in favour of spatial specificity on the Greek side (Sidiropoulou 1995: 299) is quoted here as ex 21:

Ex.21	Iran. “Guns and Flowers”, TIME, 22/3/1993  Ιράν: εκρηκτικό το εσωτερικό μέτωπο, Η ΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΙΝΗ, 1993  <i>Iran: volatile is the internal frontier.</i>
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It was later assumed that the English version of the headline may be an allusion to the American hard rock music band *Guns N’ Roses*, whose debut album was entitled *Apetite for Destruction* (1987). Their “Welcome to the Jungle” lyrics read: *it gets worse here every day*. Whatever the allusion, it was avoided in the Greek version, for the sake of informativity.

In terms of the individualistic-collectivistic dichotomy in intercultural theory, the preference for deictic specificity, assumed in the sample, draws on the individualistic communication style as opposed to the collectivistic tendencies favoured in Asian cultures. Greek exhibits both individualistic and collectivistic properties (Sidiropoulou 2007<sup>7</sup>). The preference for making the reasoning mechanism or the illocutionary force of the verbs of *saying* explicit may be assumed to be a realization of the collectivistic character of the Greek culture, which would assume inviting and assisting the addressee with processing the information. The Greek mediator’s role echoes an interpersonal attitude to communication, whereas the source text producer adopts a more transactional attitude, letting the reader infer the illocutionary potential of utterances or allowing the readers to draw their own conclusions about what the relation might be between parts of discourse.

Findings show that both translators and foreign language speakers would benefit from focusing on discourse construction, i.e. beyond the level of grammaticality, and that teachers should encourage student access to corpora. There are many more aspects of social behaviour that can be studied through parallel corpora. The use of political metaphor has attracted considerable attention in corpus research (Beard 2000:78, Minugh 1997: 69)<sup>8</sup>.

Text-type-specific corpora may also relativize assumptions about languages. Greek, for instance, is assumed to favour active constructions (rather than passive) and personalized structures in everyday interaction, but the present T.E.G.MA sample seems to relativise this claim. Passive structures are frequently preferred in the Greek version of the T.E.G.MA sample, most probably because raising the level of formality is assumed to be contributing persuasive force to arguments.

LSP corpora can provide information about style, terminological equivalents and concepts behind particular terms (Bowker and Pearson 2002:38). Larger LSP corpora (political discourse, ecological discourse, web-sites, letters) have been searched for words which have been “identified intuitively as conceptually significant” (Hunston

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<sup>7</sup> This was manifested in the analysis of two performance translations for the Greek stage of a 20<sup>th</sup> century Irish play. In the twenty seven years that elapsed between the performances, Greek is shown to have developed a tendency for individualism, although collectivistic tendencies do come into play to create a culture-specific balance which would ensure naturalness.

<sup>8</sup> For instance, the present T.E.G.MA. sample suggests that expectations are ‘stirred up’ in English, but ‘cultivated’ (*καλλιεργώ*) in Greek (“In China, Talk of Democracy Is Simply That”, THE NEW YORK TIMES, 21/4/2007 – «Η Κίνα ανακαλύπτει τη δημοκρατία», ΤΟ ΒΗΜΑ, 6/5/2007).

2002/2006:111) and revealing a particular ideological stance. Gabrielatos and Baker (2008), for instance, examine the discursive construction of refugees and asylum seekers in a 140-million-word corpus of UK press. By analogy, parallel specialized corpora enable users to trace variation in the treatment of politically and socially relevant concepts across cultures. Corpora need not be huge to be operative for EFL/LSP contexts. Any homogeneous selection of texts would contribute its own perspective to culture-specific world representations.

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