THE AUTHORITY-CITIZEN RELATIONSHIP THROUGH CONSTITUTIONAL DISCOURSE: A TRANSLATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

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ABSTRACT: The aim of this paper is to examine politeness strategies in EU institutional discourse through a translation perspective, and then to compare strategies of im/politeness to those of the Greek Constitution. The study begins with a quantitative analysis of politeness shifts between the English and the Greek versions of the EU Constitution (etic approach), then it takes an emic approach to the phenomenon by asking Greek respondents to comment on their perception of appropriate politeness shifts in ten translation examples. It concludes with comparing qualitative politeness findings in the Greek Constitution to the Greek version of the EU Constitution. The analysis found that the EU Greek version of the Treaty of Lisbon favors separateness in comparison to its English-language counterpart in an attempt to create greater distance between EU authorities and Greek EU citizens, whereas the Greek Constitution seems to address citizens' "connectedness face" shaping a different State/citizen relationship.
KEYWORDS: Im/Politeness, Translation, Institutional Discourse, European Union, Separateness/Connectedness

1. Introduction

Brown and Levinson's (1978) theory of politeness offered a rationalization of Goffman's concept of face. Politeness strategies can be directed at either the Hearer's *negative face* (the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions) or *positive face* (the desired to be approved). The social variables of power (P) and distance (D) influence the rational choice of politeness strategies. The relationship between P and D is dynamic and constantly negotiated in interaction, forming interactant dyads that are subject to different cultural interpretations and evaluations (Spencer-Oatey and Žegarac, 2017).

Discursive theorists of politeness (Eelen, 2001; Kádár and Haugh, 2013; Locher and Watts, 2005; Mills, 2003, 2011; Mitchell and Haugh, 2015) have moved on from an etic perspective (the analyst's point of view) to an emic understanding of politeness (the individuals'/insiders' evaluations). Discursive theorists believe that any interpretation of politeness strategies should extend to the opinions of interactants as im/politeness emerges in interaction.

Institutional discourse is an important data type in politeness research, as it provides information about the interplay between social power and politeness (Kádár and Haugh, 2013, p. 54). Furthermore, consideration of politeness within an institutional context may enable researchers to see im/politeness from a different perspective (Harris, 2003; Mullany, 2008). While institutional discourse has mainly been examined from a critical discourse perspective (Thornborrow, 2002), politeness research (Harris, 2003; Mullany, 2008) has focused on the interplay between power and interpersonal distance.

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Although research on politeness in European Union (EU) discourse has been scarce, Magistro's (2007, 2011, 2013) work on politeness in bilingual EU corpora has offered a new interpretation of national identity. If national identity and national sense of belonging can be equated to a national face (Magistro, 2007), then an EU Constitution (i.e., the Treaty of Lisbon, examined in this study) that could have precedence over national constitutions and laws may be perceived as intrusive to the national sovereignty of the Member States and ranked as a national face-threatening act. Magistro (2011, p. 247) found that, in institutional discourse, the EU employs redressive strategies "to reduce the perceived invasion of the Union and the Constitution in EU citizens (and their Member States') territory", in parallel with positive politeness strategies to promote "togetherness" through cooperation and shared values.

This study uses a translational perspective to investigate variation in the way the sociocultural variables of power/distance and face enactment are realized in constitutional discourse. It is anticipated that if cultural differences favor different politeness patterns by shifting the representation of the interactant dyad and face enactment strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1978), a new interactant dyad may be codified in the translated version of the constitutional discourse and a new representation of the EU may arise across cultures. To further validate this claim, the study examines politeness patterns in a relevant fragment of the Greek Constitution to identify the power/distance relationship of the state/citizen dyad in original Greek through manifestations of politeness.

2. Methodology

The main data source is the EU Constitution, commonly known as the Treaty of Lisbon (Treaty Establishing the Constitution of Europe), effective since 2009 (European Union, 2007). The data sample consists of 13,160 words from the first 60 pages of the document and covers the EU's founding principles as well as fundamental human rights it protects.

The study first conducts an empirical quantitative analysis of im/politeness shifts between the English and Greek versions of the Constitution, based on a scholar's view (my own). Then it takes an emic approach to data analysis by asking a group of ten native Greek speakers fluent in English to comment on ten translation examples, with the intention of testing respondents' perception of the distance assumed between the Speaker (the EU) and the Hearer (the European citizens) in extracts taken from the Treaty. Extracts were chosen after the quantitative analysis of politeness shifts between the English and Greek versions with the purpose of representing the most common shifts found in the comparison of the two versions.

The Greek Constitution, drafted in 1975 and last revised in 2008, is then used as a comparable text to the Greek version of the EU Constitution, with the aim of potentially highlighting different representations of interactant dyads (the EU/Member States *vs* the Greek State/Greek citizens). The data sample from the Greek Constitution consists of 11,305 words taken from the first 63 pages, covering the main principles of the Constitution as well as protected human rights.

3. Data analysis

3.1 An etic view of the EU Constitution

In the quantitative analysis, the study examined six types of shifts following categorizations of politeness shifts from English to Greek in previous research on politeness in academic discourse (Koutsantoni, 2005, 2007; Sidiropoulou, 2017). It examined changes in modal verbs, nominalizations (the use of nominal structures instead of verbal structures) and passivizations (the use of passive voice instead of the active voice), conjunctions and specificity shifts. In specificity and connective shifts, pronouns, conjunctions or adjectives are added or changed (enforced) in order to make meaning more explicit.

Modals, nominalizations and passives are mentioned by Brown and Levinson (1978, pp. 194-198, 207-209, 273-276) as strategies of negative politeness that impersonalize Speaker (S) and Hearer (H) and raise formality. Shifts in conjunction and specificity oriented towards explicitation of meaning connect to strategies of positive politeness that, for Brown and Levinson (1978, pp. 125-129), promote cooperation and enhance directness.

The shifts were counted, categorized and quantified in a data sample of 13,160 words presented in Figure 1.

SHIFTS

SPECIFICITY ADDED
1,6%
CONNECTIVE ENFOR...
1,8%
SPECIFICITY ENFORC...
3,6%
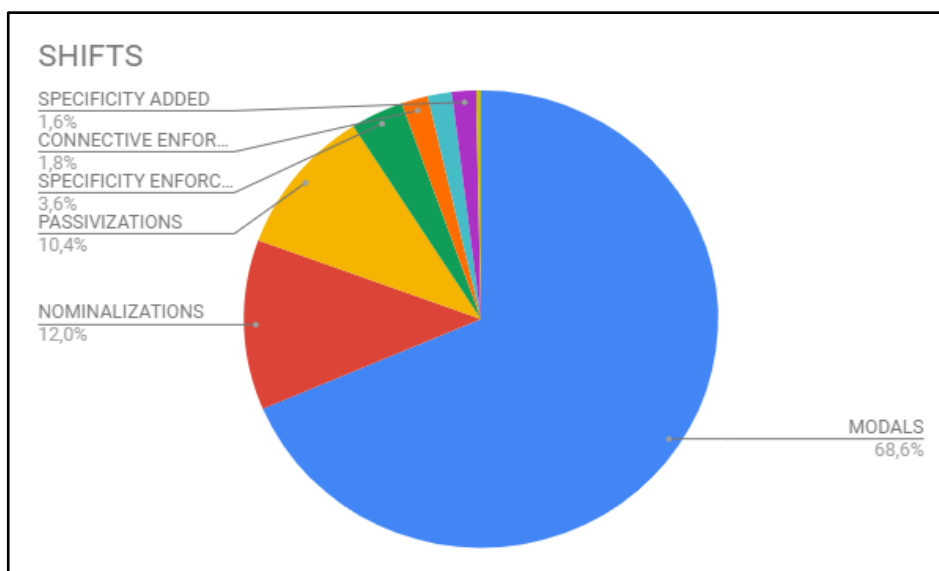PASSIVIZATIONS
10,4%
NOMINALIZATIONS
12,0%
MODALS
68,6%

Figure 1. Total percentages of shifts.

The vast majority of shifts (68.59%) were changes in modality. Out of 417 modal changes, 92.09% were omissions of the modal "shall", which was rendered in the Greek text with the present indicative.

Legal scholars have noted the frequent use of "shall" in legislative texts, in which it is "modal, not temporal [and] denotes the compulsion, the obligation to act" (Felici, 2012, p. 54). The high frequency of "shall" in legal texts is "challenging when it comes to translation" (2012, p. 56). Felici suggests that "shall" is the most frequent word in the EU Constitution, something that can easily be corroborated by conducting a word frequency count.[1]

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[1] In the 167,498 words of the Treaty, "shall" is the most frequent word, appearing 3,190 times.

The Greek version effaces "shall" and renders it with the present indicative (see EN/GR1 "shall be open" → *είναι ανοιχτή* ["is open"]). This linguistic choice is in accordance with the "Guidelines for contractors translating into Greek" (European Union, no date),[2] in which translators are discouraged from rendering "shall" with modals of the same degree or with the future tense. The guidelines instead promote the use of the present tense (European Union, no date, p. 94). With this in mind, it is argued that the effacement of "shall" in the Greek version is not so much a politeness shift, but rather a sign of compliance with legal linguistic norms.

Example 1. The omission of "shall"

EN1   The Union <u>shall be open</u> to all European States which respect its values and are committed to promoting them together. (Article 1-1, p. 17)

GR1   Η Ένωση <u>είναι ανοιχτή</u> σε όλα τα ευρωπαϊκά κράτη που σέβονται τις αξίες της και δεσμεύονται να τις προάγουν από κοινού.

   [*Europe <u>is open</u> to all European States that respect its values and commit to promote them in conjunction*]

In cases where "shall" is enforced, it is rendered with the stronger deontic modality marker *πρέπει* ("must"), resulting in a less neutral, more assertive text. In these cases, context is important in guiding the translator's choice, as is evident by Example 2, in which the deontic modal denotes the EU's obligation to keep its budget in balance:

Example 2. Change in modal degree

EN2   The revenue and expenditure shown in the budget <u>shall</u> be in balance. (Article I-53.2, 42)

GR2   Ο προϋπολογισμός <u>πρέπει</u> να είναι ισοσκελισμένος ως προς τα έσοδα και τις δαπάνες.

   [*The budget <u>has to</u> be in balance in relation to the revenue and expenditure*]

The rest of modal shifts (7.91% of total modal changes) are limited to shifts in degree, mostly towards modals denoting higher certainty and specificity.

The second most frequent shift (12.01% of total shifts) are nominalizations, i.e. preference of nominal structures over verbal structures. The "Guidelines for contractors translating into Greek" (European Union, no date, p. 154) state that in Greek, nouns are to be preferred in contrast to verbs, especially in legal discourse. According to Brown and Levinson (1978, pp. 207-209), nominalizations are a strategy of *negative politeness*

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[2] The "Guidelines" (European Union, no date) offer commentary on linguistic issues (terminological, lexical, grammatical and syntactical) for those who translate EU documents from English to Greek. The document, available for all the official languages of the EU, focuses on ensuring uniformity of style in the translations of EU texts, while also covering specific linguistic issues pertinent to each language.

associated with a higher degree of formality. The Greek version favors nominal structures as higher formality markers, as is shown in Example 3, indicating more distance between EU authority and audience.

Example 3. Nominalization

EN3 1. The Union shall have an institutional framework which shall aim to: – <u>promote</u> its values, – <u>advance</u> its objectives, – <u>serve</u> its interests, those of its citizens and those of the Member States, – <u>ensure</u> the consistency, effectiveness and continuity of its policies and actions. (Article I-19.1, p. 24)

GR3 1.Η Ένωση διαθέτει θεσμικό πλαίσιο που αποσκοπεί - στην <u>προώθηση</u> των αξιών της — στην <u>επιδίωξη</u> των στόχων της, — στην <u>εξυπηρέτηση</u> των συμφερόντων της, των συμφερόντων των πολιτών της και των συμφερόντων των κρατών μελών, — στη <u>διασφάλιση</u> της συνοχής, τη αποτελεσματικότητας και της συνέχειας των πολιτικών.

[*The Union has an institutional framework that aims towards – the <u>promotion</u> of its values – the <u>advancement</u> of its objectives – the <u>administration</u> of its interests and the interests of the citizens and the interests of the Member States – the <u>assurance</u> of consistency, effectiveness and continuity of its policies*]

Nominalizations are followed in frequency by passivizations (10.36% of total shifts), i.e. the use of the passive voice, an impersonalization mechanism in Brown and Levinson's (1978, p. 194) view of the discursive intention of "agent deletion". The "Guidelines" (European Union, no date, p. 155) suggest the use of passive voice as it better conforms to the style of legal discourse. Moreover, it heightens formality and, along with nominalizations, is labelled by Brown and Levinson as a strategy of *negative politeness*. Example 4 shows an instance of this:

Example 4. Passivization

EN4 The Member States shall provide remedies sufficient to <u>ensure</u> effective legal protection in the fields covered by Union law. (Article I-29, p. 30)

GR4 Τα κράτη μέλη προβλέπουν τα ένδικα βοηθήματα και μέσα που είναι αναγκαία για να <u>διασφαλίζεται</u> η πραγματική δικαστική προστασία στους τομείς που διέπονται από το δίκαιο της Ένωσης.

[*The Member States provide for the legal remedies and means that are necessary in order for the actual legal protection <u>to be guaranteed</u> in the fields that are covered by the law of the Union*]

The rest of the shifts are oriented towards certainty and specificity enforcement (Sidiropoulou, 2019). Of the remaining shifts, 3.62% concern *specificity enforcement* (Example 5), 1.81% concern *connective enforcement* (Example 6), 1.64% concern *pronoun expansion* (Example 7), 1.64% concern *specificity marker addition* and, finally, 0.33%

concern *connective addition*. Specificity enforcement refers to a change from a definite article to a demonstrative pronoun or an emphatic particle (e.g. the Constitution → this Constitution*,* see EN/GR5 "a term" → *η δε θητεία* ["this term"]) or to the addition of an adjective oriented towards explicitation (e.g. this article → this <u>particular</u> article). Shifts labelled as connective enforcement relate to a change from a more general preposition or conjunction (e.g. "to", "for") to a more concrete conjunction (e.g. "in order to", see EN/GR6 "to ensure" → *<u>προκειμένου</u> να διασφαλίζουν* ["in order to ensure"]). Pronoun expansions concern a shift from a pronoun to the noun it refers to (e.g. "it" → the Union, see EN/GR7 "It" → *το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο* ["the European Parliament"]). Shifts that have been labelled as specificity marker addition relate to additions of adjectives (e.g. "the article" → "the <u>present</u> article") that aim to make more explicit what is being talked about. Finally, connective addition refers to the addition of conjunctions that allow for more intertextual connections to be made (e.g. Ø → "for that reason"). Specificity enforcement follows Brown and Levinson's (1978, p. 125) positive politeness strategies "Presuppose knowledge of H's wants and attitudes" and "Presuppose common ground", which indicate that S and H are "cooperators".

Example 5. Specificity enforcement

EN5　The European Council shall elect its President, by a qualified majority, for <u>a term</u> of two and a half years, renewable once. (Article I-20.4, p. 25)

GR5　Το Ευρωπαϊκό Συμβούλιο εκλέγει τον Πρόεδρό του με ειδική πλειοψηφία για δυόμισι έτη, <u>η δε θητεία</u> του είναι άπαξ ανανεώσιμη.

[*The European Council elects its President, with a qualified majority, for two and a half years, while <u>this</u> term is once renewable*]

Example 6. Connective enforcement

EN6　The budget shall be implemented in accordance with the principle of sound financial management. The Member States shall cooperate with the Union **to** <u>ensure</u> that the appropriations entered in the budget are used in accordance with this principle. (Article I-53.6, p. 43)

GR6　Ο προϋπολογισμός εκτελείται σύμφωνα με την αρχή της χρηστής δημοσιονομικής διαχείρισης. Τα κράτη μέλη συνεργάζονται με την Ένωση **<u>προκειμένου</u>** <u>να διασφαλίζουν</u> ότι οι πιστώσεις που εγγράφονται στον προϋπολογισμό χρησιμοποιούνται σύμφωνα με την αρχή αυτή.

[*The budget is implemented according to the principle of sound financial management. Member States cooperate with the Union <u>in order to ensure</u> that the appropriations which are registered in the budget are used in accordance with this principle*]

Example 7. Pronoun expansion

EN7   *The European Parliament* shall be regularly consulted on the main aspects and basic choices of the common foreign and security policy. <u>It</u> shall be kept informed of how it evolves. (Article I-40.8, p. 47)

GR7   Η γνώμη του Ευρωπαϊκού Κοινοβουλίου ζητείται τακτικά για τις κύριες πτυχές και τις βασικές επιλογές της κοινής εξωτερικής πολιτικής και πολιτικής ασφάλειας. <u>Το Ευρωπαϊκό Κοινοβούλιο</u> ενημερώνεται για την εξέλιξη της εν λόγω πολιτικής.

[*The opinion of the European Parliament will be asked regularly on the main aspects and the basic choices of the common foreign and security policy. <u>The European Parliament</u> is informed on the progress of this particular policy*]

3.2 An emic view of the EU Constitution

Politeness scholars of the postmodern wave (Arundale, 2006, 2009; Eelen, 2001; Locher, 2004, 2006; Locher and Watts, 2005; Mills, 2003; Watts, 2003, 2005) have criticized Brown and Levinson's model as inadequate and suggested that im/politeness is an interactional phenomenon that should be evaluated by actual users of the language. The following section takes an emic perspective in the discursive manifestation of im/politeness in the sample to confirm or falsify the study's etic perspective.

Ten native Greek speakers fluent in English commented on ten translation examples with the purpose of showing their perception of the relative distance between EU authorities and Member State audiences in English and Greek. Participants were asked to read the English and Greek versions of several fragments and judge in which version the relative distance between Speaker (the EU) and Hearer (Member State citizens) is perceived to be higher with reference to an underlined shift, and then comment on why they think that is the case. The examples were chosen to include the most common shifts, i.e., changes in modal verbs, specificity enforcement (the addition of pronouns or adjectives to make meaning explicit), pronoun expansion (a shift from a pronoun to the noun it refers to), connective enforcement (a shift from a more general to a more concrete conjunction), nominalizations (the use of nouns instead of verbs), passivizations (the use of the passive voice instead of the active) and changes in formality.

The main question was as follows:

Assuming, in this context, that the Union is the Speaker and the Member States (MS) and/or individual MS citizens are the Hearer, how do you perceive the distance between the two as manifested in the original English document and the translated Greek document? In which of the two variants (source text/ST or target text/TT) do you feel the distance is greater between the Union and the Member States, and why?

Distance S>H	Modal omissions/ additions (-/+)	Nominalization (+)	Passivization (+)	Specificity enforced (+)	Connectivity enforced (+)	Change in register (+)
EN	5	0	1	2	3	1
GR	5	10	9	8	7	9

Figure 2. Respondents' perception of relative distance with regards to categories of shifts.

In general, respondents chose the Greek version as the one creating greater distance between S (the EU) and H (Member States). The commentary they provided focused mainly on differences in register in each version.

In the quantitative analysis, modality omission and, in particular, the omission of "shall" was the shift with the highest percentage. In the commentary, when asked about the effect of "shall" with regard to distance, nine out of ten respondents answered that its presence in the English text created a more distant relationship between S and H, whereas its omission in the Greek sample made the utterance more direct (Example 8).

Example 8. The omission of "shall"

EN8   The Union <u>shall offer</u> its citizens an area of freedom, security and justice without internal frontiers, and an internal market where competition is free and undistorted. (Article I-3, p. 17)

GR8   Η Ένωση <u>παρέχει</u> στους πολίτες της χώρο ελευθερίας, ασφάλειας και δικαιοσύνης χωρίς εσωτερικά σύνορα και εσωτερική αγορά όπου ο ανταγωνισμός είναι ελεύθερος και ανόθευτος.

[*The Union <u>provides</u> the citizens with a space of freedom, security and justice without internal frontiers and an internal market where competition is free and undistorted*]

With regard to the preference of nouns over verbs (nominalizations) in the Greek version (Example 9), respondents unanimously agreed that they created more distance between S and H. All respondents commented that the use of nouns raised the register in the Greek version.

Example 9. Nominalizations

EN9   1. The Union shall have an institutional framework which shall aim to: – <u>promote</u> its values, – <u>advance</u> its objectives, – <u>serve</u> its interests, those of its citizens and those of the Member States, – <u>ensure</u> the consistency, effectiveness and continuity of its policies and actions. (Article I-19, p. 24)

(continues)

GR9   1.Η Ένωση διαθέτει θεσμικό πλαίσιο που αποσκοπεί – στην <u>προώθηση</u> των αξιών της – στην <u>επιδίωξη</u> των στόχων της, – στην <u>εξυπηρέτηση</u> των συμφερόντων της, των συμφερόντων των πολιτών της και των συμφερόντων των κρατών μελών, – στη <u>διασφάλιση</u> της συνοχής, τη αποτελεσματικότητας και της συνέχειας των πολιτικών.

[*The Union has an institutional framework that aims towards – the <u>promotion</u> of its values – the <u>advancement</u> of its objectives – the <u>administration</u> of its interests and the interests of the citizens and the interests of the Member States – the <u>assurance</u> of consistency, effectiveness and continuity of its policies*]

Frequent passivization in the Greek text was deemed by nine out of ten respondents to imbue the Greek version with more formality. In the example included in the questionnaire (Example 10), there was both an omission of the modal "shall" and a passivization, which led one respondent to judge the presence of the modal as more important than the passivization, thus making (in her opinion) the English version more distant.

Example 10. Passivization

EN10   Union implementing acts <u>shall take the form</u> of European implementing regulations or European implementing decisions. (Article I-37, p. 34)

GR10   Οι εκτελεστικές πράξεις της Ένωσης <u>ενδύονται</u> τον τύπο του ευρωπαϊκού εκτελεστικού κανονισμού ή της ευρωπαϊκής εκτελεστικής αποφάσεως.

[*The implementing acts of the Union <u>"are determined by"</u> the type of the European implementing regulation or the European implementing decision*]

Eight out of ten respondents agreed that specificity enforcement (the addition of pronouns, adjectives or particles to make meaning clearer) made the Greek text more formal. In the quantitative analysis, it was anticipated that specificity enforcement would be interpreted as a positive politeness marker that reduces the distance between S and H. However, in the extracts, respondents interpreted these shifts as a difference in formality. In their commentary, they suggested that the addition of the adjective "present" (*παρόν*) before the noun "Constitution" raises the register of the text rather than acting as a positive politeness technique. This is probably due to the high distribution of this particular structure (the adjective "present" preceding a noun) in Greek official discourse.

Example 11. Specificity enforcement

EN11   Reflecting the will of the citizens and States of Europe to build a common future, <u>this Constitution</u> establishes the European Union, on which the Member States confer competences to attain objectives they have in common. (Article I-1, p. 17)

GR11 Εκφράζοντας τη βούληση των πολιτών και των κρατών της Ευρώπης να οικοδομήσουν το κοινό τους μέλλον, <u>το παρόν Σύνταγμα</u> ιδρύει την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση, στην οποία τα κράτη μέλη απονέμουν αρμοδιότητες για την επίτευξη των κοινών στόχων τους

[*Expressing the will of the citizens and the States of Europe to build their common feature, <u>the present Constitution</u> founds the European Union, in which the Member States confer competences for the achievement of their common goals*]

The shifts categorized as connective enforcement again were interpreted by the majority as a change in register, possibly due to the use of conjunctions of a higher register ("in order to" instead of "to").

Example 12. Connective enforcement

EN12 The budget shall be implemented in accordance with the principle of sound financial management. The Member States shall cooperate with the Union **to ensure** that the appropriations entered in the budget are used in accordance with this principle. (Article I-53.6, p. 43)

GR12 Ο προϋπολογισμός εκτελείται σύμφωνα με την αρχή της χρηστής δημοσιονομικής διαχείρισης. Τα κράτη μέλη συνεργάζονται με την Ένωση <u>προκειμένου να διασφαλίζουν</u> ότι οι πιστώσεις που εγγράφονται στον προϋπολογισμό χρησιμοποιούνται σύμφωνα με την αρχή αυτή.

[*The budget is implemented according to the principle of sound financial management. Member States cooperate with the Union <u>in order to ensure</u> that the appropriations which are registered in the budget are used in accordance with this principle*]

The use of more formal terms in the Greek version was almost unanimously (90%) considered to create greater distance between S and H. In the one counterexample (Example 13), the respondent in question commented that the verb chosen in the Greek translation acted more as specificity enforcement, i.e. as a shift towards more explicitation, rather than acting as a change towards higher formality. This was probably due to the translation of the verb "to assist" as *να επικουρεί*, which in Greek has the more specific meaning of "to succour".

Example 13. Formal terms

EN13 An Agency in the field of defence capabilities development, research, acquisition and armaments (European Defence Agency) shall be established to identify operational requirements (...) and <u>to assist</u> the Council in evaluating the improvement of military capabilities. (Article I-41, p. 36)

GR13   Δημιουργείται Οργανισμός στον τομέα της ανάπτυξης αμυντικών δυνατοτήτων, της έρευνας, των προμηθειών και των εξοπλισμών, (Ευρωπαϊκός Οργανισμός Άμυνας) για να προσδιορίζει τις επιχειρησιακές ανάγκες [...] και <u>να επικουρεί</u> το Συμβούλιο στην αξιολόγηση της βελτίωσης των στρατιωτικών δυνατοτήτων

[An Organization is created in the field of development of defence capabilities, research, supply and equipment (European Organization of Defence) in order to specify the operational needs (...) and <u>to succour</u> the Council in the evaluation of the improvement of military capabilities]

In general, formality was the determining factor that influenced respondents' interpretation of the distance between the EU and the Member States. The categorization of certain shifts as positive politeness markers in the quantitative analysis was not confirmed from an emic perspective. The shifts in specificity and connectives that had been interpreted as positive politeness strategies, according to respondents' interpretation, resulted in a raise of register due to the widespread use of formal lexical items. The use of nouns and the passive voice were indeed interpreted as markers of formality. Finally, the respondents judged modality shifts as a change towards lower register in the Greek text.

3.3 Politeness in the Greek Constitution

In order to verify politeness strategies in institutional discourse from an intercultural perspective and to cross-reference whether or not the Greek version of the EU Constitution follows Greek culture's politeness orientation, this study examined the Greek Constitution (2008) as a comparable text. The basis of using this document as comparable data lies in its centrality to Greek institutional discourse, one which offers a clear inspection of the State/citizen interactant dyad studied through the prism of politeness. It was assumed that the S and H are the Greek State and Greek citizens, respectively, in parallel to the interactant relationship examined in the EU Constitution. Since the European Constitution is the text through which the EU addresses itself to the Member States and their citizens, in the same way the Greek Constitution is the fundamental text through which the Greek State makes known to Greek citizens their rights and obligations. The Constitution addresses Greeks on behalf of the State, setting the framework for the relationship between them, which, as will be suggested later, is not equal but hierarchical, like all relationships between authority and subjects. What will be compared is how this hierarchical relationship between State and citizen is illustrated in the European Constitution and portrayed in the Greek legal text.

Continuing the emic analysis that focused on the power/distance relationship variants in connection to politeness, an analysis of the text focused on how the State as the Speaker approaches its citizens through the language of the Constitution. The passages that were chosen for analysis cover the area of human rights protection (pp. 47-60 from the Treaty of Lisbon and pp. 20-40 of the Greek Constitution). The focus was on lexical features that best highlight changes in power/distance in the State/citizen interactant dyad. The

main points of analysis were formality, in-group markers and the notion of "obligation", as expressed by lexical items.

With regards to formality, although both texts are of high register, the Greek Constitution uses even more formal language in comparison to the EU Constitution (Example 14).

Example 14. Formality

GR Const.	Καθένας ή πολλοι μαζί έχουν το δικαίωμα, τηρώντας τους νόμους του Κράτους, να αναφέρονται εγγράφως στις αρχές, οι οποίες είναι υποχρεωμένες να ενεργούν σύντομα κατά τις κείμενες διατάξεις και να απαντούν αιτιολογημένα σε εκείνον, που υπέβαλε την αναφορά, σύμφωνα με το νόμο.
	[Each person or many people together have the right, abiding to the laws of the State, to refer in written form to the authorities, which are obligated to act presently in accordance to the applicable provisions and to answer on justifiable grounds to him, that submitted the report, in accordance with the law] (Article 10, p. 25)
EU Const.	Κάθε πρόσωπο μπορεί να απευθύνεται στα θεσμικά όργανα της Ένωσης σε μία από τις γλώσσες του Συντάγματος και πρέπει να λαμβάνει απάντηση στην ίδια γλώσσα. (Article II-101, p. 56)
	[Each individual may address the institutions of Europe in one of the languages of the Constitution and has to receive an answer in the same language]

According to Sifianou (2013), who has studied Greek politeness in different areas (Sifianou, 2010; Sifianou and Tzanne, 1997), formal discourse has a prominent place in Greek society, since "there are many situations where institutional formality is expected" (2013, p. 90). Formality is generally associated with distance and indirectness due to its connection to negative politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1978). In Greek, formality is usually expressed through verbosity, which might draw on "classical rhetoric" or, as Hirschon (2001) suggests, may relate to the history of Greek diglossia: the coexistence of a "pure" language (the *katharevousa*), used mainly for official and formal purposes, along with Demotic Greek ("the language of the people"), that lasted for more than a century.

The language of the Greek Constitution conforms to the idea of "inaccessibility" of official discourse in Greek that presumes the reader has a high education level, a characteristic highly valued in Greek society (Hirschon, 2001; Sifianou, 1992). At the same time, verbosity, elaborate speech and formal lexical items may be a residue of the aforementioned diglossia.[3] Although this is a revised version, many linguistic features of the *katharevousa* are retained not only as markers of official language but also to reinforce the idea of a "special kind" of linguistic knowledge required to comprehend it. Formality,

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[3] The current Constitution came into force in 1975, while diglossia was abolished by the 1976 Language Reform. The text of the Constitution was transferred into Demotic Greek in the 1986 revision.

thus, markedly defines the power distance between S and H as a linguistic means employed to construct the hierarchical relationship of the Authority/subject interactant dyad.

Negative politeness strategies such as formality are compensated by positive politeness strategies of "Including both S and H in the activity" (Brown and Levinson, 1978, p. 127) that relate to the concept of collectivism. In the Greek Constitution, Greek nationality is often mentioned in connection to the protected rights and liberties enjoyed by Greek nationals (οι Έλληνες, "the Greeks", *Όλοι οι Έλληνες*, "all the Greeks", *Κάθε Έλληνας*, "every Greek", *Μόνο οι Έλληνες πολίτες*, "only Greek citizens"). These constructions are used as *in-group markers* by placing emphasis on the common nationality/identity of the citizens. The Speaker/State shares with the Hearer/Greek citizens the same in-group rights and duties and expectation to reciprocity (Brown and Levinson, 1978, p. 70). The Greek State, by addressing the Greeks directly through the Constitution, caters to Greek citizens' positive face. In contrast, in the EU Constitution the recipient of the rights is "every individual" (*κάθε πρόσωπο*), stressing the individuality and not the collective identity of EU citizens.

Example 15. In-group markers

GR. Const.   Οι Έλληνες είναι ίσοι ενώπιον του νόμου. (Article 4, p. 20)

[Greeks are equal before the law]

EU Const.   Όλοι οι άνθρωποι είναι ίσοι έναντι του νόμου. (Article II-80, p. 52)

[All people are equal before the law]

Many researchers (Hirschon, 2001; Koutsantoni, 2005; Sifianou, 1992), following Hofstede's (1986) analysis of culture, classify Greek society as a collectivistic one, where "the concept of the in-group is central" (Koutsantoni, 2005, p. 102). The prevailing importance of collectivism explains why Greeks "tend to prefer positive politeness strategies such as in-group markers that attempt to include the addressee in the activity" (Sifianou, 1992, p. 217). One of the functions of the Greek Constitution as one of the central texts in Greek discourse is the construction of Greek identity. For Blitvich and Sifianou (2017), social identity is constructed on the basis of the similarity/difference dialectic. The in-group distinction of "Greeks" as a homogeneous entity reinforces the idea of homogeneity as an integral part of the Greek nation.

Yet another concept that emerges in the Greek Constitution is the notion of "obligation". In the Constitution, the State is often referenced in terms of its *obligation* towards its citizens to protect their rights and implement the law. The construction "the obligation of the State" (*η υποχρέωση του Κράτους*) is regularly repeated throughout the text (Example 16).

Example 16. The obligation of the State

GR Const.   Ο σεβασμός και η προστασία της αξίας του ανθρώπων <u>αποτελούν την πρωταρχική υποχρέωση της Πολιτείας</u>. (Article 2, p. 19)

    [The respect and the protection of human dignity <u>constitutes the foremost obligation of the State</u>]

In the EU Constitution, the notion of obligation is absent. In the pages covering human rights, the Union is mentioned in the preamble (p. 47) as a "contributor" to the protection and preservation of common values, while human rights are presented as a given that need not be guaranteed by the Union (Example 17).

Example 17. The EU's protection of human rights

GR Const.   Η τέχνη και η επιστήμη, η έρευνα και η διδασκαλία είναι ελεύθερες· η ανάπτυξη και η προαγωγή τους <u>αποτελεί υποχρέωση του Κράτους</u>. (Article 16, p. 26)

    [The arts and science, research and teaching are free; their development and promotion constitute <u>an obligation of the State</u>]

EU Const.   Η τέχνη και η επιστημονική έρευνα είναι ελεύθερες. (Article II-73, p. 50)

    [The arts and scientific research are free]

Hirschon (2001) analyzes obligation as a central notion to the Greek *face* by connecting it to Mauss' ([1925] 1990) scheme of reciprocal obligation in social exchanges. An obligation entails a superior/inferior relationship between giver/recipient and creates an asymmetry in status. Greeks, Hirschon claims, are reluctant to concede hierarchy due to the predominant emphasis placed on autonomy and personal freedom. For systems of hierarchy to be incorporated into Greek society, a "defined official status" (Hirschon, 2001, p. 25) is indispensable (e.g. the Church, academic institutions, legal context). The power differential between the State and the Greek citizen are explicitly stated in the Constitution. The former is the giver (superior) and the latter, the recipient (inferior) of the rights. A clear hierarchical relationship is thus formed, expressed through the use of formal language, as mentioned above. At the same time, a reciprocal relationship is formed (a "social exchange", to use Mauss' term) between State and citizen. The repetition of the Greek State's obligation towards "all Greeks" is a reminder of this relationship.

The concept of the State as the caregiver can also be found in nineteenth-century representations of Greece, such as Theodoros Vryzakis' (1858) depiction of *Greece expressing gratitude* (Figure 3). Greece (*Hellas*) is depicted as a mother figure, opening her arms protectively over the Greek heroes of the Greek War of Independence.

Figure 3. Theodoros Vryzakis, *Greece expressing gratitude* (1858), oil on canvas, 215 cm x 157 cm, National Gallery, Hellenic Army Park, Goudi.[4]

4. Discussion

In politeness research, institutional discourse is associated with the study of the relationship between politeness and power and more specifically with the usage of politeness "as a tool to enforce or to redistribute power" (Kádár and Haugh, 2013, p. 54). Scollon and Scollon (2001) have claimed that asymmetry of power in hierarchical relationships results in a *hierarchical politeness system*. The main characteristic of such a system is "the recognized difference in status" which they label as +P (plus power), where Power "refers to the vertical disparity between participants in a hierarchical structure" (Scollon and Scollon, 2001, p. 52). It follows that communication in institutional settings such as governments, international corporations, educational organizations, etc. is hierarchical and facework then becomes asymmetric or hierarchical. Participants in *hierarchical face systems* claim superordinate and subordinate positions and use different politeness strategies. Speakers in "higher" positions use *involvement face strategies*, while speakers in "lower" positions use *independence face strategies*. However, a difference in power (+P) does not necessarily entail an equal difference in distance (+D). Scollon and Scollon argue that participants in a hierarchical relationship may be close (-D) or distant (+D) depending on strategies of involvement or independence they employ in interaction. Thus, the hierarchical politeness system can be characterized as +P, +/-D (Scollon and Scollon, 2001, p. 55).

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[4] Available at: https://www.nationalgallery.gr/en/painting-permanent-exhibition/painting/the-years-of-othon's-reign/history-painting/greece-expressing-gratitude.html (Accessed: 24 January 2019).

Scollon and Scollon's (2001) interpretation of social distance, seen in terms of togetherness/apartness (-/+D), is one of the many varying terms used for varying distance in terms of facework (O'Driscoll, 2017), leading back to the positive/negative politeness dichotomy in Brown and Levinson (1978). Arundale (2006, 2009) suggests a reconceptualization of "positive" and "negative" face in terms of *connectedness*/*separateness*,[5] as part of his Face Constituting Theory (Arundale, 1999, 2010), which conceptualizes face as interactional and relational.

Connection face and separation face encompass meanings broader than concerns with ratification (positive face) or nonimposition (negative face) (Brown and Levinson, 1978), which Arundale (2009) sees as "personal needs", not as "relational phenomena". Connection face and separation face are part of a face continuum linked dialectically in contrast to Brown and Levinson's positive/negative face dualism (Arundale, 2009). These reconceptualizations intend to be "culture-general", explaining the basis of human relationships within and across cultures.[6]

Combining Scollon and Scollon's (2001) hierarchical politeness system and Arundale's (2006, 2009) connectedness/separateness conceptualization of face, we can interpret politeness in institutional discourse examined in this study. The interactant dyad of EU/Greek State and Member States/Greek citizens at first glance seems to involve asymmetrical/hierarchical relationships. The EU and the Greek State occupy a higher position (+P) in relation to their audience, with the assumed distance (D) between interactants varying according to the different face/politeness strategies, as our analysis has shown.

A quantitative analysis of politeness shifts in the EU Constitution showed that the Greek version features greater formality, augmenting the distance (+D) between S and H, a result that the emic analysis confirmed. It is argued that, although the EU acts as a supranational State, its relationship with the Member States is not clearly asymmetrical. If the EU adopts a hegemonic stance (+P) in the way it addresses the Member States, there is concern that national States will interpret it as a threat to their national sovereignty, their "national face" (Magistro, 2007, 2011, 2013).

The last few years have seen a rise in Euroskepticism in Greece, in part due to the long economic crisis that many Greeks feel was imposed on them by the EU and in part owing to Greeks' strong sense of national identity. A recent Eurobarometer survey (March 2018) found that 51% of Greeks see themselves as Greek nationals only, with 47% seeing themselves as Greeks and Europeans.[7] Another survey, carried out by the diaNEOsis

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[5] "Connectedness in relationships indexes a complex of meanings and actions that may be apparent as unity, interdependence, solidarity, association, congruence, and more, between the relational partners. (...) "separateness" (...) indexes meanings and actions that may be voiced as differentiation, independence, autonomy, dissociation, divergence, and so on" (Arundale, 2006, p. 206).

[6] Arundale (2006) stresses the importance of ethnographic research to interpret the dialectics of connection face and separation face in each culture.

[7] Available at: https://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/index.cfm/Archive/index (Accessed: 24 January 2019).

Research and Policy Institute (Georgakopoulos, 2017), found that 46.4% of Greeks consider the EU threatening to their national identity and 72.9% were strongly against relinquishing part of their national sovereignty to the EU to achieve a stronger Union.

In the Greek version of the Constitution, the EU adopts a separation face orientation through negative politeness strategies in its relation with the Member State. Since the power imbalance is not clearly defined ($\eqcirc$P), greater distance (+D) is necessary to retain the Union's relationship with national States while acknowledging their independence and autonomy, without it appearing threatening to their national face. In the Greek context, where autonomy and personal freedom are "central to the Greek notion of self" (Hirschon, 2001, p. 22), the need to minimize the degree of imposition by the EU is even greater.

The seeming separateness of the Greek version may also be a result of the role of formality in Greek institutional discourse, which we explained in the previous section. A larger data sample and a more extended emic analysis of Greek speakers' perception of distance in both versions of the Constitution would shed light on the relationship between the EU and Greek citizens.

In the Greek Constitution, the hierarchical politeness system is more clearly defined through language. The power difference between the Greek State and its citizens is asymmetrical (+P), with formality indexing the hierarchical relationship, as shown by the quantitative analysis of the Constitution. However, in the context of the hierarchical relationship, as Scollon and Scollon (2001) anticipate, the Speaker in the higher position, the State, employs involvement face strategies, expressed through in-group markers and the notion of obligation. We could argue then that the Greek Constitution is oriented to the Hearer's/the citizen's connection face to index solidarity and interdependence. Solidarity is central to the Greek collectivistic culture (Hirschon, 2001; Hofstede, 1986; Sifianou, 1992). Arundale's dialectic of connectedness and separateness is close to the dialectic of similarity/difference that is a key element of constructing identity (Blitvich and Sifianou, 2017). By putting an emphasis on the similarities of its citizens (their shared Greek identity) and by forming a relationship of interdependence through the notion of obligation, the Greek Constitution is oriented towards relational connectedness (-D).

We see interactant dyads forming this way:

EU/Member States: $\eqcirc$P, +D   Greek State/Greek citizens: +P, -D

In the Greek version of the European Constitution, the hierarchical relationship is not expressly defined and an orientation towards separation face is needed to keep the relationship in balance. In the Greek Constitution, the power asymmetry is evident, but the State uses connection face-oriented strategies to conform to the collectivistic character of Greek society.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this paper was to examine politeness in institutional discourse through an intercultural perspective. Two versions of the EU Constitution were examined, first, through a quantitative analysis, and second, through an emic perspective following the discursive turn in politeness theory. To analyze politeness cross-culturally, the study examined the Greek Constitution as comparable data. The analysis showed that the social variants of power (P) and distance (D) influencing politeness strategies differ in the two versions of the EU Constitution and the Greek Constitution. The Greek version of the Treaty of Lisbon creates a more distant relationship between the EU and the Member States – in this case, Greece. We interpreted this difference in distance as a desire on the part of the EU to mitigate the threat the Constitution poses to the Greek autonomy and to compensate for the nondefined power difference between the Union and the Member States. In contrast, the Greek Constitution asserts through formality its hierarchical relationship to the citizens, while adopting politeness strategies oriented to what Arundale (2006, 2009) termed "connection face", confirming previous researchers' view of Greek culture as collectivistic.

In view of the continuing discussion on European integration and the future of the EU, the study of translation of European institutional discourse may offer a rich field of intercultural interpretation of politeness as an index of power. Politeness in institutional discourse and especially EU discourse has not yet been fully explored and more studies could help better understand how the EU uses politeness to address power differentials with the Member States. Future research could focus on EU citizens' emic interpretations of politeness strategies in European *versus* national institutional discourse.

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